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Introduction

Contemporary Chinese discourse on gender equality was started by progressive male intellectuals through printed media, especially *New Youth* (新青年) around the 1919 May Fourth Movement (Louie, 2008). In 1927, Mao Tse-tung criticized that Chinese people, especially Chinese women are usually subjected to the domination of four systems of authority, just as his famous report on an investigation of the peasant movement in Hunan said that “these four authorities - political, family, religious and masculine - are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants” (Mao, 1927, p.44). After the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Chinese Communist Party (CCP), especially Mao Tse-tung further proclaimed that there are two main revolutions during the communist transformation: one against feudalism and the other against patriarchy.

In contrast to more ‘bottom-up’, civil society-driven Western feminist movements, the CCP set out to revolutionize women’s rights from the top down. Approaches to tackling the “problem of women” and combating traditional ‘feudal-patriarchal’ ideology followed two main tracks, relating to women’s role in the labour force, and within the family. On the one hand, women and mothers were encouraged to work outside of the home and were supposed to receive equal pay for equal work. On the other, they were accorded equality with their husbands and the ‘freedom of choice’ of spouse according to the new Marriage Law of 1950.

In this article, I will investigate how these ideological and legal changes were promulgated and elaborated in party propaganda during the first sixteen years (1949-66) following the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. A key question that arises concerns the extent to which women themselves were conceived as the prime beneficiaries of these new policies. Studies about communist propaganda regarding women’s involvement in productive work and as mothers within the household have proliferated. Many researchers (Chu & Yu, 2013; Hu, 2016) have criticized Chinese official propaganda on gender

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equality for its prioritization of the objective of national advancement over the promotion of women's own rights. Actual power / authority in political, economic and military spheres "was kept almost exclusively in the hands of men" (Taga, 2005, p.133), and especially Mao himself, whose overriding objective, according to Dikötter (2010, p.30), was always "simply to keep himself at the top of China's political hierarchy".

Recent research has thus called into question the standard view within China of 1949-65 as a golden era of progress in promoting gender equality and improving women's rights (e.g., Cai, 2016). During this period, because of these initial needs of political acceptance, consolidation and economic revival, the CCP has completely controlled the mass media to encourage people to accept and follow the 'party path' (党路线) and 'new' ideologies of gender norms. Some researchers (e.g., MacFarquhar & Fairbank, 1987; Wang, 2003) have emphasized the contribution of propagandas to eroding patriarchy and creating new egalitarian gender perspectives, reflected in women's participation in ambitious projects of industrialization and social transformation. Others (e.g., Yan, 2003; Louie, 2008) have stressed the party's failure to live up to its claims of liberating women by examining how narratives of gender has been involved in Chinese modernity. Louie (2014) further proved that the propagandas play a conflicting role of broadcasting Mao's ideologies of femininity and traditional masculinity.

However, these existing studies, in focusing especially on official discourse on womanhood and motherhood, have tended to neglect another, inescapable, element in the equation of gender politics: the role of men and fathers. Without looking also at how and why expectations of men, and portrayals of their roles within the family, did or did not change, we cannot hope to reach a full understanding of the nature and extent of changing gender perspectives in Chinese communist discourse. A growing body of researchers (e.g., Luo, 2012; Li, 2016) has therefore recently called for an examination of how official discourse has represented men and fathers, traditionally placed at the "head" of a hierarchical and male-dominated society. This paper therefore aims to examine how a key CCP propaganda organ – the magazine *Women of China* – portrayed fatherhood and the family during the period 1949-65. Problematizing the stereotypical dichotomy of 'traditional' vs. 'revolutionary' (or 'pre-liberation' *versus* 'post-liberation') approaches to gender (Zurndorfer, 2014), it seeks to provide a nuanced analysis of the shifts in gender discourse during this period.

Methods

In recent years, the field of historical Chinese gender studies has witnessed the blossoming of research on changing discourse on gender or family issues in Chinese media. Song (2010a; 2010b) separately conducted content analyses of Chinese television dramas and men's lifestyle magazines from the 1990s to explore what he terms the nationalist "crisis of masculinity". Zhong (2010) has similarly analyzed late twentieth-century Chinese literature to define a Chinese "marginality complex" – combining male

desire for strong masculine identities with anxiety over their viability. Luo (2012) has undertaken textual analysis of the *Women of China* magazine in the 2000s for examining how the party-state constantly reshapes women's lives, focusing on changes in the magazine covers and essays depicting local women. Li (2016) uses her analysis of the reality program *Dad, where are we going?* to argue that Chinese fatherhood has stepped into the stage of 'post-patriarchy' – with the significance of seniority declining, but male dominance still lingering. During textual analysis, Cai (2016) particularly look at the cultural political legacies and socialist literary (e.g., the major and minor novels, dramas, short stories, and cinema) over the period of 1949-1966. Although the gender norms in the Chinese media can be described and contextualized through textual / contexts / contents analyzing methods, there are an increasing number of researchers (e.g., Li, 2016; Cai, 2016) who found that the above methods cannot critically explain the changes described in discourse. In-depth analysis of the negotiations between power and gender norms in propaganda is needed.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which focuses on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use, pays greater attention to how particular sources are produced, by whom, and for what purposes. There are two advantages of CDA: it can explore under the power what kinds of context can be expressed in a certain way, which means it enables me to reveal the hidden motivation such as power behind a text in *Women of China*; it also can help us access to analysis the historical transition of fatherhood in *Women of China*. However, especially in China, where access to information on the inner workings or decision-making processes of official organizations is hard to come by, the political conditions under which texts were produced must be largely inferred from other sources, or from secondary literature analyzing the contemporary political scene. This is particularly so with respect to the pre-1966 period, for which it is especially hard to supplement such data with interviews with former magazine editors or officials, for example.

The Source - *Women of China*

The Article 96 of the New Marriage Law 1950 stipulated that women should enjoy 'equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life'. This legal equality was also reflected in a push for recognition of women in the political sphere. The All-China Democratic Women's Foundation was born, becoming the All-China Women's Federation (中华全国妇女联合会, ACWF) in 1957. It is charged with representing women's rights vis-à-vis the Government and proposing policies relating to women. In order to broadcast the new ideology of new women across the new People's Republic, the national Federation journal - *Women of (New) China* was distributed into the local women's association in every village of China (Before Jan 1, 1956, it was called *Women of New China*. After that, the journal name was changed to *Women of China*). Although there was mass illiteracy, under Mao the Party promoted

mass education and understanding of equality as something to be achieved through more equal access to knowledge. *Women of (New) China* became an important organ of party propaganda.

Although a number of scholars (e.g., Luo, 2012) have used *Women of China* as a source for examining the changing portrayal of women in different periods of PRC history, none have considered how men were portrayed in the same magazine, or how the tensions and contradictions that emerge when portrayals of women and men were juxtaposed. This is where the contribution of the present research lies.

The value and importance of *Women of China* as a source derives from four features: 1) it is the first official women's magazine launched by the CCP in June 1939, and can therefore reflect shifts in party ideology on the family over time; 2) it has been widely circulated across China through sales offices - Beijing Xinhua bookstore (新华书店), Shanghai Joint bookstore (三联书店) and local post offices and newsstands. During the period of 1949-65, its section of common sense textbooks for female workers and peasants (工农妇女常识课本) was dominated by teaching material for adult literacy classes. Its English version began to be published and circulated worldwide after 1980. And it has apparently been widely read (for its coverage of current affairs, marriage and family, children education, common sense of women and children's health and well-being) in libraries or reading rooms of work units or communes, growing to become the biggest magazine group in China, with a circulation of more than 3 million worldwide (Luo, 2012); 3) It has been continuously published by ACWF from 1949 until now, with the exception of the Cultural Revolution period; 4) Women's magazines as well as men's magazines can be defined as what McLoughlin (2000, p.2) calls "center of interest magazines" that are directed at very general rather than a specialist readership. That is provide me a fruitful ground for research on gender representations. The readership of *Women of (New) China* is wide, since the magazine has been more or less targeted at all women including their husband. In light of statistic results of CNKI (the largest and continuously updated Chinese journals database in the world), *Women of (New) China* is a family related mass media and it is a wealth of women. In particular, it becomes the top print media contributing to family and children after 1980s.

Analyzing the Magazine

Based on the bottom-up approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the 264 issues of *Women of (New) China* from 1949 to 1966 basically covered seven sections: editorials (社论) written by Women of (New) China periodical officers and Soviet Izvestia officers; local new dispatches (各地通讯) written by the local women's federation officers; current affairs (时事) written by children's welfare department of the all-china democratic women's federation (全国民主妇联儿童福利部); personage introductions / profiles (人物介绍) written by research group of women's department of the national federation of trade unions (全国总工会女工部研究组); letters to the editor and public discussions (读者来信, 大家讨论); public literature and arts (大众文艺); and common sense textbooks for female workers and peasants (工农妇女常

识课本)。After taking the purposive cluster sampling strategy of CDA, a total of 520 articles are classified into four themes: the history and legends, marriage and family, children, international and friendship (Soviet impacts). In the end, 240 articles, which are relevant to this paper's central concern with fatherhood and the role of men within the family, are analyzed for examining official discourse on fatherhood and the family during 1949-66.

The Declining of 'Authority of Husband' in the New Democratic Family (1949-1952)

In order to significantly distinguish the 'old' China and 'new' China, the national Federation journal was named *Women of New China* (新中国妇女) on July 20, 1949, to highlight the 'new' ideologies of gender norms and in the People's Republic of China. In the first three years of the PRC, in addition to carrying numerous articles exhorting its readers to promote three political movements - the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries (1950-51), land reform (1950-52) and Chinese involvement in the Korean War (1950-53), *Women of New China* also went to painstaking lengths to promote the "New democratic family" (新民主主义家庭).

The commencing issue of *Women of New China* in July, 1949, titled "How to be a new woman in new society" written by Ou Mengjue (a well-known PRC politician and the Chairwoman of Guangzhou Provincial women's federation), firstly pinpointed that "We, the new modern women, have a main task of establishing a revolutionary outlook on life, the glorious value of labor, and the collective vision to create a new democratic family" (1949, 1, p.9). The third issue of *Women of New China* in 1949, titled "New democratic society" written by Zhang Zhongbao (vice minister of the Propaganda Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP and deputy director of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau), defined in detail the concept of new democratic society. He further stated, "In new democratic family, everyone participates in labor, democratic leads families and hang together for production" (1949, 3, p.10). In Zhang's report, Cui Dazhao, was awarded the honor of "labor hero" (劳动英雄), and her family was taken an example of a model new democratic family:

Cui Dazhao herself studies at the women's night school, her husband goes into the worker's night school, the child study at the children's night school. If she has questions that she doesn't understand, she can ask her husband and children. If her husband and children have questions, she would answer them. Cui's family holds open study seminars at any time within the family. (1949, 3, p.14)

While broadcasting the above new ideologies, *Women of New China* also published a series of articles about Chinese women's historical life from ancient legends (1949, 1, p.29; 1949, 2, pp.34-35), to Chinese slave society (1949, 3, p.1949, 4, p.24), until to Chinese early feudal society (1949, 5, p.34; 1949, 6, p.24).

In particular, an article, titled “The life of women in ancient Chinese legends” written by Tian Jiaying (one of MAO Tsu-tung’s chief secretaries), firstly summarized and interpreted the fatherhood, as follows:

I Ching (易经) mentioned “Father is very strict” (家有严君焉). Xu Shen’s *Shuowen Jiezi* (说文解字) in Eastern Han Dynasty, stated “Father, who is the top leader of the family, disciplines every family members” (父, 巨也, 家长率教者, 从又举杖). The ancient writing of the character “father” (父) means that he could beat anyone: the top two points of the character “father” (父) was connected with each other, just like a curved wooden stick. A hand (手) was drawn below this wooden stick. Father is a person whose hand have a wooden stick (1949, 2, pp.34-35).

In the new-democratic family, the traditional authority of the “head” of the family – the father – was seen as a potential hindrance to the socialist project and thus in need of rectification. The new Marriage Law of 1950, extensively promoted in *Women of New China*, challenged the “authority of husband” (父权) as a ‘feudal remnant’, and granted women legal equality in the domestic realm. A series titled “Speeches on Marriage Issues” (婚姻问题讲话) by the well-known feminist and the leader of Jiangxi Provincial women’s federation - Zuo Songfen had for months been splashing headlines about new ideologies of ‘freedom of marriage’ and ‘father and mother are equal within the family’. Such as “Abolition of buying and selling marriage” (1951, 19, p.38); “Prohibited the interference in the freedom of widows to marry” (1951, 20, p.32); “The relationship between parents and children in new society” (1951, 20, p.35); “How to choose partner” (1951, 21, p.31); “How to build democratic, harmony and united families” (1951, 22, p.32) and so on.

The magazine occasionally featured cartoons that aspired to use satire or humor to get the party’s message across. In the early 1950s, two such cartoons targeted aspects of the traditional maxim “be obedient to your father at home, obey your husband after you get married, and obey your son when your husband dies” (未嫁从父、出嫁从夫、夫死从子).

Extract 1: “Obey your husband after you get married”

Mother: If you don’t study, you will face up serious problems in the future.

The soon- to-be married daughter: I don’t need to care about the future since I will marry him.



Figure 1

The cartoon expresses the conflict between a mother who has imbibed the new ideology, and a daughter with ‘old thinking’, but the magazine did not belabor the question of who was right or wrong, tacitly if readers would get the message.

Extract 2: “I love you”

Sun’s husband thinks the way of expressing his love to the wife is to dominate all her activities, just as the cartoon depicted that I love you so I put you into the birdcage. One day, Sun’s husband became furious and reprimanded her for failing to follow his order to attend a friend’s party. Sun’s Husband severely reprimand: “Do you have a couple of lovers now? Did your heart really change?” Sun retorted: “My love is so great that even a train can’t fill in.” Sun bravely voiced and challenged her husband’s power. However, in the end, sun still followed her husband’s wishes and attended his friends’ party with him.



Figure 2

During this period, *Women of New China* tended to take a relatively gentle line in criticizing established gender norms, deploying irony and humor rather than fierce ideological tirades. It is worth noting that during these period, housework was not included as a recognized category under labor (劳动), which conferred entitlements through ‘work points’. Hershatter’s study (2014, p.187) also proved that owing to the fact that the majority of young couples lived with the husband’s parents, who helped with childcare and cooking, younger married women could go outside to earn work points. However, fathers who did not help mothers before this period were still doing nothing during this period. Thus, despite general statements of gender equality and significant legal changes during these years, the established, gendered division of labor within families – with mothers performing household chores and caring for children, and fathers bringing in income and setting the rules for the rest of the family – was not radically attacked in the pages of *Women of China*, even while it may have been gently satirized. This was a time when the new regime was looking to consolidate itself at home, while facing the external challenge of the Korean War, and its priorities seem to have lain elsewhere. Moreover, advisors from the Soviet Union, posted to various key PRC institutions in the early 1950s (including the ACWF), came from a society where women’s participation in ‘productive labor’ had been greatly enhanced, but largely without any corresponding debate over the gendered division of labor within the home. The significance of Soviet models or precedents was further enhanced during the mid-1950s, as China adopted Soviet-style state planning for industrial development, and the flow of Soviet aid and advice continued.

Labor Model in the True Socialist Family (1953-1957)

In a process of collectivization which started from 1953, the PRC launched the First Five - Year Plan (1953-57) with the aid from the Soviet Union. People were made to work harder for concentrated on the development of heavy industry. In rural areas, peasants involved in agricultural collectivization organized

childcare support through the mutual-aid teams, while urban work units provided crèches to liberate mothers for productive labor. Such collective work units gradually became the core economic and social unit. In 1955, Mao created the famous slogan “Women can hold up half the sky”, after the Guizhou Women’s Federation journal published a report on how the first village (i.e., baozi village) achieved the goals of equal pay for equal work. Women’s status level was improved a lot in workplace, but how is it in the domestic realm?

The “true socialist family” (真正的社会主义家庭) rather than the “new democratic family” gradually became the new standard for a looser family unit under conditions of collectivization. The first issue of *Women of China* in 1956 pinpointed “Real socialist family is that each family members have a co-responsibility for the harmony family. They should be more considerate and caring for each other in life. They must seek compromises on matters other than issues of principle. On issues of principle, they must correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism” (1956, 1, pp.5-6). In the following pages, *Women of China* further explained the distinction between ‘issues of principle’ and others. By way of illustration, it raised the question of “whether the husband has feudal thinking or bourgeois thinking?”.

Extract 3: What is a non-principle problem?

My husband works. I also work. Why do I have to do more than my share of obligations (do more household duties and childcare)? I have a serious conflict with my husband about this issue. My husband and others thought this issue is not one of principle and told me to make a sacrifice to support my husband’s work. I refuse to compromise on these sorts of issues. It therefore caused family breakdown.

In this case, the husband’s demand for personal sacrifice from his wife is apparently not represented as an example of ‘feudal thinking’, and problems arising in the domestic realm are implicitly accorded secondary importance (not issues ‘of principle’). Issues ‘of principle’ relate above all to production, and the successful achievement of the developmental goals of the party-state. This is further illustrated by the following example:

Extract 4: Model family of true socialist family

Li Shunda’s family has eight members. All of them are equal. Everyone is happy and active doing production. And the five-year production plan is completed in three years, creating a model family.

Meanwhile, the non-government childcare nurseries and warm-hearted caregivers, which supported working mothers, were reported and praised in *Women of (New) China*. At times, the magazine also provided at least rhetorical recognition of the importance of labor within the home. For example, the third

issue of *Women of New China* for 1953 reported:

We have investigated several households and have come to understand that women also perform a great deal of labor (劳动)...Although this labor does not directly create production value for agriculture, it serves peasant livelihood and production, and without it, livelihood and production will all suffer great losses. (1953, 3, p.12).

However, this kind of verbal recognition should be seen in the context of other texts (such as that from 1957 quoted above) that implicitly portrayed the continuing unequal division of labor within the household as a necessary sacrifice on the part of women – part of their contribution to boosting the productive efficiency of their male partners.

This is reflected in depictions of the father figure in the real socialist family (see extracts 5 and 6 below). The father's first main role is as a model worker, because “the socialist family is the laboring family” (1956, 5, pp.16-17). The father's secondary role is as joint overseer, with his wife, of their children's education: “educating children is an important part of parents' due responsibility to society ... husband and wife should help each other” (1954, 6, p10; 1956, 7, pp. 8-9; 1957, 3, p. 6). And the father's third role is represented as that of co-manager of the household income and household chores: “parents provide necessary material assurance and housekeeping services to non-working-ability family members” (1956, 9, p9).

Extract 5: Good partner

Household chores and childcare cost much time and labor. My husband/lover (爱人) can help me share the housework. Early in the morning, I got up and cooked food. My husband folded the beds, looked after the children, and cooked the meals. When I was breastfeeding on the bed, I could read book. At this time, my husband would cook. He is very competent and well-planned. He buys vegetables once a week. He often cooks those kinds of food that can keep for three or four days. This can save time and reduce cooking hours. After breakfast, we brought the children to the house of the old lady next door and asked her to take care of our children. We pay her 16 yuan per month. The old lady loves children very much. We have a very good relationship. At noon, my husband comes back home and cooks the meal well since his office is close to our house. When my husband cooking, I breastfeed my youngest daughter. After breastfeeding, the meal is cooked well by my husband. The same is true at night. We have formed Children's good habit of sleeping in time. When children are asleep, my husband and I can generally guarantee that we have more than one-hour study time. We have heavy burden of works and a lot of household chores. But we don't worry about these duties. On the contrary, children make our lives more enjoyable.

Extract 6: A negative egoist

Luo Baoyi takes an irresponsible attitude towards his wife and children. In his mind, he pursues only one person's joy and happiness. His wife's tears and the pain of his children are not able to draw his attention. This husband is a negative egoist.

But despite the rosy picture of spousal collaboration painted in Extract 5, the pages of *Women of China* contained contradictory messages on this score. While the 'true socialist family' is portrayed as characterized by harmonious collaboration between parents in performance of domestic duties, the fact that productive labor outside the home is defined as the overriding priority for men/fathers implies that, when the needs of production dictate, it is women who must provide the necessary domestic backstop. This is also illustrated in Hershatter's (2014, p.195) characterization of the gendered division of labor during this period: "In the past, housework served individual peasants... today it assists the agricultural production of the co-operative. It has new meanings. Housework cannot be socialized very soon, not even in the next few five-year plans. Housework is necessary and serves socialist production. Women are better suited for the housework than men. It's glorious for women to take over this kind of labor (劳动)".⁽¹⁾ Doing housework was regarded as a socialist labor that contributed to the socioeconomic development.

Regarding to the process of negotiating gender role allocation within the family, there are various examples in *Women of China*, see Extract 7 and Extract 8. According to Komter's study (1989), the following examples can be categorized into three conceptualizations: manifest power, latent power, and invisible power. Manifest power refers to the schema of controversial patriarchy in material interaction between mother and father. Latent power means the mother has to unwillingly undertake the household duties after exhaustively negotiating with father (i.e., when there are family conflicts, father is prior to mother). Invisible power refers to the force that prompts the mother consciously and spontaneously to do the household chores and child rearing under the oppressive and traditional gender order society.

Extract 7: Latent power

In my family life, I once emphasized that we should share the housework between men and women equally. For example, if a child is ill, no one wants to ask for leave for the child. The last two people have no idea that the child has gone to work. The comrades criticized me and made me realize that this is not an attitude of seeking truth from facts. Although parents should be responsible for their children, they should also take care of their work needs. It was difficult to expect him to ask for work leave, so I took the child to see the doctor. (Latent power)

Extract 8: Manifest power and invisible power

Husband: "We have different work. If you are a family woman, you should manage our family well.

This is your task!” (Manifest power)

Wife: “Is this home my individual family? You have no responsibility for it? No?”

Husband: “I don’t care. Let’s eat!”

The wife then walked into the kitchen and brought out the food and put it on the table. The husband put the finished material into his pocket, and then the family started to have a meal. (Invisible power)

Educator in the New Collective Family (1958-1962)

Motivated by the goal of “surpassing Great Britain and catching up with the United States” (超英赶美) and the national strategic goal of the four modernizations (industrial, agricultural, national defense and science and technology), China launched the Second Five-Year Plan in 1958. Mao announced the “Three Red Banners” (三面红旗) movement (the ‘General Line for Socialist Construction’, the ‘Great Leap Forward’, and the ‘People’s Communes’) to mobilize people to increase agricultural and industrial output in a short time. In order to achieve the General Line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economic results (多快好省地建设社会主义总路线), the party-state encourage the people to ‘go all out aim high’ (鼓足干劲, 力争上游) and ‘dare to say, dare to think, dare to act’ (敢说, 敢想, 敢为). Furthermore, in order to meet the needs of broadcasting the propaganda and the reader’s demand, *Women of China* started to be published half-monthly from July, 1958 until December, 1960. In particular, the 1960 is the 10th anniversary of the New Marriage Law and the 50th anniversary of Women’s Day. There are three main characteristics during this period, as follows:

First, advocating and implementing the new collective family (新型集体家庭) marked the highpoint of communist attempts at “de-familisation” (去家庭化). A series of collectivist social reforms sought to break up original family structures, pull individuals out of their families and embed them in urban work units or rural communes. Such as people work in a collective urban unit or rural cooperatives, eating in a collective canteen, and raising and educating children in a nursery institution. As family issues were also everyone’s business in the new collective family. For example, in *Women of China* (1958, 14, pp.15-16) separately praised two couples - “competition between wife and husband” (夫妻比武) and “hand in hand” (携手并进) who putting up large-character posters (大字报) to criticize each other rather than maintain the traditional culture of “domestic shame should not be made public” (家丑不可外扬). In addition, two main spirits, namely the spirit of diligent and thrifty (勤俭节约) and the spirit of collectivism (集体主义) were vigorously advocated. Just as the slogan says, “Rowing by the rudder, running the family relies on thrifty (行船靠撑舵, 理家靠节约); The small streams rise when the main stream is high, individual well-being depends on collective prosperity (大河有水小河流, 国有, 社有, 家才有).” (*Women of China*, 1958, 2, p 6). In the process of ‘de-familisation’, the traditional culture that hinders the socioeconomic development has been abandoned, like “domestic shame should not be made public”. And those traditional culture

that promotes national prosperity has been re-emphasized, like being diligent and thrifty.

Second, accompanying with the socialization of production (生产社会化), the socialization of housework (家务劳动社会化) was described as a source of “national pride” which marked a milestone in the country’s rapid development and women’s complete liberation. Parents especially mothers were totally liberated from the household duties since Chairman Mao claimed that “Women in China are a great human resource. We must explore this kind of resources and struggle to build a great socialist country.” (*Women of China*, 1958, 7, pp.8-9). The party-state thought the household labor are the main hinder of liberating women for working outside and developing productive forces. Therefore, the household labors including childcare and chores were socialized: a) The day care (日托) became round-the-clock nursery (全托), temporary day care groups (临时托儿组) and temporary parent groups (临时家长小组) are created and praised. In the first half of April, 1958, fifty private kindergartens were established in Wuhu City, Jiangsu Province, and the number of children enrolled was three times higher than the total number of children received in the past three years (*Women of China*, 1958, 10, p.21); b) The domestic help group (家务互助组), life service station (生活服务站) and production service cooperative commune (生产服务合作社) also became the new socialist welfare. To help professional women, domestic work is equally glorious since it is benefiting everyone. Such as, in Shanghai Fusenli’s domestic help group, 27 women help other women’s household chores, such as earning one yuan for washing clothes one month, earning five cents for washing underwears one month, and earning ten yuan for doing all household chores one month (*Women of China*, 1958, 3, pp.14-15). To some extent, father’s duty of doing household labors also significantly reduced. The party-state draw a picture of communist happiness shaping the collective psyche and providing collectivist support including childcare. People ate in communal dining halls and childrearing was also supposedly supported by work units and people’s communes, as described in the pages of *Women of China* in 1958 (13):

There are many benefits of the new collective family. In the past, women had to do much field labor and household chores or grandmothers helped do it. If the family had no grandparents, the children might have to cook for themselves. Since the new collective family started, old and young are all happy and children go to kindergarten singing and dancing (1958, 13, pp.12-13).

Third, emphasizing social education (社会教育) rather than family education (家庭教育). In 1958, Liu Shaoqi, who was the Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee from 1954 to 1959 and Chairman of the PRC, put forward the guiding guide for the implement communist education for children can not focus on family education but instead required social education. (*Women of China*, 1958, 14, pp.20-21; *Women of China*, 1958, 15, p.1). Raising and Educating children is teacher’s responsibility rather than parents’. Parents’ main roles are not caregivers since children are send to the daycare or kindergarten full day and eat in the dinner hall. Kindergarten became children’s real family (*Women of China*, 1959, 14, p.20):

The kindergarten of Beijing Coal Mine Design Institute has a new atmosphere after the rectification movement: in the past, children over the age of three only accepted it. Now only parents need it, and a few months of babies can also be entrusted. If the mother is on a business trip, it is difficult to pick up the child and go home in the kindergarten. The former children's haircuts, bathing, and washing clothes were all made by the parents. Now the kindergarten asks the parents to send the children's clothes to the kindergarten and bathe them to the children every day. In addition to the need for hospitalization, as long as the parents are in difficulty, child can stay in the kindergarten for recovering (*Women of China*, 1958, 10, p. 22).

The party-state advocated for the ideal family of "Five-Good" (五好), referring to good thought (思想好), good labor (劳动好), good study (学习好), good health (卫生好), good thrift (勤俭好) (*Women of China*, 1960, 10, pp.24-25). Parents', including the father's, main role was still depicted as that of the 'model worker', but it was now emphasized that this involved educating his children in collective spirit and behavior:

We must train children to become "excellent communist successors" (优秀的共产主义接班人). We must allow them to live communally from a young age. They should learn from childhood to love collective life. Children in the collective can help each other, learn from each other, love each other, and develop from childhood. Children should develop good character of "all for one and one for all" (人人为我, 我为人人). Children should have the value of everyone being equal and a good living habits in collective family. The future communist society is going to build people with good moral character (*Women of China*, 1958, 14, pp.20-21).

Balancing Work and Life in the Revolutionary Family (1963-1966)

As is well documented, the radical experiment of collectivization and "de-familisation" failed to accomplish the ridiculously ambitious official production targets. Instead, the Great Leap Forward led to drastic starvation across China (Dikötter 2010). In 1963, Sino-Soviet relationship reach the breaking point. The party state encouraged people to become self-reliant and adopted the slogan of "walking on two legs". In other words, the slogan advocates for developing industry and agriculture in tandem (rather than prioritizing the former over the latter, as had happened during the Great Leap with such catastrophic consequences). The "revolutionary family" (革命家庭) was now promoted, as a unit in which "every single family must overcome difficulties for the sake of the collective and the communes" (1965, 4, pp. 30-31).

In this 'revolutionary family', fathers were supposed to balance a 'hands-on' contribution to child-rearing with the demands of productive labor, but there was no indication of any fundamental reordering of

the priorities ascribed to men and women during the mid-1950s. In contrast to Soviet Union's advocating on the value of "glory of mother" (mothers ode to the 'maternal instinct' of undertaking the household duties), much few articles propagate the value of



Figure 3



Figure 4

parents shared duties which are supposed to promote balance in work and family. In the mid-1960s, *Women of China* featured increasing reports about father taught me to be a descendant of the revolution, father wash diapers and the image of father kissed me (figure 3). However, there is also some tension about mothers' role raising children and working, seeing figure 4 and extract 9.

Extract 9: Balance work and life?

Can a professional woman leave her job and go home for work? The family is the foundation of society, the children are the flowers of the motherland, and parents have the responsibility to educate them. Therefore, under special conditions, professional women can give up their careers and perform domestic work.

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper has examined the official discourse on fatherhood and the family during the period 1949-66. Compared with many Western societies during this period, official CCP propaganda appeared to place a relatively strong emphasis on gender equality and domestic burden-sharing by fathers. In the pages of *Women of China*, traditional patriarchy was challenged, and the roles of the father and husband were portrayed in novel and progressive ways. However, underlying the shifting portrayal of gender roles during this period was a fundamentally instrumentalist conception of the relationship of all citizens, whether male or female, to the society of 'New China'. Whether associated with radical collectivization (as during the Great Leap Forward), or with more conventional approaches to organizing labor, the restructuring of gender relations was typically portrayed less as an end in itself than as a means to the enhancement of productive efficiency. This helps account for the persistent contradictions or tensions between rhetoric of gender equality and the portrayal of proper gender roles in official propaganda.

This paper is an initial attempt to analyze the official propaganda on gender norms in post-1949 China. Although the majority of print media including *Women of China* was withdrawn from circulation by the CCP during the Cultural Revolution (1967-76), *Women of China* in 1966 will be further separately analyzed for

interpretation the main shifts of communist propaganda on fatherhood would happen during the Cultural Revolution. Afterwards, the official discourse on family and fatherhood in post-Mao China (1978~) will be examined and then historical periodization of fatherhood will be systematically made according to the enormous changes of authoritative ideologies of fathers' roles in *Women of China*, 1978-2018.

Notes

- (1) Hershatter quoted from Chinese archival materials of women's federation 1950s-1960s, held at the Shaanxi Provincial Archives, Xi'an, Shaanxi in 2014.

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1949年～1966年における父性と家族に関する公的言説

— 雑誌『中国婦女』の分析を通して —

譚 婷婷

要旨

本稿の目的は、1949年から1966年の17年間において、いかに共産主義的イデオロギーと法の変化が、中国共産党のプロパガンダにおいて精巧に作り上げられ、普及されていったかを明らかにすることである。この時代は、ジェンダーの平等が促進され、女性の権利が改善する過程の黄金時代である。1949年から1966年に政府によって発行された雑誌『中国婦女』（1949年～1955年は『中国新婦女』）の264号以上を批判的言説分析の手法を用いて、分析を行った。それによって、筆者は以下のことを見出した。

- 1) 同時代の多くの西洋社会と比較して、中国共産党のプロパガンダは、ジェンダー平等と父親による家族内の家事分担を強く主張していた。『中国婦女』は、伝統的家父長制に異議を唱え、父親や夫の役割は、新しく革新的な方法で描かれた。
- 2) 当該期のジェンダー役割の描写の変化の元には、男性か女性かに関わらず、全ての国民の関係を「新しい中国」社会に向けて変化させようという道具主義的概念が根本にあった。
- 3) ジェンダー関係の再構成は、それだけに終始するものではなく、生産的効果の向上の手段として、利用された。それは、（大躍進運動の時期の）急進的集団主義と関連していることもあれば、労働の組織化へのより因習的な接近をしていることもあった。このことは、公的なプロパガンダにおけるジェンダー平等のレトリックと、適切なジェンダー役割の描写の間の一貫した相反関係や緊張関係の理由を説明するだろう。

キーワード：公的プロパガンダ、中国の家族と父性、批判的言説分析