

# Negotiating Womanhood in the post-socialist China: A critical discourse analysis on Chinese Women's Rejection of Being Defined

Tianhua Xu

Guangzhou College of Commerce, China

## Abstract

**This research aims to explore and analyse women's roles defined in People's Daily in the post-socialist China. Combining the quantitative corpus analysis with qualitative analyses using critical discourse analysis (CDA), it examines the underlying grounds of Chinese women's rejection of these roles mediated for them in the mainstream newspaper. This research provides a micro level analysis of the presentation of women's roles in the post-socialist China depicted in the mainstream newspaper People's Daily, underpinning the drive behind; at the same time, a macro level empirical evidence for the reasons of Chinese women's rejection from the gender perspective. Approaching women's silent rejection of the roles defined by the official mouth in China is a nascent field yet to be explored.**

## Keywords

**Chinese Women, Rejection, Post-socialist China.**

## 1. Research Background

Although Chinese women have gained more economic independence and can challenge the power hierarchies to certain degree, today more and more Chinese women are beginning to reject the roles that have been constructed for them, which in turn has caused alarmingly low birth and marriage rates in mainland China. The prevailing voice of women in Chinese society is that not getting married and not having children is women's silent struggle to fight against the inequity and suppression against women (Song, 2020). The three-child policy introduced into law in 2021 aimed at addressing these above-mentioned problems. However, without touching the root that caused these problems, the trend of low marriages and low births will continue. The gender equality promoted by the CCP is not the answer to address the structural and systematic disadvantage that women have suffered. In addition, theoretically, the Marxist perspective on women, which is the officially designated theoretical framework in terms of politics and ideology in China, is inadequate in guiding the practise, solving women's issues, or theorizing the discipline of women's studies (Zhou and Zhang, 2008; Dai, 2018; Song, 2020). Critically inheriting the historical legacy of the Chinese women's liberation movements, this study will reflect on the imbalance imbued in the mainstream newspaper.

## 2. Literature Review

Berger and Luckmann (1991) claim that language is a major society-forming tool as it enables objectivation, institutionalization and legitimation, merging subjective representations of social reality. For Foucault (2019), it is discourse that shapes the social world. Fairclough accentuate discourse as a form of social practice: discourse is both socially constitutive and socially constituted; in other words, "the discursive event is shaped by the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) but it also shapes them" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). Media discourse, of particular concern here, is a way of talking about and acting upon

the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices (Gunnarsson, 1997, p.202). Fairclough (2015, p.82) writes: “the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.” Discourse becomes a key tool in creating, reproducing and challenging power relations within society as it legitimates control or naturalizes the social order (Wodak, 2011). The power of media discourse lies to a large extent in its potential to create, shape and consolidate people’s ideas of events happening beyond their immediate experience (Kopytowska, 2016).

As Wodak (2008) points out, there are many situations where other identities override gender identities. The construction of Chinese women’s roles, especially their social roles, is situated within the construction of the grand nation discourse. It is widely accepted that gender is not something that people are born with, but something that is socially constructed. Women’s roles depicted in *People’s Daily* construct what does it mean to be a woman. China’s unique historical legacy and memory have had a deep impact on the construction of women’s roles. Differing from its Western counterparts, the Chinese women’s movements derived its profile not from theoretical debates on the relation between class and gender, or capitalism and patriarchy and their empirical manifestations as in Western industrialized societies, but from the very fact that socialism and a socialist approach to women’s problems were embraced in China. The current scarcity of theories in the field of women’s studies in China is caused, I argue, also by this fact. This research collects corpus of texts from *People’s Daily*. The keywords chosen to generate the articles that were then collected, are nǚ xìng (female gender) and fù nǚ (women). In this way, the data collected is purposive, representative, consistent, balanced, and credible.

### 3. Discussion:

#### 3.1. Social Role Analysis: Low Employment Rate

The economic reforms in China generally caused Chinese women to lose their jobs at a rate disproportionate to men, and have effectively moved women farther away from the equality promised by the constitution, especially in the area of labour (Honig and Hershatter, 1988; Liu, 2020). It is difficult for women to find or stay in employment. Many articles in the *People’s Daily* reported on the social condition of women. For example:

The decline of women’s status is reflected in the proportion of women’s participation in politics... In terms of labour and employment, in recent years, it has been more difficult for female college students and female graduate students to assign jobs; under the same conditions, the employment opportunities for men and women are not equal; in the implementation of optimized labour mix, men are preferred over women, and more women workers are left behind... Among urban youth unemployed, women account for more than 70%. Women’s right to education has not been fully realized. Among the current illiterate people in the country, women account for about 70%. (The Legal Status of Women Reflects National Civilization and Progress, Zou Yu, 3. 28, 1992)

Women as a whole experienced a frustrated process of social marginalization, and “women suffer inferior status compared with men in almost all spheres of life in the contemporary society (Li, 2013, p.34)”. The marketization of the economy meant changing the entire labour system, and because the government made economic reform a priority, it was considered acceptable that some negative consequences, such as inequality or gender discrimination, might result from pursuing the overarching goal (Bulger, 2000). Facing the choice of gender equality or production efficiency, women are labelled as inefficient and less productive.

China’s radical economic reforms caused two types of privatizations: the first was the privatization of production resources, realized by selling the state-owned enterprises to individuals. The second was the privatization of the family, which meant that the labour related

to reproduction (i.e., childbirth, childcare, and education) was regarded as a private matter for the individual family (Hu, 2015; Song and Gao, 2021). The privatization of the reproduction in the post-socialist China caused the separation of the public and private spheres. The direct consequence of this is the unfair economic distribution to women and cultural misrecognition of the domestic contribution of women. The reason for women being regarded as inferior labour is not because of their biological nature, but because women are considered the most appropriate gender to fulfil family duties. Women need to withdraw from the workplace during pregnancy or while raising children. Women are considered incapable of being fully engaged in work because they have domestic duties to attend to. Women are marginalized or excluded by the labour market, and this is directly reflected in women's declining employment rate and low income compared to men. The label of inferior labour caused further cultural depreciation and denial of women. Women are represented as low quality, unqualified, incapable, not ambitious, uncompetitive, lacking initiative, and unsuitable for the workplace. In the urban areas, women in the workplace are facing the difficulty of balancing family and career. In the rural areas, women who are left behind shoulder the responsibilities of both farm production and family duties. Left-behind children in rural areas while parents are both working in the cities are unable to receive parental supervision nor the state or societal welfare support. Women of different social strata are actually oppressed by the same social power structure. Articles from *People's Daily* also noted this problem:

Due to the unreasonable occupational structure of women, and the restriction women facing in their physiology, child rearing, housework and cultural quality, they are at a disadvantage position in employment competition. (National Report on the Implementation of the Nairobi Forward looking Strategy for the Advancement of Women by the People's Republic of China, 10.1,1994)

The capitalist mode of production has strengthened the division of labour between men and women, and the order of the patriarchy. Capitalist society is patriarchal, and the mainstream ideologies of capitalist society implicitly devalue and discriminate against women in the labour market, and continue to require women to take traditional domestic responsibilities (Eisenstein, 1999). In addition, with the rise of the economy, capitalism and neoliberalism summoned the rise of consumerism (Fiske, 2023). Women's representations inevitably are commoditized. Several different notions, such as "commodity feminism", and "choice feminism" have been used to describe the feminism in commercial cultures (McIntyre, 2021, p.1062), all of them adopting a critical approach to individualization, de-politicalization, consumerism, and the celebration of women's individual economic success or entrepreneurialism. According to these concepts, women's representations shaped by the capitalism and neoliberalism in a market economy society, are not a self-consumed, completed, self-appreciating and self-satisfying subject. Instead, women's representations often are consumed object in the market economy system and become a commodity, under the gaze of men. That is to say that the women's representations are defined by the "others" (Chow and Bowman, 2010) in society. Chen (Chen, 2016, p.284) claimed that the "complex post-socialist gender scene in China would make criticism difficult and even legitimizes to some extent the return of sexist gender categories and the blatant commodification of a re feminized, re sexualized woman in the newspaper articles and a burgeoning commodity culture". Because this "natural gendered" presentation of women, reflected the post-socialist desire to remove the "unnatural de-gendered" distortions and repression of women in the socialist era, to re-establish a "natural" humanity that will reboot China has entered a globalized modern era with shared universal values, a desire to reinstitute a "natural" human nature that would enable China to entre a globalized modern era with shared universal values (Chen, 2016). The following example described commercial culture's influence on women's representations in the consumerist society:

Advertising is an overwhelming form of commercial culture in today's society. The female images appearing in advertisements are either beautiful secretaries or administrators in office buildings, or consumers of various cosmetics and beauty products, home appliances such as washing machines and, refrigerators. They are the dutiful wife and caring mother from wealthy and happy families. In this way, commercial culture is in harmony with our traditional values, and it gives these traditional values a modern charm. (Women: Following Business Culture? Ma Ruyuan, 04.17,1995)

When the state stopped providing welfare provisions, it was justified by an emphasis on "personal responsibility", which "as a rhetorical theme often corresponds to a reduction in government services (Williams, 2017, p.379)". The unfair situation of laid-off women workers and the low waged migrant workers are justified with the reason of poor quality or low ability of that individual worker. Working hard to realize one's dreams is the core value of the modern "Chinese Dream" that is promoted by China's current leader, Xi Jinping.

### **3.2. Domestic Role Analysis: The Privatization of the Family and the Feminization of Housework**

The decline of women's social status naturally affects women's domestic status. The domestic roles of women that were represented in the *People's Daily* were closely related to China's transition from a planned economy to a market economy. The economic reforms not only brought about fundamental changes in the labour market as discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, but also reshaped the ways in which women's domestic activities were valued and rewarded. As mentioned in section 4.1, this is because China's radical economic reforms caused two types of privatizations: the first was the privatization of production resources. The second was the privatization of the family, which meant that the labour related to reproduction was regarded as a private matter for the individual family (Hu, 2015; Song 2022).

Inspired by the Marxist perspective on women, women's full participation in the labour force was considered to play a key role in the leadership's attempt to alleviate discrimination against women in society (Croll, 1983). In the post-socialist China, the transformation from the work unit system to the modern corporate system was realised through the change of ownership of enterprise and the reconstruction of production relations. The change of ownership was realised by the privatization of state assets through a joint-stock system of shareholding, that is, the privatization of production resources. The privatization of the family, together with the division of the public and private spheres have caused structural disadvantages to the vast majority of women in society (except for a very small number of upper-class women who do not need to do housework). The state had no intention to implement any effective mechanisms to protect mothers from being adversely affected by market discipline and discriminatory practices in the private sector, in order to pursue greater economic growth (Bulger, 2000; Liu, 2020). The vast majority of Chinese enterprises, now privately owned, ceased to offer subsidised childcare to employees. Furthermore, women's reproduction activities are crucial to human race, and also play a pivotal role in generating and sustaining economic growth (Folbre and Nelson, 2000). However, women's reproduction duties disadvantage them in the labour market (Elson, 1999). Jia and Dong (2013) investigated how the economic transition has affected the wage gap between mothers and childless women in urban China using panel data for the period 1990–2005, and found that the privatisation and labour market deregulation that took place during the latter reform period have substantially increased the motherhood wage penalty.

In addition to differences in practices relating to women's domestic responsibilities, the social values relating to women's domestic responsibilities also changed. Both socialism and capitalism are centred on production, and although the function of domestic household work in socialism and capitalism did not change, women were still the main gender responsible for

household duties. However, the methods and structures for organizing production and reproduction changed dramatically, and the way that those undertaking housework were treated and the value of housework was considered differently. With the attainment of communism and egalitarianism (Kraus, 1976), the centrally planned organization of production and reproduction in the socialist China presented a public embedded nature (Song, 2013). That is, domestic duties and children bearing/raising duties were not considered a private matter. The state recognized the contribution of women undertaking domestic duties, and considered the role of housework as production services. In the socialist years, although housework was unpaid, the housewives of workers (家属) held social status, and were a visible political identity recognized by the state. The state bestowed a high political status to women responsible for the housework, recognizing them as “part of the working class”. While in the post-socialist years, capital in the market economy organizes production and reproduction in the dichotomous dual structure that separates the public and private spheres (Song, 2013). Home is regarded as a private sphere, and housework becomes a private matter, and the contribution of housework disappears in the public discourse.

To make the situation worse, due to China’s one-child policy (1980 - 2015), the patriarchal preference of son over daughter re-emerged, together with other issues relating to women, such as unfaithful husbands, “leftover” women, and exacerbated structural gender inequalities. As the level of women’s unemployment increased due to intense competition in the labour market, many people returned to traditional values that saw men as breadwinners, while for women, the homemakers (Jiang, 2017). In other words, the image of women as subordinate to men resurfaced (Wallis, 2006). Sufen Jiang (2017) in her research claimed that women were forced to go back to being a housewife and mother and their career path became more difficult with the deteriorating discrimination against women. The “good wife and loving mother” which had been criticized in the socialist years, now is advocated by the *People’s Daily* in the new millennium. Articles praised the “dutiful wife and caring mother in the new era 新时期的贤妻良母”, that is, a working mother devoted to the family. In my opinion, this is in fact a disguised form of exploitation and oppression of women. Women are represented as having a good career, while at the same time, are devoted to their family. Examples include:

70% of women and 62.5% of men believe that career and housework are equally important to women. (Societal Attention on “Women’s Way Out”, Feng Yuan, 12.27, 1988)

Iceland President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir is also a committed mother. She proudly talked about her 22-year-old daughter to us. “My daughter is outstanding. She is my best friend.” Although she is busy with state business, she still makes time to give her daughter more love and care. In her spare time, cooking for her daughter is a great pleasure for the 60-year-old president. (Confident Women - Interview with Icelandic President Vi Finboadotil, Ma Xiaoning, 09.06, 1995)

After fulfilling the traditional duties, like caring for the husbands, nurturing children, and looking after the elderly, women can devote more energy to social production and the creation of a new life with their own hands. (On the Same Horizon - The Family Status of Chinese Women, Zhu Jingruo, 1995.08.20, 1995)

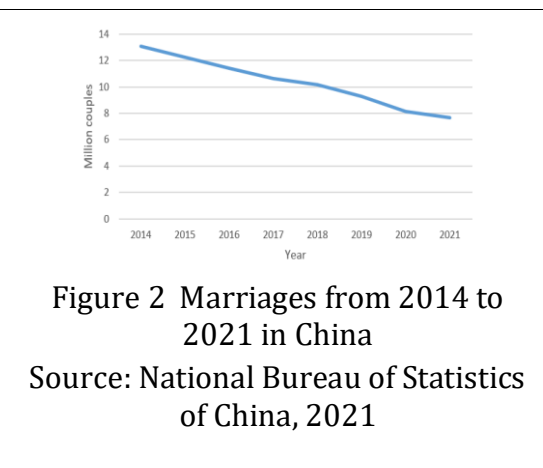
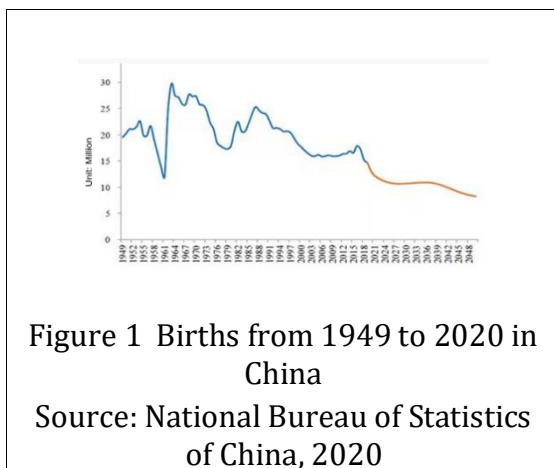
National Statistics shows that women spend an average of more than four hours a day on housework, more than twice that of men. While pursuing career success, intellectual Chinese women have inherited most of the responsibilities of traditional women’s roles, such as rearing children, caring for the elderly, taking care of their husbands, and sacrificing themselves in order to achieve success in every aspect of social and domestic life. For example, Xiu Ruijuan, an expert in microcirculation who left her child in her hometown every early morning and putting her camera and microscope in her back basket every morning; Ling Feng, the first female doctor of neurosurgery in our country and the deputy director of neurosurgery

department of Beijing Hospital, after finishing major surgeries, she goes home immediately to take care of her son who is still in primary school. (The Dazzling New Star - the academic status of Chinese women, Jiang Hanzhen, 08.26,1995)

The establishment of capitalist production relations is manifested by the reconstruction of the relationship between workers and enterprises, the optimization of the labour force (reduction of employees to increase efficiency) and the separation of enterprises and society. The common ground of these two measures was to shift the duty of reproduction and the cost of reproduction from the enterprise/state to the family/individual, that is, women. Hence, these two measures together, are like an inherently consistent combination of punches, and the first target is women. More and more young Chinese women began to reject the newly constructed social roles for women, both social and domestic, and this caused an alarmingly low birth rate and the problem of an ageing population.

### 3.3. Chinese Women’s Rejection

Although women’s representations and the roles mediated for them have been continually redefined across the Chinese history, today, more and more young Chinese women are beginning to reject the roles that have been constructed for them, which has caused alarmingly low birth and marriage rates in China. Figure 1 and 2 below provide data from China’s seventh National Population Census in 2020 to illustrate the magnitude of this problem. From 2013 to 2020, the number of marriage registrations decreased from 13.47 million to 8.13 million, and from 2013 to 2019, the crude marriage rate dropped from 9.9% to 6.6%. The image of women as subordinate to men has resurfaced (Wallis, 2006). Furthermore, some scholars have argued that women in China’s post-socialist era are more suppressed than women in China’s socialist era (Song, 2020). The status of Chinese women has not improved as the economy has bloomed. The prevailing voice of women in China today in society is that not getting married and not having children is women’s silent struggle to fight against the inequity and suppression against women. The three-child policy that was introduced into law in August 2021 aims at addressing these above-mentioned problems. However, without touching the root that caused these problems, the trend of low marriages and low births continues.



The reason the younger generation of Chinese women is beginning to reject the newly constructed roles for women is obvious. With an improved level of knowledge compared to previous generations of women in China, more and more young women have realized that the construction of women’s roles in this new era is very discriminating – there are obligations but no corresponding rights for women. This again points to the capacity of women to act autonomously and negotiate changes in gender roles. Women have neither obtained equal recognition to men, nor have they been given equal opportunities for employment and pay. The

success of the class struggle did not bring liberation to women, and the rise of China's economy did not equate to the improvement of women's status (Song, 2020). These newly constructed roles assigned to women are complex and have no reciprocate value in return (Honig and Hershatter, 1988). The double burden that women face trying to balance career and domestic responsibilities can be seen as a form of oppression in a modern setting, which has increased women's vulnerability and pushed them further into disadvantageous situations both in social and domestic domains.

Among the voices questioning women's contributions to the society after the economic reform and opening-up process, the measurement of women's roles is also based on the production efficiency required by national development. The policy guiding women's issues should "accord to the Party and the whole country's ultimate policy of 'economic development centred' (2001.6.23, p. 5)". In the post-socialist era, regarding the gender chasm in occupations and incomes, the structural, institutional, and systematic reasons causing this discrimination against women are not questioned. The policy of "taking economic development as the centre" has marginalised women.

Besides the socialist approach to women, theory-building in the field of women's studies deserves recognition. The Chinese women's liberation movements were not independent of the Chinese revolution, in other words, the Chinese women's liberation movements were incorporated into the national revolutionary movement (Croll, 1983; Evans, 1997; Hershatter, 2004; Wang, 2005; Wang and Ji, 2023). Chinese women's important status to contribute to the process of nation-building is bestowed by the state, not by Chinese women themselves (Wang and Ji, 2023). Women's liberation movements that are based on men's standards overemphasizes "men and women are the same", as promoted by Mao Zedong, and suppresses the femininity of women. Besides, after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the bureaucratization, nationalization and marginalization of the China Women's Federation (Song, 2021), women have been placed behind the national institutions, and the voice of individual women is muffled by the voice of official institutional speaker. Later in the post-socialist era, the voice for women's rights has been smothered. Furthermore, socialist practice after 1949 emphasized that the essence of gender oppression is class oppression, and class discourse obscures gender discourse, making women unable to express their demands and opinions.

#### **4. Conclusion:**

The prevalence of individualism and liberalism can be seen as meeting with the requirements of the market economy system to a certain extent. When facing neoliberal capitalism, fighting for women's rights under China's existing institutional framework requires vigilance and reflection on the market mechanism itself (Song, 2021). Although "gender equality" can promote women's self-awareness, it is not the answer for addressing the structural and systematic disadvantage that women have suffered. Scholars in China voluntarily give up their resistance against neoliberalism, and do not reflect on the consciousness of capitalist oppression. The ideas of individualism and neoliberalism that emerged in the post-socialist Chinese society can be seen as meeting with the requirements of the market economy system to a certain extent. However, when facing neoliberal capitalism, fighting for women's rights under the existing institutional framework requires vigilance and reflection on the market mechanism itself. Women's studies in China need to critically inherit the historical legacy of the women's liberation movements, reflect constantly on the imbalance of the current agenda of the women's movement, position women into multiple dimensional contexts such as politics, class, society, and geographic region, and make women the absolute subject in future research.

## References

- [1] Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. 1991. *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge* Repr. in Penguin Books. London: Penguin Books.
- [2] Bulger, C. 2000. *Fighting Gender Discrimination in the Chinese Workplace*. Boston College Third World Law Journal. 20(2), p.345.
- [3] Chen, E. 2016. "Power Femininity" and Popular Women's Magazines in China. *International Journal of Communication*. 10(0), p.22.
- [4] Chow, R. and Bowman, P. 2010. *The Rey Chow reader*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- [5] Croll, E. 1983. *Chinese women since Mao 1*. repr. London: Zed Books [u.a.].
- [6] Dai, jin hua 2018. *fu chu li shi di biao: xian dai fu nu wen xue yan jiu*.
- [7] Eisenstein, Z. 1999. *Constructing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism*. *Critical Sociology*. 25(2-3), pp.196-217.
- [8] Elson, D. 1999. *Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment Issues*. *World Development*. 27(3), pp.611-627.
- [9] Evans, H. 1997. *Women and sexuality in China: female sexuality and gender since 1949*. New York: Continuum.
- [10] Fairclough, N. 2015. *Language and power* Third edition. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- [11] Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. London: Sage. , pp.258-284.
- [12] Fiske, J. 2023. *The Unseen World, and Other Essays*. Good Press.
- [13] Folbre, N. and Nelson, J.A. 2000. *For Love or Money—Or Both?* *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 14(4), pp.123-140.
- [14] Foucault, M. 2019. *The Order of Discourse* In: N. Luxon, ed. *Archives of Infamy* [Online]. Foucault on State Power in the Lives of Ordinary Citizens. University of Minnesota Press, pp.141-174. [Accessed 9 February 2021]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctvn96fd9.9>.
- [15] Gunnarsson, B.-L. (ed.). 1997. *The construction of professional discourse*. London: Longman.
- [16] Hershatter, G. 2004. *State of the Field: Women in China's Long Twentieth Century*. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 63(4), pp.991-1065.
- [17] Honig, E. and Hershatter, G. 1988. *Personal voices: Chinese women in the 1980's*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- [18] Hu, Y. 2015. *Gender and Children's Housework Time in China: Examining Behavior Modeling in Context: Gender and Children's Housework Time in China*. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 77(5), pp.1126-1143.
- [19] Jia, N. and Dong, X.-Y. 2013. *Economic transition and the motherhood wage penalty in urban China: investigation using panel data*. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*. 37(4), pp.819-843.
- [20] Jiang, S. 2017. *The Research on the Current Situation of Contemporary Female College Students' Employability and Path of Improvement*. *DEStech Transactions on Social Science, Education and Human Science*. (icssm).
- [21] Kopytowska, M. 2016. *Mediating Identity, Ideology and Values in the Public Sphere: Towards a New Model of(Constructed) Social Reality*. *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics*. 11(2).
- [22] Kraus, R.C. 1976. *The Limits of Maoist Egalitarianism*. *Asian Survey*. 16(11), pp.1081-1096.
- [23] Li, Y. 2013. *Women's Movement and Change of Women's Status in China*. *Journal of International Women's Studies*. 1(1), pp.30-40.
- [24] Liu, A. 2020. *Feminization of fragile employment and gender income gap*. *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*. 57(03), pp.118-127.
- [25] Petersson McIntyre, M. 2021. *Commodifying feminism: Economic choice and agency in the context of lifestyle influencers and gender consultants*. *Gender, Work & Organization*. 28(3), pp.1059-1078.

- [26] Song, S. 2013. Capitalism, Socialism, and Women - Why China Needs to Rebuild Marxist Feminist Criticism- CNKI. [Accessed 7 February 2022]. Available from: [https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFD&dbname=CJFD2012&filename=KFSD201212009&uniplatform=NZKPT&v=-ctQGlylV17CCZGI\\_Vjc5100Agbj7YZj3SztzPSny\\_JsSB3b6VE2wlCAalnKHDyK](https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFD&dbname=CJFD2012&filename=KFSD201212009&uniplatform=NZKPT&v=-ctQGlylV17CCZGI_Vjc5100Agbj7YZj3SztzPSny_JsSB3b6VE2wlCAalnKHDyK).
- [27] Song, S. 2020. Value, System, Event: "Equal work and equal pay for Men and Women" and the constituent of female workers. *Women's Studies*. (04), pp.108–128.
- [28] Song, S. and Gao, X. 2021. "Women/Gender and Development" in China: Historical Context, Organizational Practice, and Theoretical Reflection. *Journal of Shanxi Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)* . 48(06), pp.76–89.
- [29] Wallis, C. 2006. *Chinese Women in the Official Chinese Press: Discursive Constructions of Gender in Service to the State*
- [30] Wang, W. and Ji, P. 2023. WOS based Analysis on International Status and Hot Spots of Women's Studies since 2000. *Journal of China Women's College*. 35(5), pp.101–115.
- [31] Wang, Z. 2005. 'State Feminism'? Gender and Socialist State Formation in Maoist China. *Feminist Studies*. 31(3), p.519.
- [32] Williams, H.H. 2017. "Personal Responsibility" and the End of Welfare as We Know It. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 50(2), pp.379–383.
- [33] Wodak, R. 2011. Complex texts: Analysing, understanding, explaining and interpreting meanings. *Discourse Studies*. 13(5), pp.623–633.
- [34] Wodak, R. 2008. Multiple Identities: The Roles of Female Parliamentarians in the EU Parliament In: J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff, eds. *The Handbook of Language and Gender* [Online]. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp.671–698. [Accessed 16 January 2022]. Available from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470756942.ch29>.
- [35] Zhou, Y. and Zhang, N. 2008. Prospects and Challenges: Women's Studies and Women/Gender Sociology in Contemporary China - CNKI. [Accessed 10 December 2021]. Available from: [https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFD&dbname=CJFD2008&filename=ZJXK200804035&uniplatform=NZKPT&v=yIwCfYeB1NMhHs4NnaPWCEzU9GMqjNogpBd6VNqV\\_UThmfspLhFLGv6If04GOBQ](https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFD&dbname=CJFD2008&filename=ZJXK200804035&uniplatform=NZKPT&v=yIwCfYeB1NMhHs4NnaPWCEzU9GMqjNogpBd6VNqV_UThmfspLhFLGv6If04GOBQ).