

A CHINESE WOMAN'S PLACE :  
AN ANALYSIS OF WOMAN'S IMAGE  
AS PORTRAYED IN TELEVISION DRAMA

by

SIU SUN YUK-BUI, YVONNE

蕭孫郁標

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Philosophy

Division of Communication  
in the Graduate School  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

June 1980

thesis  
HQ  
1768  
S48

414548



## ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to investigate the image of Chinese women as portrayed in contemporary television drama in Mainland China and Taiwan.

The research design is a content study incorporating two approaches. Firstly, to collect empirical data for a descriptive analysis of Chinese "TV-women's Image" as compared with the dominant Western "TV-women's Image". Secondly, to collect television factual data for an analytical comparison between the portrayals in Mainland China and Taiwan programs in terms of traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern the status of Chinese women in society.

Samples were drawn from television programs telecast by Guangdong TV in Mainland China and the three networks of CTV, TTV, and CTS in Taiwan during a nine-week period from January 7 to March 9, 1980. Eight Taiwan television dramas were randomly selected to be compared with eight Mainland China samples.

Based on the 7-Point Critique outline adopted in the UNESCO study, the Chinese "TV-women's Image" indicated in the results resembled the dominant Western image in the following respects: that female characters were fewer in number and less central to the plot; that marriage and parenthood were considered more important to a women's than to a man's life; that employed women were shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power; that TV-women were more personally- and less professionally-oriented



than TV-men; and that female characters were more passive than male characters. There was, however, a difference in the portrayal of the division of labour in marriage in Mainland China programs which did not confirm the tradition, instead, their female characters played the dual-role as housewife and gainful employee outside the home, and male characters performed household duties like natural.

From television factual evidence, it was found that the traditional Chinese concept of "males are superior, females are inferior" was manifested as not being upheld. The findings indicated the prominence of daughters rather than sons, the absence of emphasis on patrilineal descent, and the sanction of male infidelity. The traditional codes of ethics of "Three Obediences" was also not upheld; daughters were shown to be rejecting fathers' oppression in arranged marriages, husband-wife relationship in the younger generation was egalitarian, and young women were not passive in matters relating to love and marriage. As to the traditional concepts of "a virtuous wife and a good mother" and "men mind external affairs, women mind the internal", there was a basic difference between Mainland China and Taiwan programs in interpretation and practice. Mainland China programs advocated women's participation in social labour, suggesting women's place was both in the society and in the home; while Taiwan programs reinforced the traditional role of housewife/mother confined to the domestic setting, suggesting that women's place was in the home.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my grateful acknowledgements to the following persons: Professor Timothy Yu, mentor of my academic pursuit, in leading me through my "maiden" research study in this thesis; Dr. C.C. Lee and Mr. Leonard L. Chu for their constant advice and support; Rev. Raymond Parent and Mr. Lu Keng for their assistance in obtaining information on television in Taiwan and Mainland China respectively; Mr. L.W. Yau of Taiwan National Chengchi University and Mr. Stephen L.W. Tang of our University (Chinese University of Hong Kong) for contributing their insights and ideas; my panel of monitors/coders: Mr. Chan Kai-Cheong who monitored the recordings, Mr. Sung Hai-Ling, Ms. Chen Feng-Len, Ms. Chiang Fee-Lee, and Ms. Fung Wai-Man, who not only monitored and coded, but also partook in program discussions; Ms. Theresa Fung for helping in compilation and typing of collected data; and last but not least, my guardian Mr. T.T. Siu, who also funded my entire endeavour.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Concern over Women's Image in the Mass Media.....	1
The Purpose of this Study.....	3
II SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH.....	9
Social Significance of Research.....	9
Social Implications.....	17
The Dominant "TV-Women's Image" and the 7-Point Critique.....	20
Salient Aspects for a Chinese Context - Traditional Chinese Concepts and Codes of Ethics.....	22
III METHODOLOGY: A CONTENT STUDY OF CHINESE "TV-WOMEN'S IMAGE".....	34
Sampling Procedure.....	35
Data Collection.....	38
IV FINDINGS: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS.....	44
The 7-Point Critique Reviewed for Mainland China and Taiwan.....	44
V DISCUSSION: AN ANALYTICAL COMPARISON.....	65
Traditional Concepts and Codes of Ethics Reviewed.....	65
VI CONCLUSION.....	82
Social Significance and Social Implications.....	85
Recommendations.....	92
APPENDICES.....	94
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	140

LIST OF TABLES

I Distribution of Characters in Mainland China  
and Taiwan according to Sex.....45

II Distribution of Role Significance in Mainland  
China and Taiwan according to Sex.....45

III Marital and Parental Status of Major and  
Supporting Characters in Mainland China and  
Taiwan by Sex.....47

IV Distribution of Occupations of Major and  
Supporting Characters in Mainland China  
and Taiwan by Sex.....52

V Distribution of Personally and Professionally-  
oriented Problems in Mainland China and  
Taiwan by Sex.....56

VI Distribution of Personally and Professionally-  
oriented Interaction and Activities in  
Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex.....57

VII Distribution of Character's Concerns  
Indicating Passivity in Mainland China  
and Taiwan by Sex.....60

VIII Distribution of Problem Solving Methods in  
Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex.....61



## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

## THE CONCERN OVER WOMEN'S IMAGE IN THE MASS MEDIA

The re-emergence of feminism in the United States of America in the 60's brought a new dimension to women's civil rights movement. Feminists professed "a struggle to reform the attitudes of society toward women and of women toward themselves." <sup>1</sup> This led to a growing concern for the cumulative impact of the mass media's portrayal of women's image - in its accuracy when compared with objective demographic facts, and in the socialization process of both male and female members of society. As expounded by Betty Friedan, "the first necessity..... of the modern women's movement was to overcome that image of women as it was perpetuated by all the mass media." <sup>2</sup>

Of all the mass media, prime attention focused on the most pervasive - television, which George Gerbner has come to call "the new religion":

---

<sup>1</sup>Jean C. McNeil, "Feminism, Femininity, and the Television series: A Content Analysis", Journal of Broadcasting, 19:3 (Summer 1975) p.259.

<sup>2</sup>Betty Friedan, It Changed My Life - Writings on the Women's Movement (New York: Random House, 1976) p.47

It is religion..... in the sense of one's having no choice - a cosmic force or a symbolic environment that one was born into, and whose assumptions one accepts without much questioning.<sup>3</sup>

The study of sex-roles and women's imagery has been developed by communication researchers.<sup>4</sup> And in 1975, the United Nations World Conference on International Women's Year, in adopting a World Plan of Action aimed at improving the status of women, gave new impetus to research and action programs world-wide. Out of a number of UNESCO initiatives, in 1978, came a global collection and analysis of research materials relating to the image, role, and social conditions of women in the mass media. Prepared by M. Ceulemans and

---

<sup>3</sup>George Gerbner, "The Dynamics of Cultural Resistance" in Gaye Tuchman, ed., Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) p.47

<sup>4</sup>George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", Television and Social Behaviour, Vol. I: Media Content and Control, eds., George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972); Joseph Turow, "Advising and Ordering: Day-time, Primetime", Journal of Communication 24(1974) pp. 138-41; Melvin L. De Fleur "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television", Public Opinion Quarterly, 28:65 (Spring 1964); John F. Seggar and Penny Wheeler, "World of Work on TV: Ethnic and Sex Representation in TV Drama", Journal of Broadcasting, 17:204 (Spring 1973); Nancy Tedesco, "Patterns in Prime Time", Journal of Communication, 24:120 (Spring 1974); John Seggar, "Imagery of Women in TV Drama", Journal of Broadcasting, 19:3 (Summer 1975) pp. 273-281; Michele L. Long and Rita J. Simon, "The Roles and Statuses of Women on Children and Family TV Programs", Journalism Quarterly 51 (1975) pp. 107-10



G. Fauconnier, it noted a substantive body of research materials that documented the representation of women in television drama. But, "no research has been reported on television's portrayal of sex-roles in Africa and Asia." <sup>5</sup> There was no mention of China at all.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Women's movement has occupied a preponderant position in the history of modern China since the time of the democratic revolution that led to the founding of the Republic in 1911.<sup>6</sup> Sexual equality and women's status have always been priority issues to be promulgated. Sun Yat-Sen, speaking at the Establishment of Kuomintang Conference in the first year of the Republic of China, declared that "Equal rights for men and women are as the laws of heaven and earth."<sup>7</sup> In 1931, when the Soviet Republic of China was set up by the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung's ideology of sexual equality and marriage reform was embodied in Article 11 of the Constitution.<sup>8</sup> And in 1949, when the People's Republic

---

<sup>5</sup>Mieke Geulemans and Guido Fauconnier, "Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social Conditions of Women", Reports and Papers in Mass Communication No.84, UNESCO, (Paris: 1979)

<sup>6</sup>Chien Jen-Chiu, Fifty Years of Historical Documents Since the Founding of the Republic of China (Taipei, Taiwan)Ch. 5

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Sybilla Green Dorros, "The Status of Women in the People's Republic of China", Asian Studies Vol. XVI (April-August-December, 1978)



of China was proclaimed, the importance attached to women's liberation and sexual equality was witnessed by the fact that the Marriage Law was the first civil legislation to be enacted. Since 1949, the Republic of China under Kuomintang in Taiwan has co-existed with the People's Republic of China under the Chinese Communist Party in the Mainland. The ideologies and policies of both governments have been conducive toward the betterment of Chinese women's status. Today, after a period of thirty years, Chinese women have achieved, for all practical purposes, "a high level of political, economic and social emancipation, one that would have been inconceivable in traditional China."<sup>9</sup>

The past decades also saw the development of the mass medium of television in both Mainland China and Taiwan.

Central TV (formerly called Beijing TV) was the first station to be set up in 1956 in Mainland China, Guangdong TV (formerly called Canton TV) followed in October 1959. There are altogether some 29 television stations at the provincial level; and major cities like Tsingtao, Lo Yang and An Shan have local stations. Central TV now telecasts two sets of programs everyday on two channels, one of which is transmitted on a nationwide network basis. Guangdong TV operates a local channel besides the networked channel from Central television and telecasts a total of seventy hours of output.

---

<sup>9</sup>Sybilla Green Dorros, op. cit.

per week of coloured programs. Weekly program schedule consists of instructional programs in the afternoon, and in the evening, a variety of news (international, domestic, and provincial), literary and artistic (movies, musicals, stage shows and television drama), and social educational programs. Guangdong TV reaches 70% of the areas within the province. There are some 600,000 television receiver sets in Guangdong province, mainly concentrated at the Pearl River estuary and the capital city of Canton. Viewership is estimated at 10 million. All television stations in Mainland China are Government-operated.<sup>10</sup>

In Taiwan, there are three television networks: TTV (Taiwan Television Enterprise) was the first to be set up and commenced telecast in 1962, followed by CTV (China Television Company) in 1969, and CTS (Chinese Television Service) in 1971. Besides CTS, which telecasts instructional programs in the morning and late night, each network telecasts a 6-hours program schedule in the weekday and a 12-hours program schedule on weekends and holidays. Program categories include news and public affairs, public service, culture and education, and entertainment.<sup>11</sup> All three

---

<sup>10</sup> Information provided by Yang Fan, Vice Director of the Guangdong Broadcasting Commission, in a letter to the Chief Editor of the New Evening Post, dated May 5, 1980.

<sup>11</sup> Source: "Quick TV Facts of the Republic of China" provided by the Television Academy of Arts and Sciences of the Republic of China.



networks operate as commercial stations, deriving their revenue from television advertisements. Viewership is estimated to total 16.5 million, representing 92% of 3.6 million TV-households. Of the drama programs selected from the 3 networks for this study, CTS topped with 29.8 rating points.<sup>12</sup>

The latest figures released by Taipei on the distribution of television receiver sets in the Chinese population indicate 203 sets per 1,000 people in Taiwan and 1.05 sets per 1,000 people in Mainland China.<sup>13</sup>

In consideration of the development in women's status and the medium of television, the portrayal of Chinese women's image in television drama in Mainland China and Taiwan is surely worthy of study.

According to this writer's observation, no systematic research has been undertaken either in Mainland China or in Taiwan, to study the portrayal of Chinese women's image in television drama. One record of an academic study on women and television drama conducted in Taiwan dealt with uses and gratification of the medium.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Source: 1980 February Report, Yick Li Market Research (Taipei, May 1980)

<sup>13</sup>Source: Centre Daily News, Hong Kong (April 17, 1980)

<sup>14</sup>Y. Yan "Housewives' Motive in Watching Serialised Television Drama" Master Thesis (Journalism Research Institute, National Chengchi University 1972)



It is the purpose of this study to find out what images of Chinese women are being portrayed in contemporary television drama in Mainland China and in Taiwan, and how do they compare with dominant Western "TV-women's Image"? Do Chinese television dramas, viewed against two distinctly different "backdrops" in Mainland China and in Taiwan, portray Chinese women's image differently? Furthermore, can common characteristics or differences be identified in terms of traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern the status of Chinese women?

This is intended to be a content study of sampled television drama programs telecast by Guandong TV (廣東電視台) in Mainland China and by CTV (中視), TTV (台視), and CTS (華視) in Taiwan. A 7-Point Critique outline, adopted in the UNESCO study for analysis and comparative evaluation<sup>15</sup>, will be used as a basic frame of reference in measurement procedures. Instead of hypothesis testing, here the objective is to yield a descriptive analysis and a comparison:

This may be considered an exploratory study, but it will point up an understanding of Chinese "TV-women's Image" and Chinese women's status in the "TV world", in Mainland China and in Taiwan. It is hoped that it will call attention to more future studies on media portrayals of women's image, and also, to future research on Chinese women's status in

---

<sup>15</sup>Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fanconnier, op. cit.

the "real world" in Mainland China and in Taiwan. Then,  
media portrayals can be audited and media policies can come  
to grip with the core issues on Chinese women.

## CHAPTER TWO

## SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH

On the academic front, the study of sex-roles and women's image in television drama, due to the catalytic influence of feminism in America, has been actively pursued. Communication researchers have studied different specific issues, but all shared the same concerns in pointing up the social significance and social implications of research.

## SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

One premise for the significance of research is based on television's portrayal of "social reality". This stems from the so-called "reflection hypothesis" - "at its simplest, it states that a medium's content reflects its society's values, goals, ideals, aspirations, and shortcomings." <sup>16</sup> Television drama is a tried and true form of entertainment that constitute a major ingredient of television programming. It is the mainstream of "the symbolic environment cultivating common conceptions of life, society, and the world"; and "symbolic representation in the fictional

---

<sup>16</sup> Gaye Tuchman, ed., The TV Establishment: Programming for Power and Profit (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1974) p.1



world of television signifies social existence; its absence means symbolic annihilation." 17

Most of the research data in this regard focus on comparison of the television world with objective demographic facts of the real world. The basis for argument is directed at media bias against women, that television presents a somewhat distorted and inaccurate portrayal, that damaging and misleading notions of female characteristics and capabilities are perpetuated. Issues studied included the under-representation of women, particularly in major dramatic roles, their relative absence from the labour force, the lack of prestige and professional interest of the few job holders, and the restriction of married women to traditional sex roles.

In 1954, Sydney Head first reported a content analysis of television drama programs; 18 that 68% of the major characters were male, twice as many men as women; that 75% are of identifiable occupations, and 11% were housewives. Melvin De Fleur, in his study on "Occupational Roles as

---

17 George Gerbner, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice", quoted in C.R. Wright, Mass Communication A Sociological Perspective, second edition (Random House: New York 1975)

18 Sydney W. Head., "Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs", Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television (1954) pp. 175-94

Portrayed on TV" (1964)<sup>19</sup> found that the world of work greatly distorted the real distribution in the labour force; that "it's a man's world, few women gainfully employed"; that there was a considerable stereotyping of occupations and males were portrayed in higher status jobs than they actually held. In the work of George Gerbner and his group at the Annenberg School of Communication,<sup>20</sup> findings in 1972 indicated "women as a minority" and a skewed picture of women's role in society; that women were stereotyped in romantic or traditional roles; and masculinity and femininity were narrowly defined. Seggar and Wheeler, in their study on the "World of Work on TV" (1973)<sup>21</sup> found that females were again under-represented; that 18% of the television labour force was female, and women's occupational categories were primarily in service and entertainment-oriented. In 1974, Nancy Tedesco reported her study on "Patterns in Prime Time", and the most noticeable finding was the continued

---

<sup>19</sup>Melvin De Fleur, "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television", Public Opinion Quarterly 28, (Spring 1964) pp. 57-74

<sup>20</sup>George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", Television and Social Behaviour Vol. I: Media Content and Control, eds., George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office 1972)

<sup>21</sup>John F. Seggar and Penny Wheeler, "World of Work on TV: Ethnic and Sex Representation in TV Drama", Journal of Broadcasting, 17:204 (Spring 1973) pp. 201-14



under-representation of women; that women were more identified for their marital status than men; that women were "powerless."<sup>22</sup> In 1975, Jean McNeil's study<sup>23</sup> again reported that females were less in number and occupied less important roles than males; that marital status and parenthood were more identified with females than males; that female occupations were traditional and female workers had little authority and status; that women were personally-oriented and more passive than men.

Spanning two decades, all the evidence concerning female roles on television is consistent. Their proportion in the television population and labour force is far below demographic facts of the United States. Although women constitute over 50% of the American population, ratio of female to male characters is approximately 30:70; although American women are found in all age groups, TV-women are predominantly in their twenties; although close to 40% of American women are in labour force, TV-women are portrayed primarily as housewives; stereotypic female occupations are prominent and TV-women are shown to be "weak, vulnerable, dependent, submissive, and, frequently..... sex object."<sup>24</sup> It can

<sup>22</sup> Nancy S. Tedesco, "Patterns in Prime Time", Journal of Communication, 1974 24(2): 119-24

<sup>23</sup> Jean C. McNeil (1975) op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> Gaye Tuchman (1978), op. cit.

be said that television drama exposes the symbolic annihilation" and trivialization of women.

The second premise for the significance of research on portrayal of women's image is the belief that television is a potentially powerful agent of socialization and social change: in presenting models, suggesting appropriate behaviour, and encouraging stereotypes. The basic contention is that women when consistently presented on television in the traditional image, would tend to reinforce the status quo of sex-roles in society, giving no alternative female role, and thus lead men and women, boys and girls, to believe that the existing roles are the correct ones.<sup>25</sup>

The core issue in this regard is "sex role stereotypes" - "set portrayals of sex-appropriate appearance, interests, skills, behaviours, and self-perceptions."<sup>26</sup> The feminine sex has been shown to be the "subordinate sex", dominated by the male. Joseph Turow, in his study on "Advising and Ordering" in television drama programs (1974),<sup>27</sup> found that "even women whose occupations related to business gave directives on typically 'feminine' topics". Linda Busby, in her

<sup>25</sup>Margaret Gallagher, "The Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media", unpublished UNESCO Paper (Paris 1979)

<sup>26</sup>Gaye Tuchman, ed., Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press 1978)

<sup>27</sup>Joseph Turow, "Advising and Ordering: Daytime, Primetime", Journal of Communication 24(1974) pp.138-141



study on "Defining the Sex-role Standard" in programs directed toward children (1974),<sup>28</sup> from data on occupations, activities, appearances, roles, and personality characteristics, the traditional stereotypic female portrayal was noted. In another study conducted by Long and Simon (1974),<sup>29</sup> the overall image of women was "dependent, concerned with bodies and home, and holding stereotyped occupation." John F. Seggar's report on "Imagery of Women in Television Drama: 1974"<sup>30</sup> confirmed similar findings; that "women were portrayed in stereotyped occupations, less competent than males, and more likely to be dominated by males in interaction." Judith Lemon, in her study on "Women and Blacks on Prime Time Television" (1977),<sup>31</sup> reported that "men are more frequent participants in interactions and are dominant much more often than women," although situation comedies provided more

---

<sup>28</sup>Linda Busby, "Defining the Sex-role Standard in Commercial Network Television Programs Directed toward Children", Journalism Quarterly 51(1974) pp.690-96

<sup>29</sup>Michele Long and Rita J. Simon, "The Roles and Statuses of Women on Children and Family TV Programs", Journalism Quarterly 51(1975) pp.107-10

<sup>30</sup>John F. Seggar, "Imagery of Women in Television Drama: 1974", Journal of Broadcasting, 19(1975) pp.273-81

<sup>31</sup>Judith Lemon, "Women and Blacks on Prime-Time Television", Journal of Communication 34(1977) pp.70-79

favourable portrayals than crime dramas.

The effect of sex-role stereotyping on children and young people has elicited the concern of media research. It is known that children first meet and interact with many roles first on television, and television brings them into contact with issues and problems, many of which are beyond their range of personal experience.<sup>32</sup> As cited by Gerbner, "Social Symbolic patterns established in childhood are the most easily cultivated throughout life."<sup>33</sup> George Comstock, in his report on "The Evidence So Far: The Effects of Television on Children and Adolescents" (1975), indicated that "the accumulated evidence suggests that TV affects the beliefs and the behaviours of young persons."<sup>34</sup> In a study on "Dramatic TV Content and Children's Stereotypes" by Miller and Reeves (1976),<sup>35</sup> the findings reported that "boys chose proportionately more males as models to emulate than girls chose females; no boys selected females as models; and 27% of girls selected males as models." Preliminary findings,

---

<sup>32</sup>Grant Noble, Children in Front of the Small Screen (Sage Publications 1975)

<sup>33</sup>George Gerbner, Larry Gross, W.H. Melody ed., Communications Technology and Social Policy (N.Y.:Wiley-Interscience 1973) p.572

<sup>34</sup>George Comstock, "The Evidence So Far: The Effects of Television on Children and Adolescents", Journal of Communication Autumn 1975 pp.25-34

<sup>35</sup>Mark M. Miller and Byron Reeves, "Dramatic TV Content and Children's Stereotypes:", Journal of Broadcasting 20(1976) pp.35-50



from another study on "Sex-Typing and Children's Television Preference" (1976), conducted by Sprafkin and Liebert,<sup>36</sup> suggest that "when children are left to choose their own programs, they tend to select programs that feature characters of their own sex behaving in stereotypic ways. They attend closely to those same-sex characters and identify with them". Leslie Friedman, having reviewed published and unpublished literature concerning sex-role stereotypes in the past decades, concluded that the media are primary agents of socialization, and people, especially children, adopt as role models media portrayals of characters of the same sex.<sup>37</sup>

At the East-West Communication Institute in Hawaii, a cross cultural study on "Television and Sex-Role Socialization" has been initiated since 1977. The research addresses this central issue:

To what extent do televised portrayals of sex roles

- (a) precede, reinforce, or lag behind societal changes in sex-role perceptions;
- (b) compare with the ways that the sex-role perceptions of children and their parents converge or diverge over time;

---

<sup>36</sup>Joyce N. Sprafkin and Robert M. Liebert, "Sex-Typing and Children's Stereotypes", Journal of Broadcasting 20(1976) pp.35-50

<sup>37</sup>Leslie Friedman, Sex Role Stereotyping in the Mass Media - An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland 1978)

- (c) compare with the perceptions of television producers, writers, and directors; and in turn, how do these perceptions compare with those of the viewing public. <sup>38</sup>

It is known that a comprehensive methodology with a multi-operational design is being employed in this study. It includes the measurement of complex public opinion on cultural perceptions, interviews, surveys, and content analyses of television programs. Collaborative research efforts come from participants in Japan, Korea, the Philippines and the United States of America.

Findings from this study are anticipated to shed light on the two compelling premises of concern: the "reflection hypothesis" of "social reality", and television as "socialization agent".

### SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

There are two separate approaches that underlie the social implications for concern in the study of the portrayal of women's image in the media. <sup>39</sup>

The first approach places emphasis on development. In

<sup>38</sup> East-West Communication Institute, Paper on "Television and Sex-Role Socialization: A Cross Cultural Study" (November 1979)

<sup>39</sup> Margaret Gallagher, "The Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Mass Media", Unpublished UNESCO Paper (Paris: 1979) op. cit.



countries where the media system is not yet highly evolved or where there is a strong element of government control, possibilities exist to respond to the need to advance egalitarianism and the status of women. Many developing countries see that, as a prerequisite to increase women's participation in economic development, improvements in their legal and social status must be made. Media portrayals have been found to be most positive in those countries with a firm commitment to the social and economic integration of women.<sup>40</sup>

In the second approach, the emphasis is on reform. In countries with already developed media systems under commercial or public control, the implications for concern usually are in response to prevalent social and economic conditions, calling for re-examination of the current influence of the media on sex-role perceptions and social values. Then there are special interest groups, e.g. supporters of feminism and social activities, that agitate for change in dominant media images and petition for government intervention to review media policies and regulate commercial media ownerships. A case in point is the United States of America.

American mass media have been criticised for their conservatism. It has been noted that the bulk of mass-commun-icated content supports conformity in social behaviour; that

---

<sup>40</sup> Margaret Gallagher 1979, op. cit.

"media tends to emphasize the preservation of the social norms for good behaviour even in the face of failure to achieve the ultimate goals."<sup>41</sup> This has been attributed largely to "Consumerism", the economics which are the determining factors in capitalist societies. Television programs are said to come into being to attract an audience. "Not to feed their mind; or to elevate them morally or spiritually, but to deliver them to an advertiser."<sup>42</sup> Thus, to attract the largest possible audience, the television industry offers programs consonant with American values. Under this conservative force, traditional sex-role images are upheld. And for now, the content of television drama has come to represent "a negotiated struggle between those who value the content for commercial purposes and those who value the content for cultural, social or artistic reasons."<sup>43</sup>

The potentialities in the interrelationship between the mass media and women's status is now openly recognised. The problem is to work towards changing women's self-perceptions, evolving and directing measures against "a cultural value system" which at present not only accords women lower status,

---

<sup>41</sup> Charles R. Wright, Mass Communications A Sociological Perspective

<sup>42</sup> Les Brown, Television: The Business Behind the Box (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1971)

<sup>43</sup> Muriel G. Cantor, "Our Days and Our Nights on TV", Journal of Communication, 29:4(1979)



but also frequently leaves them unaware of the fact. Some recent findings in the United States have indicated that American women are being depicted on prime-time drama programs more fairly than in the past.<sup>44</sup> This may in part be the result of the pressure from the feminism activists. Yet, the negative impact of media imagery is still widely felt and striking improvements are left to be desired.

#### THE DOMINANT "TV-WOMEN'S IMAGE" AND THE 7-POINT CRITIQUE

According to reports from numerous monitoring studies around the world, the dominant "TV-Women's Image" can best be described as "narrow"; females are still "the subordinate sex".<sup>45</sup>

Women are most frequently portrayed as housewives and their activities are confined to home and family. Particular stress is given to their marital and parental status, and the more personal focus of their problems and relationships. Their characters are shown to be dependent and romantic, not decisive, not active, and not rational. Their

---

<sup>44</sup>Deborah Haskell, "The Depiction of Women in Leading Roles in Prime Time Television", Journal of Broadcasting, 23:2 (Spring 1979) pp.191-196; Katherine S.K. Lu, "The Times They are Changing: TV Women Reconsidered", Master Thesis (unpublished), (University of Chicago, November 1978)

<sup>45</sup>Margaret Gallagher (1979), op. cit.

powerlessness is most apparent both in their under-representation and in terms of their professional and emotional subordination to men.<sup>46</sup> Overall, the dominant "TV-Women's Image" is still the traditional stereotypic image.

The universal characteristics of the dominant "TV-Women's Image" is best presented, in this writer's observation, by the 7-Point Critique outline adopted by Ceulemans and Fauconnier in the UNESCO report,<sup>47</sup> and previously tested by McNeil.<sup>48</sup> As a basic frame of reference, seven hypotheses were stated :

- (1) Female characters are less in number and less central to the plot.
- (2) Marriage and parenthood are considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life.
- (3) Television portrays the traditional division of labour in marriage.
- (4) Employed women are shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power.
- (5) TV-women are more personally and less professionally-oriented than TV-men.
- (6) Female characters are more passive than male characters.
- (7) Television dramatic programming ignores the existence of the women's movement.

---

<sup>46</sup>Margaret Gallagher (1979) op. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier (1979) op. cit.

<sup>48</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975) op. cit.



In the present study, the 7-Point Critique will be put to a two-fold usage. On one hand, it serves as the basis of an adopted measuring instrument to determine the portrayal of "TV-Women's Image" in Mainland China and in Taiwan. Empirical evidence can thus be produced. On the other hand, apart from the empirical dimension, the most salient aspects of the 7-Point Critique can serve as criteria to identify, for a Chinese context, corresponding Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern women's status in society. This will provide an ideological perspective for comparison between Mainland China and Taiwan the common characteristics and differences in their portrayal of women's status in television drama.

SALIENT ASPECTS FOR A CHINESE CONTEXT -  
TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS AND CODES OF ETHICS

The salient aspects of the 7-Point Critique are "women's inferior status", their "role as housewife/mother", their "confinement to the home setting" and their "passivity".

In the Chinese context, these aspects can be found in the traditional image of women. Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern women's status in society trace back to over two thousand years of history, and have become deeply-ingrained in people's attitudes and behaviours, men and women alike. Although Mainland China and Taiwan do not

see eye-to-eye in their political ideologies, and for three decades they have stood apart, they cannot get away from bearing the same cultural heritage.

Male supremacy was inherent in traditional Chinese culture. For thousands of years, China was a male-centred patriarchal society, women were regarded as the inferior lot. Confucius put women in the same class as "xiao ren" (小人) - "inferior men", stating that "it is not pleasing to have to do with women or people of base condition."<sup>49</sup> In times of economic distress, girls and women were expendable and sold away like commodities. The traditional Chinese family centred on patrilineal descent, and women were not regarded as full members of their family of procreation until after they had given birth to a son. Divorce was a male prerogative while chastity was strictly a female virtue. Ban Zhao (班昭) (d. A.D. 116) wrote in the Nujie - "The Precepts for Women" (女誡) - the "submission and self-effacement of women before the authority of the father or husband."<sup>50</sup> Other Chinese literary works over the centuries had written on the same stance of women as the inferior lot. The position of "males are superior, females are inferior" (男尊女卑) had come to be

<sup>49</sup> Lyn Yu, Chapter XVIII, quoted in Julia Kristeva, About Chinese Women (Marion Boyar: London 1977) p. 75

<sup>50</sup> Julia Kristeva (1977), *ibid.*, p. 85



accepted as the natural position.<sup>51</sup>

Social customs ensured the docility of women. Among the more affluent peasants and upper classes, there was the practice of foot-binding, "crippling the girl child both physically and psychologically by subjecting her to intense and protracted torture."<sup>52</sup> Young girls did not grow up to learn of anything else besides those interests and goals that would make for a future housewife and mother; and her well-groomed behaviours toward her own parents were considered a training for her proper behaviours toward her parents-in-law after marriage.<sup>53</sup> A woman's role expectation then was to become a virtuous wife to her husband and a good mother in bringing up her children. Women were taught to accept the husband-wife relationship as a "superordinate-subordinate relationship." For a woman, achievement did not come in the form of her own prominent performance in life, but in the success of her husband and sons. Traditionally, women's goal in life was to be "a virtuous wife and a good

---

<sup>51</sup> Shiao-Chun Chang, "A Study of Urban Housewife's Role in Modern Society", Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica No.37 (Taipei 1974) (Translation mine)

<sup>52</sup> Norma Diamond, "The Status of Women in Taiwan", Women in China: Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, No.15 (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor 1973)

<sup>53</sup> Tung-Yuen Chen, A History of Chinese Women's Living, Chapter I (In Chinese) (Taipei: Commercial Printing Press, 16th edition 1978)

mother" (賢妻良母).<sup>54</sup>

The division of labour in the traditional Chinese family was in accordance with the patriarchal practice; men to be heads of households representing the family in dealings with matters outside and women to take charge of matters within the household.<sup>55</sup> But subordination of females in society reduced women to domestication and duties of reproduction. Women were denied education, learning of skills outside the home and access to occupations in the wider society. There were few alternatives to marriage, none of them respectable - "one could become a nun, a prostitute, or wine-house entertainer, a beggar, or if lucky, a servant."<sup>56</sup> They had to be contented with their homely role. According to the Book of Rites, it was specified that "male should not speak of internal household affairs and females should not speak of affairs outside the household."<sup>57</sup> Women did not interfere with matters outside the home and family, and admittedly, they had no political status, occasional female rulers notwithstanding. It was accepted practice that "men mind the external affairs and women the internal affairs" (男主外, 女主內).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Tung-Yuen Chen, op. cit.

<sup>55</sup>H.C. Wang Liu, The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules, Chapter V (New York: J.J. Augustin Inc. 1959), quoted in Shiao-Chun Chang, (1974) op. cit. p. 49

<sup>56</sup>Norma Diamond, (1973), op. cit.

<sup>57</sup>(Translations mine)

<sup>58</sup>(Translations mine)



In the words of Confucius: "To be a woman means to submit".<sup>59</sup> Women's submissiveness and passivity were measures of their virtue. This submission, according to the Confucian doctrine known as "The Three Obediences" (三從), spanned a woman's entire life - "before marriage obey father, after marriage the husband and if widowed the son."<sup>60</sup> Women traditionally would want nothing for themselves, but instead took pride in their husbands' domination. Women depended on men economically and emotionally. So "The Three Obediences" were observed throughout the centuries, to a greater or lesser degree.

Those salient aspects of the 7-Point Critique are here identified to correspond with the Chinese concepts and codes of ethics of "males are superior, females are inferior" (男尊女卑), "a virtuous wife and a good mother" (賢妻良母), "men mind the external affairs and women the internal affairs" (男主外, 女主內), and "The Three Obediences" (三從).

Can it be said that these "feudal thinking" have been eradicated from China in modern times?

Since the establishment of the democratic Republic in

---

<sup>59</sup> Book of Rites, IX: 4, quoted in William T. de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press 1960) p. 816

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Chia-Shih Hsu, "Legal and Social Status of Women in Taiwan" in Timothy Yu and Leonard L. Chu, ed., Women and Media in Asia (Centre for Communication Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1977)

1911, government has taken positive measures, by legislation and otherwise, to ensure women's equality with men in their social, political, economic, educational, occupational and family statuses. Women's emancipation has been looked upon as part and parcel of the overall socio-political liberation of the people, and for the Communist Party, the interest of women were identified with those of the revolution. Legal enactments that have set landmarks on women's road to full equality included, notably: the Communist legislation of the Jiangxi Soviet in 1930 which heralded the abolition of the ancient feudal family; the Kuomintang Civil Code of 1931 which contained a Family Law in books four and five; and the historic Marriage Law of 1950, the first law after the proclamation of the People's Republic in 1949, which radically changed the entire structure of the Chinese institution of marriage.<sup>61</sup> The past three decades saw the improvement of women's status progressing in parallel with the social and economic developments of the Chinese nation.

In the present day, the constitution in Mainland China and in Taiwan provide egalitarian legal status for women. The Chinese Civil Code in Taiwan recognises sexual equality, monogamy, divorce by mutual consent, the right of adoption and heir to property, access to education and various

---

<sup>61</sup>Sybilla Green Dorros (1978), op. cit.



professions.<sup>62</sup> The revised 1978 Constitution of the People's Republic stated in Chapter 3 Article 53 that "women in political, economic, cultural, social and familial aspects enjoy equal rights as men; men and women receive equal pay for equal work; free choice in marriage for both sexes; marriage, family, mothers and children are all under the protection of the state."<sup>63</sup> Under the two governments, Chinese women have made great strides forward in achieving equal status with men before the law and the state.

But government efforts aside, in the two societies, have feudal ideas and traditional beliefs been totally eradicated?

In Mainland China, Mao Tse-Tung himself admitted in the late 60's that it was not possible to achieve complete equality between men and women; he had found that "sexist beliefs and values persist in the face of economic, social and political change".<sup>64</sup> It was the time when experts and specialization in economic development played a key role under the leadership of Liu Shao-Chi faction in the Party, and "women were extorted to concentrate on their children and domestic duties; leaving productive labour to the men."<sup>65</sup> A renewed interest

---

<sup>62</sup>Hsiu-Lien Lu, New Feminism (Taipei: Young Lions 1974) (In Chinese) p. 47

<sup>63</sup>Renmin Ribao (March 1978) (Translations mine)

<sup>64</sup>Edgar Snow, The Long Revolution (New York: Random House 1970) p. 171

<sup>65</sup>Joseleyne Slade Tien, "Women's Place in The People's Republic of China: Ideology and Practice", Asian Profile Vol.5, No. 5 (October 1977) p. 414

in traditional Chinese family virtues in the literature of this period was reported by Ai-li S. Chin in her study of fictional stories.<sup>66</sup> An article in "China's Women" in 1963 called readers' attention to the fact that "the status of family in our socialist country is different from that of the feudal system", and that "women are not confined to the household to be the so-called good wife and mother."<sup>67</sup>

Edgar Snow, during his visit in China, noticed that "The instinct to maintain the patrilineal descent was still strong among both party and non-party people."<sup>68</sup> Soong Ching-Ling wrote in 1972 that "much of the feudal patriarchal ideology still prevails among the peasants..... only after the feudal-patriarchal ideology is eradicated can we expect the sexual equality to be fully established."<sup>69</sup> In an editorial of the Renmin Ribao on March 8, 1973, it was reported that "today, classes and class struggle still exist in our society and it is still impossible to eliminate completely the remnants of

---

<sup>66</sup> Ai-Li S. Chin "Family Relations in Modern Chinese Fiction" in Maurice Freedman, ed., Family and Kinship in Chinese Society

<sup>67</sup> China's Women, November 1, 1963.

<sup>68</sup> Edgar Snow, Red China Today: The Other Side of the River (Pelican Books 1970)

<sup>69</sup> Soong Ching-Ling, "Women's Liberation", Peking Review No. 6, February 11, 1972.



the old ideas of looking down upon women."<sup>70</sup> Jane Barret, writing about women in Mainland China, commented: "sexual equality does not come automatically with a socialist revolution", and "women will still face discrimination and chauvinism until the old attitudes are changed."<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth Croll, writing in 1977 about the Anti-Confucian and Lin Piao Campaign, confirmed the problem areas that continued to concern the government and the women's movement included "persistence of traditional customs in courtship and marriage" and "division of labour within the household."<sup>72</sup>

In Taiwan, traditional concepts have also persisted. Norma Diamond, in her study on "The Status of women in Taiwan", noticed that "after a brief burst of egalitarianism, things have come around to de facto exclusion of women."<sup>73</sup> It was observed that the new middle class family in Taiwan held a traditional aspect in its resemblance to an old upper class

---

<sup>70</sup> Renmin Ribao editorial, "Working Women are a Great Revolutionary Force", March 3, 1973, translated in Peking Review, March 16, 1973.

<sup>71</sup> Jane Barret, "Women Hold Up Half the Sky", in Women in China, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies No. 15 (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor 1973)

<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth Croll, "A Recent Movement to Redefine the Role and Status of Women" The China Quarterly No. 72 (1977) pp.591-97

<sup>73</sup> Norma Diamond (1973) op. cit. p. 235

life style where the wife was confined to the home and not involved in any economic enterprise. It was also observed that Taiwanese husbands involved traditional Chinese ideology to demand that women return to the home as "the natural order of society."<sup>74</sup> A Taiwan feminist leader, Hsiu-Lien Lu, attacked the legal system for inheriting feudal practices discriminating against women: husband's surname prefixed to wife's, taking husband's home as legal residence, and union property being managed by husband.<sup>75</sup> Other feminism advocates claimed that legal guarantee merely offered a sort of empty promise when the social attitude toward women were still clinging to the age-old patriarchal system. Chia-Shih Hsu, in his report on "Legal and Social Status of Women in Taiwan", noted that for both public and private organisations, it had been a common practice "to adopt an employment policy prejudiced flagrantly against the female."<sup>76</sup> He also commented that such unconstitutional act had never been challenged at the court. In a survey soliciting personal views from 300 male teachers including 180 Ph. D.s, 84 Master and 36 Bachelors, findings concerning how females should behave socially indicated that 52% males insisted wives should put family above career, only 2.2% thought otherwise; and only 14% males replied that they

---

<sup>74</sup>Norma Diamond (1973), op. cit.

<sup>75</sup>Hsiu-Lien Lu (1974) op. cit.

<sup>76</sup>Chia-Shih Hsu (1977) op. cit.



helped with household chores regularly.<sup>77</sup> Shiao-Chun Chang, in her study of "Urban Housewife's Role in Modern Society", regarding "husband taking charge of outside affairs and wife inside affairs" and "wife as assistant to the husband and undertaking responsibility for disciplining children", discovered that housewife's attitude characterizes clearly modernization, as indicated by 58.6% of "modern type" wives. However, out of her 300 sampled housewives, slightly over one-third, 34.2%, are still of "traditional type" holding traditional views.<sup>78</sup> In another study on "Taiwan female workers" sex-role perception and attitude towards marriage and family", Mei-Tsu Lee reported that female workers reflected: "a woman's goal in life is to build a happy family" and "to be a virtuous wife and a good mother is her most important duty."<sup>79</sup>

It is evident that the traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern women's status in society are still active today, both in Mainland China and in Taiwan. Are these being shown in television drama, in the portrayal of "TV-Women's Image"? Does Mainland China and Taiwan portray the same concepts? How significant or salient are they shown?

---

<sup>77</sup> Chun-Shan Shen, Lecture at Lunch Forum sponsored by Women's Magazine, Taipei, (March 13, 1976) quoted in Chia-Shih Hsu "The Legal and Social Status of Women in Taiwan" (1977) op. cit.

<sup>78</sup> Shiao-Chun Chang (1974), op. cit.

<sup>79</sup> Mei-Tsu Lee, "Taiwan Female Workers' Sex-role Perception and Attitude towards Marriage and Family". Unpublished Research Paper, (National Chengchi University of Taiwan, Department of Social Psychology (1976))

In the present study, an attempt will be made to answer these questions by observing their manifestation in the sampled television programs.

In 1975, when Helen Franzwa had finished reviewing all published literature in America concerning the "Image of Women in Television", she acknowledged that "we now know just about all we need to know about the portrayal of women in television."<sup>80</sup> The challenge addressed to academic women and men was to redirect research and action efforts to the impact of television image.

Looking at research on Chinese women's image on television at the present stage, it seems that the challenge is to catch up with the Western "TV-women". As of now, it is still a matter of trying to get to "first-base" - to find out all that needs to be known about the portrayal of Chinese women on television.

---

<sup>80</sup> Helen Franzwa, "The Image of Women in Television: An Annotated Bibliography", in Gaye Tuchman, ed., Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, op. cit. p. 274



## CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY: A CONTENT STUDY OF CHINESE  
"TV-WOMEN'S IMAGE"

The methodology is based on content analysis of television programs, supplemented by a monitors' panel discussion.

The content analysis is conducted to draw empirical evidence on the portrayal of Chinese "TV-Women's Image", by using a measuring instrument adopted from a Western paradigm. (The 7-Point Critique)<sup>81</sup> Previously tested hypotheses (by McNeil)<sup>82</sup> will be used as reference to determine coding and content categories. Out of the data collected, a descriptive analysis will be elucidated.

The monitors' panel discussion is conducted to draw factual television evidence, by observing and recording the manifestations of specific issues pertaining to traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics, and by bringing them up for discussion in order to point out common characteristics and differences. Out of the findings, comparison between Mainland China and Taiwan will be presented.

It is intended that the panel best represent: the Chinese resident in Mainland China, the Chinese resident in Taiwan, and the Chinese resident in Hong Kong, each having been exposed to viewing television programs in those three societies

---

<sup>81</sup>Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier (1978), *op. cit.*

<sup>82</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), *op. cit.*

respectively. It is anticipated that they having lived under different social ideologies, would perceive images each on a different perspective and contribute varied opinions at the discussion. Four persons, three female and one male, that suit this intent, were recruited to serve as monitors and panel members, responsible for monitoring and coding information and participating in the discussion of issues.

### SAMPLING PROCEDURE

For the purpose of this study, a television drama is defined as a dramatic television program in contemporary historical setting, each with a complete story, produced as an independent unit by television stations and for telecast within the country. In Taiwan, this genre of television program is termed "unit drama" (單元劇),<sup>83</sup> as distinct from episodic "serialised drama" (連續劇). In Mainland China, the general term "television drama" (電視劇)<sup>84</sup> is used. In

<sup>83</sup> On the CTS network, this is scheduled on Sunday evenings at 9.40 p.m. and the program is entitled 'THE CTS DRAMA SHOW' (華視劇場). On the CTV and TTV networks, the scheduled slots fall on Saturday evenings at 10.30 p.m. and 10.15 p.m. respectively. The title on TTV is called 'THE TTV THEATRE' (台視劇場), while CTV calls theirs 'SELECTED FAMOUS DRAMAS' (名劇精選).

<sup>84</sup> In Mainland China, Guangdong TV does not have a regular time-slot every week for television drama. However, Nanfang Ribao (南方日報), the newspaper from Guangzhou does carry the weekly program schedule of Guangdong TV; it serves as a primary source of program telecast reference.



this study, television drama programs include only those telecast in the evening viewing time (6:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight). This can be considered a purposive sample.

For this study, the period from January 7, 1980 to March 9, 1980 is designated the data collection period. The technology of videocassette recording from 'off air', i.e. while the program is being transmitted, is employed, by using domestic videocassette recorders.<sup>85</sup>

During the designated period, Guangdong TV, over its two channels - Channel 2 of Guangdong local and Channel 8 of Beijing Central - telecast a total of 16 television drama programs, of which 6 are re-runs (See Appendix A). In Taiwan, during the period there was a total of 22 television drama programs, CTS telecast 9, TTV telecast 7, and CTV telecast 6. (See Appendix B)

Within the definition of this study, television drama does not include episodic programs, seasonal specials or programs that are not presented in the contemporary historical setting.<sup>86</sup> After screening through the usable number of Mainland

<sup>85</sup>In Taiwan, this is carried out through arrangements with a local Taipei resident who, after recording the television dramas, despatches them by mail to this writer. For programs on Guangdong TV, the recording is done at the Audio-Visual Room of the Centre for Communication Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

<sup>86</sup>It is discovered that 19 Taiwan programs and 9 Mainland China programs fit the definition; unfortunately, due to technical fault, Guangdong TV's program on January 23 entitled 'REGRET' (悔悟) was not recorded.

China television drama programs is 8. For a balance in sampling, the same number of Taiwan programs is drawn from a total of 19 by random selection, one out of three, except for the two weekends of Chinese New Year and the Mid-January Festival.

The samples\* selected are as follows:

Mainland China

爸爸病危	"FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL"
神聖的使命	"THE SACRED MISSION OF JUSTICE"
有一個青年	"THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN"
鴛鴦曲	"THE TUNE OF THE LOVE BIRDS"
黑牡丹	"THE BLACK PEONY"
失望人的希望	"HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED"
玫瑰香奇案	"THE CASE OF THE ROSE INCENSE"
法網	"LONG ARM OF THE LAW"

Taiwan

情韻	"RHAPSODY OF LOVE"
又見驕陽	"AGAIN THE RED SUN"
玉樓春曉	"SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION"
紅毯的那一端	"THE OTHER END OF THE RED CARPET"
小人物出頭記	"LITTLE BIG MEN"
後院的黑影	"SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD"
身無彩鳳雙飛翼	"THE WINGED PHEONIX"
又是一年芳草綠	"ANOTHER YEAR OF SPLENDOR IN THE GRASS"

\*(Translations mine)



In accepting these samples, it is understood that each is atypical in its story and plot, and in considering the total number of programs, this is a universe of unrepeated drama-roles.

The synopsis of each sampled program is written up in Chinese (and then translated into English) to provide ready reference. (See Appendix C and Appendix D)

### DATA COLLECTION

Data collection in this study on the portrayal of Chinese "TV-Women's Image" in drama programs focused on the key constructs in the 7-Point Critique<sup>87</sup>: number of female roles and role significance; women's marital and parental status; division of labour in marriage; women's occupations, power and status; women's personal and professional orientation; women's passivity; feminist movement.

These constructs were operationally defined, based on McNeil's study;<sup>88</sup> 12 variables were developed with 46 categories to be quantitative indicators of the presence of each key construct (See Appendix E): NUMBER OF ROLES AND ROLE

---

<sup>87</sup>See Chapter Two, page 21

<sup>88</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), op. cit.

SIGNIFICANCE - (1) Name in casting; (2) Role significance <sup>89</sup>;  
 (3) Demographics <sup>90</sup>; MARITAL AND PARENTAL STATUS - (4) In  
 marriage <sup>91</sup>; DIVISION OF LABOUR IN MARRIAGE - (5) In work <sup>92</sup>;  
 OCCUPATION, STATUS, AND POWER - (6) In occupation <sup>93</sup>; PERSONAL  
 AND PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION - (7) Problems encountered <sup>94</sup>;  
 (8) Primary interactions <sup>95</sup>; (9) Focus of activities <sup>96</sup>;

- <sup>89</sup>Three categories were established - major, supporting and incidental. All non-speaking bit parts were not included. "Major" characters were those who appeared throughout the program and were central to the development and resolution of the plot. "Supporting" characters appeared less frequently but were involved in some depth with the drama. "Incidental" characters spoke a few lines and were not essential to the plot.
- <sup>90</sup>Five categories: sex, age, education, family background and party affiliation.
- <sup>91</sup>Two categories: marital status and number of children.
- <sup>92</sup>Seven categories were established: one category on whether working to support family; five categories on housework, taking charge, cooking, washing, care of children and cleaning; and one category on whether gainfully employed.
- <sup>93</sup>Five categories were established: the types of occupation; respected (by social norm); with power; the sex of superior; and presence of subordinates.
- <sup>94</sup>Five categories were established: three domestic categories on family, marriage, and romantic love; one on occupation; and one on other problems outside of family and occupation.
- <sup>95</sup>Two categories: occupational interactions and personal interactions.
- <sup>96</sup>Three categories: family, personal relationships, and occupational activities.



PASSIVITY - (10) Character's wants <sup>97</sup>; (11) Problem solving<sup>98</sup>;  
 FEMINIST MOVEMENT - (12) Feminist activities <sup>99</sup>.

A monitoring form (in Chinese) was designed, listing all the 46 categories was prepared for monitors to record relevant information after previewing each sample program. Since definitions were established before coding and proper briefing had been given, the four monitors had few discrepancies in completing required data in the monitoring form. But where discrepancies did occur, they were brought up at discussion sessions and resolved by consensus or majority, and occasionally by this writer casting the "decision" vote.

A first batch of 8 programs, four each from Mainland China and Taiwan were previewed and coded as a pre-test. Then, the total of 16 television dramas was previewed and monitored over a two-week period by using videocassette facilities at a video workshop.

Each monitor coded 16 monitoring sheets, one for each program; and together with one set completed by this writer,

---

<sup>97</sup>Four categories were established: one on "wanting to have something"; three on concern - "for self-only", "for others only", and "for self and others".

<sup>98</sup>Six categories were established: one on self-decision of solution; three on resolution - "by self entirely", "by others entirely", and "by self and others"; two on dependence - "with male assistance" and "with female assistance".

<sup>99</sup>Three categories were established: presence of feminist; advocacy of feminism; and "no mention".

the total number of completed monitoring sheets amounted to 80. It was intended that multiple codings should contribute to the elimination of monitors' bias.

All data collected were compiled and aggregate data were tabulated for presenting a descriptive analysis.

These written records were supplemented by oral discussions. The four monitors, at the end of their coding period, participated in two meetings each lasting some six hours. The hypotheses in the 7-Point Critique<sup>100</sup> were followed as discussion guidelines, and monitors related Chinese evidence with reference to their personal life experience in Mainland China or Taiwan. The main points brought forth by each monitor was recorded by this writer, and was used later to audit and edit the data on the completed monitoring forms.

For the specific enquiry into the manifestation of Chinese concepts and codes of ethics in the drama programs, the monitors were recalled for a second session. They were briefed by this writer beforehand on the corresponding traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics<sup>101</sup> to be observed in the sampled programs, each was to be treated as a separate topic for discussion. Each monitor was asked to note down observations of

<sup>100</sup> See Chapter Two, page 21.

<sup>101</sup> "Males are superior, females are inferior" (男尊女卑), "A virtuous wife and a good mother" (賢妻良母), "Men mind the external affairs and women the internal affairs" (男主外 女主內), and "The Three Obediences" (三從). See Chapter Two, page 26.



both positive and negative manifestations. As all four monitors had received Chinese literary education, the issues were fully understood.

At the panel discussion chaired by this writer, the four monitors were asked to first write down on paper the gist of their observation of the four topics according to each program. They acted as panelists representing: ex-Mainland China resident, ex-Taiwan resident, ex-Mainland China/present Hong Kong resident, and all-time Hong Kong resident. (See Appendix F) The written papers were collected by this writer and main points in the content were read out one by one to the panel for discussion and rectification. Findings common to all four monitors were first adopted and recorded. Other issues and incidents cited in individual drama programs were then discussed in more detail. Panel members were encouraged to narrate personal life experience in Mainland China or Taiwan relevant to the four topics, and to give personal comments on program content that they thought departed from real life. The emphasis was to look for similarities and differences between Mainland China and Taiwan in the four topics, and to see how they are portrayed. Out of the discussion, a comparison was drawn between Mainland China and Taiwan in their TV-drama manifestations of the four traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern women's status in society.

It was apprehended that there would be limitations in

this kind of study. As noted by J.F. Seggar, "one of the sources of consternation in TV content analysis is the tremendous variability in the information available from role to role."<sup>102</sup> The special group of monitors/coders, who also acted as panel members in the discussion, contributed to reducing personal perceptual bias and resolve inconsistencies in the inevitably involved logic of analysing of an art form. The sampled programs, (16 drama programs total 22 hours) though not large enough in size to permit generalizability to the population of drama programs in Mainland China and in Taiwan, nevertheless, provided a source of information for the understanding of women's image portrayed in one genre of television program during that period of time of this study.

In the ideological dimension, the sampled programs, compared between Mainland China and Taiwan for the traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics, illuminated the distinctiveness of the Chinese cultural context.

---

<sup>102</sup> John F. Seggar, "Imagery of Women in TV Drama:1974", Journal of Broadcasting, 19:3 (Summer 1975) op. cit.



## CHAPTER FOUR

## FINDINGS : A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

THE 7-POINT CRITIQUE REVIEWED FOR  
MAINLAND CHINA AND TAIWAN

In this summary, a descriptive analysis is presented, reviewing the hypotheses of the 7-Point Critique<sup>103</sup> for Mainland China and Taiwan in comparison. Except for the first hypothesis, all data would include major and supporting characters only.

(1) FEMALE CHARACTERS ARE FEWER IN NUMBER AND LESS CENTRAL TO THE PLOT

In Mainland China, data were collected for 121 characters. Among them 42 (35%) were female and 79 (65%) were male. Males outnumbered females almost two to one.

Data were collected for 92 characters in Taiwan. Among them 36 (39%) were female and 56 (61%) were male. Males outnumbered females three to two. Comparing the two sets of data (See Table I) in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs, female characters were fewer in number, and Mainland China showed fewer female characters than Taiwan.

---

<sup>103</sup>See Chapter Two, page 21

TABLE I

Distribution of Characters in Mainland China  
and Taiwan according to Sex

	<u>Mainland</u>		<u>Taiwan</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Female	42	35	36	39
Male	79	65	56	61
Total Characters	121	100	92	100

TABLE II

Distribution of Role Significant  
in Mainland China and Taiwan  
according to Sex

	<u>Mainland</u>		<u>Taiwan</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Major Characters				
Female	13	48	11	42
Male	14	52	15	58
Supporting Characters				
Female	13	32	15	43
Male	28	68	20	57
Incidental Characters				
Female	16	31	10	32
Male	37	69	21	68



In terms of role significance, among all the major characters surveyed (See Table II), 45% were female and 55% were male. This indicated that slightly more male characters than female were assigned the most important roles.

Mainland China showed 48% female and 52% male in major roles; the difference was insignificant. Taiwan showed 42% female and 58% male, the difference indicated male importance. The sex difference in role significance was not as high in Mainland China as in Taiwan, indicating that females were more central to the plot in Mainland China programs than in Taiwan programs. But in both cases, female characters were not significantly less central to the plot than male characters.

(2) MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD ARE CONSIDERED MORE IMPORTANT TO A WOMAN'S THAN TO A MAN'S LIFE

Data on marital and parental status were collected of all major and supporting characters in Mainland China and Taiwan programs (See Table III).

In Mainland China, of 26 female characters, it was identified that 11 were married and 7 had children, 11 were single, and 4 had indeterminate marital status. Single women and married women appeared in equal numbers. This would not be reflecting directly that those on single-girl status did not consider marriage as important as those on married-woman status; because the program contents showed that 9 of the 11 female characters who were single were involved in a courtship or

TABLE III  
 Marital & Parental Status of Major and  
 Supporting Characters in Mainland China and  
 Taiwan by Sex

	<u>Married</u>		<u>Married with children</u>		<u>Single</u>		<u>Indeterminate marital status</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Mainland</u>								
Female	11	42	7	70	11	42	4	16
Male	8	19	5	62	11	26	23	55
<u>Taiwan</u>								
Female	12	46	9	75	13	50	1	4
Male	18	51	15	83	13	37	4	12



were planning to get married. It could be concluded that marriage and parenthood were considered significantly important to a woman's life in Mainland China.

In Taiwan, of 26 female characters, it was identified that 12 were married and 9 had children, 13 were single, and only one character had indeterminate marital status. Here again, it would seem that being single was more important than married. But in the program contents, it would be discovered that 6 of the 13 female single-girls were making preparations or looking forward to marriage. Therefore, it could be concluded also for Taiwan, that marriage and parenthood were considered significantly important to a woman's life.

In comparison with male characters, the marital and parental status of females was far more apparent. This was evidenced by the data collected for characters with indeterminate marital status.

Out of 42 male characters in Mainland China, 23 had indeterminate marital status. This was a startling 55%. Whereas for female characters, only 16% had indeterminate marital status.

In Taiwan, out of 35 male characters, 4 had indeterminate marital status. This was 12%. Whereas for female characters only 4% had indeterminate marital status.

This finding supported the popular saying that while a woman's marital status was relevant to her dramatic function, it was irrelevant in a man's case.<sup>104</sup> It could be concluded, therefore, that in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs, marriage and parenthood were considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life.

(3) TELEVISION PORTRAYS THE TRADITIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR IN MARRIAGE

Based on the premises that "traditionally, men have been the breadwinners, women the homemakers", McNeil conjectured that in television drama portrayals "few married women, and fewer married mothers would be gainfully employed".<sup>105</sup>

From data collected of Mainland China, the reverse situation was discovered; 64% of the female characters who were identified to be married were gainfully employed and 45% of them had children. Only 4 out of 11 married female characters were housewives not gainfully-employed, and they were all elderly women belonging to the older generation, and all of them had been portrayed as performing some kind of household duties. Excluding these elderly female characters, it could be said that all the married female characters in Mainland China were gainfully employed.

---

<sup>104</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), op. cit.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.



As to Taiwan, 33% of the identified married female characters were gainfully employed and 25% of these had children. This indicated that few married women were employed. Of the 8 married female characters who were housewives, 7 were the elderly women belonging to the older generation, and none of them had been shown to be doing household duties. Only one young woman who married in elopement was portrayed as a full-time housewife during her first year of marriage.<sup>106</sup>

These findings suggested a new trend of a dual-role for young Chinese women in both Mainland China and in Taiwan; the traditional homemaker, besides being a housewife-mother, would now be also holding a job outside. This is markedly different from McNeil's study where it was found that "only one of 13 married mothers held a job, and her child was past adolescent".<sup>107</sup>

It was expected that male characters, as breadwinners, traditionally would not be performing household chores. But male characters in Mainland China were shown accepting household work as something natural; two male major characters were portrayed washing clothes, cleaning furniture, tidying the

---

<sup>106</sup>In the program "AGAIN THE RED SUN" (See Appendix D)

<sup>107</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), op. cit.

house, and cooking.<sup>108</sup> In Taiwan, only one male character was shown trying to help his wife to do the cooking, but even this was frowned upon by his visiting father.<sup>109</sup>

It could be concluded that in Mainland China, television did not portray the traditional division of labour in marriage; but in Taiwan, television still portrayed the traditional mode.

(4) EMPLOYED WOMEN ARE SHOWN IN TRADITIONALLY FEMALE OCCUPATIONS, AS SUBORDINATES TO MEN AND WITH LITTLE STATUS OR POWER

In Mainland China, out of 21 gainfully employed female characters, the occupations of 19 female characters were identified (See Table IV): From the distribution, it could be seen that factory workers and labourers occupied 42%, to become the highest portrayed female occupation. By socialist standards, these were not differentiated as traditionally non-female occupations. Then, law enforcement personnel and government officials took up 26% of the identified occupations of female characters. This could be the direct result of two crime dramas in the sampled programs.<sup>110</sup> Other than these, distribution of the remaining 32% could be considered traditionally female occupations: teacher, clerk, nurse, farmer, with one exception of a criminal who was a female pickpocket

---

<sup>108</sup> In the program "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN" and "THE TUNE OF THE LOVE BIRDS" (See Appendix C)

<sup>109</sup> In the program "AGAIN THE RED SUN" (See Appendix D)

<sup>110</sup> "CASE OF THE ROSE INCENSE" and "LONG ARM OF THE LAW" (See Appendix C)



TABLE IV

Distribution of Occupations of Major and Supporting Characters in Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex

	Mainland		Taiwan	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Law Enforcement Personnel	2	10		
Owners & Managers of Business			2	8
Doctors				3
Performing Artists/Producers		1		2
Corporate Executives			1	3
Engineers & Architects				2
Government Officials	3	7		
Municipal Officials			1	1
Academic Personnel	1	1		1
Clerical Workers	1		4	
Factory Workers	8	13		1
Nurses	1		1	
Farmers	2	1		
Fishermen				
Soldiers		1		2
Students*	1	1	3	4
Housewives*	4		8	
Servants, Waitress			2	1
Prisoners*		4		
Criminals	1	1		
With no Occupations(a lunatic)*				1
Indeterminate Occupation but gainfully employed	2	1	2	
Indeterminate		1	2	6

\*Not gainfully employed

in a social drama.<sup>111</sup>

Among the 21 employed female characters, only 3 government officials could be said to have occupational status,<sup>112</sup> but not one female character was shown to have subordinates. 5 female characters, however were shown to have superiors who were all male.<sup>113</sup> Although the other female occupations were not shown to have superiors, it was known that those were all subordinate positions with little status and power.

In the case of Taiwan, out of 13 gainfully employed female characters, 11 occupations were identified (See Table IV). The most portrayed occupation was clerical workers, holding 23%. The 2 owners and managers of business, one corporate executive and one municipal official could be grouped under "prestige occupations", to hold 31% of the total. These 4 were identified as having occupational status and two had subordinates.<sup>114</sup> The remaining 46% were traditionally female

<sup>111</sup>"HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED" (See Appendix C)

<sup>112</sup>Two neighborhood officers in "HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED" and the number one daughter-in-law in "FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL"

<sup>113</sup>Two coal delivery labourers in "THE BLACK PEONY", one bank clerk and two law enforcement personnel in "CASE OF THE ROSE INCENSE" and "LONG ARM OF THE LAW" (See Appendix C)

<sup>114</sup>The manager of business in "SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD" and the municipal official who was an elected-councillor in "ANOTHER YEAR OF SPLENDOR IN THE GRASS" (See Appendix D)



occupations: clerk, nurse, servant and waitress, all of which had little status or power.

It is worthy of note that in the Taiwan programs, there was a total absence of factory workers. This female occupational group was "annihilated" from "symbolic representation" in the sampled television dramas.

One common characteristic found in female occupations in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs was scarcity of job portrayals. There were only two cases where their employments were substantially portrayed;<sup>115</sup> and where job-settings were shown, they were very brief.

In both Mainland China and Taiwan programs, the hypothesis that "employed women are shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power" could be said to be confirmed.

(5) TV-WOMAN ARE MORE PERSONALLY - AND LESS PROFESSIONALLY-ORIENTED THAN TV-MEN

It was expected that this tendency could be evidenced in "the types of problems the character faced, the nature of their primary relationships, and the focus of their activities"<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup>The two exceptions were: the Taiwan program "SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD" where the nurse's specially assigned duty was a dramatic irony for the development of the plot, and the Mainland China program "THE BLACK PEONY" where the coal delivery girl's job was the reason for conflict between parents and daughter.

<sup>116</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), op. cit.

These three manifestations were explored in this study.

On the types of problems (See Table V) in Mainland China, female characters encountered more personally-oriented problems (77%) than male characters (54%); and less professionally-oriented problems (23%) than male characters (46%). The personally-oriented problems female characters faced mainly concerned family/marriage/romantic love (83%) and very few others, excepts for one material acquisition, one outside friendship and one crime.

In the case of Taiwan, female characters also encountered more personally-oriented problems (94%) than male characters (69%), and far less professionally-oriented problems (6%) than male characters (31%). Here again, the personally-oriented problems overwhelmingly all concerned family/marriage/romantic love (90%), only one concerned an outside friendship.

As to the types of primary interactions and activities; findings in Mainland China and Taiwan programs confirmed the percentage distribution to be almost identical with the types of problems faced (See Table VI). A significantly higher percentage of females than of males focused on home/family/personal relationship and activities while a significantly higher percentage of males than of females focused on occupational interactions and activities.<sup>117</sup> From these

---

<sup>117</sup>The only exception being one male character in a Taiwan program, "RHAPSODY OF LOVE" whose problems were professionally-oriented but his interaction and activities were personally-oriented, causing a 2% fluctuation in the outcome.



TABLE V

Distribution of Personally and Professionally-oriented Problems in Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex

	<u>Total No. of problems</u>	<u>Personally-oriented</u>		<u>Professionally-oriented</u>	
		N	%	N	%
<u>Mainland</u>					
Female	30	23	77	7	23
Male	46	25	54	21	46
<u>Taiwan</u>					
Female	33	31	94	2	6
Male	48	33	69	15	31

TABLE VI

Distribution of Personally and Professionally-oriented Interaction and Activities in Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex

	Personally-oriented		Professionally-oriented	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Mainland</u>				
Female	23	77	7	23
Male	25	54	21	46
<u>Taiwan</u>				
Female	31	94	2	6
Male	34	71	14	29



findings, the emphasis of females in the domestic sphere was clearly evidenced.

It could be concluded that in both Mainland China and Taiwan drama programs, TV women were shown to be more personally- and less professionally-oriented than TV-men.

(6) FEMALE CHARACTERS ARE MORE PASSIVE THAN MALE CHARACTERS

Two major manifestations of passivity were explored: firstly, it was expected that "women, more often than men, would want nothing for themselves", and secondly, it was expected that female characters "would be actively involved in the resolution of their problems far less frequently than men."<sup>118</sup>

It was found that in the first manifestation, very few characters both male and female would want nothing for themselves. In Mainland China and in Taiwan, the percentage of females, "wanting to have something" was both 81% and in the case of male characters it was 95% for Mainland China and 97% for Taiwan. This indicated that women not much less often than men, would want something for themselves.

Then data was collected on the character's concern whether it was "for self only", "for others only"; or "for self and others". It was expected that if a character was concerned for "self", then the character would not be passive;

---

<sup>118</sup>Jean C. McNeil (1975), op. cit.

in the case of concern for "others", then the character would be passive (See Table VII).

In Mainland China programs, findings indicated that 85% of female characters and 90% of male characters were not passive, males slightly higher than females. In Taiwan programs, 85% female characters and 83% male characters were found to be not passive. But this indication in Taiwan programs could not mean that the male characters were more passive than females, because the collected data included exceptions where male characters whose concerns were "for others only" but they took mostly non-passive action.<sup>119</sup>

The second manifestation was to be explored in problem solving. In Mainland China programs, 65% female characters and 69% male characters indicated "self-decision of solution"; while in Taiwan, females were 50% and males were 68%. This indicated females did not leave all the decision-making to males, and in Mainland China, they were almost equal.

For the resolution of problems (See Table VIII), in both Mainland China and Taiwan, female characters exceeded male characters in depending on "self entirely". It meant that males, more often than females, did not resolve problems on their own. However, when females left their problems to be resolved by "others entirely" or resolved by "self and others", they would more often draw upon male assistance than female

---

<sup>119</sup>Male characters helping a good friend in the program  
"LITTLE BIG MAN"



TABLE VII

Distribution of Character's Concerns  
 Indicating Passivity in  
 Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex

	<u>For self only</u>		<u>For self &amp; others only</u>		<u>For others only</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Mainland</u>						
Female	2	8	20	77	4	15
Male	9	21	29	69	4	10
<u>Taiwan</u>						
Female	5	19	17	66	4	15
Male	2	6	27	77	6	17

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Problem Solving Methods  
in Mainland China and Taiwan by Sex

	<u>By self entirely</u>		<u>By self and others and By others entirely</u>			
	N	%	<u>Male Assistance</u>		<u>Female Assistance</u>	
			N	%	N	%
<u>Mainland</u>						
Female	5	19	20	77	10	38
Male	3	7	27	64	26	62
<u>Taiwan</u>						
Female	5	19	20	77	10	38
Male	5	14	23	66	23	66



assistance. But for males, their assistance would come from both males and females almost equally.

Therefore, in both conjectured manifestations in Mainland China and in Taiwan programs, female characters were more passive than males, but not in love/marriage matters.

(7) TELEVISION DRAMATIC PROGRAMMING IGNORES THE EXISTENCE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

In Mainland China and Taiwan programs, women's movement had been ignored. All data were nil in two categories listed for "presence of feminists" and "advocation of feminism" (See Appendix E); "no mention" was the uniform observation. This could not have indicated the unimportance of women's movement, especially when Communists in China had always identified the emancipation of women with the revolution.

In the past couple of decades, the nature of Chinese women's movement had been redirected from a civil movement to a kind of social task force. As early as 1950, Madam Chiang Kai-Shek's directives to the women leaders in Taiwan stated that "movement" was temporal and different from "work"; "women's work was for permanence".<sup>120</sup> Taiwan women's movement has since concentrated on social work and welfare projects. Though there was advocation for a "New Feminist" movement, it did not receive wide support.<sup>121</sup> In Mainland

---

<sup>120</sup> Chien Jen-Chiu, Fifty Years of Historical Documents Since the Founding of the Republic of China (Taipei, Taiwan) Ch. 5

<sup>121</sup> Hsiu-Lien Lu (1974), op. cit.

China, women's movement always followed the Communist Party policies and campaigns enforced at the time. But basically, the focus was on the abolition of feudal patriarchal ideology and practices; the building up of women's welfare schemes was just the practicalities. But admittedly, Soong Ching-Ling, in 1972, still declared that if it should be asked "whether the women's liberation movement in China has come to an end, the answer is definitely no".<sup>122</sup>

After reviewing the 7-Point Critique, the Chinese "TV-women's Image", from empirical evidence obtained, was not quite the same as the Western dominant "TV-women's Image".

Television portrayal in Mainland China and Taiwan programs showed female characters to be fewer in number but only slightly less central to the plot than male characters; that marriage and parenthood were considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life. Mainland China programs did not portray the traditional division of labour in marriage, though Taiwan did still follow the traditional mode. In all programs, employed women were shown in traditional female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power; and TV-women were more personally-, less professionally-oriented than TV-men. But in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs, female characters were more passive than

---

<sup>122</sup> Soong Ching-Ling (1972), op. cit.



male characters, but not in love/marriage matters.

Out of the findings, several issues seemed to pull for further exploration: the almost equal importance of female major characters with males in the plot; the large number of women characters who were single; the significance of modern Chinese women's dual-role as homemaker and gainful employee; the low occupational status of the female characters; the absence of female factory workers/labourers in Taiwan television drama, and the manifestation of non-passivity by female characters in Mainland China and Taiwan programs.

In the panel discussion on the manifestation of traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics, an attempt was made to review these issues with factual evidence from the "TV world" and from the "real world" experience of members of the panel.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## DISCUSSION : AN ANALYTICAL COMPARISON

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS AND  
CODES OF ETHICS REVIEWED

This is an analytical comparison of traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics<sup>123</sup> as manifested in the sampled television dramas of Mainland China and Taiwan, based on factual evidence observed, discussed and reviewed by a five-member panel.

**"MALES ARE SUPERIOR, FEMALES ARE INFERIOR"**

All members of the panel came out with the same observation that this traditional Chinese concept, which stemmed from the feudal patriarchal society based on patrilineal descent, no longer held true in the families portrayed. Key issues employed to review this concept, by consensus, included: the prominence of daughters; that daughters were more substantially portrayed than sons; the declined emphasis in patrilineal descent; and the egalitarian treatment accorded women in the "TV world".

---

<sup>123</sup>See Chapter 3, p.41



It was noted that nine family situations were shown in the Mainland China programs, where all daughters, except a minor, were major characters. Sons, were not substantially portrayed except in one program "FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL" (See Appendix C); but even there, the daughters-in-law gained more prominence than the sons. In the Taiwan programs, fifteen family situations were noted; twelve families had only one off-spring, of which seven were daughters and six of them were major characters substantially portrayed. Where the family's composition consisted of daughters and sons, it was observed that children were given the same treatment. There was only one occasion, noted in the program "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN" (See Appendix C) that the son's career orientation rather than the daughter's, was stressed by the parents in a letter sent to the children.

The prominence of daughters was a common characteristic found in Mainland China and Taiwan programs. This finding also substantiated the issue raised from the empirical data that female major characters held almost equal importance with male characters, in consideration of daughters.

The declined emphasis in patrilineal descent was also noted. Traditionally Chinese married couples would express the wish to have male off-springs to carry on the "family name". But in no program was this mentioned. It was observed that even a baby boy born to an "oppressed daughter-

in-law" was not the major reason for a mother-in-law's reconciliation.<sup>124</sup> In Mainland China, it is now a common practice for women to retain their own surname after marriage, and off-springs could be "surnamed" after the mother, instead of after the father which had been the traditional practice.<sup>125</sup>

Another aspect in this Chinese Concept of male superiority was fidelity. Traditionally, Chinese society ascribed the virtue of chastity only to females. Men had the prerogative to take consubines, or in present times, the law not permitting, to take "mistresses".<sup>126</sup> Infidelity was shown to be unacceptable in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs.

In the Taiwan program "LITTLE BIG MAN" (See Appendix IV), when the husband shifted his affections to a dance-hall mistress, the wife left and divorced him. This was symbolic of female rejection of the traditionally one-sided fidelity in marriage.

In Mainland China program "THE BLACK PEONY" (See Appendix C), a young actor, son of a minister, was reported to have immoral relationships with girls whom he seduced to believe

---

<sup>124</sup>In the Taiwan program "AGAIN THE RED SUN"

<sup>125</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.3 of this study - Ex-Mainland resident.

<sup>126</sup>Hsiu-Lien Lu (1974), op. cit.



that he would marry them. He was arrested for his immorality in the end. This was symbolic of social sanction on men's infidelity.

Except by nature of the female character's inferior occupational status, the overt attitudes and behaviours between male and female interactions in Mainland China and Taiwan programs were shown to be egalitarian; the concept of "males are superior, females are inferior" was not manifested as being upheld.

#### "A VIRTUOUS WIFE AND A GOOD MOTHER"

Members of the panel first resolved the varied definitions to this traditional Chinese concept - a full-time housewife who did "hsiang-fu-jiao-tsu" - "wife as assistant to husband and undertaking responsibility for disciplining children".<sup>127</sup> Two female characters in Mainland China programs and three in Taiwan programs that obtained this traditional definition were noted.

In Taiwan programs, only one of the three female characters, Mrs. Chen Jen-Wu was substantially portrayed, in the program "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION". (See Appendix D) Her role represented the housewife of a petty bourgeoisie.

---

<sup>127</sup>Shiao-Chun Chang (1976), op. cit.

In the case of Mainland China, the two female characters were both substantially portrayed. The old professor's wife in "FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL" (See Appendix C) played the role representing a typical hsiang-fu-jiao-tsu housewife of the older generation. In the program "THE SACRED MISSION FOR JUSTICE" (See Appendix C), Lin Fang epitomised the role of a "virtuous wife and a good mother". Her image was the traditional "oppressed but faithful wife and suffering but patient mother".

Negative manifestations of this traditional concept was also noted. In the Mainland China program "THE BLACK PEONY" (See Appendix C), Sun Yu-Chin was rehabilitated with her husband from the persecuted "Black Seven Categories", but she failed as "a virtuous wife and a good mother". Her role represented the wife of an old Communist Party member who had been victimised in politics and embittered during the "Gang of Four". In the case of Taiwan, in the program "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION" (See Appendix D), Mrs. Wang Tien-Yu's only concern in life was for her son to marry a rich girl. She also failed as "a virtuous wife and a good mother". Her role represented the "social climber" in a capitalist society.

Both Mainland China and Taiwan programs were similar in their portraying the two extremes of the manifestation of this Chinese concept. They differed only in social and



political setting; Mainland China had undergone a period of turmoil through the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Gang of Four", while Taiwan had developed a flourishing economy during the same period.

The salience and significance of this Chinese concept rested on the nexus of role perception and role expectation in the society. In the Mainland China and Taiwan programs, it was manifested by characters in their expectations of a wife's role. It was observed in one Taiwan program <sup>128</sup> that the adolescent brother of the bridegroom, a student, criticised the newlyweds for getting into marriage without a sound economic foundation; that if it were his turn, he would have at least a house with a servant for his wife because he "would not want her to work at all". In two other Taiwan programs <sup>129</sup> that showed the female major characters to be rich girls, their portrayal was a life of leisure and pleasure while looking for a husband. They did no work, though one was a university graduate. It was known that as wives they also would not work. In Taiwan programs, it seemed that the non-working wife was the ideal role expectation. It was a "status symbol" for the middle and upper class families.

---

<sup>128</sup>Doo Yen in the program "THE OTHER END OF THE RED CARPET"

<sup>129</sup>In the programs "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION" and "LITTLE BIG MEN"

In the case of Mainland China, it was observed in four programs <sup>130</sup> that the male major characters concerned had all found true love, and they looked forward to married life. They expected to share with their wives mutual support and encouragement, and together to make contributions to the society and the "Four Modernisations".

It was evidenced that the role perception and role expectation of a wife was markedly different between Mainland China and Taiwan programs. The traditional "virtuous wife and good mother" concept was subjected to different interpretation in two societies with different economic systems. Taiwan had achieved a standard of living that did not require the exploitation of the entire female work force. But the standard of living cannot be increased in Mainland China "unless women work outside the home to assist in the primary accumulation of capital for mechanization". <sup>131</sup>

"MEN MIND THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND WOMEN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS"

The panel in this study determined that this traditional Chinese concept was to be operationalised in terms of a

---

<sup>130</sup> Koo Ming-Hua in "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN", Chiang Ji-Yee in "THE TUNE OF THE LOVE BIRDS", Tang Fu-Yuen in "HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED", and Szeto Min in "THE BLACK PEONY"

<sup>131</sup> Helen Foster Snow, Women in Modern China (Mouton & Co. 1967) p.27



household, and adopted "husband taking charge of outside affairs and wife inside affairs".<sup>132</sup> Key issues raised for review included: division of labour within the household; women's dual-role as housewife and gainful employee; women's low occupational status; single girls and late marriage.

On division of labour within the household, it was observed that in Mainland China programs, male characters performed household tasks like natural.<sup>133</sup> This was reported to be a common practice in real life;<sup>134</sup> that husband would come home from work with groceries and prepare the dinner, and also wash clothes and clean the house; the chief household duty of the wife was sewing, making clothes for family members. (It was imperative that few could afford to buy ready-made clothes for the whole family all year round.) It was partly this practical reason of releasing wives that husbands undertook to do household duties, but partly because they would want to contribute toward the upkeep of the family.

In the case of Taiwan, with only one exception,<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup>Shiao-Chun Chang (1974), op. cit.

<sup>133</sup>In the programs "THE TUNE OF THE LOVE BIRDS" and "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN"

<sup>134</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.3 of this study - Ex-Mainland resident.

<sup>135</sup>In the program "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION"

it was observed that male characters were in compliance with traditional practice, household tasks were left to the wives; or in well-to-do families, to household servants. It was reported <sup>136</sup> that only the older generation followed the traditional division of labour strictly, because males felt "lose face" to be seen doing feminine tasks; but with young couples nowadays, in conjugal families, it was the trend for husbands to help in household tasks.

For female characters, the dual-role of modern Chinese women, as homemaker and gainful employee, was substantially portrayed in all sampled programs. The conflict between the two roles was not apparent in Mainland China programs, but it was acutely portrayed in Taiwan programs.

It was observed that there were four female characters in the Taiwan programs that excelled in the role as gainful employee/career woman. In "RHAPSODY OF LOVE" (See Appendix D) Lee Mei was a capable wife who worked as a teacher in the evening in addition to her daytime job, and helped her husband through his business crisis. In "SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD" (See Appendix D), Soong Yuen-Shiang single-handedly built a business enterprise and brought up a daughter whose father she thought was dead. In "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION" (See Appendix D), Ah Fung not only helped her husband financially through medical school, also funded his newly-

---

<sup>136</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.4 of this study - Ex-Taiwan resident.



established hospital. In "ANOTHER YEAR OF SPLENDOR IN THE GRASS" (See Appendix D), Hsu Yuen-Tsu was an elected councillor campaigning for another year in office. In her case, the conflict of two roles was most vividly portrayed. It was regarded as arrant selfishness on her part to give up "family warmth" for "career fame". This was symbolic of society's disapproval of women devoting attention to career than home. This finding was in sharp contrast with manifestations in Mainland China programs.

In all Taiwan programs, the traditional concept was endorsed; on no occasion was a female given open encouragement to develop her career. But it was left to the female characters themselves. They had the choice to participate in gainful employment. It was a matter of striking a happy compromise between home and career, of adjusting a working life to a family life. It was observed that for them, the freedom of choice was there.

But in Mainland China programs, all female characters, except for the elderly, were shown to be holding a job, whether they were married, with children, or of single status. Participation in labour had been specified by law in Mainland China; the constitution stipulated that "those who do not labour, do not get to eat,"<sup>137</sup> and "labour is

---

<sup>137</sup>The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Chapter I, Article 10, excerpt on Renmin Ribao (March 8, 1978) (Translations mine)

the glorious responsibility of all labour-capable citizens".<sup>138</sup>  
 There was no freedom of choice, occupations were centrally assigned contingent upon prevailing government policy and social and economic needs. This was also stipulated in the Constitution: "citizens have the privilege to labour. In accordance with principles of coordination and joint consideration, the State shall arrange for labour employment".<sup>139</sup>  
 This policy had caused wide-spread discontent, as evidenced in the program "THE BLACK PEONY" (See Appendix C).

It was this freedom of occupational choice that was the most striking difference between female characters in Mainland China and Taiwan programs.

A similarity was discovered in female occupations in Mainland China and Taiwan programs, their low status and lack of prestige, an issue which had been evidenced in empirical data.

In Taiwan, although legally women had access to all occupations, but it had been reported that an employment policy prejudiced against women was adopted as a common practice in both public and private organisations.<sup>140</sup> "If they

---

<sup>138</sup> Renmin Ribao (March 8, 1978) op. cit. (Translations mine)

<sup>139</sup> Ibid. (Translations mine) Chapter III Article 48

<sup>140</sup> Chia-Shih Hsu (1977), op. cit.



do not want to employ women, there is nothing much you can do".<sup>141</sup>

The issue concerning the unlikelihood of females to be in high occupational status in Mainland China could be due to the low participation of women in political activity,<sup>142</sup> especially in the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, the two major sources from which leadership of local bodies was chosen.<sup>143</sup> Mainland China had been an extremely centralised society, the Communist Party's control of state government and economic enterprises had been jealously guarded; so if there were few women in high positions, it could "reflect conscious leadership decisions in cadre selection in the CCP going back forty years and more", rather than "only economic backwardness or prejudices of the male masses".<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.4 in this study - Ex-Taiwan resident.

<sup>142</sup>Hong Kong Standard (March 8, 1980) New China News Agency released statistics on women in government: China has more than 4.7 million women cadres; The fifth National People's Congress in 1978 had 21.2% women representatives; the Standing Committee of the Congress has 19.4% women members.

<sup>143</sup>Katie Curtin, Women in China (Path finder Press, New York 1975) p.74

<sup>144</sup>Ibid. p.70

Traditionally, Chinese women were denied access to education. But in three of the Taiwan programs, female university students/graduates were substantially portrayed. It was observed that young women would wait until after graduation before preparing for marriage. And as reported,<sup>145</sup> among families seeking upward mobility, the daughter's educational standard was an asset to secure a husband of higher social and economic status. Late-marriage in Taiwan had become a social issue partly due to female pursuit of higher education.

In Mainland China, the legal marriage age for girls was eighteen, but in practice, young women were discouraged from getting married until they were twenty-six years old. It was reported,<sup>146</sup> that local cadres, as an action measure, would conduct "thought mobilization work" on the females who desired to marry young. Late marriage in Mainland China, although governed by social pressure, afforded females more social experience in the wider society.<sup>147</sup>

These findings could substantiate the issue arising out of the empirical data concerning the prominence of female characters on single-girl status.

---

<sup>145</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.4 of this study - Ex-Taiwan resident.

<sup>146</sup>Reported by monitor/coder No.3 of this study - Ex-Mainland resident.

<sup>147</sup>Claudie Broyelle, Women's Liberation in China (Humanities Press 1977) p.148



## "THE THREE OBEDIENCES"

Traditionally, these codes of ethics demanded total submission of the female, in accepting commands and decisions from three levels of authority - father, husband, and son. But as there was no portrayal of widow's interaction with sons in the sampled programs, the third level of obedience was not discussed by the panel.

"Obedience to father" could be observed in portrayals of the "oppressed daughter" and the "oppressed daughter-in-law".

There were three cases of "oppressed daughters", two concerning arranged marriage<sup>148</sup> and one concerning injustice.<sup>149</sup> The daughters resolved the oppression in the end, but not by "obedience to father". One case of arranged marriage (Mainland China program) was resolved when the male party was arrested for immoral behaviour and the daughter's outspoken attitude to retaliate the parent's feudal thinking. The other case of arranged marriage (Taiwan program) was resolved by the help of a half-sister who replaced the "betrothed". The case of injustice (Mainland China program) was resolved by the daughter's righteousness in revealing

---

<sup>148</sup>In the program "THE BLACK PEONY" and "THE WINGED PHOENIX"

<sup>149</sup>In the program "THE SACRED MISSION FOR JUSTICE"

the truth against the father's wishes. These three cases were symbolic of rejection of the traditional code of "obedience to father" by daughters of the younger generation.

As to "oppressed daughters-in-law", there were two in Taiwan programs,<sup>150</sup> both concerned disapproval of marriage by the parents-in-law. But in both cases, obedience to father/mother was not adhered, resulting in prolonged separation and sufferings before reconciliation was brought about and the families in the end were reunited. These cases were also symbolic of rejection of the traditional code of "obedience to father".

But the case of "daughter-in-law" as noted in one Mainland China program<sup>151</sup> was not oppression by father who demanded obedience, but the outright disregard and disrespect for the father. The two daughters-in-law were oblivious to traditional codes of ethics.

At the second level, "obedience to husband", it was observed that there were two patterns of behaviour. Amongst the married couples of the older generation, the code of "obedience to husband" was visible; but among married couples of the younger generation, husband-wife relationship was

---

<sup>150</sup>"AGAIN THE RED SUN" and "SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD"

<sup>151</sup>"FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL"



egalitarian. Also, the "hen-pecked husband" for dramatic effect was portrayed in both Mainland China and Taiwan programs.<sup>152</sup>

In this study, members of the panel noted rejection of the traditional "obediences". But from manifestations on the positive side, obedience to father came closer to filial respect, while obedience to husband came closer to mutual respect for family integration.

The "Three Obediences" not only demanded female submission, but also restricted them to passivity. But in these Mainland China and Taiwan programs, a similarity was noted: female characters of the younger generation showed non-passivity in matters relating to romantic love, courtship and marriage.

Four Taiwan programs portrayed this issue. There was the ex-girlfriend asking the bridegroom for one last date;<sup>153</sup> there was the girl-next-door who initiated a love affair with a married man;<sup>154</sup> there was the rich girl wooing her father's handsome employee;<sup>155</sup> and another rich girl

---

<sup>152</sup>In the Taiwan program "AGAIN THE RED SUN", "THE OTHER END OF THE RED CARPET", "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION"; in Mainland China programs "THE BLACK PEONY" and "FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL"

<sup>153</sup>In the program "THE OTHER END OF THE RED CARPET"

<sup>154</sup>In the program "RHAPSODY OF LOVE"

<sup>155</sup>In the program "LITTLE BIG MEN"

forcing her love on a proud young man.<sup>156</sup>

There were also four Mainland China programs that portrayed this same issue: There was the girl who gestured her affections first even though the boy was already attracted to her;<sup>157</sup> and the girl who took initiative to visit the man engaged to a paralyzed girl;<sup>158</sup> another girl who supported the boy's living, and performed household tasks for him;<sup>159</sup> and another girl who gave encouragement to her boyfriend though she was under pressure to an arranged marriage.<sup>160</sup>

There were manifestations of non-passivity in trying to do a job well, but those were brief portrayals not significantly noteworthy.

These factual evidence contributed to substantiate the female non-passivity issue raised from the empirical data.

---

<sup>156</sup>In the program "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION"

<sup>157</sup>In the program "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN"

<sup>158</sup>In the program "THE WINGED PHEONIX"

<sup>159</sup>In the program "HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED"

<sup>160</sup>In the program "THE BLACK PEONY"



## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to find out what images of Chinese women are being portrayed in contemporary television drama in Mainland China and in Taiwan, and how they compare with dominant Western "TV-Women's Image"? Do Chinese television dramas in Mainland China and Taiwan portray Chinese women's image differently? Furthermore, can common characteristics or differences be identified in terms of traditional Chinese concepts and codes of ethics that govern the status of Chinese women?

Compared with the dominant Western "TV-Women's Image", the Chinese "TV-Women's Image", based on empirical evidence in the sampled programs, resembled the global trend in the following respects: that female characters were fewer in number and less (but not significantly less) central to the plot; that marriage and parenthood were considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life; that employed women were shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power; that TV-women were more personally- and less professionally-oriented than TV-men; and that female characters were more passive than male characters (but not in love and marriage). The main difference between the dominant Western "TV-Women's

Image" and the Chinese "TV-Women's Image" was in the traditional division of labour in marriage. In this respect, Taiwan programs still resembled dominant global trend; but Mainland China programs did not confirm the tradition, instead their female characters played the dual-role as housewife and gainful employee outside the home.

The similarities in women's image between Mainland China and Taiwan programs in this study could be identified: that women were portrayed as important as men, although they were clearly identified as to marital status more often than males; that working women were more often in low occupational status; that they were more frequently concerned with problems of family, marriage and romantic love, and so were their interactions and focus of activities; but they manifested non-passivity particularly in matters connected with love, courtship, and marriage; many would want something for themselves, and they did not frequently leave decision-making to the males; many resolved problems on their own, but when assistance was needed, they would turn to males more often than females. Mainland China programs showed that gainful employment outside the home for females and males performing household duties were the correct roles, while Taiwan programs still reinforced the traditional role of housewife/mother confined to the domestic setting where males did no household tasks. But the point most sharply contrasted



between them had to be the freedom of choice on the part of Taiwan females, that they could choose the dual-role or just be a housewife, the choice was there; whereas in Mainland China programs, the implication definitely was gainful employment for everybody, male and female alike.

From television factual evidence in this study, common characteristics between Mainland China and Taiwan programs were identified. It was found that the traditional Chinese concept of "males are superior, females are inferior" was manifested as not being upheld. The findings indicated the absence of emphasis on patrilineal descent; the prominence of daughters rather than sons, and the sanction of male infidelity. The traditional codes of ethics of "Three Obediences" were also not upheld; daughters were shown to be rejecting father's oppression in arranged marriages, husband-wife relationship in the younger generation was egalitarian, and young women were not passive. There was more the manifestation of filial respect toward the father, and mutual respect between husband and wife for family intergration. As to the traditional concepts of "a virtuous wife and a good mother" and "men mind external affairs, women mind the internal", though similar cases were observed in Mainland China and Taiwan programs, there was a basic difference in interpretation and practice. Mainland China programs advocated women's participation in society, while Taiwan programs reinforced the place for women was in the home.

## SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The social significance of research on "TV-Women's Image" concerns the comparison of data from "TV World" with objective demographic facts of the "real world", and the "socialization" effect of television. Here, it seems in place to present some exemplifications.

On the issue of under-representation of females in television dramas; take the case of Taiwan. According to recent statistical reports <sup>161</sup>, the total population in Taiwan is now 17,503,000; of which 8,363,000 are female. In other words, females constitute 47.7% of the population. Data from this study (see Table I page 45) showed that females were not disproportionately represented; only a 5.7% difference between demographic facts and the "television facts" from the sampled Taiwan programs.

In Mainland China, according to recent statistical data, there are now 95 million workers of which 31 million were females, holding up 33.3% of factory labour force.<sup>162</sup> In this study, the female factory workers were found to represent

---

<sup>161</sup>Source: Directorate-General of Budget, Department of Accounting and Statistics, Taipei (Republic of China, January 1980)

<sup>162</sup>Deng Ying-Chao, Speech at the "Women's Working Conference" of The National Amalgamated Workers' Union, China's Women (Volume 2, 1980)



38% of all workers' roles portrayed in the sampled Mainland China programs. The difference was 4.7%.

Female workers were not represented in the sampled Taiwan programs, although according to statistics that came out in January 1980, of the total work force in Taiwan of 4,346,000, there were 2,223,000 females, of which 1,018,000 were classified under female "labourers".<sup>163</sup>

Due to the limited number of sampled programs in this study, no valid generalization to the whole population of television dramas was made, but, insights could be probed.

The total absence of female workers' roles in Taiwan television drama was an unusual phenomenon. An enquiry was put forth by this writer to the General Manager of an independent television production house<sup>164</sup> in Taipei for an objective comment on programs from the three networks. The reply was that "female workers have been a sensitive social issue in Taiwan, and TV drama programs, which are basically entertainment, have consciously avoided it". Female workers in Taiwan have low social status, and unlike in Mainland China, the proletariat are not played up.

Taiwan television networks are commercial concerns. Economic imperatives dictate their conservatism in presenting socially accepted roles and values. Therefore the social

---

<sup>163</sup> Source: Directorate-General of Budget, Department of Accounting and Statistics, Taipei (Republic of China, January 1980)

<sup>164</sup> Rev. Raymond Parent, Kuangchi Program Service, Taipei

implications for Taiwan, where television systems are highly evolved and commercially owned, should call for emphasis on reform - to change society's attitude toward women and to change women's attitudes toward themselves. According to data evidenced in this study, the ideal "virtuous wife and good mother" female role, as perceived by male characters, was the traditional narrow one of the non-working housewife/mother. Television dramas could possibly portray more favourably women's dual-role as an alternative, as a new version of the "virtuous wife and good mother" ideal. Also, women could be portrayed to have more opportunities in employment and accepted to higher occupational status. Female characters that were to be shown working outside the home could indicate self-actualisation in their work; so that "not working" need not be accepted as the only correct role for a wife.

In Mainland China, mass media had been known for its positive doctrinal teaching of State policies and Party interests,<sup>165</sup> notably, by presenting models, suggesting appropriate behaviour, and encouraging active application. In the present study, in the sampled Mainland China programs, half of the themes dealt with the denouncement of the evils of "Gang of Four" while four others mentioned working toward "The Four Modernisation" - closely following the current official line.

---

<sup>165</sup>Edgar Snow (1970), Op. cit. page 28.



The production of television programs in Mainland China had been revived only after the fall of the "Gang of Four". It had been twenty years since the first television drama "A Mouthful of Vegetable Cake" was telecast in 1958 that this genre of television programs was resumed.<sup>166</sup> It was described as "a new flower in cultural art" and commented to possess the advantages of low production cost, short production time, reaching a wide audience all at one time, and it can reflect contemporary life quickly.<sup>167</sup> For the present, due to the scarcity of receiver sets, television has not yet become a popular medium; until now, it has been the urban elite that have the highest exposure to television. But when the supply of television sets meets market demand, it can be envisaged that it will become the most pervasive medium, and for Communist purposes, for "doctrinal" socialization of the masses.

Therefore, the social implications for Mainland China, where television system is not yet highly developed and there is a strong element of government control, should call for emphasis on developing women's status. Aside from the constant outcries to eradicate "feudal patriarchal thinking", new efforts should focus on women's occupational choice and access to higher professional status. As evidenced in this study,

---

<sup>166</sup> Renmin Xijiu (Volume 8, August 18, 1979)

<sup>167</sup> Wenhui Bao (October 11, 1979)

occupational status of female characters remained in the lower rungs. Since women in Mainland China have been emancipated to take up a dual-role in society, they should be given the same opportunities as male members, to be among the decision-making levels of the State hierarchy. Then Chinese women that were to "hold up half the sky" could live up to the late Chairman Mao's earnest expectations - "what all ever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too".

But the most significant finding in this study, according to this writer, was the salience of female major characters in the single-girl status both in the sampled Mainland China and Taiwan programs. These young women, more than women of the older generation, were the active members of society; their attitudes and outlooks could contribute and influence the prospect of their society at large. Their spirit of outwardness and non-passivity were particularly worthy of note. For it would be their concern for their future lives, and their decision-making in matters connected therewith - in their self-selection of marriage partner, their role expectation of "an ideal wife" and their self-perception in the wider society - that must be positively reckoned with in a study on Chinese women, because it would bear social relevance not only in the present, but also in the future.

Findings from the present study do not permit valid generalizations due to a weakness in the small number of



available samples of television drama, which admittedly renders empirical data not highly representative, and statistically; only of low validity.

Also, some insights and new attributes derived from analysis of the television factual data; such as the new outlook on the marriage institution, conflict resolution between the older and the younger generations, parents and their daughters, could not gain strong significance due to scarcity of sampled cases.

In the initial stage of this study, an attempt had been made at building up corroborating evidence to overcome these weaknesses. The panel of monitors/coders was designed, at first, to incorporate a large number of Ex-Mainland residents and Ex-Taiwan residents from different social strata; so that after viewing all sampled programs, they could contribute factual data at panel discussions through revelation of their personal life experiences on relevant issues. Then a "reconstruction of social reality" could be mapped out to draw comparisons between the "television world" and the "real world". However, due to limitations in resources, and operational problems in the provision of adequate monitoring facilities the concept was not practicable. Under the circumstances, eventually, only four representative monitors/coders were enlisted.

In selecting television drama for the present study, owing to its contemporary historical setting, there is strength

in its manifestation of current social values during the period studied, through the characterization of female roles. Also, it could test an underlying assumption of the present study that traditional concepts and codes of ethics that govern Chinese women's status in society have not been totally eradicated in both Mainland China and Taiwan television drama.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

As this is a pioneering study on Chinese women's image in television drama, it will provide comparative materials unavailable elsewhere. But due to limited time and resources, this writer was only able to have a small sample confined to a 9-week coverage of television dramas telecast in Taiwan and in Guangdong, Mainland China. Anyone who is interested in conducting a similar study is advised to have a larger sample.

Furthermore, for future in-depth study; the measuring instrument to determine women's portrayal in television drama needs to be more precisely designed in finer categorization and items, so that more attitudinal and value-oriented data could be collected.

To study women's image in television drama, there are other aspects of equal importance: society's perception, particularly children's perception of sex-roles and appropriate behaviours, women's self-perception, the relationship between attitudes and values of television industry personnel and program content, and the position of women as media-policy makers. These require public opinion surveys and other methodology, and not within the scope of the present study. However, they are worth looking into as they will improve understanding of the overall perspective that obtain the wider issue of women in society.

It was pointed out by Margaret Mead in 1975, International Women's Year, that "the current questioning of the status of women is part of the whole process of questioning a social order that no longer meets the newly aroused hopes of the people who live within it". Before conducting further research on Chinese women, the most pertinent question at this time seems to be "Do they question the social order?"<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup>Margaret Mead, "Needed: Full Partnership For Women", Saturday Review (New York, June 14, 1975)



## APPENDIX A

LIST OF TELEVISION DRAMAS (電視劇) TELECAST IN MAINLAND CHINA  
 BY GUANGDONG TV DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 7, 1980 TO MARCH  
 9, 1980

DATE	CHANNEL 2	CHANNEL 8
January 10	爸爸病危	鴛鴦曲
January 17		神聖的使命
January 24		有一個青年
January 31	鴛鴦曲	
February 15	黑牡丹	何日彩雲歸(一)
February 16	何日彩雲歸(一)	何日彩雲歸(二)
February 17	法網	
February 20	何日彩雲歸(二)	
February 23	梅根	梅根
February 26	失望人的希望	
February 29		何日彩雲歸(一)(二)
March 3	玫瑰香奇案	

## APPENDIX B

LIST OF TELEVISION DRAMAS (電視劇) TELECAST IN TAIWAN BY CTS, TTV, CTV DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 7, 1980 TO MARCH 9, 1980

DATE	華視劇展 CTS	台視劇場 TTV	名劇精選 CTV
January 12		新婚假期	偶然
January 13	寂寞春風無限情		
January 19		情韻	外國特輯
January 20	此情可待成追憶		
January 26		又見驕陽	玉樓春曉
January 27	多情總被無情惱 (上)		
February 2		愛情愛情	四樓的房客
February 3	多情總被無情惱 (下)		
February 9		小人物出頭記	後院的黑影
February 10	相逢何必曾相識		
February 16		賀年特輯	賀年特輯
February 17	向陽門第早逢春		
February 23		山外山	紅毯的那一端
February 24	幾番風雨燕歸來		
March 1		元宵特輯	元宵特輯
March 2	身無彩鳳雙飛翼		
March 8		風鈴響起時	男人的話
March 9	又是一年芳草綠		



• APPENDIX C

SYNOPSIS OF MAINLAND CHINA TELEVISION DRAMA PROGRAMS

Program Title : "FATHER IS GRAVELY ILL"

Synopsis :

Planning a family reunion to celebrate his 60th birthday, old professor Fang and his wife used the pretext: "father is gravely ill" to recall his three sons working elsewhere in the country. The professor could remember the times when his No.1 son and No.3 son both joined the red guards to persecute him while his No.2 son was sent away to a farm. He was hoping that such days were forever gone.

But No.1 son and No.3 son had not changed their attitude. When they came back and saw the father in bed, believed he was dying. No.3 son's wife grabbed the money in the drawer and the watch from father's wrist. No.1 son and his wife searched for his bankbook. When it was found, the two couples fought for it, and in the end, decided to share equally. They rushed to the bank but discovered that the account had only one dollar. So they rushed back to query their father and discovered he was not gravely ill. Father told them that he had sent all his savings to help flood refugees. The two couples were disappointed. They just made an excuse and left. In great fury, father suffered a heart attack and was really gravely ill. Just then, No.2 son and wife came back and helped to rush him to hospital. No.3 son, with his conscience eating him, returned to accompany them to hospital. The old professor told his No.2 and No.3 sons that he had not left any legacy



for them, but Chinese ancestors and revolutionaries had left an invaluable legacy - how to treat your own compatriots and your own country. He hoped that they would remember that for generations to come.

節目名稱：爸爸病危

製作：湖南電視台

播影日期：一月十日

故事擇要：老教授方嵩山，六十歲生日，老太太因三個兒子久未回家，以“爸爸病危”召之，老教授回憶起紅衛兵時代，大兒子和三兒子都參加了紅衛兵，竟回家鬥爭自己父親，在紅衛兵總部老大且表示和父親斷絕父子關係，若干時日後，老教授經過慘痛迫害，扶傷回家，二兒子正下放去鄉下工作，老教授將身上僅剩的十塊錢，送給老二做零用，老二悄悄留在桌上，黯然而去……

老教授希望這種痛苦的日子，已隨時間過去，不料老大和小三依然惡性未改，首先是小三夫婦回來，見爸爸睡在床上，以為真的病危，小三的妻子不但取走抽屜中的現錢，且除下父親手上的手錶，老大夫婦回來亦像小三夫妻一樣，只知尋找父親的銀行存摺，為爭存摺老大和小三兩對夫婦竟大打出手，最後協議平分，四人是像參加環城賽跑一樣跑去銀行，誰知父親銀行內僅剩一元，氣極敗壞回來追問父親的儲蓄，剛巧老二夫婦亦回來，老教授說出所有儲蓄全寄去救濟水災，老大和老三兩對夫婦大失所望，藉詞有事，匆匆離去，老教授一氣，心臟病遂發，老二急找救傷床來，陪同母親送父親去醫院，小三總算天良未泯，在電影院門口不理妻子的反對，趕回去探望父親，老教授告訴老二和小三，他雖沒有留下遺產，但是中國人的祖先，以及革命家，早就留下了寶貴的遺產，“就要我們怎麼去對待自己的同胞和自己的國家”，希望他們能把這些寶貴的遺產一代一代的留傳下去。

主角：爸爸

老大

大媳

老二

老三

三媳

配角：媽媽

二媳



Program Title : "THE TUNE OF THE LOVE BIRDS"

Synopsis :

In 1975, Chiang Chi-Yee and Huang Hsiu-Jen, both construction labourers, were engaged to be married. But on the day of their wedding, Hsiu-Jen accidentally fell from a great height. Though her life was saved, she was paralysed for life. Hsiu-Jen had an aged mother and a younger brother. Though Chi-Yee could not marry her, he treated her like his wife.

Two years later, Chi-Yee learnt from a Chinese medicine book of a special herb to cure paralysis, so he went to look for it in the mountains. He fell from a cliff and was saved by an old medicine farmer who took him home. Chi-Yu was introduced to his grand-daughter Lee Lien-Fang who volunteered to help to bring medicine for Hsiu-Jen. As time went by, the three became good friends.

Three years had passed, but Hsiu-Jen's physical conditions had not improved. In despair, with the help of a little girl neighbor, Hsiu-Jen swallowed an excessive amount of sleeping pills to commit suicide. Luckily, she was saved. But she refused to see Chi-Yee again. Instead, she wrote to Lien-Fang requesting her to take care of Chi-Yee, suggesting their marriage. Lien-Fang loved Chi-Yee, but felt it was wrong to leave Hsiu-Jen in her condition. When the three met again, no one could think of a good solution.

節目名稱：鴛鴦曲

製作：湖北電視台

錄影日期：一月三十一日

故事擇要：1975年。青年江志毅和黃秀珍同為建築工人，二人相戀已久，不料就在要成親的那天，秀珍因為趕工，不慎由高處墮下重傷，經過醫治，雖保持了性命，但却終身癱瘓，秀珍祇有一個年老的母親和一個年幼的弟弟，志毅雖不能和她結婚，却仍當她是自己的妻子一樣的照顧她。

兩年後，志毅翻查中醫書，知道有一種草藥可治癱瘓，可是所有藥店俱無該種藥出售，遂入深山探採，不幸墮崖昏倒，幸遇老藥農將其救回家，遂與老藥農之孫女李蓮芳相識，並獲老藥農代其採到那種草藥，蓮芳對志毅很是好感，知道志毅工作很忙，時常代他採藥送去與秀珍，因此與秀珍亦建立了很好的友情。

一轉眼又過了三年，秀珍的病仍毫無起色，爲了不想拖累志毅，趁家中無人，央求探她的鄰居小女孩代取安眠藥，小孩天真無知，竟讓她整瓶服下，幸志毅回家及時發覺，忙送醫院急救，秀珍自殺不成，惟有堅拒志毅與之相見，請鄰居代她寫信給蓮芳，央蓮芳爲其照顧志毅，顯有湊合二人之意，蓮芳雖也愛志毅，但覺得自己不能這樣做，親自往見秀珍，且將志毅約來，三人相見，却找不到妥善解決的辦法，同處矛盾中！

角：黃秀珍

江志毅

李蓮芳

角：黃母

生 生

爺 爺

小女孩



Program Title : " THE SACRED MISSION FOR JUSTICE "

Synopsis :

Bai Hsun was tortured in prison but he would not admit the charges of attempted rape which he had been framed. Nevertheless, he was sentenced to serve a term of fifteen years.

Eight years later, old kan-pu Wang Kung-Bor was assigned to the local Public Security Office, and suspected Bai Hsun's case. He visited Bai Hsun's wife Lin Fang and learnt that it was in 1967 during the Red Guards revolt, Bai Hsun knew that his superior was to be victimized and so he wanted to report the conspiracy. He was, however, arrested.

The Vice Director Pei of the Public Security Office knew that Wang was re-examining Bai Hsun's case and was afraid that their misdeeds would be revealed. He sought directives from the Gang of Four and was directed to exterminate Bai Hsun. Wang Kung-Bor knew about the plot and ordered his former student Chen Hsueh-Ching to protect Bai. The Director of the Public Security Office, Kuo, receiving pressure from high authority, advised Wang to be careful. Wang replied that he was not afraid to die for the course of justice.

Bai Hsun's son, Bai Hsueh, was a primary student. He was abused by his schoolmates because of his father's position. Fortunately his teachers Wu Chan-Kwong and Ai Hua protected him. Wang accompanied Wu to visit Ai Hua and when they spoke of Bai Hsun, Ai Hua's conscience forced her to speak the truth.

She told them that she was really Yang Ching, the daughter of Yang Da-Yung, who was Bai Hsun's neighbour eight years ago. Realizing that Bai knew about certain conspiracy of his, Yang asked his wife to coax Bai to enter their daughter's room while she was changing and accused Bai of attempted rape. Having got the truth, Wang Kung Bor was about to repeal the case but unfortunately was run down by a car driven by Pei and Yang and died.

After the fall of the Gang of Four, Bai Hsun was finally cleared and was deeply moved by the death of Wang in his course to uphold justice in his defence.



節目名稱：神聖的使命

製作：廣東電視台及中央電視台

攝影日期：一月十七日

故事擇要：白舜在獄中遭毒打，雖不認罪，仍被加以“企圖強姦”之莫須有罪名，判處十五年徒刑。

八年後，老幹部王公伯受訓轉回當地公安局任職，登覺白舜可疑，往訪白妻林芳，始知係67年紅衛兵造反，白舜上司被鬥，白無意間發現上司係遭流氓楊大榕設計陷害，正擬向上級揭發楊之陰謀，隨即獲罪。

公安局副局長陪發年，見王公伯覆查白舜，恐陰謀洩流，請示上級四人幫，得到指示，擬殺白舜滅口，為王公伯發覺，即命他以前的學生陳水清小心保護白舜，鄭局長受到上面壓力，勸王公伯小心從事，王公伯為伸張正義，表示個人生死早已置之度外。

白舜的小兒子白雪，在小學讀書，被指為黑幫兒子，時遭同學欺侮，幸獲男老師吳正光和女老師愛華極力保護，王公伯隨吳正光造訪愛華，談起白舜，愛華天良發現，說出實情，原來愛華的真名為楊琮，乃楊大榕女兒，八年前楊家與白家為鄰居，楊大榕因自己的陰謀被白舜發現，遂命妻子在女兒更衣之際，誘白舜來，誣以企圖強姦，王公伯得知真相，正欲為白舜翻案，不料却遭陪發年和楊大榕用車撞死。

四人幫垮台後，白舜卒獲平反，得知王公伯因欲為自己伸雪致遭毒手禁感概萬端！

主角：王公伯

白舜

林芳

楊琮

配角：吳正光

陳水清

鄭局長

陪付局長

楊大榕

楊妻

Program Title : "THERE WAS A YOUNG MAN".

Synopsis :

Koo Ming-Hwa and his sister lived away from their parents. He worked at a steel factory where the output from manual operation was not up to standard. Failing to motivate his colleagues to discuss improvements, he went alone to the library to look for technical information. Due to his low educational standard, he encountered great difficulty. There was a girl who also frequently studied in the library. He noticed her eyes speaking silent words of encouragement to him. He was attracted to her but dared not ask her name. One day, at the subway station, the girl went by with a mutual friend who told her his name. She called out to greet him. But the train left. Knowing in his heart he had someone who cared, Ming-Hua studied hard to catch up. Reminded by his sister, he changed all his bad habits of untidiness, smoking, littering and loud speech. Eventually, he found the technical solution from his research work and presented it to the factory. He also knew the girl's name was called Hsu Wei, who also gestured her affections to him. Ming Hua found fulfilment in work and in love.



節目名稱：有一個青年

製 作：北京電視台

播映日期：一月二十四日

故事擇要：顧明華是一家鐵工廠的青年工人，在工作時，發覺手作技術無法使產品達到一定水準，他很想改進，召集同事開小組會議研究，可是同事們都不感興趣，明華遂獨自一人跑到圖書館去找資料，由於知識水平太低，很感困難，引起一個青年女郎對他注意，她默默的眼神，給了他無形的鼓勵，遂盡量克服困難，努力學習，二人在圖書館相見日多，情感漸生，可是顧明華始終提不起勇氣向她請教芳名。

女郎名叫徐薇，一天和女同事乘搭地下火車，見到顧明華行來，女同事告訴徐薇，顧是她哥哥的同事，徐薇當即呼喚顧明華的名字，明華大喜，心想超前綫，但車已啓行。

顧明華專心研習，費寢忘餐，他的妹妹麗華時常勸他注意本身清潔，明華却不理會，由於他沒有受過良好教育，養成許多陋習，隨地拋棄垃圾，在公共場所抽煙……。但自從有了心上人，這些壞習慣都逐漸改變過來，卒在書本上找到改進技術的資料，和同事余達昭詳細研究後，貢獻給工廠，經過實驗，果然技術有了改進，在此同時，徐薇也主動地向他表示了愛意，他的愛情和工作都有了成果，正朝正確的途徑邁進。

主 角：顧明華  
徐 薇

配 角：顧麗華  
余達昭  
田保安

Program Title : " THE BLACK PEONY"

Synopsis :

Chao Shieu-Mei worked as a coal delivery labourer. She was pretty and good-natured, and people nicknamed her "Black Peony". Her father was an old Communist Party kan-pu, Chao Yung-Sang, and her mother Sun Yu-Jin was a nurse. During the Cultural Revolution, Chao Yung-Sang was persecuted as "Black Seven Categories" and Shieu-Mei was exiled to Hainan Island. There she met a young man, Szeto Min, who shared her same experience and they fell in love.

After the fall on the Gang of Four, Shieu-Mei and Szeto Min returned to Hsiu Chiang and both worked at the coal store. Shieu-Mei's mother saw others who returned like them were already in high ranks, and some of the kan-pu of the Gang of Four were still in power. Her thinking took a turn and she decided to use personal influence and connections. Knowing that an actor Lin Tung was courting Shieu-Mei, but his father, being a minister, might not like her low occupation, she urged her husband to pull strings to transfer Shieu-Mei to a better job. But Chao Yung-Sang knew of Shieu-Mei's love for Szeto Min, and since she was not unhappy with her job, he did not want to interfere. But being pestered by his wife, and disheartened by the injustice he suffered during the Gang of Four, he consented. When Shieu-Mei found out about their plot, she denounced the parent's feudal thinking and left home.



Chao Yung-Sang regretted, that in a life dedicated to the revolution, he could have such feudal thinking. It was reported that Lin Tung was arrested for immoral behaviour. This caused further unrest in Chao Yung-Sang's mind. He suffered a heart attack. Shieu-Mei rushed to the hospital to see her father who asked to be forgiven for his misdeed. He accepted Szeto Min to be son-in-law and the family lived happily ever after.

節目名稱：黑牡丹

製作：廣州電視台

播影日期：二月十五日

故事擇要：趙雪梅是一個運送煤球的女工，年青漂亮人緣好，人們給她取了個外號叫做“黑牡丹”。她的父親是老幹部趙榮生，母親孫玉琴以前是人民醫院的女護士。在文化大革命的時候，趙榮生成了黑七類，雪梅下放海南島，和一個與她同樣遭遇的青年司徒敏很是要好。

四人幫垮台後，雪梅和司徒敏都回到秀江，同在紅秀柴煤商店工作，趙母眼見許多人都升了官，有很好的享受，而在四人幫時期得勢的幹部，仍穩居高位因而思想有了轉變，亦想攀附家門，知道有一個做演員的林彤在追求雪梅，他父親是部長，見雪梅只是一個送煤的女工，反對兒子與雪梅接近，趙母遂要丈夫利用過去的人事關係，為女兒調換單位，榮生知道女兒深愛司徒，而且對本身的工作並無不滿，本不想干涉，經不住妻子一再慫恿，再加上在四人幫時期受到迫害，對革命有點灰心，卒同意了妻子的主張，雪梅認為父母的想法很是錯誤，極力爭辯，遭父怒斥，以父母不可理喻，黯然離家。

榮生畢生獻身革命，發現自己突有這種封建的思想，殊感後悔，忽有公安人員來訪，是以林彤玩弄女性，對方有了身孕，竟將之拋棄，違反道德，已遭拘捕。榮生聞言更加悔恨，心臟病發，雪梅聞訊趕到醫院探望，榮生要求女兒原諒他的錯誤，並答應司徒敏做他的女婿，於是，在榮生病愈後，雪梅和司徒敏結了婚，與父母同聚一堂，一家樂也融融。

主角：趙雪梅

趙榮生

孫玉琴

配角：司徒敏

朱秀蓮

林彤



Program Title : "THE LONG ARM OF LAW"

Synopsis :

Fang Wen-Shia was awakened from sleep when a person claiming to be a public security officer knocked on her door. But she discovered it was Tang Shiao-Dee, the convict who killed her mother. Tang and a gang had escaped from prison, and he had knocked down a security officer and changed into his uniform. Now he needed money to go away, he came to Fang. Reluctantly, Fang surrendered her saving coupons. But Tang would have Fang cash her money the next day and then hand it over to him at a department store. He threatened her life if she were to tell public security officers. But Fang reported the case.

The following day Fang went to the department store, Tang saw security officers present, dared not walk up to her. On that same day, another escaped convict was recaptured and disclosed that Tang had been to his aunt's house to collect some medicine and some cyanide saying that if he were caught again, he would swallow the cyanide and commit suicide. Captain Wang Chuen, a public security official suspected Tang might use cyanide to poison other people should he become desperate. Fang was again contacted by Tang to deliver the money at a restaurant. But in stead of Tang, another criminal turned up, claiming he was under instruction from Tang to collect the money. Fang refused and left.

Next, Tang wrote to Fang to meet in the park and said he would be in disguise holding a bunch of roses in his hands. But again Tang did not show up. This was a set-up to divert the attention of the security officials. Tang instead went to Fang's house and hid, so when Fang returned home, Tang robbed her of everything and force her to take the cyanide. Fortunately the public security officials arrived on time and the long arm of the law caught up with Tang Shiao-Dee.



節目名稱：法網

製作：上海電視台

播影日期：二月十七日

故事擇要：深夜，方文霞睡夢中，忽聞有人敲門，聲稱爲公安人員，啓門出視，那人赫然爲謀殺她母親的兇手唐小弟。

原來唐小弟被捕後在看守所中聯合宋良和杜阿四兩名犯人一同逃走，且擊倒一名公安人員，換上那人制服，因急於需錢，故來向方文霞要脅，方被逼交出全部儲蓄券，唐上次就是因爲持儲蓄券往銀行取款被捕，故要方明天先去提款，然後在他兩以前常見面的那家百貨商場交錢，並警告方，他有不少同黨，如果去報告公安局，即有人對她不利。

翌日，方文霞依時赴百貨商場，唐小弟混在人叢中，恐方身後有公安人員，不敢與之相見。是時，與唐小弟合逃的犯人宋良爲公安局拘捕，趙副局長與王隊長更查出唐小弟曾往姨父母家取走一些雲南白藥及山埃，聲言爲再被捕即服山埃自殺，王隊長認爲兇犯以山埃毒害他人，則更加可怖。

方文霞又應約去一家餐廳等候唐小弟，來的却是唐的朋友李才保，公安人員跟踪李，但候在餐廳外的是另一逃犯杜阿四，二人俱講是受唐所託，並不知唐匿藏處。

其時唐小弟正向外號叫做“一只鼎”的青年求助，“一只鼎”雖爲一名慣竊，但表示已洗手不幹。唐指他不夠義氣，立即動武，“一只鼎”逃出居所，即去報告公安局。歸途中竟遭唐之同黨擊傷。

唐小弟再寫信通知方文霞去某公園見面，說明他需化裝，爲恐怕相見不相識，各持一束玫瑰花爲記，可是公安人員在公園遇到持玫瑰花與方文霞見面的人，却是唐的另一朋友周大生，原來唐小弟故意引開公安人員，躲方文霞家裏，方文霞甫返家門，即爲唐所脅，搜到現金，還逼方飲山埃，幸公安人員及時趕到，唐小弟卒法網難逃。

主角：唐小弟  
王川  
方文霞

配角：一只鼎  
小海  
大康  
老張  
宋良  
杜阿四  
趙副局長  
李才保  
周大生  
劉華

Program Title : "HOPE FOR THE DESPAIRED"

Synopsis :

On a bus, a pick-pocket stole from Ho Yue-Tsu forty dollars which was immediately transferred to his gang members. The young man was caught by other passengers and beaten up. Ho recognised him to be a neighbour Tang Fu-Yuan, and saved him from public abuse. Ho wanted to send him to hospital, but Tang ate some Chinese medicine he had in his pocket. The medicine reminded Ho of her younger days when she and her father had to make a living by performing stunts.

Ho did not turn Tang over to the law enforcement personnel but instead followed him to his house. She found that he was in dire poverty, supported by a childhood girlfriend Li Chiao-Mei since his folks died during the Gang of Four. Ho took Tang home and wanted to adopt him as her No.2 son who had died. She had four other children: No.1 son working in Sinkiang, No.3 son in the army; No.4 son and No.5 daughter still in primary school. Ho was newly appointed the official of the residents' committee of the district. She took Tang to process the procedures for his transfer of residency. The security official Huang outrightly disapproved because Tang had been a thief. But Ho spoke of rehabilitation. The registrar Wang reluctantly consented. Ho found Tang a job at the export trade office warehouse.

Tang was basically a fine young man, and with a new job, he worked hard and wanted to live a normal life again, with



encouragement from his girlfriend. But he was still despised by people in the neighbourhood. When Ho's No.3 son returned from the army, he also expressed his resentment of an adopted "thief" brother.

Tang was pestered by his ex-fellow pick-pockets in the gang who asked him to steal some sweaters from the warehouse in exchange for the forty dollars he stole from Ho previously; also saying this was a "parting" operation. Tang was anxious to get rid of these people and consented to the theft. Unfortunately he was caught by foreman Sun, and was brought to the law enforcement personnel. Tang was willing to serve imprisonment. But Ho, upon learning that he was under pressure from criminals, pleaded for him to be given one last chance.

On the way home, Tang was followed by the gang who forced him to go with them to a dungeon to hand out the sweaters. Failing that he was beaten. But fortunately, his girlfriend Li had also been following him, and called in the law enforcement personnel who arrived on time to catch the gang of criminals. Tang could now live a new life.

名稱：失望人的希望

作：湖南電視台

日期：二月二十六日

摘要：何玉芝在銀行取到四十元，乘搭公共汽車爲人竊走，一名男乘客指出是湯富元所竊，匪款已轉手，富元立遭群衆毒打，何玉芝認出他是鄰居，連忙阻止，將其帶離車站，富元以爲會帶去派出所，何却要送他去醫院，富元搖頭，取出自備傷藥，何不時感觸。原來何父爲一江湖藝人，表演雜技受傷，雖有自備傷藥，率因傷重死去，何自幼隨父習藝，故亦有該種傷藥，故對富元頗有同病相憐之意，過訪富元之居所，但見四壁蕭條，連飯亦由富元女友李巧妹供應，李巧妹與富元自小同學，說出富元本爲一好青年，湯父被四人脅迫害死去，因饑寒而致墜落。

何即帶富元回自己家，她有四個兒子，一個女兒，大兒子在新疆工作，被竊去的四十元就是他寄來的，二兒子已死，小三在部隊裏，小四、小五仍在讀書，以富元的年齡與她二兒子相若，即要娶作她的二兒子，富元個性偏強，雖然默認，却不肯叫她做媽媽。

何玉芝現在是居委會主任，帶富元去辦理戶籍，汪戶籍勉強同意，但治保主任黃臘梅却極力反對，何仍堅持己見，且介紹富元至外貿局倉庫工作。

富元本性善良，獲得工作後，很想改邪歸正，可是所有的街坊鄰里仍對他歧視，幸何極力照顧，再加李巧妹不斷鼓勵，所以拒絕了扒手頭老五和八姐的誘惑。不料何的三兒子突由部隊歸來，因他正申請入黨，不想家庭有不良份子，極力反對母親收留富元，剛巧那天富元因恐遲到，急衝過即將有火車來臨的鐵道，局司閘員楊師傅動了武，楊亦走來向何投訴，富元受千夫所指，一怒離開何家，被老五見到，富元向他追討上次竊何那四十元，老五答應還他，但要富元爲其到外貿局偷竊幾件毛衣，方答應他洗手。

富元爲想擺脫老五，收工後，偷入倉庫，正竊取毛衣，不料被負責人老孫發現，富元甘願任之打罵，祇求老孫不要給何知道，剛巧何與李巧妹來到，卒被帶到派出所，富元怯願坐牢，不久說出真相，汪戶籍與何經過商量，認爲富元尙能造就，汪要何先回家，待他和富元單獨談談，即放富元回家。

富元從派出所出來，又和八姐相遇，富元一直不知老五藏身處，即和八姐去見老五，被巧妹無意中見到，暗中跟踪，富元在地下室見到老五，交不出毛衣，遭老五及其手下毒打，幸巧妹電告公安人員及時趕到，將老五等人拘捕。富元雖受重傷，但因得何及巧妹等人諒解，決定從新做人。

角：何玉芝

湯富元

李巧妹

角：汪戶籍

黃臘梅

老 五

八 姐

老 三

老 孫



Program Title : "CASE OF THE ROSE INCENSE"

Synopsis :

Fan Ta-Ma was murdered, and the murderer had set fire to the body to destroy all evidence. When her daughter Fang Wen-Shia returned home from her night duty and saw the fire, it was already midnight. Public Security Official, Captain Wang Chuen set up a special unit to investigate the case. It was known that Fan had been keeping eight dollars saving every month for over 20 years. And since the cash and saving coupons all disappeared, it would seem that the homicide was motivated by greed. During the investigation, it was reported that Fan's saving coupons were being cashed at a bank in the suburb by Tang Shiao-Dee, Fang's boyfriend. Tang had courted Fang since he discovered of her mother's saving. Fan was first fond of him and bought him a motor-cycle as a gift; but later discovered Tang was a rascal and advised the daughter to terminate the friendship. This antagonised Tang who was determined to get the money anyhow.

On the night of the murder, Tang accompanied Fang to a movie after which he escorted her to her factory. They separated at 9:45 p.m. and Tang went back to his quarters at 10:40 p.m. witnessed by a caretaker. As investigations proceeded, Tang informed the security officials that a thief named Yee Tsu-Ding previously borrowed money from Fan would be a suspect. Meanwhile, Tang purposely left some saving coupons on the road for him to pick up. But Tang's actions were

recorded on a video-recorder set up by the security officials.

Wang Chuen summed up the case. On the night of the murder, Tang and Fang separated at 9:45 p.m.; Tang rushed to Fan's house with his motor-cycle, killed Fan and poured inflammable liquid over her body and lit a jostick of rose incense that would require one hour to burn away and start the fire. This gave Tang adequate time to rush back to his quarters with his motor-cycle. With clues and evidence, Tang was arrested and prosecuted for murder.



片名稱：玫瑰香奇案

作：上海電視台

影日期：三月三日

事擇要：范太媽突然被謀殺，兇手且縱火圖毀屍滅跡，范的女兒方文霞值完夜班回家，發現火光的時候，已是午夜十二時。

公安隊長王川與三男一女成立小組，負責調查該案。得知范每月儲蓄八元，已廿餘年，不但家裏三百元現款不見，所有儲蓄券亦全部失蹤，顯係謀財害命，王川正調查間，忽接電話，郊區兩家銀行，有人持范儲蓄券提走小量存款，立即通知各銀行注意，果然又有人持范儲蓄券到一家銀行提款，遂遭拘捕，那人乃方文霞男友唐小弟。

原來唐小弟為一遊手好閑青年，知道范大媽有許多存款，趁方文霞回家途中，耍兩友上前調戲，然後超前保護為友打傷，遂獲佳人青眼，范大媽愛屋及烏，贈款與唐購置一輛機器腳踏車，旋發覺唐為人不正，勸女兒少與其接近，為唐得知，故動殺機。

事發當晚，唐小弟陪方文霞到大光明看電影，再送方去工廠，九點四十五分與方分手，唐十時四十分回宿舍，為由方之工廠返到宿舍乘搭公共汽車正好五十分左右，且宿舍人在那時確見到唐，因此治安人員未對他懷疑，事後唐便向治安人員提供：有一外號叫“一只鼎”的小偷，曾向范大媽借錢，企圖轉移治安人員視線，旋且在街道上窺見“一只鼎”行來，悄將數張儲蓄券置道上，讓“一只鼎”拾去，不料竟為治安人員將一切用電視錄像，而事發當晚，唐與方文霞分手後，即在預先藏在附近之機器腳踏車趕去范家，將范殺死後，在天上灑上髮蠟液體，再點上一支瓊玖香，該香需燃一小時多，方引髮燃液體起火，故及及時開車回宿舍，而認明案發時，他早已回到宿舍，可是仍為精明的王隊長偵知，證據確實，唐小弟祇好俯首認罪。

角：唐小弟

王川

方文霞

角：一只鼎

范大媽

劉華

大康

小張

小海

毛

APPENDIX D

SYNOPSIS OF TAIWAN TELEVISION DRAMA PROGRAMS



Program Title : "RHAPSODY OF LOVE" (TTV)

Synopsis :

A young girl, Doo Yee-Ching, worked as a designer at an art gallery, while pursuing her university education. Her parents were overseas Chinese and she lived by herself in Taipei. She was full of romantic notions; though she had a boyfriend of her age, she dismissed him as being immature.

She was attracted to a middle-aged man living opposite to her house. At an art exhibition, the man, Chun Hau, was introduced to her by a mutual friend, Chu Yi-Ping. Thereafter, they started going out together, though she knows that he was married and loved his wife.

Doo Yee-Ching's schoolmate Ho Tieh-Jin dissuaded her from carrying on this kind of relationship. Chu Yi-Ping also spoke to Chun Hau and cautioned that the relationship was scandalous. Yet both of them thought that true friendship could exist in a man-woman relationship. Chun Hau's wife, Lee Mei, ever dedicated to her husband, never doubted his fidelity.

Misfortune struck Chun Hau; first, his business was on the verge of bankruptcy; then, his health was attacked by hepatitis. Lee Mei attended to her husband with full devotion; raising money to save his business and caring for him personally in the hospital. Doo Yee-Ching then realised that she should not interfere in the happy family and decided on packing up to join her parents overseas, and to keep a rhapsody of love in her heart.

節目名稱：情韻

製作：台灣台視

播影日期：一月十九日

故事擇要：杜怡青是一個年青女孩子，父母都在國外，單獨住在一家公寓裏，一面讀大學一面在畫廊兼職設計，由於她充滿幻想，對現實都感到不滿足，雖有一個與她年齡相若的男朋友許逸群，但她却覺得他不夠成熟，在她居所對面住着一個中年男人，二人不時偶然相遇，從未交談，怡青竟莫名其妙地對他產生了好感。

一天，畫廊主辦朱一平畫展，那個中年人也來參觀，朱一平為怡青介紹，方知中年人名叫成皓是朱一平的同學，怡青和成皓相識後，雖然成皓早已結婚，而且很愛他的太太，但仍很喜歡和成皓接近。

怡青的女同學王鐵君，認為怡青和一個已婚男人來往，不會有什麼好結果，怡青遂試圖和成皓疏遠，但都無法忘懷成皓，朱一平也向成皓提出警告，因為他常去找怡青，已引起不少謠言，成皓雖有警惕，但遇到怡青後，二人俱認為純友誼的交往，不應受人言影響。

其間，最冷靜的是成皓的太太李梅，雖然女友黃正儀，曾告訴她常見成皓和一個少女約會，但她仍然相信丈夫不會對她不忠。

成皓的生意突遇意外，經濟陷入困境，旋且患肝炎入醫院，李梅四處奔波，籌調資金，並細心看護丈夫病體，怡青來探訪成皓，見此情形，覺得自己不應插足這個美好的家庭，決定出國去陪伴父母，僅帶着一段內心的情韻離去。

主角：杜怡青  
成皓  
李梅

配角：黃正儀  
王鐵君  
朱一平



Program Title : "AGAIN THE RED SUN" (TTV)

Synopsis :

A sorrowful Ting-Ting, who was in her advanced stage of pregnancy arrived at her aunt's house to seek temporary shelter. When queried by her cousin, Chuang Sin-Yue, she disclosed her unfortunate experiences.

Two years ago, she fell in love with Lin Chee-Jen, but his mother disapproved of her because another girl had been matched for him. They then eloped to Taipei. After one year of hard work, they settled down to a stable living. Chee-Jen's father visited the couple and they reconciled with paternal encouragement. When Ting-Ting became pregnant, Chee-Jen was anxious to earn more money for the coming baby. He joined a fisherman neighbour to work at sea. But the ship was struck by typhoon and there was no news of Chee-Jen.

So Ting-Ting returned to live with her aunt. Chee-Jen's mother became more resentful of Ting-Ting because of Chee-Jen's death. But the father was more understanding and consoled her to think that a woman who lost her husband was just as sad as one who lost her son. When a baby was born to Ting-Ting, the mother-in-law finally came to accept them into the Lin's family. On this occasion, the lost Chee-Jen suddenly appeared. So it happened that he was saved by a foreign freighter and he had to travel two months before returning to Taiwan. The family was reunited in rejoice.

目名稱：又見驕陽

作：台灣台視

影日期：一月二十六日

事擇要：婷婷從小在姑母家長大，現在却懷着身孕回來了。原來兩年多前，她與住在附近的青年林子建相戀，由於林母反對，雙雙私奔去台北，偷偷結了婚，經過一年刻苦生活，已略有點積蓄，更對未來充滿信心，就在婷婷生日的那天，子建的父親林天祥突然尋來，小夫妻俱應手足無措，不料林父通達人情，並無拆散他倆的意思，僅囑二人多多保重身體，臨行且留下一萬元，由於林父的關懷和鼓勵，他倆決定生個孩子，一轉眼又過了一年，婷婷果然有了身孕，子建爲了想多賺一點錢，隨鄰居老周上漁船去工作，殊料船出大海，忽遇颱風，噩耗傳來，船沉人杳，婷婷傷痛欲絕，孑然一身，就爲重來投靠姑母，可是林母却對婷婷更加反感，認爲婷婷害死她的兒子，林父則不以爲然，覺得失去丈夫的人和失去兒子的人是同樣傷心，經他一再苦勸，林母幡然覺悟，卒隨丈夫同往醫院探望婷婷，向其道歉，並且迎接婷婷母子回家，想不到就在這時子建突然歸來，原來子建於船沉後，在海上飄流兩天，獲一艘外國貨船救起，經過兩個月航程始回台灣，得知婷婷已獲母親諒解，更是大喜若狂，一家團聚，樂也融融。

角：婷 婷  
林子建

林 父  
林 母

角：莊心茹  
莊 父  
莊 母  
老 周  
周大嫂



Program Title : "SPRING DAWN ON THE PAVILION" (CTV)

Synopsis :

Huei-Ling was the only daughter of Chan Jen-Wu, a wealthy business man. Having graduated from University, she did not work but just enjoyed life, while looking for a husband. There were many suitors, but Huei-Ling only had eyes for Wuang Jen-Chung, a young architect, who could not work for personal favours from her, but instead, joint a small building firm. Jen-Chung liked Huei-Ling but turned her away because of her airs and her conceit.

It happened that the building firm faced a financial crisis. Fortunately, the owner's niece, working as a household servant at Huei-Ling's home gathered help from relatives and Jen-Chung amended the construction plans, and the situation was averted.

Rejected by Jen-Chung, Huei-Ling's feelings were hurt. Turning to spite, she fired Jen-Chung's father who worked at her father's firm. Jen-Chung's mother was angry with Jen-Chung's refusal of Huei-Ling, but his father did not mind, and went to be a store-keeper for the building firm. When Jen-Wu found out what had happened, he reprimanded his daughter and taught her that all young men had their pride. He hired Jen-Chung's father back to be the manager of his newly-established department store. Also, he put up more money to help the building firm. Huei-Ling finally learned her lesson when she visited an old school-mate, a doctor and head

of a hospital, but henpecked by his wife, who had helped him financially. She recognised her own selfishness in just wanting Jen-Chung to be her obedient follower, and realised her father was right. She changed her attitude and her whole outlook, and won Jen-Chung's love in the end.



節目名稱：玉樓春曉

製作：台灣中視

播影日期：一月十二日

故事擇要：陳惠玲是大發企業公司董事長陳健吾的獨生女兒，嬌生慣養，驕縱任性，大學畢業後，雖有許多男友追求，獨喜王振中，可是王振中是個實事求是的青年，既不喜陪伴富家小姐遊樂，又不想利用裙帶關係發展事業，情願在一家小型營造廠任職工程師。

敦煌營造廠的老闆林敦煌，因一時不察，信用前任工程師，幾臨破產，幸後表侄女阿桃代向親戚籌來一筆款項，雖數目不大，却勉可週轉，再加王振中鼎力相助，業務逐漸轉好，阿桃本在陳惠玲家做下女，亦轉來營造廠任文員。

陳惠玲性甚好強，不獲王振中青睞，因愛轉恨，假借父親名義，將大發公司任職的振中父親王天羽辭退，王天羽的妻子聽說丈夫失去會計主任職位，埋怨兒子不該得罪惠玲，天羽却不以為然，且為人豁達，即轉去振中的營造廠任材料管理員。

事為陳健吾獲悉，即將女兒訓誡一番，他深明大理，且知人善用，為響應政府發展工商事業，一面資助林敦煌的營造廠，並聘王天羽擔任新開的百貨公司為經理。

某日，惠玲遇蘭同學游家雲，發現游太太阿鳳緊從丈夫身邊，且對游指頤使氣，雖知游是因太太資助完成學業，且開了一家醫院，但却變成太太的一隻哈吧狗，惠玲因此覺得父親的規勸甚有道理，從此痛改前非，遵從父親訓示，幫助王振中發展事業，絕不居功，終於獲得振中敬愛。

主角：陳惠玲  
王振中

配角：陳健吾  
陳母  
王天羽  
王母  
阿桃  
林敦煌  
游家雲  
阿鳳

Program Title : "LITTLE BIG MEN" (TTV)

Synopsis :

Jin Hau, Shih Lang and Li Kwun were three unemployed bachelors sharing a flat. They soon each found a job. Jin Hau worked in a construction firm, Shih Lang a bit-actor and Li Kwun as a store keeper for a toy factory.

The manager of the construction firm was Kuo Wan-Chuen whose daughter Kuo Yu-San also worked in the firm. Yu-San was very fond of Jin Hau and always asked him to go out. One day, Jin Hau had to accompany a lady client to lunch, Yu-San was very upset and out of jealousy fired Jin Hau.

The manager of Li Kwun's factory, Hsu Lee, had a son called Hsiao-Chiang who was very naughty and treated Li Kwun as one of his plaything. Li Kwun couldn't take it after a while and had to resign. Hsiao-Chiang, however, had gotten to be very fond of Li Kwun and when he realized that he was no longer able to see Li Kwun again, decided to run away from home. Li Kwun on hearing the news, started out with his two friends to look for him.

Shih Lang found Hsiao-Chiang in the end, but when he went back to the studio late, he received very insulting words from the director and resigned out of pride.

So all three again were unemployed. Hsu Lee however, begged Li Kwun to go back for the sake of his son. He told Li Kwun that because he was once courting a dance-hall mistress, his wife divorced him. His son only came to live with



him three months in a year. Although he had since left the other woman, his wife still refused to reconcile. Since Li Kwun had also brought about their reunion by his taming of the naughty boy, he offered him in return the post of head of the trading section.

At the same time, Kuo Wan-Chuen realized that Jin Hau was too valuable to be lost and came with his daughter to apologize and to offer him their business manager's post. Shih Lang's movie meanwhile became a box office hit and although he only played a minor role in it, he received an offer by another movie studio to play a leading role in their new picture.

The story ended with all three "little big men" moving ahead.

節目名稱：小人物出頭記

製作：台灣台視

播影日期：二月九日

故事擇要：耿浩、石浪、李坤三個失業的王老五同住在一起，不久，三個王老五同時找到了工作。耿浩在一家建築公司任職，石浪獲得電影公司錄用為配角，李坤則在一家玩具廠看管玩具。

建築公司的總經理為郭萬春，他的女兒玉珊也去公司任職，但祇掛個名，玉珊甚喜耿浩，時要耿浩陪她出外玩樂，一天，耿浩因公陪一女客戶吃飯，玉珊大妬，局之間罪，耿浩被責，一氣辭職。

李坤玩具廠的董事長為徐立，有一個小兒子小強，大概十歲左右，很是頑皮，竟把李坤當作活玩具，李坤無法忍受，不肯再幹，不料小強對李坤已有了感情，不見李坤隨即離開父親的家，李坤聽說小強失蹤，大感不安，耿浩和石浪帶着李坤前去尋找。

石浪幫李坤找到小強後，趕到片廠，因遲到遭導演厲聲斥責，自尊受損，掛官離去，於是三個王老五又先後失業了。

徐立爲了兒子堅說李坤回去工作，原來徐立因迷戀一個舞女，和太太心華離了婚，小強一直和母親住，每年只到父親這邊來居三個月，徐立雖和舞女分手，心華仍不肯和他復合，李坤不但使小強改除頑性，並帶小強促成父母復合。徐立遂請李坤擔任貿易部負責人。

其時，郭萬春亦發覺耿浩是個人材，陪同女兒玉珊來向耿浩道歉，且聘耿浩為業務經理，石浪所演的那部電影已上映了，很是賣座，他雖然是配角，却為另一家電影公司老闆即請他去做主角，於是三個小人物都出頭了。

主 角：耿 浩  
李 坤  
石 浪

配 角：郭玉珊  
郭 父  
徐 立  
小 強  
李先生  
導 演



Program Title : "SHADOW IN THE BACKYARD" (CTV)

Synopsis :

Sung Chee, a young nurse, living with her widowed mother Sung Yuen-Shiang, was asked to be a special-duty nurse to a crippled old man who lived in a hillside villa. He was Yang Wan-Fu, a retired millionaire, age over seventy, who was stubborn, and ill-tempered. Sung Chee, in carrying out her duty, remained firm against the old man's temperaments. Yang Wan-Fu was very impressed by her diligence and became very fond of her.

Sung Chee was told by Yang Wan-Fu that besides a butler and a female servant, there was nobody else living in the villa. But Sung Chee was disturbed by a mysterious shadow she saw in the backyard. Taking her own initiative, she discovered that a middle-age man, apparently a lunatic, was living at the back quarters.

Yang Wan-Fu was very crossed when Sung Chee disclosed the secret. The lunatic was his son Yang Chia-Ren, who suffered mental disorder since twenty years ago when his father pressured him to study abroad but he wanted to marry a girl whom he loved and was pregnant by him. Yang Wan-Fu had kept this a secret and sent word to the girl that his son was dead. It was known that the girl gave birth to a daughter, and she never remarried.

When Sung Chee went home and told her mother what happened, it was discovered that the lunatic was her real father whom she thought had died. So, mother and daughter rushed to the villa for a family reunion, with blessings from Yang Wan-Fu.

節目名稱：後院的黑影

製作：台灣中視

播影日期：二月二日

故事擇要：宋淇被派到山上一家別墅擔任特別護士，照顧一個半身不遂的老人，他是別墅主人楊萬福，是一個已退休的富翁，年過七十，不但性情爆燥，而且為人固執，沒想到宋淇這個才廿歲的年輕女孩，却比他更倔強，堅持病人必須遵從醫護，萬福一向指頤使氣從沒人敢違抗他，宋淇的頑強，反令他對她產生了特別好感。

楊萬福告訴宋淇，別墅裏除了管家老孟，祇有一個煮飯的劉嫂，再沒有其他的人，可是宋淇却發現後院住着一個中年男人，而且神經有點失常，遂趁鄭醫生來為萬福診病之際，向萬福詢問，萬福當場大發脾氣，祇稱那是一個不相干的人，因病由他將之收留。

其實那人是萬福唯一的兒子，名叫嘉仁。二十年前，嘉仁和宋雲湘相戀，雲湘忽然有了身孕，嘉仁為人懦弱，一向很害怕父親，再加萬福正要送他出國深造，他不敢反抗，更不敢說出雲湘已有身孕之事，一急之下，因而神經失常，萬福命人瞞着雲湘，謊稱嘉仁已死，雲湘深愛嘉仁一直未再嫁，生下的女兒就是宋淇，這個秘密終由宋淇拆穿，雲湘聽說嘉仁未死，當即趕往相見，並不因嘉仁有病為嫌，依然表示相愛，萬福甚為感動，深悔當初自己太過頑固，致造成此結果，尚幸一家人終能團聚。

主 角：楊萬福  
宋 淇

楊嘉仁  
宋雲湘

配 角：鄭大夫  
孟克成



Program Title : 'THE OTHER END OF THE RED CARPET" (CTV)

Synopsis :

Doo Hsieh and Lo Ming-Sah, on the day of their wedding, separately received telephone calls from their ex boy/girl-friend, pleading for a last date which they secretly attended. By coincidence, both took place at the same restaurant, so the encounter ended in quarrels, and Doo Hsieh and Lo Ming-Sah went separate ways.

Doo's parents came from Taichung to attend their son's wedding. Not familiar with streets in Taipei, they went looking for Doo's apartment, and met Lo's parents without having been introduced. Due to some misunderstanding on road directions, the old couples also developed an argument upon arrival at the new couple's apartment.

The wedding reception was held at a grand restaurant. Guests arrived in great numbers, but there was no sight of the bride and bridegroom. Receptionist Hung Da-Ren thought of a way out to delay the wedding reception, by rolling a red carpet from the wedding hall on the 4th floor slowly up to the top floor. Saying that the longer it was, the more happiness for the newly-weds. When he reached the top floor, he discovered Doo and Lo at the roof-top lovingly making reconciliations. So the couple was hurriedly led down the long red carpet to the wedding reception, joined by their parents.

節目名稱：紅毯的那一端

製作：台灣中視

播影日期：二月二十三日

故事擇要：杜喆和羅明莎結婚那天，仍趕着親自動手粉刷新居，兩人同時接到舊情人的電話，互相瞞着對方前往赴約，杜喆的女友是沈台莉，羅明莎的男友為陳自強，兩男兩女竟在同一餐廳相見，於是這對即將做新郎新娘的人，一路爭吵回家。

其時，杜喆的父母正由台中來到台北，找尋杜喆新居之際，與羅明莎的父母相道，雙方嘗未會面，因一點小誤會互有不滿，待返入新居，方知是兒女親家，是時，杜喆和羅明莎仍互不相讓，同斥對方不是，羅明莎一氣，跑出新居，杜喆跟隨追出外去，羅母幫女兒，杜父幫兒子，兩親家亦大吵起來。

杜羅的婚宴設在一家大飯店，數百賓客齊聚禮堂，可是等到開席的時候，既不見新郎新娘，又不見雙方的父母，可把擔任總招待的洪大仁急壞了，靈機一動，遂藉舖紅地毯來拖延時間，本來紅毯祇由禮堂舖到臨時的新娘房，但洪大仁強調紅毯舖得越長，新夫婦就越長久，於是紅毯由四樓一直舖上十三樓天台，洪大仁以為這下可糟了，不料杜喆和羅明莎已原歸於好，二人正在天台上卿憐我愛，當新郎新娘步入禮堂之際，被困新居的羅父羅母和迷途的杜父杜母亦及時趕到，喜劇於焉結束。

主角：羅明莎  
杜喆

洪大仁

配角：劉美蘭  
杜炎  
杜父  
杜母  
羅父  
羅母  
陳自強  
沈台莉



Program Title : "THE WINGED PHOENIX" (CTS)

Synopsis :

One day, Lee Wei-Yang met an attractive girl while he was outdoor sketching. He followed her home and learnt that her name was Fung Ai-Wen, daughter of a restaurant owner. She helped her father in his business while attending university. Wei-Yang courted her for a year but received only a cold refusal. He discovered that Ai-Wen's father had betrothed her to an overseas Chinese as an act of gratitude for a good deed done him in the past. Wei-Yang persuaded Ai-Wen to rebel against this blind marriage and they started to really fall in love.

At that time, the overseas Chinese came back and to Ai-Wen's surprise, he was the elder brother of Wei-Yang called Yuen-Jieh. It happened that their parents died while Wei-Yang was still very small and Yuen-Jieh had to raise his brother. Yuen-Jieh took a job overseas to support his brother and later on Wei-Yang in order to lighten his brother's burden, had moved away from home and for several years they lost contact. Now that they saw each other again, they were disturbed for courting the same girl. Since Yuen-Jieh loved his younger brother deeply, he decided to bow out using his age as an excuse. He asked Ai-Wen's half sister Lo Ching-Hsiu to relate to Ai-Wen his intention to cancel their engagement. Ching-Hsiu was about middle-aged and single and

thought that Yuen-Jieh loved her instead. She was shattered.  
when she learnt about his intended departure and that Yuen-  
Jieh had merely asked her to be the courier. Yuen-Jieh later  
realized that he also fell in love with Ching-Hsiu and pro-  
posed and there were two promising couples.



節目名稱：身無彩鳳雙飛翼

製作：台灣華視

播影日期：三月二日

故事擇要：青年李維揚喜歡繪畫，工餘常出外寫生，無意中發現兩個女學生坐在水池邊聊天，他對其中一個非常喜愛，暗中跟踪打聽，才知她名叫馮艾雯，仍在大學讀書，父親是一家餐廳的老闆，立即向之展開追求攻勢，將近一年方和她相識，可是艾雯却對他冷若冰霜，原來艾雯父親早兩年曾在外國失業，求助無門，幸被李雲杰仗義相助，始能回國，感恩圖報，遂將女兒許配給他。維揚聽說艾雲與未婚夫從未見面，極力主張艾雲反對這種盲婚，艾雲在父親壓力下本想認命，但經不起維揚的慫恿，卒不顧一切和維揚相戀起來。

就在這時，雲杰突由國外歸來，出乎艾雯意料以外的是雲杰乃維揚大哥，他兩兄弟從小就死了父母，維揚一直由雲杰撫養長大，雲杰出國工作，維揚為減輕大哥的負擔，悄悄搬了家，同時轉到另一家學校攻讀，因此兩兄弟這些年來一直沒有通訊，不料兄弟相見，所愛竟是同一女人，雲杰雖愛艾雯，但更愛弟弟，決心退讓，藉年齡不合，托艾雯的誼姊羅清秀轉告艾雯取消婚約，清秀已屆中年，仍未有男友，竟誤會雲杰愛上了自己待獲悉雲杰又將出國，方知為人利用，不禁大感失望，雲杰這才發覺自己也愛上了清秀，於是兩對有情人俱各償所願。

主 角：馮艾雯

李維揚

李雲杰

配 角：羅清秀

馮 父

Program Title : "ANOTHER YEAR OF SPLENDOR IN THE GRASS"  
(CTS)

Synopsis :

Hsu Yuen-Tsu has served as councillor with the municipal officials for one year. Currently she is intensively involved in a campaign for re-election in office for another year. Her husband Doo Chia-Shen is a prominent doctor, but prefers a quiet family life. He disapproves of Hsu Yuen-Tsu's interest in politics and has moved out in silent protest. Her adolescent children a boy Wan-Shea and a girl Wan-Pei, want to see the family in unity. On the occasion of the father's birthday, the children arrange for a family get-together, hoping to gap the estrangement between their parents. But Hsu Yuen-Tsu is too tied-up in her campaign schedule. Besides being late for two hours at arriving the restaurant, she leaves to attend to her business before dinner is served. This evokes resentment from all members of the family.

Wan-Pei protests by moving out to live on her own. Wan-Shea seeks to indulge in drinking and motor-cycle speeding, and in a traffic accident becomes seriously injured. When he is about to undergo a surgical operation conducted by his father, Yuen-Tsu arrives at the hospital. She is informed by her husband that Wan-Shea's life is not in danger, but he would require intensive medical care. Yuen-Tsu seems to realise what family means to her now and tells her servant to pack everything at home and prepare to welcome back the master Doo Chia-Shen.



節目名稱：又是一年芳草綠

製作：台灣華視

播影日期：三月九日

故事擇要：徐雲芝熱心政治，當了議員，現在又忙着競選連任。她的丈夫杜家軒是個醫生，淡薄名利，喜愛恬靜生活。因為上次雲芝當了議員後，家裏整天電話不停，訪客不斷，於是和妻子分居。兒子文珏，女兒文珮都已長大成人，仍和母親同居，爲了希望父親回家，極力反對母親競選連任。可是雲芝仍然我行我素。文珏與文珮遂趁父親生日那天，力邀父母在大白餐廳相見，家軒由於兒女苦求，在餐廳枯候兩小時，始見兒子強拉雲芝來到，覺得雲芝只顧自己出風頭，忽略了家庭，雲芝則認爲兒女已長大，正好乘此時期去實現自己的理想，雙方各持己見，僵持間，雲芝接到助手王總幹事電話，不等上菜，匆匆離去。因此丈夫和兒女都對她大爲反感，先是文珮離開家庭單獨居住，接着文珏醉酒撞車，雲芝趕到醫院，家軒正欲自爲文珏施手術，文珮亦聞訊趕來，家軒告訴雲芝，文珏生命雖無危險，但傷勢嚴重，言畢即拉文珮入休息室去，祇有僕人老陳陪在雲芝身邊，雲芝似有所決，囑老陳回家收拾，準備迎先生回家。

主角：徐雲芝

杜家軒

杜文珏

杜文珮

配角：王總幹事





8. Primary interactions
- a. Occupational
  - b. Personal
9. Focus of activities
- a. Family
  - b. Personal
  - c. Occupational

### Passivity

10. Character's wants
- a. Wanting to have something
  - b. Concern for self only
  - c. Concern for others only
  - d. Concern for self and others
11. Problem solving
- a. Self-decision of solution
  - b. Resolution by self entirely
  - c. Resolution by others entirely
  - d. Resolution by self and others
  - e. Depends on male assistance
  - f. Depends on female assistance

### Feminist Movement

12. Feminist activities
- a. Presence of feminists
  - b. Advocation of feminism
  - c. No mention

## APPENDIX F

## PERSONAL DATA OF MONITORS/CODERS

1. Male, Chinese (Hunan)  
Age: 50  
Occupation: Film Director and Scriptwriter  
Background: grew up and educated in Hunan province, left Mainland China in 1949, has since been a resident of Hong Kong.
2. Female, Chinese (Guangdong)  
Age: 25  
Occupation: Secretary  
Background: born and grew up in Hong Kong, completed secondary education, graduate of post-secondary commercial class.
3. Female, Chinese (Shanghai)  
Age: 33  
Occupation: ex-factory worker  
Background: born and grew up in Shanghai, high school graduate, left Mainland China in March 1980, now temporary resident of Hong Kong, awaiting immigration to U.S.A.
4. Female, Chinese (Taiwan)  
Age: 28  
Occupation: Accounting clerk  
Background: born and grew up in Taipei, completed University education, left Taiwan in 1978 after marriage, now resident of Hong Kong, but goes to live in Taipei three months in the year.



## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bagdikian, B. The Information Machine (New York: Harper & Row 1971)
- Barret, Jane "Women Hold up Half the Sky", in M.B. Young, ed., Women in China: Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies No.15 (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor 1973)
- Berelson, Bernard Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe III: The Free Press 1952)
- Beuf, Ann "Doctor, Lawyer, Household Drudge", Journal of Communication 24(2) 1974
- Boulding, Elise Women in the Twentieth Century World (Sage Publications 1977)
- Brown, Les Television: The Business Behind the Box (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1971)
- Broyelle, Claudie Women's Liberation in China (Humanities Press Inc. 1977) translated from the French by Michele Cohen and Gary Herman
- Busby, Linda J. "Sex-role Research on the Mass Media", Journal of Communication 25(4) 1975
- Busby, Linda J. "Defining the Sex-role Standard in Commercial Network Television Programs Directed toward Children", Journalism Quarterly 51(1974)
- Cantor, Muriel G. "Our Days and Our Nights on TV", Journal of Communication, 29:4(1979)
- Ceulemans, Mieke and Fauconnier, Guido "Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social Conditions of Women", Reports and Papers in Mass Communication No.84, UNESCO (Paris 1979)
- Chang Shiao-Chun "A Study of Urban Housewife's Role in Modern Society", Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica No.37 (In Chinese), (Taipei 1974)
- Chen Tin-Chun, ed., Documents on Women's Issues Since the Anti-Japanese War (Party History Committee of the Chinese KMT Central Committee: Taiwan, Mimeographed 1975)



- Chen Tung-Yuen A History of Chinese Women's Living (In Chinese) (Taipei: Commercial Printing Press, 16th edition 1978)
- Chin S. Ai-Li "Family Relations in Modern Chinese Fiction" in Maurice Freedom, ed., Family and Kinship in Chinese Society (Stanford University Press 1970)
- Chien Jen-Chiu Fifty Years of Historical Documents Since the Founding of the Republic of China (Taipei, Taiwan)
- Chu, Godwin C. Radical Change through Communication in Mao's China (East-West Communication Institute; University Press of Hawaii, 1977)
- Comstock, George A. & Rubinstein, Eli A. Television and Society Behaviour Vol. I: Media Content and Control Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office 1972
- Comstock George A. "The Evidence So Far: The Effects of Television on Children and Adolescents", Journal of Communication Autumn 1975
- Courtney, A.E. & Whipple T.W. "Women in TV Commercials", Journal of Communication 24(2) 1974
- Croll, Elizabeth "A Recent Movement to Redefine the Role and Status of Women", The China Quarterly No.72 (1977)
- Comstock George A. & et. al. Television and Human Behaviour (Columbia University Press: New York 1978)
- Curtin, Katie Women in China (1975), Pathfinder Press
- de Barry, William T. Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press 1960)
- de Beauvoir, Simone (translated & edited by Parshley, H.M.) The Second Sex (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1952; Vintage Books 1974)
- De Fleur, Melvin L. "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television", Public Opinion Quarterly (Spring 1964)
- De Fleur, Melvin L. & Ball-Rokeach, Sandra Theories of Mass Communication, 3rd edition (New York: David McKay Co. 1975)
- Deng Ying-Chao, Speech at the "Women's Working Conference" of the National Amalgamated Workers' Union, China's Women (vol.2, 1980)



- Dialogue between Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan, "Sex, Society, and the Female Dilemma" in Saturday Review (New York: June 14, 1975)
- Diamond, Norma "The Status of Women in Taiwan", in M.B. Young ed., Women in China: Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies No.15 (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor 1973)
- Dorros, Sybilla Green "The Status of Women in the People's Republic of China", Asian Studies Vo. XVI (April-August-December 1978)
- Dominick, Joseph and Gail Rauch "The Image of Women in network TV Commercials", Journal of Broadcasting 1972, 16 (3)
- Downing, Mildred "Heroine of the daytime serial", Journal of Communication 24(2) 1974
- East-West Communication Institute, Paper on "Television and Sex-role Socialization: A Cross Cultural Study" (November 1979)
- Friedan, Betty It Changed My Life - Writings on the Women's Movement (New York: Random House 1976)
- Friedan, Betty The Feminine Mystique (New York: Dell. 1963)
- Franzwa, Helen "Working Women in Fact and Fiction", Journal of Communication 24(2) 1974
- Friedman, Leslie Sex Role Stereotyping in the Mass Media - An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland 1978)
- Gerbner, George Analysis of Communication Content (New York: Wiley 1969)
- Gerbner, George "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", Television and Social Behaviour Vol. I: Media Content and Control, eds., George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office 1972)
- Gerbner, George; Gross, Larry and Melody, W.H. ed., Communications Technology and Social Policy (N.Y.: Wiley - Interscience 1973)
- Gallagher, Margaret "The Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media", unpublished UNESCO Paper (Paris 1979)

- Haskell, Deborah "The Depiction of Women in Leading Roles in Prime Time Television", Journal of Broadcasting, 23:2 (Spring 1979)
- Holsti, Ole Content Analysis for Social Services & Humanities (Reading, Mass: Addison - Wesley 1969)
- Hsu, Francis L.K. Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia Union Press 1948)
- Katz, Elihu and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. Personal Influence (New York: The Free Press 1955)
- Katzman, N. "Television Soap Operas: What's been going on anyway?" Public Opinion Quarterly 35 (1972)
- Kristeva, Julia About Chinese Women (Marion Boyar: London 1977)
- Lee Mei-Tsu "Taiwan female workers' sex-role perception and attitude towards marriage and family", unpublished research paper (National Chengchi University of Taiwan, Department of Social Psychology 1976)
- Lemon, Judith "Women and Blacks and Prime-Time Television" Journal of Communication 34(1977)
- Li Yu-Ning & Chang Yu-Fa Documents on the Feminist Movement in Modern China, 1842-1911, Vol. II (Taipei, 1975)
- Long, Michele L. & Simon, Rita J. "The Roles and Statuses of Women on Children and Family TV Programs", Journalism Quarterly 51 (1975)
- Lu Hsiu-Lien New Feminism (Taipei: Young Lions 1974) (In Chinese)
- Lu, Katherine S.K. "The Times They are Changing: TV Women Reconsidered", Master Thesis (unpublished), (University of Chicago, November 1978)
- Mankiewicz, Frank & Swerdlow, Joel Remote Control (New York: Ballantine Books 1973)
- Marzolf, Marian Up from the Footnotes: A History of Women Journalists (New York Hastings House) 1977



- Mead, Margaret "Needed: Full Partnership for Women", Saturday Review (New York: June 14, 1975)
- McQuail, Denis (ed) Sociology of Mass Communications (England: Penguin 1972)
- McNeil, Jean C. "Feminism, Feminity, and the Television series: A Content Analysis", Journal of Broadcasting, 19:3 (Summer 1975)
- Miller, Mark M. & Reeves, Byron "Dramatic TV Content and Children's Stereotypes", Journal of Broadcasting 20(1976)
- Mills, C. Wright The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press 1956)
- Monaco, James Media Culture (New York: Dell 1978)
- Noble, Grant Children in Front of the Small Screen (Sage Publications 1975)
- Pao Chia-Lin Readings in the Chinese Women History (Taipei 1979)
- Seggar, John F. & Wheeler, Penny "World of Work on TV: Ethnic and Sex Representation in TV Drama", Journal of Broadcasting, 17(Spring 1973)
- Seggar, John F. "Imagery of Women in TV Drama", Journal of Broadcasting, 19:3 (Summer 1975)
- Snow, Helen Foster Women in Modern China (Mouton & Co. 1967)
- Snow, Edgar The Long Revolution (New York: Random House 1970)
- Snow, Edgar Red China Today: The Other Side of the River, (Pelican Books 1970)
- Soong Ching-Ling "Women's Liberation", Peking Review No.6 (February 11, 1972)
- Sprafkin, Joyce N. & Liebert, Robert M. "Sex-typing and Children's Stereotypes", Journal of Broadcasting 20(1976)
- Tedesco, Nancy "Patterns in Prime Time", Journal of Communication 24:120 (Spring 1974)

- Tien, Joseleyne Slade "Women's Place in the People's Republic of China: Ideology and Practice", Asian Profile Vol.5, No.5. (October 1977)
- Tuchman, Gaye, ed., The TV Establishment: Programming for Power and Profit (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1974)
- Tuchman, Gaye, ed., Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press 1978)
- Tuchman, Gaye Hearth and Home: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York: Free Press 1978)
- Turow, Joseph "Advising and Ordering: Daytime, Primetime", Journal of Communication 24(1974)
- Whyte, Martin K. Small Groups & Political Rituals (University of California 1974)
- Williams, Raymond Television: Technology and Cultural Form (London: Fontana/Collins 1974)
- Wolf, Margery Women & the Family in Rural Taiwan (Stanford U. Press 1972)
- Wolf, Margery & Witke, Roxane Women in Chinese Society (Stanford U. Press 1975)
- Wright, C.R. Mass Communication A Sociological Perspective, second edition (Random House: New York 1975)
- Yan Y. "Housewives' Motive in Watching Serialised Television Drama" Master Thesis (Journalism Research Institute, National Chengchi University 1972)
- Yu, Timothy & Chu, Leonard L. Women and Media in Asia (Centre for Communication Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1977)







000414548