Forms of Feminist Movement in Europe and China
Comparative Study in Cross-cultural and Political Perspective

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Abstract;
This article concerns on comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences of feminist movement forms between Europe and China, and tries to understand the differences from a cultural and political view. For reaching this goal, the movement 'form' is limited to three dimensions: movement mobilization, strategy and tactics and influences, which are described within the time-dimension of three periods in Europe (Feminism of First Wave, Second Wave and Third Wave) and China (Feminism of May Fourth Era, Maoist Era and Deng's Era). Through the reviewing of feminist movement forms of each period, the differences are found in the mobilized class, the nature of women's claim, the level of activity and the adopted tactics. The paper argues that the different political cultural mainly affected the independence of feminist movement, and triggered by this point many differences of mobilization developed (e.g. mobilized class of women, claiming contents, tactics). Furthermore, on the other hand, the different women's expressions in movements are mostly attributed to the distinct cultural traditions. The individualism and Confucianism are the two central explanatory factors that lying behind many causes that lead the different expressing ways, for instance, the different attitudes toward gender relations, the individualistic or collectivist interests pursuits, the radical or moderate character of protesters and so forth.

Key words: Feminist movement forms; Europe; China; Political and Cultural context; First Wave; Second Wave; Third Wave; May Fourth Era; Maoist Era; Deng's Era

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Chapter I. Introduction

1.1 Background

Feminism belongs to the broad political and social movement that with a set of ideas on achieving gender equality. It primarily emerged in Western countries (e.g. Britain, America) and depended on the ideas that women are less valued than men in all countries (or societies) that divide male and female into different cultural, social, political and economic contexts. For realizing the commitment to eliminate sexist domination and transform society, feminists in western countries raised three waves in their societies. During the first wave, through public demonstration, feminine gathering or presenting declaration, western feminists expressed their demands for a new political identity of women, representation in government, right to vote, legal advances and public emancipation. With the slogan 'the personal is political', first coined by Hanisch (1970), second wave feminism focused on the pursuit of social and cultural equality. Through small collective groups, such as consciousness-raising groups, direct action and radical campaigns (Humm, 1992), issues of reproductive rights, women's education, equality in workforce and family issues successfully drew the attention of public. Third wave feminism from early 1990s to the present is regarded as a response to and an extension of second wave feminism. Compare this wave with the former two, the movements tending to be more global and multicultural. It claims a perspective that includes race, color, class, transgender, homosexuality, age and region, among other elements of social identity that relates to gender; and the emergence of the postmodernist forms (e.g. movements as visual arts, Guerrilla Girls) distinct the image of expression of this wave from the first and the second ones.

It was just during the period of first wave feminism, the idea of "equality between men and women" started to prevail in China along with the introduction of western ideas. However, unlike how feminist movements expressed in the West, Chinese women's protests behaved in a relatively conservative and passive way, which reflected in the fact that even the first revolutionary tract (*The Women's Bell*) to introduce feminism was written by a male intellectual. If have a glance at how are the historical stages of feminism in China has been called —— feminism in May Fourth era, Mao era, Post-Mao era and Deng's post-reform era —— it is not difficult to realize that Chinese feminism has always been associated with the national historical events or the political regimes, and the word of 'feminist wave' almost invisible in the studies of Chinese feminism. One of the famous slogans to encourage gender equality in China was claimed by Mao: "Women can hold up half of the sky". The motivation of this epigram, however, was emerged from the idea that women formed a great resource of labor power and they should be mobilized to construct a great socialist country (Mao, 1956). Thus we see that the tenets of European (Western) feminist movements has been mostly concerned on women per se, while Chinese women's emancipations usually juxtapose women's role with the fortune of the nation. The public parades, demonstrations, gatherings or consciousness-raising groups are not common expressions of Chinese feminism.

Feminism as a social movement is shaped by different contexts of particular societies in which it forms (Humm, 1992). As McCarthy et al. (1991) remind that "when people come together to pursue collective action in the context of the modern state they enter a complex and multifaceted social, political and economic environment. The elements of the environment have manifold direct and indirect consequences for people's common decisions about how to define their social change goals and how to organize and proceed in pursuing those goals" (p.46). Baldz and Montony's (2007) analysis emphasizes the national political environment. They argue different political contexts (e.g. military government v.s. democratic party) decide the ways that women would choose to form and build broad-based coalitions. The external opportunities, such as relevant networks and organizations, overall feminist consciousness, the potential possibility to influence policy through political parties, the nature of the state and so forth are all influential factors (Margolis 1993; Rucht, 1996;). Johnston (2013) focuses on a cultural analysis and introduced three angles to view the relationship between movement forms and national culture, namely systemic, performative and framing perspectives. From these views, this relationship can either be observed from the "cultural system" as a whole or from the specific aspects of culture. The latter perspective also met the concept defined by Swidler (1986) that views culture as "a 'tool kit' of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems" (p.273).

It is to say that the extant stock of meanings, ritual practices, beliefs, art forms, ideologies, language, practices, narratives and so forth all contribute to the form of movement in a given society. Furthermore, the historical context also shapes expressions. As protest actions usually inclined to draw experiences from the past movement forms, the current expressions often show the similar characters as previous ones (Della & Diani, 2009). National historical background contributes as well, for instance, the male-enunciated feminism during May Fourth Era, the Maoist rhetorical liberation of women, the recent post socialist recuperation of feminine subjectivity and the emerging commercialized form of femininity (Welland, 2006) all shaped Chinese feminism over its 20th century. These historical factors, however, could be embedded in the analysis of political and cultural contexts from a macro view, since the historical experiences and phenomenon are the crystallizations of the interaction between them. Nevertheless, so far, most comparative studies of women's movements are largely limited to the activities in the U.S, Britain and Europe, and most researches of contemporary feminist movements are single-country accounts. As Ferree (1987) advocates, the common willingness with improving female's position in society should not diminish the significance of social, political, cultural and economic differences. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is going to understand the contemporary expressions of feminist movements in Europe and China via the lens of cross-regional comparison.

1.2 Research Question
The goal of this paper is to interpret how European and Chinese feminisms are expressed. The main research aim is to see *to what extent the form of feminist movements may be affected by different political and cultural contexts in China and Europe？* It chooses to focus on China due to the concerns of the ideas of civil society and civil rights which are already the integrated part of European society while, however, are 'light blue' words[1] in China. In order to answer this question, four sub-questions will be answered.

1. How does the form of feminist movement look like in Europe since First-wave feminism？
2. How does the form of feminist movement look like in China since the May Fourth Era?

These two questions aim at introducing the history of Chinese and European feminist forms. The description about form mainly focus on three dimensions: feminist mobilization in general, adapted strategies and tactics and the influences of movement on women's policy. On the European side, the descriptions of these dimensions will focus on First-wave feminism (Late 19th-early 20th), Second-wave feminism (1960s-1980s) and Third-wave feminism (Mid 1990s-date). In the case of China, the chosen three periods are the May Fourth Era (late 19th-early 20th), Maoist Era (1949-1976) and Deng's reform era (1978-date).

3. What are the similarities and differences of movement forms between the European and Chinese Feminism (a descriptive comparison)?
Although the tenets of feminism see all the women in this world as equal, its developing trajectory, however, vary from the West to the East. Based on the last parts, this part will summarize what are the different and common points. However, the differences of the content (e.g. political claims, demands) of women's struggles that led by the different contexts in both regions are not explained in detail. The reasons are twofold. Firstly, during May Fourth Era, when the political environment allows freedom expressions, due to the deep-seated patriarchal culture and the illiteracy of women, women's independent movements were constrained in a relative small scale and mostly organized only by university female students, which can hardly be regarded as the representative case when this research requiring a general image of Chinese feminist movement for the comparison. Male activists were the dominant force in promoting women's emancipation, while their nationalist or patriot claims, simultaneously, cannot really reflect the real demands of Chinese women. Secondly, during Maoist and Deng's Era, when the feudal cultural factors no longer the main obstacles for women's self-emancipation, the limited political opportunity became the primary cause that led to the lack of independent women's movements and the content of women's

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[1] The word that prevalently be used in Chinese intellectual field and media, but barely appear on governmental oral or textual documents

demands were mostly formulated by the party or the party-led women's organization, this again made the content of women's claims unclear.

4. How can these differences be explained by political and cultural context？
Through comparing the different expressions that European and Chinese feminism used for reaching the similar demands, this step will try to interpret that to what extent the differences could be attributed to the different regional contexts. It will consider how contextual factors (cultural and political contexts) may affect protest logics (logic of number, damage and bearing witness) and, as an outcome, shape the form (mobilization, strategies and influences) of feminist movements.

1.3 Approach

This thesis seeks to compare and contrast the form of feminist movement in Europe and China and to interpret the differences in a contextual view. Therefore, it specified the dimensions of movement forms as mobilization, strategy and influences for recognition with academic materials, journal reports and (un)official documents on feminist movements during three periods of time, namely late 19th to early 20th, mid 20th to late 20th and late 20th to date. The first step describes the dimensions basing on a case study view, and their situations in Europe and China will be demonstrated in a symmetrical time period. It is to say that those representative eras of European and Chinese feminism that are located in the same time point will be chosen as comparing objectives. Therefore, the second step is going to compare the European first wave with May Fourth Era, second wave with Mao Era, and Third wave with Deng's reform Era respectively. The third step is to explain the differences and similarities of movement forms from the political and cultural angle. For realizing this, the interpretation is constructed by discussing the particular political and cultural environment of the particular historical stages in the three time range. The structure of the thesis is as below: the second chapter— theoretical framework— specified the dimensions of movement forms that this paper focuses on, as well as the conceptualization of political and cultural context. In the third chapter the methods of data collection and data analysis for this research are presented. The fourth chapter will show the description and comparison of European and Chinese feminist movement forms, and the contextual explanation will also be included in this part. In the conclusion the research founds and the practical implications will be shown.

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

Not only is there an insufficient comparative studies, but most researches avoid attempting to interpret the reason of why feminists movements conduct at particular times and in particular forms (Margolis,1993). The aim of this chapter is to combine literatures on social movements with a set of generalizations about factors that impact on the movements' expressions (feminist protest mobilization, adapted strategies and tactics, influence on public policy). The chapter is organized in three parts. First of all, in order to understand the reason why European and Chinese feminists choose different forms of protest to present their demands, the existing logics behind protest that decide the form of movement will be introduced. In the second part, what are the aspects of the "form" this thesis concerns will be defined by considering the correlation between "aspects" and the mentioned "logics". Then, the final part is going to show the conceptualizations of political opportunity and cultural environment, as well as how the concepts could be used in interpreting the relationship between movement form and a given context.

2.1 The Logics behind the Feminist Movement

The nature of the form of a movement, ranging from conventional petitioning to revolutionary movement, from sit-in protest to violent blockade, can be either extreme or not. From least to most radical forms, Dalton (1988) summarized several thresholds: "The first threshold indicates the transition from conventional to unconventional politics (e.g. signing petitions). The second threshold represents the shift to direct action techniques, such as boycotts. A third level of political activities involves illegal, but nonviolent, acts (e.g. unofficial strikes). Finally, a fourth threshold includes violent activities such as personal injury or physical damage" (p.65). In addition to this emphasis on political system, Rucht (1990) states that social movements can direct either to value or political systems and both strategies are varied in different degrees as well, expressing in a moderate subcultural or extreme countercultural form in the former case and forming as negotiation or confrontation in the latter. In order to show a more comprehensive picture to distinguish the forms, Della and Diani (2009) introduced three logics behind the forms of protest, namely the logic of numbers, the logic of damage and the logic of bearing witness.

The concept of **logic of numbers**, firstly raised by DeNardo (1985), underlies most of the forms of protests since "there always seems to be power in numbers" (p.35). As he notes that "the *size of the dissidents'* demonstrations affects the regime both directly and indirectly. Naturally the disruption of daily routines increases with numbers, and the regime's ability to control crowds inevitably suffers as they grow larger. In addition to the immediate disruption they cause, demonstrations by their size also give the regime an indication of how much support the dissidents enjoy" (p.36). Hence, following this logic, it is to say that a foundation of an influential protest is a great number of demonstrators. Alongside with the logic of number, the **logic of damage** must be considered (Della & Diani, 2009). The most extreme form of this logic is reflected by political violence. The aim of violence is both symbolic and instrumental, which can be a symbolic rejection of an oppressive system, environment or regime, and which can also be used to win political or social battles, as well as to attract the attention of media (ibid.). Many protesters believe that, although the usefulness of damaging properties is limited, it is a significant mean to get the attention of public and government and thereby achieve their goals (Notarbartolo, 2001). The last but not the least, based on both of the logics mentioned above, the **logic of bearing witness** developed. The first trait of this logic is that protesters may participate in actions with *serious personal risks or cost* (ibid.). Rest on this logic, the civil disobedience, which usually professes refusal to obey unjust laws, demands or commands of government (e.g. Gandhi's non-violent protest), is the common form of movement. Moreover, the *sensitivity to alternative values and culture* is another characteristic of movement based on this logic (ibid.). It emphasizes on raising individual consciousness, stressing the central role of 'selves' in taking responsibility for the general benefits in their daily life. Additionally, this logic also leads to *emotional intensity of participation* (ibid.). most justice movements turn the earlier traditions into a more innovative ways with the using of visual arts, giant puppets but, concomitantly, women's movement for instance, seek to "develop complex means of assuring equal participation by all group members in consensus decision-making, and emphasizing both logistical and emotional connections among participants" (Whittier 2004, p.539).

2.2 Specifying Dimensions of the Form

The form of feminist movement could include numerous dimensions. On the micro level it could mean the specific expression of feminism, the adapted slogans, symbols and outfits, the joined members and so forth. From a macro view, it also indicates the general phenomenon of women's protest, formation of relevant organizations, the general claims and strategies etc. For this thesis, the choice needs to be limited basing on the combination of the "mentioned logics" and the "variables" that most commonly used by scholars when examining the relationship between contexts and social movement. The following part shows the connection between the logics and dimensions.

Firstly, the **logic of numbers** is intending to implement the decisions of the majority and to influence public opinion (Della & Diani, 2009) and, at the same time, the mobilization can be interpreted as the "range of behaviors" (Mayer, 2004). The consideration of the range of general influences, thus, is connected with the consideration of mobilization, which, accordingly, leads to the choice of "**feminist protest mobilization generally**" as one of the dimensions of the form. Concerning on the relationship between contextual factors and mobilization, many researchers only considered one type of movement. For instance, the studies that exclusively focuses on urban riots and disruptive protest (Eisinger 1973, Button 1978, Piven & Cloward 1979) suggesting that opening political environment produced protest. Moreover, mobilization has also been studied through the observation of organizations. For example, the increase of activism and the density of service-oriented organizations may lead the promotion of advocacy-oriented feminist groups (Minkoff, 1994); and more opportunities afforded by proportional representation are more likely to encourage left-liberation movements (Redding & Viterna, 1999). Besides, mobilization is explained through many other factors, such as political systems (Amenta & Zylan 1991), institutional rules and political cultures (Button et al. 1999) or particular identities (Bernstein, 1997) and so forth. On the other side, studying mobilization outcomes is another angle to see the case, the aspects of which range from political and protest participation, organizational membership (Kriesi et al. 1995) to numerous types of activities, such as petitions, strikes, political violence (see Kriesi et al. 1995, Maney 2000, Sidney 1989, Tilly 1995). In short, mobilization not only reflect the connection between the logic of number and the form of movement, whether it is successful or not is an important indicator for the comparative study of movements.

Secondly, the **logic of damage** relates to another dimension —"**adapted strategies and tactics**". When the movement resources are insufficient, activists may emphasize this logic in order to draw more attention from the public. However, if as DeNardo (1985) argues that the impulse is to some extent constrained since violence may escalate governmental repression on one hand, and alienate potential supporters on the other, the consideration of appropriate strategy and tactic would emerge. In other words, if the protest wants to earn enough concerns and sympathy from most social circles, feminist movement for example, expressing violent would not be the optimal choice, since extreme forms, quote from Tarrow (1994), may transform "relations between challengers and authorities from a confused, many-sided game into a bipolar one in which people are forced to choose sides, allies defect, bystanders retreat and the state's repressive apparatus swings into action" (p.104). Therefore, the logic here is that the degree of using the 'logic of damage' differently leads to the diversity of strategies which range from violent to nonviolent. Further, movement strategies and tactics are also context-dependent and, as Tilly (1995) contended, the choice of tactics is related with the national environment and reflects activists optimizing relevant opportunities when claiming demands at a particular time. When national political circumstances is open enough to offer constituency routine and effective channel for access, the strategies tend to be more moderated since more direct and less costly ways to influence are accessible (e.g. Eisinger 1973). Similarly, Kitschelt (1986), through studying antinuclear movement in four democratic countries, also states that the options for participation affect strategy— blockage causes confrontation, openness leads assimilation.

Finally, the **logic of bearing witness** lies behind the final chosen dimension— "**influence on feminist policy**". Certainly, this logic is not the only one that has connection with this dimension, but it implies a capacity to transmit the message of action more directly to influence the public and the government and thereby spurring the objective to be achieved as closely as possible (Della & Diani, 2009). This dimension reflects the outcome and policy reformation of feminist movement, which can be specified in a number of

various ways that may usually express differently in response to the political and cultural context (Mayer, 2004), such as policy implementation (Andrews, 2001), alternative institutions creation (Andrews, 2002) or actual practices (Einwohner, 1999; Krain, 1997) etc. Like the other two dimensions, the affecting influence is also context-dependent. Kitschelt (1986) found the connection between movement's influence and state's capacity — weaker states encourage greater procedural innovation and functional reform. Burstein and Linton (2002) also remind that, through coding the articles published in major journals during decades, the organizational movement is likely to have an impact when it provides information and resources that respond to the electoral concerns of elected officials in a given polity.

2.3 Contextual Factors and Form Dimensions

As many studies noticed that the differences of movement forms in different societies can largely be explained by the given political and cultural factors. The preconditions of a successful protest are complex. As Rochon (1988) states, "the ideal movement strategy is one that is convincing with respect to political authorities, legitimate with respect to potential supporters, rewarding with respect to those already active in the movement, and novel in the eyes of the mass media. These are not entirely compatible demands."(p.109). Thus, when choosing a specific form of protest, the organizers may find themselves facing with several strategic dilemmas, and, additionally, these strategic options are often limited by several factors to movement itself internally and externally (Della & Diani, 2009). As last part already mentioned, this thesis limits the study of movement form (dependent variable) into three dimensions — mobilization, strategy and influence, we could, therefore, assume that activists would try to optimize each of the aspects for realizing a successful movement. At the macro level, social movements can be regarded as a response to the "extended political opportunities" that allow activists to access in more resources of mobilization (Laraña, Johnston et al. 1994). At the micro level, individuals are more likely to participate in movement due to their embeddedness in associational networks that grant them "structural availability" for protest actions, which could be explained from a "cultural context" view (ibid.). The following part, accordingly, is going to introduce the independent variables — political and cultural opportunities, which may constrain or promote the process of movement operation.

2.3.1 Conceptualizing Political Opportunity
On political aspect, the concept of political opportunity has become indispensable to elaborate interaction between institutional and noninstitutional actors (Della & Diani, 2009). The main assumption of this theory is that the form of social movement (e.g. degree of mobilization, strategic repertoires etc.) is often directly or indirectly affected by external opportunities (Kriesi, Koopmans et al. 1992; Rucht, 1996), and it also supplies a means to predict variance in the form of movement over time and variance across institutional backgrounds (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). However, the conceptualizations of this concept vary greatly, and basic theories of how political opportunities influence organizational activities are always facing controversies. Even only focus on political factors per se, leaving the possible related cultural or historical elements out, scholars revealed a wide variety of variables in explaining this concept. As Tarrow (1989) reminds that, "political opportunity may be discerned along so many directions and in so many ways that it is less a variable than a cluster of variables — some more readily observable than others." (p.430)

In order to bring more clarity to the definition of political opportunity, various researchers have tried to specify its relevant dimensions in a given polity. Brockett (1991) used the following dimensions in the study of peasant movement in Central America: meaningful access points in the political system, elite fragmentation and conflict, level of political repression and temporal location in cycle of protest (see p.254). Kriesi and his colleagues (1995) considered relevant variables, such as formal institutional structure, informal mechanisms in response to a given challenge and the configuration of power, in comparing new social movements in western European countries (see p.220). Similarly, Rutch (1996) included access to the party system, the state's policy implementation capacity, the alliance structure and the conflict structure into this concept (see p.200), which were used for a cross-national comparative study of social movement. As well as in Tarrow's (1994) study, the openness or closure of the political system, stability of political alignments, presence or not of elite allies and divisions within the elite has been suggested as analytical dimensions of political opportunity. Basically, these four researchers were pursuing the similar direction

that implies a formal institutional or legal structure in a given political context. McAdam (1996) synthesized several approaches and presented the following highly consensual dimensions of this concept:

1. The relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system
2. The stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity
3. The presence or absence of elite allies
4. The state's capacity and propensity for repression (p.27)

The only different point of this formulation is that, compared with other approaches, it emphasizes more on distinguishing the consistent elite alliances that tend to affect political systems from the more temporary ones (ibid.). Furthermore, this theory has been applied in a range of studies to study several aspects of social movements.

Practically, in terms of feminist movements, many researchers observed the relationship between political opportunities and activities. Bouchier (1984) argues that 'social movements do best in political cultures which already have strong egalitarian and liberal commitments' (p.181). Then he states that the Scandinavian countries and Netherlands form the "largest and most integrated feminist organizations", while feminist movements in more conservative or authoritarian political cultures, like France, Germany or Italy, have expressed with more challenges. In addition, Margolis (1993) found the positive relation between the pluralistic degree of nation's politics and the variegation of women's movement and its organizations. Also, as McAdam, McCarthy et al. (1996) concluded from several studies, "the entire political systems undergo changes which modify the environment of social actors sufficiently to influence the initiation, forms and outcomes of collective action.' (p.44). The Chinese democracy movement (in 1989), for instance, is a good example to show how would activists adjust their strategies by evaluating the objective circumstances. As "students accurately anticipated the state counterframings of the student movements as 'counterrevolutionary'" (Oliver and Johnston, 2000, p.617), the students fashioned reformist prognoses carefully and employed a tactic with the characters of devotion and self-sacrifice, which was consistent with traditional Chinese cultural narratives of community (Zuo & Benford 1995)

2.3.2 Conceptualizing Cultural Context

Just like the political opportunity shapes movement forms, so too does the cultural environment where organizational activity is located. There is no "right" answer to the conceptualization of culture so far due to its ambiguity and multi-level practicality (Williams, 2004). The general idea of "cultural context" has been called in a variety of different ways by scholars. Traditionally, culture was usually defined as wildly shared "norms and values" that deeply held by a large population (ibid.). For example, Devine (1972) views cultural environment as an array of values, which affect the boundaries' delimitation of movement within which the societally acceptable action could occur. In this sense, cultural context is conceptualized as a matter of constraint that directly or indirectly impact on movements framing. However, it has been criticized that the static trait of this approach is not able to explain the correlation between movement and cultural change. As Rochon (1998) describes the "critical communities" that create "value perspectives" which convey changed new cultural values to social activists and thereby affecting movement forms. In turn, these values also transfer to the public through movements in the media and political arena, which diffuse changing culture through activism (Rochon, 1998). Furthermore, another critical stream that against this "norms and values" approach is from the so-called "dramaturgical" view. Researchers (e.g. Geertz 1973, Swidler 1986) who advocate this view regard cultural environment as the collection of shared symbols, narratives and public performances that are used by individuals for getting to know themselves and the world. In this view, culture is no longer a constraint on movement, but a set of available cultural element that make proximate actions possible (Geertz, 1973). Similarly, Swider defines culture as "a 'tool kit' of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems (p.273).

Certainly, this short review of definition of culture is not exhaustive. The static approaches that exclusively focus on the integrative features of culture are not sufficient for interpreting the process of "change". Any unified definition of culture is sure to miss part of explanatory factors to explain the correlation between

cultural environment and movement form, particularly when considering social movements that emerge from the soil with fluid meanings or symbolic innovations (Williams, 2004). Therefore, the conceptualization of culture in this thesis is better be defined according to the chosen cases. As a result, rather than to interpret the impacts of culture on movement according to its definition per se, but by adapting different perspectives about how to view the culture instead might help to interpret both integrative and changing elements of culture. Specifically, this approach makes the conceptualization of culture no longer the center in interpreting the cultural effects, but put the idea of "how to view" the influence of cultural context in the first place. These perspectives are systemic perspective, performative perspective and framing perspective (Johnston, 2013). From a **systemic perspective**, 'culture can be seen as a characteristic of a movement's environment that functions to channel or constrain its development and that defines what behaviors are legitimate and acceptable" (p.5). It can be applied in several ways to elaborate the emergence and development of social movement, in which the whole cultural system as an overarching factor (Verba &Almond, 1963). However, this view fails to recognize the numerous fissures and lacunae within the dominant cultural system that 'can be primary sources of movement emergence rather than secondary influences' (Johnson, 2013, p.7). Thus, the **performative perspective** supplies another angle in this sense. It focuses on how cultural knowledge is performed, which sometimes emphasis on the gaps, inconsistencies and contradictions of the dominant culture (Johnston, 2013). In other words, this perspective sheds a light on how countercultures, subcultures or lifestyle groups that may contribute to the various forms of movement. It emphasizes the importance of the discussion of rituals, symbols, values and world-views etc. that activists use to choose tactical repertoires. Furthermore, the **framing perspective** cuts a middle course between these two perspectives, with its roots in symbolic interactionism (2013). Recent studies stress the constraining and enabling aspects of frames to the collective arena (Snow and Benford, 2000), which indicate that 'whereas individuals perform culture by applying frames to situations they encounter, the processes of frame extension and frame amplification, of drawing upon frame resonance or augmenting frame potency, are for the most part treated as strategic actions of social movement organizations and presume systemic relations of social movement culture with the other aspects of culture' (Johnston, 2013, p.8). The framing process is often described by organizational documents, speeches or media reports, which is an approach that closely relates to the new movement circumstance nowadays (ibid.). In today's public actions, either groups or organizations are strategically considering the influences of their movements on the media or the general public.

2.4 Conclusion
This part firstly introduced the logic of protest that activists would follow when forming the movements. The use of logic of number, damage and bearing witness often decides the form of a collective action. According to the three basic logic, the second part limited the aspects of feminist movement form into three dimensions— general mobilization of feminist protest, adapted strategies and tactics and movement's influence on feminist policy. These aspects, as described in part three, vary from country to country and are shaped by different political, cultural and historical factors. Different political contexts which include the different political opportunities, environments, cultures, values and structures are often influence activists' decision on repertoires choice. From a cultural view, the relationship can be analyzed from systemic, performative and framing perspectives. The first suggests viewing the form of movements from a macro angle, which means to compare different actions in the lens of 'cultural systems'. The performative view, however, advocates that the specific rituals, symbols, values and world-views of the particular groups can be primary factors that affect the movement forms. Framing perspective is a view that roots in the theory of symbolic interactionism, which suggests an angle to view the new social movements which often frame their tactics during interacting processes with media and the public.

Chapter III. Methodology

This chapter provides the methodological framework and the research design in order to link the mentioned concepts and theories in chapter two to the selected data for answering the research question. In this part, the research strategy, samples, method of data collection and method of data analysis will be shown respectively. In this study, the definitions of both dependent (forms) and independent (contexts) variable are facing a very wide range, and each of them could involve many aspects when analyzing. Thus, in order to make it specific, the focus will be laid on those dimensions that researchers have studied the most. As it will be showed below, the movement forms will concentrate on three dimensions, and each dimension includes observable features that can be specified in this qualitative study.

3.1 Research Design

The research design is a comparative case study of feminists movements that affected by their different political and cultural contexts. In Europe, feminists enjoy a relative 'open' social system to express and a larger room for maneuver. In China, feminism movements face a more centralized government with a 'closed' system, and the activities are lack of autonomy and are largely limited due to the lack of political opportunities. The dependent variable of this study, accordingly, is the form of feminist movement (general mobilization, adapted strategies and influences on women's policy) of China and Europe, while the independent variable is the specific context of these two regions. The general strategy this paper follows is a case study that involves observation of three waves\eras of feminist movement in China and Europe respectively. The first two sub-questions will follow a descriptive study, in which the forms (*movement mobilization, adapted strategies and tactics and movements' influences on women's policy)* of feminist movement in each period will be described. Then the third step will focus on comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences of feminist movement forms between Europe and China, and the final sub-question will follow an explanatory study to explain how the political and cultural factors may impact on the similarities and differences of movement forms.

The units of analysis are the representative feminist forms in Europe and China at each time point. The chosen cases are the first wave feminism, second wave feminism and third wave feminism in Europe, and the May Fourth Era feminism (and New Culture Movement), Maoist (and Post-Maoist) feminism and Deng's post-reformist feminism in China. The sample units are chosen to verify diverse variations and to identify common patterns (Punch, 2006). In this sense, the selected phases that encompass different generations vary across the independent and dependent variable and their dimensions. Since the forms of movement of every period are identified with their unique characters that shaped by specific external circumstances, the collection of these cases, therefore, would allow a more comprehensive comparison. These cases are chosen since, on one hand, they are the most important historical stages of feminism development in Europe and China and, on the other, represent the crucial turning points of movements' style alongside with the changing of political and cultural environments in these two regions. Therefore, the impact of contexts on the movement forms during these periods would be the most observable ones.

3.2 Data Collection Method

To collect the data on the dependent variable, the historical documents, relevant articles and major journals that reported feminist movements will be used. The information of general feminist protest mobilization, the adopted strategies and tactics and the impact of movement on women's policy in each phase of feminism in China and Europe will be collected from qualitative data (e.g. present magazines, newspapers, documents etc.). The observation will be limited within six periods (cases), they are feminism of the first, the second and the third wave in Europe, and feminism of the May Fourth Era, the Maoist Era and the Deng's era in China (see Table 1). Further, the specific chosen features of form dimensions for helping the data collection are as below: mobilization — media position, mobilized class and scale; strategy — protests' expressions and their concerning areas (politics, economy or society); and influences — Women's status (changed or not) and physical and mental emancipations (listed in Table 2.). For showing a

comprehensive and objective picture of all these feminist movements diversity of sources (reports, journals, articles, Youtube, blogs, books) were used (see annex 1). In order to guarantee the objectivity of the comments of feminism, the propaganda documents from any one-sided interest group or private feminist organizations are avoided. Since these movements spread from the late 19th to today, most historical data (newspapers, magazines or flyers) are not accessible anymore, most of the descriptive information are therefore from scholar articles. About movements during the more recent period, more primary resources are available. For instance, the comments from international online media (e.g. BBS, the guardian), relevant videos that included talk show, interview and affair comments (from Youtube, feminist zines) and blogs (e.g. feminist groups online blogs from sina.com, grrrlnet, douban.com etc.) are used to complete the data that cannot be viewed from academic references.

For the explanation, the general political and cultural background will be used to interpret the differences of movement forms between Europe and China. In terms of politics, the factors such as the accessibility of political system, the degree of the political openness, the policy implementation capacity (the political party is weak or strong) and so on will be included. On the cultural aspect, the explanatory factors generally focus on a systematic cultural circumstance, for instances the individualism vis-à-vis collectivism, the Greek philosophies vis-à-vis Chinese ancient philosophies or the European mainstream religions vis-à-vis Chinese traditional thinking. Since this thesis is only focus on describing and interpreting the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable, the correlations between these two variables will NOT be tested specifically. In other words, this means that the data collection of independent variables will be the collection of the "*existing tested relationships*". For example, if the analysis says Chinese movement forms are more conservative than the European ones (dependent variable) is because of the conservative ideological positions of political parties (independent variable), it means that the correlation between these variables have *already been tested* as "positive", and which is merely be adopted here for explaining the differences of the protest forms. The limitation here is that the reliability of this interpretation might be threatened.

Table 1. Three Stages of feminism in Europe and China

	Europe	China
Late 19th to Early 20th	First wave feminism	New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Era
Mid-20th-Late 20th	Second wave feminism (1960s-1980s)	Mao and post Mao-era (1949-1976)
Late 20th-date	Third wave feminism (1990s-)	Deng's reform era (1978-)

Table 2. Features of Form dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Features
Forms of Feminist Movement	General feminist protest mobilization	Media position; Mobilized class; Influenced scale

	Adapted strategies and tactics	Protests' expressions (violent or not, negotiation or protest, legal or disruptive actions--strike, boycott etc.); Concerning areas (political, economic or social concerns)
	Impact of movement on women's policy (does the outcome in response to the movement)	Political right; Economic right; Right to education; Physical emancipation

3.3 Data Analysis

Based on theoretical propositions described in chapter two, the form of feminist movement is operationalized into the three main dimensions 'general mobilization of feminist movement', 'adopted strategies and tactics' and 'influences of movements on women's policy'. Each dimension has two to three features so that in the end 7 features in total (Table 1) help to collect and analyze relevant data for answering the research questions. The same group of features will be used to collect data across the three time periods (Table 2), which means that the situation of Chinese and European feminism will be compared three times as well in total. These features follow the dimensions logically and are the methodological aid for the data analysis in next chapter.

Step 1.
- *How does the form of feminist movement look like in Europe since First-wave feminism ?*
- *How does the form of feminist movement look like in China since the May Fourth Era?*

As last part already shown, the first feature of general mobilization of feminist movement is "media mainstream". Media is the main means that convey feminist ideas to the public and, simultaneously, largely impact on the direction of movement. In turn, its advocate is also a part of the form of movement. The second feature — mobilized class— is another angle to view feminism, whether the main force is middle class or working class not only tells the nature of one feminist movement, but also express the relationship between national regime and the protests within. Thirdly, the influenced scale is chosen for observing the size and spread of protests which logically reflects the influences of feminist ideas among public and also an important indicator of mobilization. The second dimension — adapted strategies and tactics— aims at understanding, in a given political and cultural context, how would the protests frame their strategies to win enough social concerns and supports from the public. The first feature, protest expressions, is to see which means were the activists adapted to claim their demands, whether the movements were violent and disruptive or nonviolent and legal can be collected from available historical paper materials and thereby contributing to interpret this dimension. The second feature 'concerning fields' refers to the issue of what topics were the primary concerns of activists. In response to the given contexts, the field (e.g. women's social, political or economic rights) that the organizers chose to focus on is a further feature to collect data. The third dimension — influences of feminist movements on women's policy— including two features, namely new official policies toward political right, economic right or right to education and new unofficial social ideas toward women's emancipation (both physically and mentally). The first feature is used to see if there were new policies or relevant conventions have been published after feminist movements, which were aimed to raise women's status in political, economic and educational fields. The second feature focuses on the unofficial side, which is to observe the changes of women's status on the level of civil society. In other words, after a movement with certain scale, the changed general opinion towards women from people themselves is also an essential aspect of this dimension (e.g. the anti-footbinding movement from Chinese non-governmental organization).

Step 2.
- *What are the similarities and differences of movement forms between the European and Chinese Feminism (a descriptive comparison)?*

In this part, the same group of dimensions will be compared at each of the three time periods respectively. The comparison of mobilization concentrates on the aspects of mobilized population, the addressed issue and media mainstream; strategies and tactics are shown through the expressions and their main concerns; and the influence of movement are observed via the changes of women's status in several areas. Specifically, the description about **mobilized population** paid attention on the mobilized class rather than the exact amount of participants. It is because, on one hand, the population base of Europe and China are not the same and, therefore, the comparison of the amount per se makes no sense; and, on the other hand, the mobilized class can not only reflect the proportion of participants, but also reflects the differences in the nature of feminist movements in both regions. Then, it chose to focus on the **addressed issue** and **media mainstream** instead of the media positions is due to the limitation of time and the lack of media materials that crosses such a long time dimension. Moreover, the **strategic expressions** are compared through depicting the methods that women (or government) used to attract public attentions, by which the differences between independent and nondependent women's movements could be revealed. Then finally the comparison towards movement's **influences** lays more focuses on an ideological level rather than the practical aspects. In other words, it concerns more about how have the movement contributed to the *social thinking* about women's status since the practical images, such as the specific changes of employment rate, political participating percentages, number of female organizations or women's relative incomes and so forth, require another systematic and extensive data collection, while both of the limitation of time and a possible comprehensive data base led to the present choice.

Step 3.
After summarizing the differences, as mentioned before, the 'existing tested relationships' will be adapted for the contextual explanation. On the side of political opportunity, it will follow the research tradition to use a more restrictive model of political opportunity and focus on more stable aspects of government (see Eisinger 1973, Kitschelt 1986). Therefore, the dimensions will adopt the model that initiative by Kitschelt (1986), which focuses on the input structures (open or closed) and output structures (strong or weak). In these two dimensions, the crucial features are *formal institutional structures (degree of accessibility), resource and historical precedents*. On the cultural aspect, the analysis concerns on the cultural opportunities that decide the type of ideas "become visible for the public, resonate with public opinion and are held to be ''legitimate'' by the audience" (Kriesi, p.72). By adapting the perspectives — systemic perspective, performative perspective and framing perspective — this part will interpret possible cultural influences on the form of movement according to the "dominant cultural environment", "subcultural or countercultural effects" and "situation inside (the national culture) and situation outside (the international cultural orientation)".

3.4 Conclusion
In this research the focus lies on the similarities and differences of feminist movement forms in Europe and China across three period of time. Following a case study, the analysis of forms has been divided into three time points, so that the European and Chinese "feminist movement mobilization", "adapted strategies and tactics" and "influences of feminist movement on women's policy" at each time point will be compared. In order to operate this comparison, several features of each dimension have been introduced. The "mobilization" will be viewed from aspects like national media position; mobilized class and influenced scale. The "strategy and tactic" refer to protest's expressions and their concerning fields. The "influence" is based on describing the changes of women's political, economic and educational rights as well as their physical emancipation. The two explanatory factors— political and cultural context— are also limited in the specific time range and, therefore, the contexts in the particular historical stage will be used to explain the summarized similarities and differences.

Chapter IV. Data Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to compare the form of feminist movement in Europe and China. In the first section, the general forms of feminist movement in Europe and China during their three periods will be shown respectively. It will stress on the description of three dimensions of the form, namely, the general feminist protest mobilization, the adapted strategies and tactics and the influences of movement on women's policy— how were they looked like during each period. Further, the features that represent the expressions of these dimensions, such as main issues, mobilized class, the scale of influence, protest's expressions, changes of women's status and rights, will be used to specify the demonstration of these three aspects. Then, the focus of the following part lies on comparing and contrasting these dimensions, which will reveal the main differences of feminist movement forms in Europe and China. Based on the result of this part, the final section explains the possible political and cultural factors of Europe and China that may contribute to the differences. The theory of political opportunity will be adopted to explain the potential political impacts of the specific historical stages on movement forms. In terms of cultural elements, three perspectives —systemic, performative and framing perspective—will be used to view its effects from different angles.

4.1 Feminist Movement Forms across the Three Periods in Europe

4.1.1 The First Wave Feminism—— Votes For Women

As many researchers advocate that "social movements do best in political cultures which already have strong egalitarian and liberal commitment' (Bouchier, 1984, p.181), the influential first wave feminist movement emerged concomitantly with the appearance of the changed political systems after the WWI. In most of European countries, not only aided by the fact that women were able to contribute their services during the war, but also, mostly, due to the increased influences of liberal and democratic parties, women's suffrage could be achieved quickly. However, rather than to say the movement forms were shaped by the political and cultural environment within the individual state, it might be better to argue that, during the first wave, European feminist protests were actually embedded themselves with the international collective struggle, and adjusted their forms due to the "peer pressure" among countries — as Francisco (1997) states that, "countries within a single region might tend to imitate one anther" (p. 740). This point, therefore, on one hand allows us to view the European suffrage movement from a general perspective, and, on the other, it reveals that the movement forms of the first wave in Europe was affected more by the (international) political factors than by the cultural factors.

Mobilization

Among all the three waves of feminist movement, the first one witnessed the widest and the deepest mobilization among women throughout the continent, and in most countries, the movements reached its peak during this period. However, in spite of its wide-spread influences on European women, the urban middle-class women were actually the main force of the movements in general, and the lower-class women played the least role in most leading countries. Britain shows this picture especially well— that both male and female feminists often constitute by middle-class elites or educated intellectuals. Although from 1840s, British working-class women started to participate in feminist activities, they were, however, mainly been mobilized in religious associations. Simultaneously, middle-class women dominated most feminist movements in Germany, and its proportion was far higher than their working-class "sisters". For instance, a study that based on a sample of 40 leaders of German feminist movement reported that 85% among whom were from middle class, while only 10% from lower social class and another 5% was constituted by noblewomen (Paletschek & Pietrow-Ennker, 2004, p.316). Moreover, in both Germany and France the activities were often Jewish women, freethinkers or protestant, which reveals an obvious religious root of European women's movement. Besides, in France, another highly mobilized group in movements was consisted of immigrants from Poland, Britain, Russia, Switzerland and Germany (ibid.). In eastern Europe, the highly mobilized women were mainly came from the noble class, which mostly due the lack of education in these countries, and which, consequently, led to the lack of middle-class women and educated intellectuals, just as Szapor states that "noblewomen being the only ones who had the opportunity to receive at least a private education in Hungary," (p.193). To put it in a nutshell, those who

were highly mobilized and motivated in the first wave were the women who held a critical attitude towards religion or belonged to a religious minority, had tight connection with activists involved in social and political movements, been educated or with an open-mind as an immigrant or foreigner (Paletschek & Pietrow-Ennker, 2004).

As many researchers (e.g. Francisco, 1997; Paletschek, 2004) mentioned that independence promoted the activity of women's movements in most European countries during this period, we see that it was the concomitant change of the political system that provided necessary amount of political opportunities for women. Throughout the Europe continent a large percent of upper and middle-class women were involved in this wave, especially in the central and eastern areas (Paletschek, 2004), as the raised middle class after the industrialization and the increased opportunity for them to access the political system (due to their higher social and economic status). Furthermore, the effects of the more open political system on women's mobilization also expressed by some leading countries such as Germany and France, as the easing of censorship laws made it possible for female intellectuals to publish women's periodicals with political and feminist leanings (ibid.).This is a good example of how the changing social and political structures contributed to the structures of women's movements. Moreover, like other scholars suggested that the mobilization could also be explained through the factors such as political cultures (Button et al. 1999) or particular identities (Bernestein, 1997), the mass participation of middle-class women at this time, therefore, as argued, can be interpreted by the universal collective feminist culture and the sense of women's universal camaraderie around the western world (Dubois, 1994), of which middle-class women played the main role on the leading level.

Strategies and Tactics
First of all, although it is hard to say that whether the solely focus of suffrage was a deliberate strategy or not, the background of the reason that why activists paid attention on women's voting right is worth discussing briefly. The First Wave feminism had broad goals and hoping to obtain a more equal social status for women, such as the right of employment, reproduction, education and so forth. Practically, some feminist campaigns were successfully maneuvered through their national parliament towards women's rights, such as personal property control, joint guardianship of their children, and local government enfranchisement to qualified women (Van Wingerden, 1999). However, even the limited claims of rights were facing the suppressions due to the machinery of government was deliberately to exclude women from its working, which fueled the idea that the interests of women would never be obtained unless they were able to participate in the decision process that concerns their destiny (ibid.) Therefore, under the precondition of the certain improvement of women's industrial, educational and social status, the struggle for the vote became determined. In Europe, for realizing this goal, the suffrage movement was a broad one, including both male and female activists with a wide range of views.

Two main ideologies were prevalent among the feminist movements during this period — relational and individualist feminism, of which the former emphasis a male-female relationship as the basic unit of society, while the latter advocates the "gender difference" which regards the individual as the basic unit (Offen, 1988). Even both lines were used together as ideological strategy to mobilize participants; it appears that, in first-wave feminist, activists had a preference to develop arguments for women's suffrage based on emphasizing the difference between male and female (Van Wingerden, 1999). One spreading strategy in feminist movements was the integration of different social and religious organizations. European feminists often embedded women's claims in the movements of human rights or those advocate individual self-determination during the early stage of first-wave feminism (2004). Instead of merely petitioning, women started to go on the streets. The first wave witnessed the emergence of female mass demonstrations, leaflets and occasional acts of civil disobedience. In general, women's movements in each country had shown both militant and rational aspect of mobilizing strategy. This picture can best be viewed through two most influential feminist organizations in Europe at that time, which established by British feminists — the NUWSS and the WSPU— that represented suffragists and suffragettes respectively. The NUWSS is the rational wing of women's movement, which sticks to the non- militant tactics and insisted to the legal and democratic means of gaining suffrage primarily, which enjoyed the most politically advantageous at that period of their implementation (Parks, 2011). And according to her

memoir *What I Remember* (Fawcett, 1976), the protest marches, women petitions, the later support of the Labour Party and the suspension of suffrage movements during the WWI were all the evident chosen strategies by the NUWSS. In contrast, the leader of WSPU believes that "Men got the vote because they were and would be violent. Then women did not get it because they were constitutional and law-abiding" (Pankhurst, 1913, p.630), which led to the choices of window smashing, tax resistance, public disruption, self-harm, hunger strike, and terrorist activities. The suffragettes' tactic", as Blackburn (2011) points out that "...had served to damage the cause of women's suffrage and stiffen opposition among politicians who were determined not to give in to such threats of violence"(p.44), and which eventually decreased the supportiveness to the women's suffrage movement. In short, the choice of strategy often dependent on which group the activists want to cooperation or mobilize. For instance, in France, one fraction of feminist movement only supported women's suffrage and insisted only nonviolent measures due to the consideration of a benign link with the Republic; while another section preferred more radical means to attract large attention from the public (Paletschek & Pietrow-Ennker, 2004).

Influences of Movement
From the 19th to the early 20th, women's suffrage movement opened many doors for women and helped them to enjoy a greater status in the society. Due to the suffrage movements, women's political rights started to be accepted by the public. Throughout the 20th century , debating about female suffrage "moved from 'acceptable' in a nation-state, to 'encouraged', to 'unequivocally required'" (Paxton, Hughes et al. 2006, p.916). In Europe, Finland was the first country that granted women the right to vote in 1906, following by the other two Nordic countries Norway and Denmark in 1913 and 1915 respectively. In Britain — the leader of European feminist movement during the First Wave, women who were over the age of 30 gained the voting right in 1918 and, as a result, 8.5 million women were enfranchised (BBC, 2014). This right further applied to all women over 21 ten years after. Till the early 20th, most European countries opened this political right to their women. Some may argue that in some countries, for instance Britain, the government legislated women's right to vote was due to their efforts during the World War I rather than anything the protesters did in movements. There is no doubt that the suffrage movements, either the constitutional or the militant ones, had challenged the traditional stereotype of womanhood and contributed to the institutionalization of women's participation in politics in the world polity. Alongside with the changing political status, or as its result, women started to enjoy more rights at social and economic level as well. In terms of the main concern of this wave, the primary goal has been achieved, and the deep-rooted female weak position was shaken by the unremitting feminist movements.

4.1.2 **The Second Wave Feminism— "The Personal is Political"**
While the first-wave feminism focused on women's legal rights, the second-wave feminism, emerged after the 1960s and, started to demand broader changes and challenge the broader aspects of patriarchal society, lies its emphasis on liberation and reproductive rights of women (Banzazsak, 1996). This wave refers mostly to the "radical feminism of women's liberation movement" (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005, p.7) from mid-20th to late 20th. During this wave, the feminists swept into the activists by the civil right movement and started to explore the origins of women's oppression from extensive theoretical views. Alongside with the wide-spread individualistic values during this period, the ideas from liberalism, socialism and radicalism led to the diversity of movement forms. Thus it could be argued that, compared with the first wave in which political factors mattered more in shaping movement forms, cultural or say ideological influences started to play a role in the second-wave feminism.

Mobilization
Second wave feminism added new issues into feminist movement such as 'reproduction', 'experience' and 'difference' (Humm, 1992). These new concerns shifted feminist activities from the previous political level that emphasized by the First Wave to a more individual level, and as a result women from different classes were mobilized to participate in the movements since this wave. During this period, the individualist culture in Europe started to express its influences on the forms of feminist movements gradually, which could just be viewed from the famous slogan— "the personal is political". Since then,

feminist pursuits varied among groups that with different demands, and, guided by three main discourses, these different pursuits thus contributed to the development of plural movement forms. In addition, these ideologies also interwoven with the given political factors and together impacted on the mobilization of second-wave feminism. For instance, the reason that the liberal feminism enjoyed the widest influence during this wave could be attributed to the liberalist political trend among most European countries, like mentioned before: the organized movement is more likely to have an influential outcome when it meets the electoral concerns of elected officials in a given polity (Burstein & Linton, 2002). As below, the main mobilized population by each ideology is showed.

The mainstream **liberal feminist** movement focused on pragmatic aspects of changing in an institutional or government and, therefore, their propagandas aimed to integrate women into the power structure and to increase the accessibility for women to enjoy equal positions that men had traditionally dominated. During the early stage, the major liberal activists were young, white and educated and many of whom were students and, in order to make it easier for women to claim their demands, the liberation groups tended to be informal and non-hierarchical. This character of the membership contributed to the demobilization of working class, black or middle aged women who did not have personal connections with group members that allowed them to participate (Wilson and Wei, 1986). While liberal feminists pay more attention on the individual, **socialist feminist** concerned with the interest of womanhood, which laid its focus on transformation at the level of social class and capitalism (Hughes, 2010). It won most supports from the working-class women due to the widely accepted belief that the basic hostile nature of class relations (private property and capitalism) is the dominant causes of women's oppression. Their mobilizing process was concentrated on integrating the realization of gender discrimination with women's work to reach the goal of equality for women, working classes and the poor. **Radical feminists** tend to be more militant in their mobilization, they oppose the existing institutions of society since which are considered as inherently tied to patriarchy. As a result, the mobilized activists were critical and skeptical of the inclusion of more members in the current system that they found profit-driven, patriarchal institutions (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005), and, thus, tend to support cultural change that challenges patriarchy and paralleled hierarchical structures. Therefore, in the movement, the supporters of this stream of feminism express the character of man-hating as, even it was not their original advocate, patriarchy and men are inseparable.

Strategies and Tactics

Certainly, the strategy and tactic adoption of second-wave feminism have included radical elements and new types of political activities. In general, although the almost all kinds of political activism have been attempted and, thus, the corresponding divisions of strategic choices were not virtually existed in movement, the tactical division of labour among the three tendencies has appeared (ibid.). As Kaplan (2012) mentioned that **liberal feminist** movement tend to be "organized, hierarchical, negotiative and coalition-building" (p.20). Therefore, formal networks and legislative changes are usually the common forms that are used by activists to influence public opinion, with the advocate that progressive reform would lead the way of gender equality. During this wave, the main adopted strategies have been "legal and legislative action, coalition building with established political groups, single-issue campaigns, service delivery and influencing public opinion" (Joni Lovenduski, 1986, p.70). **Socialist feminist** movements tend to avoid hierarchism within the organizations (Kaplan, 2012). Moreover, differ from the liberalism, its style revealed the cooperative aspect of feminist movement, which seek to fight for female's liberation with women of other persuasions. Affected by the idea of Marxism, they, rather than attribute women's inferior status to a "construction of socialization" or "a matter of changing legislature" (p.20), choose to emphasize the class division that is regarded as the causes of structural and female inequality. Summarized by Joni Lovenduski (1986), the most common strategies that used by socialist feminists were "reform campaigns, practiced labor movement entrism, developed critiques of capitalist culture and produced theories of revolutionary change" (p.70-71). More separatist than either of the two, **radical feminists** primarily lay their focus on the concept of patriarchy and with it the gender problem shift from the emphasis of class division to the concern of sexuality, which makes men 'intimate enemies' (ibid. p.69). From a general view, during the early stage of second-wave feminism, the strategy of physical protests, oppositional and non-collaborative strategy characterized large parts of Europe (Kaplan, 2012).

Establishing women's resonance and voice through creating women's periodicals and supplying communicative rooms were the means that been widely used, while in the later stage, the strategies were adjusted in line with the norms and rules of institutions due to the increasing number of female activist who entered into political institutions(Lang, 2013).

Influences of movements
Direct actions and the concomitant legislative changes have had a significant effect on women's lives and the granted opportunities for females in Europe. For instance, in 1975, Sex Discrimination Act has been legitimized in the UK, which made the discrimination against women in many fields illegal. Moreover, this wave had profound impact on traditional women's organizations of Europe. As a number of European feminist movements were transferred to unions and political parties, it was obvious that the perspectives and practice of women's right groups were apparently changed by the late 20th (Joni Lovenduski, 1986). The second-wave feminist movement saw both successes and backlash. On the successful side, it maintains relevant feminist movement organizations, and "broadly institutionalized and effective interest group," with an institutional base in academia, especially women's studies projects (Brenner 1996, P.24). Backlash includes an obvious decline of grassroots mobilization, as well as the increase of antifeminist discourse and negative comments from media (Aronson, 2003). However, as a research by the RNGS network shown that "high levels of women's grassroots mobilization and activism across European countries became counterproductive to policy success" (Outshoorn 2010: 159), which is to say that the possibility of the inclusion of women's claims in policy decisions and of the feminists' accessibility into decision-making process "is greater when the level of activism is actually quite low" (ibid.). Thus, it seems hard to conclude that if the grassroots mobilization actually has a positive or negative influence on women's public role.

4.1.3. The Third Wave Feminism— Transversal Politics
The third-wave feminism is the description that generalized the most recent feminist movements, which expressing entirely different picture with the former twos. Under a completely different global world order, especially under the effects of internet, various new forms of movements emerged, such as lipstick feminism, cybergrrl feminism, cultural feminism, and in Europe it is known as "new feminism". As the claims of this wave inclined to be diverse, the definition of it, therefore, is not based on a common theoretical and political standpoint, but rather according to the various strategies of performance, mimicry and subversion (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005). Accordingly, this wave is the one that emphasizes most on the "form" of movement per se, and it could also be argued that these forms, compared with those of the previous two waves, are mostly under the influence of cultural factors.

Mobilization
The third-wave feminism is a response, as well as a critique, to the second wave feminism. It seeks to challenge the universal female identity that defined by the second wave's activists that has been criticized due to its over-emphasis of upper-middle-class white women's experiences. In addition to the institutional and legal gains from the second-wave, the third-wave feminists start to focus on changing the stereotypes of women, media portrayals of females and the definition of women etc. which are under the influences of the second-wave feminism movements. Therefore, the recent female activists are putting efforts in the development of feminist theory and politics that respect diversified experiences and deconstruct stereotypical and categorical ideas. The movements' mobilization is mostly based on the dialogue among women across class, national and regional boundaries. Just as "new feminists" are more inclusive toward women with different identities, they tend to be more inclusive of various ideologies and issues as well during the mobilization process, such as violence against women, self-mutilation, sexuality, race and class exploitation and human trafficking etc. (ibid.). Consequently, because this wave "has never had a monolithically identifiable or single-issue agenda that distinguishes it from other movement for social justice" (Heywood, 2006, p.367), its mobilization, therefore, often covers a wide range of population from any race, class or religion.

Strategies and Tactics

Under the influence of new ideologies, the common strategy running through movements, propagandas or literature of Third-Wave feminism is to embrace ambiguity rather than certainty. Started from the 1980s, in order to promote the collective identities and to encourage the building of new solidarity, cultural strategies played a central role in the women's movement and have widened the contingency of the activities (Taylor & Rupp, 1993). For instance, the particularly striking manifestation of the third-wave can be viewed from the movements by Riot Grrrls whose activism is "one of the most potent expressions of third wave feminism" (Gillis, Howie et al. 2004, p.157). In 1990s, they started to use subcultural media to raise the feminist consciousness of young girls and women, such as expressing via punk music, visual arts and zines (e.g. magazine, webzine etc.). Moreover, rather than sending political messages through highly organized movements, third wave feminist groups emphasize the significance of having individual voices heard, and, therefore, relevant workshops and conferences are organized to encourage women to fight with the deep-seated patriarchal ideas of femininity as weak or quiet. As the world today colonized by the mass media and information technology, many modern expressing forms emerged as a response in this wave, especially the cultural activism; individual and personal expression via the means of social web, media, music or large scale events became the main strategies of mobilization in this wave (Lang, 2013). For example: lesbian protesters use street perfomances such as "eating fire" to declare female's strength and their visibility (Staggenborg & Taylor, 2005); feminist artists of anti-sexism and anti-racism use gorilla masks and names of deceased female artists to conduct the anonymous protest in movie, art works and culture (e.g. Guerilla Girls); or topless protests against sex tourism, sexism and other national or international issues relate to religions, dictatorship or sexism (e.g. Femen). The common strategy of protests not only became more self-assertive, but also expressed in a more playful and less pompous form (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005). Thus, the movement form of this wave can hardly be defined by common theoretical and political standpoints, but rather by the use of discursive, and performative expressions as protest strategies.

Influences of movements

Comparing with the former two, the influences of third-wave feminism on women are ambiguous since its claim is not really concentrate on a specific issue. It stressed on the inclusiveness of feminist members in movements and issues that relate to women's interests in a very broad way. In response to the stereotypical images of females as weak, small, and virginal, or in another way around as demanding, aggressive, and slutty, third-wave activists put effort in redefining women as powerful, independent, and assertive. This wave is highly related to the effects of globalization and the complex redistribution of power (ibid.), one of its strongest influences, therefore, is its contribution to the globalized European feminist movements. It diverted public's attention to the more diverse women's interests and perspectives, which contributed to the alliances between women with different color, religious and classes. The unconventional queer theory and politics provide a platform for more female groups to voice their demands via movement, such as lesbian, bi- and transgendered and transsexual women. Particularly, in the third wave, the performance turn indicates " a move away from thinking and acting in terms of systems, structures, fixed power relations, and thereby also "suppression"—toward highlighting the complexities, contingencies, and challenges of power and the diverse means and goals of agency" (ibid, p.21). Therefore, the impact of this wave, rather than to say it contributed to the improvement of women's interests, is more about the form of feminist movement per se.

4.2 Feminist Movement Forms across the Three Periods in China

4.2.1 May Fourth Era
Mobilization
Due to the failure of Republican government to obtain equal international status and continued accepting the foreign encroachment on China's soil, a series of new social movements for saving the nation happened on the historical stage. In the form of two movements —— the New culture Movement (1915) and the May Fourth Movement (1919)—— a throughout re-evaluation of the entire cultural heritage started, which attempted to reform the old society from intellectual, social and political aspects (Hong,

2013). In history, this reforming period that comprised of these two movements have come to be known as the May Fourth Era. In the history of China, this era stands as the Chinese Renaissance which with an effort and progress for pursuing a good society. During this era, feminist movements were mainly built upon the critiques of the traditional social system, the feudal family, the culture of Confucianism and introducing democracy. In general, therefore, the mobilization of feminist movement could be viewed as a by-product of the reforming movements, and, in a certain sense, feminist theory has been used as a tool by intellects to challenge the deep-seated culture of Confucianism. As Yuan (2005) states that, when explaining the reason of why women's issues became an important theme in this era, "the new culturists found that western ideologies — social Darwinism, liberalism, anarchism, socialism, Marxism, and feminism — provided them with a position outside of the dominant Confucian ideology that enable them to claim themselves the creators of a new culture" (p.27). In this period of time, debates on women's problem start to appear on mainstream media, and magazines, journals and relevant organizations became the main means for movement's mobilization. However, even though women's emancipation was hallmark of May Fourth Era, the influential periodicals were mainly led by male activists since more than 90 percent of female population were illiterate at that time (ibid.). Thus, due to this particular situation of Chinese women, the highly mobilized population in feminist movements was actually the so-called "New Culturalists" were rebels against the dominant culture.

Strategies and Tactics
During the beginning stage of Chinese feminist movement the most common mobilizing strategies were the establishment of influential societies (e.g. anti-footbinding organization) and practices practically or propagating modern ideas from an ideological level , and appealing for women's emancipation via the media. Due to the general insufficient of women's education, the May Fourth Era did not witness a real sense of large scale feminist movement in the form of protest, street demonstration or public expression. Nationwide women's movements were expressed in the proliferation of women's literature, journals, magazines and organized activities. At its beginning stage, in order to instill the idea of gender equality, intellectuals highly emphasized the importance of women's physical emancipation for attacking the fundamental element of feudal morality — women's chastity. Since then, articles that criticize this feudal ideology started to appear in journals and magazines and triggered widespread discussion (Hong, 2013). Throughout the country, almost all the feminist forms were limited to a common goal of formal equality (Yuan, 2005), which primarily through the ideological mobilization. For instance, the progressive students' societies emerged to discuss the reconstruction of the whole society and the ways to emancipate women; many journals and magazines were founded particularly for raising women's consciousness of women's health, freedom and equality in this era (Hong, 2013). The female periodicals such as Women's Daily, Women's Bell, New Women or The Voice of Women all adapted this ideological agenda to mobilize Chinese women.

Influences of movements
Born at the late 19th, May Fourth feminist movement contributed dramatic institutional changes. The late Qing's reformer's appeal against footbinding and support of women's education were remarkably successful. Convinced by the argument that China needed to make its females healthier and to become productive members of society pressingly for making the nation stronger, upper-class families started to accept their daughters to retain "natural" feet, and this stream gradually spread to other households as well (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, the new republic illegalized footbinding, which protected a large number of women from physical torture from the level of law and, thanks for this, the "new women" whom with physical capability of an active life emerged. Another significant achievement was the Qing government started to support women's education through the establishment of both public and private schools. Together with the western missionaries' schools, the May Fourth feminist movement contributed to a rapidly increasing number of educated women and made teaching became an accessible vocation for ambitious women as well (ibid.). The new culturalists (intellectuals) in the May Fourth Era are the trailblazers of Chinese feminism, the women's movements of this period has tremendous significances for both physical and ideological emancipation of Chinese women.

4.2.2 Mao and post Mao-era
Mobilization
Maoist feminism is not only a unique moment in Chinese women's history, but also in world history. During its earlier stage, Chinese feminist movement (or say state feminism) was developed alongside with the success of the socialist revolutionary movement. Mobilization of this era was a top-down practice of state, as Howell (2001) claims that, "Under state-derived feminism, agency becomes the monopoly of the party-state. Changes in gender relations are inspired from above and mobilized through the organizational channels of the ACWF. The party-state, through the ACWF, defines the causes, methods, and vision of change and serves as the guardian and male protector of women's rights and interests. Although women can be mobilized for change, they cannot be their own agents of change." (Speech cited by Zheng, 2005, p.521). Since Mao was highly influenced by Karl Marx, he laid the main focus on mobilizing lower-class women, especially the rural women. Furthermore, during its later stage — the phase of Cultural Revolution, the state policy shifted its focus on class differences, and women were encouraged to participate in the productive workforce (Leung, 2003). Since then, many encouraging ideas from Mao became the nationwide slogans in women's movements' mobilization, such as "what men can do, women can do" or "women can hold up half of the sky", which were also the general ideology of gender relationship during this era, and gender inequalities were institutionally and ideologically eliminated to a great degree (Dongchao, 2005). The main position of the mobilizing policies were still guided by "Marxist women's theory", which claimed that i) women are a revolutionary force, ii) women's liberation is a condition of proletarian revolution, and that iii) productive labour is the basic condition of women's liberation and is progressive (Barlow, 1994, p.345). In practice, the gender equality effectively indicated that men are women's model in their daily life, including the imitation of men's behavior, language and dressing. This view became a fashion throughout China then, when males and females were described as "blue sea" and "green sea" from the color of their working uniform that they wore at that time (Dongchao, 2005). The media too propagated the value of collectivism and norms of behavior, which emphasized the precedence of collective responsibilities over the individual interests (Leung, 2003). Obviously, working-class women those who felt disenfranchised from capitalism were still the main mobilizing target during this time.

Strategies and Tactics
Since there was no independent feminist movement, which means organized by female social groups themselves, the mobilizing strategy was a unitary top-down process. The feminist movement was a nationwide mobilization and its strategy was interwoven with the whole national fortune or, from another angle, the women's movement itself was a strategy for reaching collective interest on a greater level. In order to promote gender equality, alongside with the ideological reformation, the state policies also supported the state-sponsored women's movement, the women's rights to challenge patriarchal authority within the household, and women's participation in social production and political affairs etc. (ibid. see p.363). The mobilizing tactics mostly defined by the central government, which put women's equal rights within a state-defined category of "iron" women that "emancipated" by the state (Barlow, 1994). Furthermore, mobilizing rural women was a tactical consideration since, on one hand, they occupied a large part of Chinese population and this choice could contribute to a larger scale of movement. On the other hand, Mao regarded rural women as a group with more social mobility since they themselves are working women and with certain discursive power on family's income, which, comparing with the "economic dependent women", equip them with a pre-condition to challenge the patriarchal authority on an economic level — the primary step considered by Mao to challenge the patriarchy and eliminate class differences.

Influences of movements
Maoist feminism is a controversial theory in Chinese women's history. On one aspect, it is hard to deny that putting his theory into practice did bring extensive social liberation for Chinese women while, on the other hand, it has been argued that this reformation failed to mobilize the real subject — women, and whose liberation was achieved at the expense of their self-awareness or values (Dongchao, 2005). Moreover, some also criticize the approach was an exploitative one as it posited absolute equality between men and women, which deprived women's actual difference (Liu, 1993). However, when

judging the influences of Maoist approaches on women, what cannot be ignored are the distinctions between his original thoughts and the final outcomes. The letter he wrote to Bo Gu reveals his attitude towards human rights and women's emancipation to some certain degree: "it is not true that some people say we ignore or suppress individuality differential. Neither democracy nor socialism can be realized without emancipating the repressed individuality." As one of the most active activists in the May Fourth Era, Mao had different perspective towards women's right, instead of opposing feudal culture as the mainstream intellectuals, he stressed on the freedom for women's marriage, equal rights for women's education as well as women's economic emancipation, which have been realized to a certain extent during his era. Therefore, if only from the view of the changes of women's status, although the obvious disadvantages exist, this era contributed a big leap to women's life on political, economic and social level. On both ideological and practical level, as well as in the area of law and policy, the view of gender equality has been popularized unprecedentedly.

4.2.3 Deng's reform and post-reform era
Mobilization
Deng's reform process started in 1978, while "a collective consciousness that might have been described as feminist" only started to emerge among Chinese women till the mid-1980s (Dongchao, 2005). As similar as the picture of Mao-era, Chinese feminist movement still highly connected with the mainstream national policies. During the reforming period, China retreated from the self-declared Marxist socialism and operating a form of "socialist market economy", which put the mobilization of pursuit of women's rights under a framework of social reconstruction and economic development. According to the positive correlation between economic basis and women's advancement, the main goal and advocate of women's movement was still to pursue emancipation and liberation via developing social production and general social and economic growth (ibid.). Mainstream scholars, even with the knowledge that the causal relationship between women's liberation and material development is weak and untested do not doubt the speculative positive effects of economic modernization on solving women's subordination (Lin et al, 1998). As a result, the main mobilized population mainly concentrated on "working women", on both political and economic level, who participated in the "mass production" in the marketized China. In post-reform China, the post-Mao (during the Cultural Revolution) system which mobilized the working and peasant class to the greatest extent at the cost of the educated middle class is completely reversed (ibid.). Official ideology no longer dominates the mainstream values and, therefore, new forms of discourse started to influence the expression of feminist movements — the educated intellectual class and many youth become the new mobilized groups. In addition to the certain influences of western feminist ideas, with the progression of this new-era reformation, the humanistic construction of Chinese culture and economy further contributed to the more individualized forms of mobilization of women's movement. However, even though the independent and educated women started to play a main role in raising the consciousness of female individual rights, their activity, expression, association and assembly still being strictly controlled by the party. Therefore, any real significant feminist street protest cannot be viewed in the "new China", which indicates that the mobilization of women's movements is basically shaped by both political power and gender relations. In practice, women's pursuits and claims are actually be voiced and represented by ACWF which, as mentioned before, is a mass organization of women led by the CCP and does not encourage feminism (Leung, 2003). Thus, the individualist transformation of Chinese women seems only playing a marginal and literally role in including women into the semi-official women's movement in modern China.

Strategies and Tactics
As described above, Chinese feminists could not really mobilize a real expression, protest or demonstration during this period. Therefore, the common logics of social movement(e.g. logic of number, logic of damage and logic of bearing witness) that are usually used to win the political and public attentions do not fit in the picture of Chinese feminist movements' strategies. Since almost all the women's movements are sponsored by and conducted through the national official organizations, Chinese feminists still could only concentrate on an ideological level in raising feminist consciousness. The Women's Studies scholars who involved in the transnational feminist movement chose to spread the western feminist ideas via literatures, journals or academic dissertations etc. When defining the "awaken"

women's identity, these scholars tried to separate it from a series of the national political concepts. As Lin et al. (1998) stated that the new consciousness of identity "theoretically separates the liberation of women from the "proletarian emancipation" or the "socialist revolution"; then academically separates women's studies from the studies of the humanities and social sciences; and strategically separate the women's movements from state moulding and control. The central intention of these efforts is to make 'women' a distinct category vis-a-vis the concept of 'class', and to endow women's liberation some meaning and goals which are different from or beyond those of class liberation and elimination" (p.112). During this process, scholars of women's studies deconstructed the traditional "Marxist women's theory", and, as a response to the declining support of Marxist theory that posits the entirely women's question under the issue of class, the ACWF then shifted its focus from "equality" to "self-improvement" as its basic mobilizing policy, which, on the other hand, could also be argued as an strategy for encouraging women to rely on themselves in a market economy. Moreover, scholars at this time highly stress the differences among and within women in order to emancipate women from the Maoist feminist ideology that with the unisex style and let women to realize their real needs inside and outside a household.

Influences of movements
During this period, women are motivated to seek liberation through their own discourse and to obtain their independence and women's autonomy through education. The emphasis of individualistic value encouraged Chinese women's self-emancipation as well as self-awareness, which dismantled some of the previous top-down policy arrangement for guaranteeing gender equality. During this reforming process, even some may argue that the abolishment of the policy arrangements led Chinese women become more vulnerable in the new labour market (e.g. Dongchao, 2005), women gradually gain more opportunities and autonomies in the fields of education, employment and politics. Even though Chinese feminist movements during this period are mostly organized by official organizations, the ideologies advocated by (non)official scholars enlightened thousands of Chinese women to pursue their own self-realization. However, negative comments exist as well, like Leung (2003) argues that this reform created a new form of collectivism which "not based on the family but upon the wider collective good of society" (p.369), which twisted women's role into the contributors of the collective interests through their participation in the economic construction and productive process.

4.3 Compare and Contrast the Differences and Similarities of Feminist Forms between Europe and China
This part is going to connect the comparative study with the theoretical framework, and the similarities and differences of feminist movement between Europe and China will be based on the discussion of the following topics: "the logic of numbers and mobilization", "the logic of damage and strategies" and "the logic of bearing witness and movement's influence". Besides, as mentioned in the methodology part, the comparison of mobilization will focus on the aspects of mobilized population, the addressed issue and media mainstream; strategies and tactics will be shown through the expressions of movements and their concerning areas; and the impact of movement will lead the observation to the changes of women's status in several fields.

4.3.1 The Logic of Numbers and Feminist Movement Mobilization
During the first phase, late 19th to early 20th, both of European and Chinese feminist movement experienced their first significant stage — the first wave in Europe and the May Fourth Era in China. At the enlightening stage, although feminist activities of both regions concerned on awaking the independent consciousness of women, they mobilized different group of population. In Europe, feminism was formed when the civilization of the highly developed capitalism surpassed the social division of labor that build on a physical difference, and became a common practice when both natural and social conditions developed to a certain level. In China, the idea of gender equality emerged in a society that has not stepped in the civilization of industrialization. Therefore, during the first stage, feminist movement in Europe were mainly dominated by the educated, urban middle-class women, while in China, due to the lack of general education for women and their traditional inferior social status, those male "new culturalists" and intellectuals were the main force in women's movements. First wave feminist

movement were consisted of a series of independent women's activities in which women themselves played the role of "organizer", they were both the mobilizers and the mobilized objects. However, the mobilization of working-class women was ignored, whose participation could only be viewed in some religious associations. In terms of China, the May Fourth Era women's movements were often embedded into a series national liberation movements that against imperialism, feudal culture and bureaucracy. Therefore, women's movements were not ended in women themselves, but were used as means to against feudalism and as a sign of social progress. During this era, females were mainly the objects that were "being" mobilized and emancipated by male intellectuals whose main intention was to reform Chinese society and against the dominant Confucian culture.

During the second phase of feminist movement, European mobilization, which under the influence of liberal, socialist or radical ideologies, shown diversified forms, and it was when feminism became a social current. While in China, the top-down movement form started during its second stage, which only led by one ideology — the classical Marxism. In Europe, the mobilization, even still mainly concentrated upon middle-class women, started to embrace women from different classes. Moreover, activists began to stress the difference between women and men in the movements and, with the slogan 'personal is political', which attributes women's problems to the political problems. However, in the case of China, the logic went to an opposite side that attributes the national or political problems to the problems of women. More specifically, the reason to mobilize women's movements was mainly in the sake of a "stronger nation and country", with the idea that stronger women could contribute to more collective interests. Also in contrast to the advocates of European feminists who emphasize the gender difference, Chinese mobilizer highly support the absolute equality between sex, which potentially make men as model of women, and under the anti-patriarchal movement the whole country, however, seemed even more like a "masculinized state". Besides, in order to gain a wider supportiveness, only rural and working women were the domain objects of mobilization.

The third stage of European feminist movement is a period that reformed the expression of activities to the greatest extent. As this wave emphasizes on the mobilization of the "small groups" with different class, races and colors, the concerning topics are unprecedentedly diversified. In this sense, the nature of movement mobilization in China during its third phase has not experienced fundamental change. Even though the Maoist style of feminist movement was denied by Deng's generation, the top-down principle in movement has never been challenged successfully, which indicate that any independently mobilized women's movement is still missing, not even to mention the necessary attentions on the diversity of women's topics as Third Wave feminism. Moreover, the differences still exist in the mobilization of different classes and groups. Comparing with European feminist movements, which with a stronger participatory character —the mobilizers and the mobilized ones are usually belong to the same groups, the Chinese mobilization still presents a gap between the organizers and the targeted participants. In Europe, the third wave feminism is the one with the strongest individualist color that encourages women to pursue their rights on a personal level; while in China, although the feminist scholars also start to pay attention on gender differences, the general intention of women's movements are still on a collective level. The feminist studies are meant to mobilize working-class women, but the ideological mobilization still limited among intellectuals and scholars who from relevant subject, and still has a long way to go for making feminism a social current.

4.3.2 The Logic of Violence and Feminist Movement Strategy
In terms of strategies and the express of the logic of violence, Europe and China also presented more differences than similarities. **Ideologically**, First Wave Feminism chose to pursue women's political rights through the emphasis on the idea of individualist feminism, which stressed on the concept of individual human rights and emphasized the exploration for personal independence in every aspect of society. However, in China, the ideological strategy was based on nationalism, patriotism and the reformist ideas of culture, which, as usual, embedded women's problems into other "more important" social issues. **Practically**, First Wave feminist movements start to use the forms like mass demonstration, leaflets and civil disobedience to express their demands from the government. Strong organizations emerged and chose either the militant or moderate strategies according to their advocates, and at this time

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women start to join the protests on the streets in person. In China, during the May Fourth Era, women's movement itself was a strategy for realizing democracy and challenging the dominant feudal culture. The main strategy was to conduct vigorous propaganda on women's physical and mentally emancipation and, as a result, anti-footbinding organizations and women's schools widely grew up. These focuses were chosen since the intellectuals concurred these two topics could challenge the traditional feudal culture to the greatest extent.

During the second and the third stage, European movement strategies presented to be more diverse, while the case of China turned to be more unitary. The rapid growth of different feminist theorist in Second Wave feminism contributed to the diversity of tactics. No matter if they were legislative, reformist or militant, various types such as physical protests, non-collaborative actions, consciousness-raising groups or labor movement entrism can be adopted by activists in the independent movements. In the third wave of feminism, new strategies that celebrate personal and political contractions emerged rapidly in response to the development of mass media. The most common tactic of this wave is to use every possible form of expression that can attract public attention. The reason to adopt this strategy is mostly because the issues that addressed by this wave are more concentrated on the "marginalized" groups such as lesbians or transgender women, and women from either class or religious that had been ignored in many issues. Since these groups do not have advantages in the number, the follow of "the logic of violence" could be the optimal choice to bring most attentions and, as a result, could win more responses from the government or the public to the most extent. While in Maoist and Deng's Era, almost all the women's movements were mobilized by the unitary strategy. In Maoist Era, this unitary mobilization strategy mainly found its expression in the masculinizing process of working women, the emphasis on the emancipation of rural women, the nationwide sloganized language or the propaganda of the image of "iron women" etc. The main attention during this period was paid on the number and the scale of the participants, which led to the choice of rural and working-class women as the main force of mobilization. Similarly, even though Maoist ideology that encourages "absolute gender equality" has been reformed, the top-down centralized tactic that makes Chinese feminist activities as "semi-official movements" remains during Deng's Era— governmental organizations take over the works of sponsorship and mobilization. Thus we could see that the use of the protesting logics are different in Europe and China due to their different relationships between social movement and the government, the intention of the former is to attract attentions from the official department while the situation in the latter is more like to implement the official mobilization policies.

4.3.3 The Logic of Bearing Witness and the Feminist Movement Influences
In both Europe and China, feminist movement plays an important role in promoting women's social status. European feminism developed along with the development of industrializing process, and each of the Industrial Revolutions contributed a leap to the feminist movement. From the first wave that concentrated on demanding equal social status as man to the later ones that emphasize gender differences, European feminist principle revealed multiple and comprehensive angles to view women's problems in the process of women's emancipation. Feminists regard gender relation and gender structure as a social structure, which promoted women's awareness and ambitions of female rights on a political and legislative level. As a dimension of the form of movement, the influence of European feminist activists expressed its success in attracting public witnesses, improving the implementation of women's policies as well as creating relevant institutions. Ideologically, feminism became a social thought and systematically formed various women's schools in academic field. However, from another aspect, although these movements obtained abundant achievements in the public domain, their influences on women's domestic role still controversial. Due to the current confusion and anxiety towards a specific direction of feminist movement, radical and extreme forms become more and more common which triggered a subtle feminist-hating emotion among the public that potentially harms the supportiveness of women's activities in practice.

In terms of China, except during the May Fourth Era, there were almost no significant independent feminist movement can be observed. Accordingly, even the great contributions from female writers,

scholars and intellectuals cannot be neglected, it might be better to say the improved Chinese women's status were mostly due to the efforts by male activists and governmental mobilization rather than the movements per se. Unlike European feminism that based on a relative mature material foundation, Chinese feminist ideology emerged before the industrialization of China, which means that Chinese women were mobilized to participate in this social thought before they participated in the actual social life. This is to say that, because of the insufficient active awareness and self-realization, Chinese women were easier to be influenced by any mainstream ideology and, therefore, the movements were more unified. As a result, compared with the influences of European movements on women, the outcomes of Chinese feminist activities were wider and more intensive within a country in some sense due to the consistent nationwide style. During the recent stage, Chinese feminism is more affected by international events. For instance, as the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, "the word feminism not only began to appear frequently in official women's journals and magazines but also became a positive word…" (Zheng, 1996, p.195). However, Chinese feminism seems can hardly be separated from the government's will — due to the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen protests, "the government officials developed cold feet about hosting the conference and reacted by making the NGO Forum difficult for women to attend." (Meyer, 1999). This, again, led Chinese's women's movement went to underground and which continued to remain a marginal role in influencing women.

4.4 Contextual Explanation of Differences —— a political and cultural view

From the view of the last part, it can be seen that there are many differences between the form of the representative images of European feminist movements and the Chinese ones. For the contextual explanation, due to the limitation of the space, this part is not going to specify the political and cultural contexts of each European country, but view the conditions of European politics and culture from a general view, or say from a relative angle (compare with China). The following part explains the differences that exist in four main aspects of European and Chinese feminist movement forms, namely the mobilized population, the nature of claims, the level of activity and the use of strategy. If political opportunity decides *whether* the movement could be conducted, the cultural environment, however, decides *how* the movement would be presented. The intention of this chapter, therefore, is to understand these differences of expression through either a political or a cultural lens.

Differences in the Mobilized Population

Among the three periods of feminist movement, European and Chinese mobilization mainly concentrated on **middle-class and working-class** women respectively. Normally, feminism has always been argued as an upper and middle-class doctrine, as we could see that most leaders in women's movements, in both Europe and China, are educated and open-minded persons. The representative movements have shown the historical facts that, because of their more advanced economic or social preconditions, women from upper and middle class were the most active participants in the feminist movement, but if and only if the activities are "independent" and "autonomous". This expressed in the first two waves in Europe (the third wave mostly concentrates on the "marginalized" women's group, while it turns out that feminist movements' influences are weaker than the former twos as many observers argued) and the women's movements during May Fourth Era and Deng's Era in China. However, even middle class were more likely to become the main force in feminist movement in both regions, the difference between Europe and China is that the middle-class women were demobilized in China while highly mobilized in Europe, and the mobilization of working-class women was in the contrast situation. If from a general view to explain these differences, political circumstance might be the primary factor. As it shows in the last part, when there was no opportunities (or say when the political regime is close) for the independent activities the upper and middle-class activists were suppressed in China, especially in Maoist era, and working-class women turned out to be the actual main force of feminism only through the strong top-down mobilization. And within Europe as well, the feminist movements do best in those countries with stronger egalitarian and liberal commitments in their political cultures (e.g. Nordic countries, Netherlands), and faced more challenges in more conservative or authoritarian political cultures (e.g. France, Italy etc.) (see Bouchier, 1984). Moreover, a weaker government or political party would allow the more active feminist

movements, for instance in the more democratic European countries and the May Fourth Era of China when the country was under the lead of the weak government, feminist movements happened more frequently. Therefore, to sum up, the differences that exist in the mobilized class could be explained by the different nature of the movements in Europe and China — independent or not, and, further, whether it has independence or not could mostly be attributed to the political culture (e.g. accessibility of the political system: Europe > China; the power of political party: China > Europe), and the more open a political environment is, the more independent the women's movements could be and thus the more middle-class women would be mobilized.

Differences in the Nature of Claims
The second distinct difference between European and Chinese feminist movements is the content of their claims, which expresses in the difference of the claiming rights and the outcomes. Although the feminists of both were asking for the gender equality, the content claims tended to be more **individualistic in Europe while more collectivist in China**. On one hand, from a political view, the political system of Europe is more open than of China. It is to say that a person, a group or an organization is more encouraged to participate in the political activities as an independent unit in Europe, which indicates that each individual would have more opportunities to have his\her voice heard by the authority. This political circumstance therefore motivated individuals to pursue their interests and claim for individual rights via social movement. While in the case of China, the conservative political culture leads a low political participating rate among the public, and therefore (individual) political claims can hardly be viewed in the movements. Moreover, on the other hand, this difference can be attributed to the influences of culture to a great extent. In Europe, feminist ideas emerged from The Renaissance, developed alongside with the growth of advanced sociological and philosophical ideas and reached a new theoretical height after experiencing a series of social reformations and revolutions. The publish of the Declaration of Human Rights, the advocate of the values of "liberty, equality and fraternity" and the ideal of civil society and so on all potentially contributed to the emphasis of individual rights among European women. In China, some argue that women's social status was historically under the influence of Confucian philosophy, which not only "provided an ideological justification for women's low social position, but also underpinned woman's inferior legal status within the family system" (Hong, 2013, p.123). This dominant culture instilled the idea that, sociologically, women are a part of the properties of men and, economically, they do not have their own property rights within a family, which unconsciously led to the faint individualistic awareness among Chinese women[2]. Surely, the old family structure in Europe also encouraged the dominant status of men and considered women as inferior, while a major difference between Chinese and European patriarchy may contribute to the different degree of self-awareness among women. Confucianism emphasized more on the value of family compared with European Christianity (Hong, 2013). In (ancient) China, each family, rather than the individual, was considered as the basic unit of a society, and accordingly Chinese woman was not regarded as an independent unit within the state. The traditional thinking: "family is the root of a society" and its attendant morality (e.g. the whole country is a big family) laid the foundations for an authoritarian political structure (ibid.). Just as Hsu (1948) stated, "As far as overt behavior is concerned, the first outstanding quality is an explicitly submissive attitude toward authority… There are very few uncertainties" (p.257-260). From this cultural view, the ideology of the individualistic movement is more likely to be accepted by European women and, therefore, fight against the patriarchy in the name of individual rights rather than for the collective interests. And it could also be the reason that why Chinese women, to some degree, were easier to be mobilized by the authority in a nationwide collective movement.

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[2] However, this idea does not really show in the original Confucian ideas. It can be argued that it was since Han dynasty when the authority start to advocate 'dismiss the hundred schools, revere only the Confucian' for justifying the autocracy of the emperor, and as a result the meaning of original words from Confucius were distorted by the authoritarian. These misinterpreted Confucian ideas, however, continued to be used by most emperors afterwards and affected the whole society of China, and, as Fen (2011) argued, "only when Confucianism is distorted can it become a tool for the oppression of women" (p.104).

Differences in the Level of Activity

Another difference can be found in the level of **activity between European (high) and Chinese (low)** feminist movement. The concept of activity does not only represent the amount of movements, but also indicate the variety of movement forms. According to the theoretical part, whether the participants have the space to "perform" or "frame" cultural knowledge could affect the variety of forms. As mentioned, a performative perspective can help to observe that how countercultures, subcultures or special lifestyles could contribute to the new forms; and a framing perspective then shows how might activists frame the forms during the interacting process with other aspects of the dominant culture (e.g. media or general public). However, it could be argued that both "performing" and "framing" processes require enough political opportunities, since the precondition to adjust the movement forms is that, at least, a certain amount of movements are allowed in a polity. As Basu states that "women's movements tend to be weak where state control permeates civil society and strong where state control is or has been relaxed" (1995, p.2). Moreover, these perspectives are more appropriate for explaining the more recent movement form such as, theoretically, the movements in Deng's Era and in the third wave, because only during this period the various of subcultures start to thrive and the media is highly developed. However, if this should be the case, the case of Deng's Era need to be excluded practically when interpreting, since there are not enough chances for its feminists to start any independent movement even in the most traditional form, not even to mention how the activists would adjust the forms according to the changing environment around. Therefore, as a result, only the latest third wave of feminism in Europe can be viewed from these two perspectives.

Firstly, the framing view pays attention on observing how activists are strategically considering movements' effects on the media or the general public, therefore, in the third wave the emergence of the grrl feminism is the best example. The means like music, visual arts, social web, zines or large events all reflected how the new feminists have made a good use of the globalized media. Cleary, feminists nowadays already known that, for attracting the media, it is always better to combine the ordinary claims with those uncommon expressions or let the "abnormal groups" get on the show for the "normal-looking" requests. Certainly, the media in China would also welcome the "queer" things to attract readers, especially the online media. But as mentioned above, on one hand, the general political circumstance leaves no space for any organized unofficial movement, and some subcultural feminist activities are thus remaining underground or in a very small scale. On the other hand, the ancient traditional culture still playing a role in framing the expressing ways, for instance, comparing with the more individualist European feminist who would prefer to present themselves in a target-oriented way (e.g. attract or response the media), Chinese feminists are more environment-oriented (e.g. the influences on media might not be the only concern, they might also ask, 'if I join a topless movement, what would my friends, family or company think about ME'; also, in the recent "shave heads" movements, girls standing on the street with their bold head while some of them prepared wig for the reason that, quote from them, "I don't want to scare my parents and friends when I meet them"), which means that their performances are more interdependent within the given society.

From a perfomative view, the new feminists in Europe are more affected by sub or counter-cultures, new lifestyles and ideologies, and the public is more tolerant about the diversity of culture, which therefore allowed a use of new symbols, values or rituals in movements. In such a circumstance, feminist therefore further included the groups that used to be ignored, as mentioned above, such as lesbian, trans- or bisexual persons are also mobilized in this wave. From this view, we see that the non-dominant cultural knowledge is "performed" by feminists through engaging the relevant groups, and expressed a higher activity in developing the forms. However in China, in addition to the mentioned political reason, the general cultural environment still not mature enough for the large scale subcultural "performance". Although today's young generation (were born after 1980s) are very open to any culture, the main discursive power, however, does not really belong to them yet, and the gap between the older generation and the younger generation in viewing the world is much larger than that between European generations due the high-speed development of China. Moreover, since many studies shown that the cultural differences also contribute to the general personality of a region, it also worthy to ask that whether the more radical expressions could be accepted by feminists themselves. For instance, just as Tsai et al. (2006)

found that Westerners prefer high activation positive mood (e.g. excited) to low activation positive mood (e.g. calm) while Asians are the other way around, which to some extent implies that, even with the similar political conditions, Chinese feminists might still prefer the more moderate expressions, which indicates a lower activity. However, despite of this, it could be observed that under the effect of globalization, the young generation is experiencing a changing cultural phenomenon, and women are tending more and more active to express their demands in public through creative expressions. For instance, the 'occupied' men's toilets activity which claimed for increasing the amount of female public toilets, the topless protest (6 students) to ask gender equality in employment in 2014, or Xiao Meli's long distance hiking (more than 2000 kilometers) to appeal for a safer outdoor space for females, these were actually well accepted by the public and media, which implied an optimistic aspect of cultural environment for the development of Chinese feminism.

Differences in Movement Strategy
From the first wave to the third, **European feminist** had opportunities to develop different strategies in movements, which led to the variety of **forms from moderate to militant**, while in **China**, even during the more democratic May Fourth Era, women's movement mainly in a more **conservative style in general**. From a systematic view, most Chinese social values are affected by Confucianism and Taoism, while European values are mostly derived from Greek philosophy. And as many scholars found that these mainstream thinking affect individuals' personalities in a region to a great extent, and they, therefore, not only contributed to the different expressing ways, but also affected the amount and the scale of the protests. Like Benet-Martínez et al. (2008) found that "Confucian thinking common in East Asia tolerates contradiction, whereas the Western tradition, starting with Greek philosophy, is sensitive to contradiction. Confucian thinking is also known to be holistic and dialectic (e.g., paying attention to the whole), whereas Western thinking is known to be analytic (e.g., abstracting the essence)" (p.19-20). To a certain extent, these different thinking styles explained why European women, under the similar political circumstances, initiated movements more often and sometimes expressed in a more radical way compared with Chinese women.

Moreover, under the influence of culture, European and Chinese have slightly different attitude toward self-concept. For instance, European culture supports an attitude of the self as independent, while Chinese value promotes a more interdependent self-construal, which not only contributed to the more individualized and the more harmonized expression in Europe and China, but also led to the different attitudes in viewing the relationship between men and women. From a personal view, the irreconcilable conflict that led by the simultaneous existence of the individualism and the unshakable religious and philosophical roots could be regarded as a main reason that caused the more radical expressions in Europe. The widespread religions and many ancient philosophies tend to emphasize an inferior role of women and implied a clear boundary between sexes. For instance, the Bible claims, "The LORD God fashioned into a woman the rib which He had taken from the man, and brought her to the man" (Genesis 2:22), which implies that a woman is subjected to a man rather than an independent individual; Plato also states, "the women must be allotted lighter tasks than the men, because of the weakness of their sex", "women are inferior and weak" (The Republic); Similarly, Aristotle saw women subject to men and reduced women's role in society by stating that women are "more prone to despondency and less hopeful[,] ... more void of shame or self-respect, more false of speech, more deceptive, of more retentive memory [and] ... also more wakeful; more shrinking [and] more difficult to rouse to action" (History of Animals,1993 Harvard University press p.1-14); Rousseau also expressed in Emile : "Always justify the burdens you impose upon girls but impose them anyway. . . . They must be thwarted from an early age. . . . They must be exercised to constraint, so that it costs them nothing to stifle all their fantasies to submit them to the will of others". The similar ideas and positions can be viewed in many other works of famous European philosophers, and which excluded women outside of the patriarchal system ideologically. As a result, we see that most famous feminists in Europe developed a common position through all three waves—— to erase the boundary between men and women and further fight for the absolute gender equality through movements. Those more radical feminists stress the substantial gender differences and start to advocate that women should "adopt male standards as their own standard and act like men in all fields" (Fan, 2011,

p.105), which gradually led a new tendency that promotes a hostile relationship between male and female (e.g. man-haters, marriage-haters, extreme and masculinized feminism).

In contrast, the mainstream cultures of China, both Confucianism and Taoism, emphasizes a harmonious and balanced relationship between men and women, which ideologically made it unnecessary for Chinese feminist to fight against men directly even in an anti-patriarchy movement since they seldom view anti-patriarchy as equal as anti-man. In Confucianism, the modern Western philosophy that embedded the essence of humanity into the concept of individual rights does not exist (Veronica, 2009). Instead, *ren (Confucianism) and yinyang (Taoism) are two* basic ideas in viewing social relations. *Ren* implies a position towards humanity in the sense of virtue and care or, in Confucius' words, humanity means "cherish people"[3] (Analects, 12.22). Confucius does not support a superior status of men over women, whereas the advocate "*morality is a question of satisfying one's role in society* (Li, 1994, p.71-72)" shows a respect to human (gender) differences and indicates that "both men and women should develop and fulfill their own characteristics" (Fan, 2011, p.106). This gender balance idea is also supported by Taoist. As it shows in its well-known yinyang symbol that indicates a paradoxical harmony of opposites, everything in the world has a stronger and weaker element and each element also encompasses little of its antipode, and therefore all the relations are in balance. When applying this to the dichotomy between man and woman, the former can be represented by yang (strong and masculine like rock or sun) and the latter could be yin (soft and nurturing like earth or water), one is the protector and the other is the creator and together they form the whole balance. Thus, if view European and Chinese culture in this systematic perspective, it could be argued that the different attitudes toward the relationship between women and men (hostile or balance) and the different definitions about humanity (individual rights or social reciprocity) all contributed to the differences between European and Chinese feminist ideology (anti-man or cooperate with man). It shows that the emphasis of harmony and balanced social relations made the radical expression as a form that more difficult to be accepted by Chinese women[4], while in Europe where stresses the freedom of individual express, the ways of protest do not really constrained within a collective or unified moral standard.

4.5 Conclusion

In this part, the four sub-questions of this research are answered. The first two sections of this part described how the forms were changed by the developing political and cultural environments have been showed through reviewing the feminist movements during three periods in Europe and China respectively. In Europe, the **first-wave feminism** was mostly affected by the general political factors (both nationally and internationally) due to the born of new political orders and systems after the WWI. Concomitantly, during the process of pursuing national independence, the extended political opportunities encouraged women's suffrage movement and mobilized a great proportion of upper and middle-class women. Practically, the mobilization strategies such as education, enlightenment, mass demonstrations, leaflets and occasional acts of civil disobedience were the main forms of expression of this wave, and on the ideological level, feminists advocated gender equality based on the emphasis of gender differences (individualist theory). In general, feminist movements of this wave kept a relative moderate style and achieved a significant progress for women's political status. Then **the second-wave feminist** movement forms experienced the effects from both political and cultural sides. In other words, compared with the former one, the cultural (ideological) factors start to play a more important role than before in explaining the changing forms. Although middle-class women still remained a dominant percentage among movement participants, the increased individualistic realization and the variety of ideologies encouraged the wider mobilization across different classes. Accordingly, different pursuits and guiding ideas led to new forms of activities. In terms of the recent **third-wave movements** that concerned the forms per se the

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[3] The Chinese word used here is *ai* (爱), the connotation of which does not identical with *love*，but would be more appropriate to be translated as "*mercy, take care of or cherish*" (Li, 1994, p.73).

[4] This strong cultural effect does show in many cases of China as well. For example, during the May Forth Era and the late-Maoist era, when the whole country started to anti-Confucianism, the social movements (e.g. students' parade) or collective radical activities (e.g. those during The Cultural Revolution) were relatively more active.

most, cultural variables became the dominant explanatory factors. The mobilization strategies led by the cultural activism, individual and personal expressions, which are expressing in the forms such as Feman's topless protest, movement with street performance, artistic protest through music, visual arts or abnormal clothing etc. The feminists in this wave start to "perform" and "frame" the movements within the frameworks of all kinds of culture, sub-culture or counter-culture, which is also a responding strategy to the current globalized media

For comparison, Chinese feminist movements are also divided into three representative periods. During the **May Fourth Era**, Chinese feminist movement grew with the national reformist and democratic movements, and enjoyed the most open political system among all these three stages. Therefore, this was the only period in which the independent movements can be observed. As similar as Europe, women's movements were tightly connected with the fortune of the state, and the middle class was also the main force as well. During the **Maoist era**, the nationwide top-down mobilization and masculinizing working women were the main form of this stage, and differ from the former one this period highly motivated the participation of working-class women and practically contributed to the gender equality to the greatest extent (not yet to judge from the view of women's self-awareness). Since this period witnessed a strong government with a single party and with less external political opportunities, as researchers assumed, the form of movement is often with less variance. During the early stage of **Deng's reformist era**, the political environment was relatively subtle —both democratic and authoritarian tended— and social movements enjoyed more political opportunities than Maoist era till the happening of Tiananmen protest in 1989, since then almost all the gatherings, demonstrations or protests in any form face the least political opportunities. Therefore, women's movements are largely limited in the academic field and the leaders are still constituted by intellectuals.

Comparing the forms of European feminist movement with Chinese women's movement, many differences can be found in each of the dimensions. In the aspect of **mobilized population**, European and Chinese mobilization mainly concentrated on middle-class and working-class women respectively. This difference could be explained by the independence of feminist movement in each region — independent movements allowed higher participation among middle-class women, while non-independent movements shift more power to the state and the mobilized group thus decided by the central government. Therefore, political factors explained the different mobilization between Europe and China, as in the former, the more open political culture allows more possibilities for independent movements, middle-class women enjoyed more opportunities to utilize their advanced social and economic status to influence the political field through leading the women's movements; while the political opportunity is highly constrained in the latter, which demobilized the independent movement that mostly dominated by middle-class women but makes women's movement in the control of the central government. The second difference lies in the different **nature of movement claims**, which can be attributed to the individualistic culture of Europe and the collectivistic tradition of China. European feminist movements are most concerned about women's individual rights and claimed for women's liberty, emancipation and equality for the sake of women themselves, as the individualistic ideology granted the concept that every single person is the basic unit of the society and the same for woman. However, Chinese women's movements were mostly conducted for the sake of the general interests (e.g. a stronger nation or a more open state). Due to the lack of the influences from individualistic advocates, Chinese women's identity has always been embedded in either family or the whole society rather than be regarded as an independent person, which led to the weak awareness of individual right among Chinese women. Then, from both performative and framing perspectives, the **difference of movement activity** has been explained. The radical expressions for attracting media, the presence of 'queer' and 'grrl' theories or the inclusion of women from minority groups and so forth are all backed up or repressed by the level of acceptance of the masses and whose tolerance towards activity are affected by the general cultural environment. Moreover, the independence of media in Europe also encouraged the framing and performing motivation of feminist movement since, to a great extent, it could be used by protesters to reach the political influence. Last but not least, the fourth difference in movement strategy was explained from a systematic cultural perspective. The relative radical and the more moderate **strategy adopted by European and Chinese feminists** respectively, firstly, could be attributed to the different mainstream culture. As mentioned that individuals who affected

by Confucian thinking are tended to tolerates contradiction, whereas those who influenced by the Western traditional thinking (Greek philosophy) are more sensitive to contradiction, and the former paying attention to the whole while the latter emphasizing the essence. Secondly, based on these traits of the general world-view, the different attitudes toward gender relations explained the level of radicalness to some extent. For instance, European women inclined to support an attitude of the self as independent while Chinese value promotes a more interdependent gender relation, and, therefore, the feminists who advocate the antagonistic relationship between women and men will find it easier to find the theoretical supports from the European values, and it also explained that why the cooperative relationship between genders can always be found in Chinese feminist activities.

Chapter V. Conclusion and Discussion

5.1 Findings and Research Question

The most direct contribution of this research lies in the effort to conduct a systematic cross-regional comparative study of feminist movement forms in Europe and China, and the attempt to indicate and interpret the differences based on the understanding of their political and cultural circumstances. Most comparative studies of women's movements today are largely limited to the activities in the U.S, Britain and Europe, and most researches of contemporary feminist movements are single-country accounts. Besides, even among the limited researches that concerning on the West-East comparison, most scholars view the Eastern feminism as a translated version of the Western one to a large extent. However, this research revealed different developing trajectory and idea of feminist movement in China in relative to Europe, and introduced the distinct political and cultural factors that lied behind these differences. Through the vertical (first wave, second wave and third wave in Europe) and horizontal (Europe feminism vs. Chinese feminism) comparison, this research tried to contribute a new thinking to the ongoing feminist movements in both regions, as well as to add knowledge to the cross-regional comparative study of feminist movement around the world.

The goal of this research is to see *to what extent the differences of feminist movement forms between Europe and China can be explained by cultural and political contexts*. In order to realize this study, the comparison, on one hand, limited itself within three dimensions: the mobilization, the strategy and the influence of feminist movement, which made it possible for specifying the concept of "movement form"; and, on the other hand, the concept of political opportunities and three cultural perspectives are introduced in regards to the works of scholars on social movement. **Firstly**, as many scholars (Kriesi, Koopmans et al. 1992; Rucht, 1996) already argued that the form of social movement is often influenced by political opportunity, this research found its direct effect in deciding the *degree of the independence* of feminist movement of both regions. Further, it argues that whether feminists could form independent movements in their countries relate to the type of the involved class directly. **Secondly**, apart from political factors, this research also argues that the different expressions can largely be attributed to the individualist and collectivistic culture of Europe and China respectively. This attribution not only indicates the reason behind the different choice of expressing way, but also explained how culture might contribute to the differences in the nature of women's claims to a certain degree. In other words, it argues that individualism encourages European women to deal with their struggles, claims, demands or rights base on the perspective that woman is an independent unit in the society, and thus the nature of their claims are more individualistic; while collectivism potentially embeds women's interests into the general interests and makes woman as an interdependent unit in the society, which leads to the collectivist-oriented pursuits of women's movement in China. **Thirdly**, the research reveals how the different effects of ancient Greek philosophy and ancient Chinese philosophy may contribute to the different attitudes in viewing gender relations and self-expression (e.g. general personality), which potentially decide the radical degree in anti-patriarchy activities. **Fourthly**, from a general view, it is also argue that political and cultural factors occupied different proportions in explaining the different dimensions of movement forms, the analysis shows that the *external expressions* (e.g. radical or moderate, individual or collective) of movements are more affected by cultural backgrounds, while the *internal mobilizations* (e.g. middle class or working class, high activity or low activity) are more influenced by regional political factors.

Amenta (1991), Brockett (1991) Kriesi and Koopmans et al. (1992, 1995), Rucht (1996) and Meyer (2004) studied the relationship between political opportunity and social movement construct; Margolis (1993), Williams (2004), Tsai & Fung (2006) and Benet-Martinez & Snow (2008) paid attention on the effects of cultural factors on movement expressions. Few (West-East) cross-national or cross-cultural studies about women's movement can be found in today's women's studies. Bouchier (1984) showed that social movements do best in the countries with liberal political system through comparing several European countries, which is also reflected by this research ; Margolis (1993) observed the effects of international context, political environments and feminist involvement in political parties on women's movements

around the world, and concluded as there cannot be one correct feminism; and so on so forth. However, these studies are either merely concerned on western countries with similar political and cultural ideology, or seldom relate political opportunity theory to feminist movement forms in cross-regional studies and interpret the differences comprehensively. This research then extended the contextual analysis to the West-East comparison of feminism. Moreover, the aspects such as mobilization, strategy and the ultimate influences of social movements were mostly analyzed from a political opportunity view (e.g. Mayer, 2004; McAdam, 1996), and argued that external political environment plays a crucial role in shaping social movement. However, this research has shown the equal importance of cultural factors on influencing these aspects, and argues that social movement would still present different images even they are in the similar political context due to the cultural effects. Furthermore, western feminist movement is seen by many as focusing too much on middle-class white women (Cagatay, Grown, and Santiago 1986), while through comparison, this study attributes the type of mobilized class to the degree of movement's independence, rather than to the movement per se. In other words, the reason why European feminist movements emphasized more on middle-class is due to the open political context that allows *independent* activities, and middle-class women were naturally became the main force in organizing and leading because of their advanced social and economic status that allow them to speak louder. And in the case of China, working-class women have been highly mobilized is due to the large proportion of official participation in women's movements, which indicates a connection between insufficient independence and the mobilization of powerless group. Thus, this inspires the suggestion that the third-wave feminists who are willing to mobilize the marginalized class could shift the attention from avoiding middle class and mobilizing small groups to seeking the cooperation with political powers.

5.2 Implications
In 2012, a directive drafted by the Model National Statute for the Promotion of Tolerance triggered fierce public discussions among the EU member states. This is a directive that advocates banning anti-feminism speeches and which means to make anti-feminism a crime. As it states: the purpose of this Statute is to [...] e) Take concrete action to combat intolerance, in particular with a view to eliminating racism, colour bias, ethnic discrimination, religious intolerance, totalitarian ideologies, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, **anti-feminism** and homophobia (ECTR, 2012, p.3). It not only expresses a willing of the EU to promote the spirit of tolerance and to protect and strengthen the Third Wave Feminism, but also reflects an intention from the EU to increase the degree of official participation in feminism. Firstly, as the third-wave feminism today emphasizes on the mobilization of non-middle-class women (or say the weaker groups), this directive is in line with the result of this research in which it shows that a higher governmental participation can be helpful in mobilizing the marginalized groups in feminist movement.

Secondly, however, on one hand, from an ideological view, to make anti-feminism as illegal is no doubt a controversial measure as it against the European democratic values at the first place; on the other hand, from a practical view, from the analysis of this research, it could be argued that this directive is lack of feasibility within the political and cultural environment of Europe. The research shows that the reason that middle-class and working-class women dominant feminist movement in Europe and China respectively is not only due to the different degree of movement independence, but also is an outcome of the general balance of politics and culture. In China, the close and conservative political system, the collectivist and Confucian culture, and the strong government together contributed to the low independence of women's movement, and thus made it possible for the party to mobilize working-class women. While the political and cultural balance of Europe consisted of the relative open and liberal political system, the individualistic and ancient Greek philosophy, and the weak governmental control, therefore, when the EU tries to influence the social activities with an attitude of "strong government", this balance would be broken and thus lead to a series of counterproductive consequences. Therefore, this research would suggest the Model National Statute to redefine and re-wording this directive, and consider a more soft strategy in promoting and implementing the policy of tolerance.

Then, thirdly, through the comparison between Europe and China, this research is willing to promote a cross-cultural and cross-political mutual communication. As mentioned, the most obvious distinction between European and Chinese feminist movement expresses in the aspects of autonomy and coalition. In other words, the contemporary European feminist movements, either compare to the previous ones or to the Chinese ones, present a high autonomy; while Chinese women's organization still (or say can only) adopting coalition as political strategy. However, even though feminists have no opportunities to organize independent activities in China's polity, according to the indicators (employment, salary, education, political participation) supplied by the UN, Chinese gender equality enjoys a high rank among Asian countries. This could be attributed to the case that, according to many observers (e.g. Beckwith, 2000; Zhang & Xu, 1995), Chinese female activists can always employ the state-controlled organizations (e.g. ACWF) for the initiatives of women's progressive policy and leadership promotion, which reveals a strong cooperative bond between women's advancement and the political party. In this sense, the cultural and political comparative study may contribute new inspirations to the new elected feminist party of the EU in releasing the increased tension between the anti-feminist and female activists.

5.3 Limitations
This research included three period of feminist movement in Europe and China respectively (therefore six in total), which spread across a wide time-dimension. Because of this, the whole study was only able to reveal a general picture of both regions and had to generalize the distinctions of political and cultural circumstances among European countries. In order to realize the comparison with China, the explanation part chose not to emphasize the different movement forms that led by different national context within Europe (e.g. conservative political culture of France vs. liberal political culture of Sweden), but had to view the whole Europe from a perspective that relative to China. This no doubt is a disadvantage towards the completeness and specification. Moreover, this study also paid a lot of attention on observing the past feminist movements, and the original intention was to see how the present political and cultural phenomenon of each period contributed to the variances of movement forms. However, during the practical process, due to the long history，many data are hard to be found or not available anymore (e.g. the position of the present media, the accurate number of participants in movements), because of which the validity is compromised. Based on these limitations, the first recommendation for the future researches would be: the comparative study could focus on the most recent wave of feminism, and only choose a group of European countries that with similar political and cultural traditions, or only the countries with the most representative feminist movements (e.g. Britain, Sweden), as the comparative object. Secondly, the features of the form dimensions could be extended to realize a better completeness. For instance, in addition to the features that concerning on women's emancipation in the public fields, more indicators relate to female domestic rights could also be included (e.g. national domestic welfare, child care system etc.). To conclude, to realize a more significant cross-cultural and cross-regional comparative study, further research should try to limit down the comparing range and focus on more indicators to define the concept of "movement form". In this way, the implication for a specific region or group could be increased.

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Appendix 1 List of Data

Movements	Sources	Data
First Wave Feminism	**1. Primary Sources** Biography (Fawcett, 1976) BBC News (2014) **2. Secondary Literature** Krolokke 2005 Paletschek 2004 Rochefor 1997 Rendall 1984 Van Wingerden 1999 Offen 1988 Parks 2011 Pankchurst 1913 Blackburn 2011 Paxton et al. 2006	BBC http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/z9bf9j6 on April 25th, 2014.
Second Wave Feminism	**1. Secondary Literature** Banzasak 1996 Wilson & Wei 1986 Hughes 2010 Krolokke 2005 Joni Lovenduski 1986 Kaplan 2012 Brenner 1996 Aronson 2003 Outshoorn 2010	
Third Wave Feminism	**1. Primary Sources** Grrrlzines.net Guerrlla Girls Femen **2. Secondary Literature** Lang 2013 Taylor & Rupp Staggenborg 2005	
May Fourth Era	**1. Primary Sources** Women's Daily Women's Bell New Women The Voice of Women **2. Secondary Literature** Yuan 2005 Hong 2013 Wang1999	
Maoist Era	**1 Secondary Sources** Howell's speech (cited by Zheng, 2005)	

	Dongchao 2005 Barlow 1994 Leung 2003 **2 Oral Sources** Slogans from Mao "women hold half of the sky; what men can do women can do."	
Deng's Era	**1 Primary Sources** Youtube ACWF Blogs 3 Secondary literature Yang 1994 Leung 2003 Dongchao 2005 Lin 1998	Chinese feminism Women's policy Sina.com, douban.com

Appendix 2 Differences of Feminist Movement Forms between Europe and China

	Europe	**China**
First Wave Feminism v.s. May Fourth Era women's movement	**Mobilization:** 1. <u>Issue</u>: political rights 2. <u>Mobilized Population</u>: middle-class women 3. <u>Media</u>: votes for women **Strategy:** 1.<u>Practically</u>: Mass demonstrations, leaflets and occasional acts of civil disobedience (in both radical and moderate ways) 2. <u>Ideologically</u>: Individualist feminism	**Mobilization:** 1. <u>Issue</u>: anti-footbinding, women's education 2. <u>Mobilized Population</u>: intellectuals (male dominance) 3. <u>Media</u>: Stronger women for stronger nation **Strategy:** 1. <u>Practically</u>: Propaganda via women's societies, journals, literature etc; establishing girls' school; protest (e.g.students, prostitutions) 2. <u>Ideologically</u>: Nationalism, anti-feudalism, patriotism

	Influence: 1. Improved political status: women start to have rights of suffrage 2. Improved ideology of gender equality	Influence: 1. Abolished foot-binding which lasted for thousands of years. 2. Education opportunity for females 3. Improved women's ideology
Second Wave Feminism v.s. Maoist women's movement	**Mobilization:** 1. <u>Issue:</u> Women's civil rights, new public roles for women 2. <u>Mobilized population:</u> both working-class and middle-class women (remained dominance) 3. <u>Media:</u> the personal is political **Strategy:** 1. <u>Practically:</u> **Liberalist**— legal and legislative action, coalition building with established political groups, single-issue campaigns, service delivery and influencing public opinion (Joni Lovenduski, 1986, p.70); **Socialist** — reform campaigns, practiced labor movement entrism, developed critiques of capitalist culture and produced theories of revolutionary change (ibid.); **Radicalist**—small counter-culture groups, the consciousness-raising groups and relevant structures (ibid, p.71) 2. <u>Ideologically:</u> Critique of the invisible woman's role in public life; different feminism held different specific ideology	**Mobilization:** 1. <u>Issue:</u> Absolute gender equality 2.. <u>Mobilized population:</u> working-class and rural women 3. <u>Media:</u> women can hold up half of the sky **Strategy:** 1. <u>Practically:</u> Top-down mobilization; mobilize rural and working-class women; "musculinize" women at working places; equal pay for equal work; equal quota for women in political fields. 2. <u>Ideologically:</u> Marist classical theory; slognized language and propaganda (e.g. what men can do, women can do; women can hold up half of the sky etc.); published the first Marriage Law to guarantee women's domestic rights (1950); many miserable stories of women on propaganda to reflect Chinese women's unequal status; related women's emancipation to the issue of revolution etc.

	Influence: Positive: Improved accessibility into male-dominated institutions; establish and maintenance of women's organizations; academic development of feminism Negative: High grass-root mobilization led low acceptance of female ideas in policy making; radical forms led anti-feminists and negative media reports.	**Influence:** Positive: Chinese women gained social and economic status unprecedentedly; Negative: Deprived women's actual differences
Third Wave Feminism v.s. Deng's reformist women's movement	**Mobilization:** 1. Issue: Diversity, individual and global female rights 2. Mobilized population: targets at women from any class, race, color and religion etc.; young generation is mobilized in "new feminist" movements 3. Media: transversal politics **Strategy:** 1. Practically: Individual and personal expression via the means of social web, media, music or large scale events; any discursive and performative expression; cultural activism 2. Ideologically: Embrace ambiguity rather than certainty; inclusive and explorative tactics;emphasizes the term "girl" to attract young generation	**Mobilization:** 1. Issue: Reformist women's under a framework of social reconstruction and economic development 2. Mobilized population: Early stage: working women, reversed status of middle-class women; late stage: educated intellectual class and youth 3. Media: Independent women in new age **Strategy:** 1. Practically: All the movement mobilization were limited on a academical level 2.Ideologically: feminist ideas via literatures, journals or academic dissertations etc; draw support from international activities or conference; separate women's study from other theories to claim a independent status of Chinese feminism

		Influence: Positive: Diverted public's attention to the more diverse women's interests; more platforms for the "marginal" female groups (e.g. black women, lesbian, bi-and transgendered women etc.)	Influence: Positive: Spreaded idea of individualism, raised self-awareness, self-emancipation and self-realization, which weakened the top-down arrangement; stronger academic support; higher economic status for women;
		Negative: Encouraged more radical performing forms — more negative critiques on media and among public.	Negative: Negative affects not from movemements per se, but the new economic reformation that, argued by many scholars, actually let women become more vulnerable in the new labour market

Appendix 3 Political and Cultural Explanation

	Europe		China	
	Political Explanation	Cultural Explanation	Political Explanation	Cultural Explanation
Differences in the mobilized population (middle class v.s. working class)	More liberal political culture, weaker party, democratic polity → Possibility for Independent movements →mobilized middle class		More repressed political culture, stronger party, centralized power → No possibility for independent movements → demobilized middle class and mobilized working class (by top-down national strategy)	
Differences in the nature of claims (individualist claims v.s. collectivist claims)		The Renaissance, The French Revolution, Religious advocates → "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", Individualism, Church authority above family, individual is the basic unit of the society→ women's		Confucianism, Imperial absolute power → family is the basic unit of the society (woman is not an independent unit), the whole country is a big family→ lack of self-awareness: " we fight for a better nation"

		self-awareness: "fight for ourselves"		
Differences in the level of activity (high v.s. low)	Organized movement is allowed	Individualism→ target-oriented ; high activation positive mood (e.g. excited) is preferred: encourage self-expression from any group, activity is high	Organized movement is NOT allowed	Collectivism→ environment-oriented; low activation positive mood (e.g. calm) is preferred: individuals view themselves depends to the larger society, self-expression is not preferred, activity is low
Differences in the use of strategy (radical v.s. moderate)		Conflict between individualism and religious and philosophical roots → Clear gender boundary, more hostile relationship between men and women.		No conflict between collectivism and ancient philosophies → Harmonious and interdependent gender relations, accept differences between men and women.