University of Alberta

Remapping Chinese Literature
Digitizing Contemporary Chinese Writers 1949-1999

by

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Abstract

This thesis aims to fill the gap of studying contemporary Chinese writers from a quantitative analysis perspective. By using computer-aided qualitative data analysis, the thesis examines the characteristics, development history, and geographical distribution of writers of the Chinese Writers' Association (CWA) from the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to the end of the twentieth century (1999). Issues covered include number, gender, ethnicity, age, educational background, first publication, age of joining the CWA, writers who were sent to the countryside during the Rustication Movement and professional writers, as well as the impact of political movements on the above.

The data were collected from 15 books. The reports conclude that by 1999, there were 6950 contemporary Chinese writers with 38 ethnic groups. Male and Han writers were the majority. In the Mao Zedong era, the Cultural Revolution hindered the development of writers. In the Deng Xiaoping era, writers were in bloom. Writers who were condemned in 1957 and writers who were sent to the countryside during the Rustication Movement played dominant roles in the era. In the post-Tian'anmen era, the cultural position of writers began to change. The geographical distribution of writers was uneven and the number of writers declined from east to west and from south to north (by their birthplaces).

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Chapter I

Background, Sources and Methodology

Generally speaking, the term *contemporary Chinese writers* refers to all

Chinese literary workers of the People's Republic of China (PRC) after its

founding on October 1, 1949. The writers dealt with in this thesis are those who

have membership in the Chinese Writers' Association (Zhongguo zuojia xiehui,

CWA).[1]

The CWA, established on July 23, 1947 in Beijing, is an official non-profit

organization that has historically dominated the public sphere of writers. While

the mission of the CWA is to serve writers, it is also a tool of the Chinese

Communist Party (CCP) used to monitor and control writers and their creative

writing.[2] It is the official ladder of success for writers within the socialist system.

The CWA has set up branches in each provincial-level administrative division,

which are usually situated in the provincial capital city. Membership at the

national level automatically confers membership on all provincial-level branches.

Membership in the CWA is very hard to attain. There were several criteria for

eligibility. First, the literary worker must follow the guideline of literature and art

serving socialism. Political control on membership is tight. Second, there is a set

standard for numbers of published works. Third, when eligible people apply for

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[1] Between 1949 and 1953 the association was called the Association of Literary Workers (Wenxue
gongzuozhe xiehui).
[2] No. 17 of the CWA's Regulations. http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/zuoxe/zuoxie_zhangcheng.asp

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membership, they (usually) must be recommended by two or more current CWA members.

Professional writers are full-time writers in the CWA. The positions are permanent and the CWA pays their salary. Both the national and provincial branches of the CWA can have professional writers. The number of professional writers sponsored by each provincial branch depends on its finances and priorities. The competition for becoming a professional writer is intense. Usually, writers who could become professional writers must have writings published at the national or provincial level.

In order to meet the need of applying computing to Chinese literature, this thesis studies contemporary Chinese writers from the perspective of qualitative data analysis. It uses the narrow definition of contemporary Chinese writers, especially those who had national membership. Since the CWA encompasses almost all representative contemporary Chinese writers, it is appropriate to select its members as research objects. Aided by computer, this thesis examines their characteristics in the period from the founding of the PRC in 1949 to the end of the twentieth century (1999).

This chapter explains the background, sources, and methodology of this thesis.

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I.1 Background

I am writing this thesis for two reasons. One is that there is a vacuum in the study of contemporary Chinese writers from a quantitative perspective; the other is the need to apply computing in Chinese literature.

First, there are many publications about contemporary Chinese writers, including Michael Duke's *Modern Chinese Women Writers: Critical Appraisals* (1989), Cui Hongxun's *Commentaries on Shanxi Writers* (1990), Chen Heng and Yuan Guangda's *Brief Biographies of Contemporary Guangdong Writers* (1991), Helmut Martin and Jeffrey Kinkley's *Modern Chinese Writers Self-Portrayals* (1992), Laifong Leung's *Morning Sun: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation* (1994), Zhao Chun and Gao Hongbo's *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers* (1999), Yan Chunde's *Studies on Chinese Women Writers in the Twentieth Century* (2000), and Liu Dawen's *Dissident Writers of Mainland China* (2001).

There are also many other studies concerning works by contemporary Chinese writers, such as Jeffrey C. Kinkley's *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978-1981* (1985), Chen Sihe's *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature* (1999), Chi Pang-Yuan and Wang David Der-Wei's *Chinese Literature in the Second Half of a Modern Century* (2000), and Perry Link's *The Use of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (2000).

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These publications show that the authors discuss writers either by introducing their experiences or by analyzing their literary works individually or collectively. For example, *Brief Biographies of Contemporary Guangdong Writers* and *Modern Chinese Writers Self-Portrayals* focus on writers' experiences. *Commentaries on Shanxi Writers* focuses on analyzing writers' literary works. *Morning Sun: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation* focuses on interviewing writers about their sent-down experiences. *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers* and *Studies on Chinese Women Writers in the Twentieth Century* examine writers individually, and *The Use of Literature* discusses writers in groups.

In these publications, readers are able to view writers' backgrounds and experiences. They can view writers' literary works from ideology to artistic style and political trends, the detailed description of political and economic changes in different historical periods, and the adjustment of literary policies following the changes of the political situation. Nevertheless, a reader who is interested in the quantitative characteristics of contemporary Chinese writers will probably be frustrated. In most publications, because of the lack of statistical data, authors have to use ambiguous language to narrate based on superficial phenomena, which sometimes leads to misunderstandings or even incorrect claims.

For example, in his book *A History of Contemporary Chinese Fiction* (1990), Jin Han notes, "During the early period after the founding of the PRC, the number

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of novelists was large" (p. 43). If the number of writers in the CWA at that time is considered, the claim is incorrect because, statistically, there were only about 103 writers in the CWA by 1951. Later, Jin Han comments on writers in the 1980s as "increasing in large numbers" (p. 185). This is true when comparing the numbers of writers who joined the CWA during the 1970s and 1980s (341:1,663 persons). But if the number of writers of the CWA who emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (1,194:969 persons, see Figure 2.3) is compared, Jin Han's comment is not correct.

The second example is in the book *An Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Literature* (1990), author Zhou Hongxing borrows words from renowned woman writer Ding Ling to praise the flourishing of Literature in the New Era (Xin shiqi wenxue):[3] "five generations are under one roof (wushi tongtang)" (p. 367). The statement is true (statistically, the birth years of writers of the CWA who emerged before 1990 are distributed between 1886 and 1979). Yet readers who want to know the age distribution of these writers will not find the answer.

The third example comes from Link's book *The Use of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System*, which uses more statistical data to examine contemporary Chinese writers. But even in this book, the statistical data are not sufficient to support all of the arguments, and some data are incorrect. When talking about the CWA, Link says, "Comparatively few members of the

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[3] Chinese literature in 1976-1989.

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association were under thirty-five years old" (2000, p. 119-120). The assertion is true (statistically, the number of writers of the CWA under 35 years of age was 82, or 1.2%, by 1999) (see Figure 2.1). However, as a result of the lack of statistical evidence, the reliability of the assertion is reduced. In addition, Link says that "by 1960, the national chapter [of the CWA] included about 800 writers" (p. 119). However, the real number of writers in the CWA by 1960 was 664. To date, no systematic research on this subject can be found in the published record.

Second, the rapid development of computer technology brings Chinese literary scholars "new opportunities and environments, as well as new research specifications and methods" (Luo, 2004). For example, the Internet allows global scholars to share their research immediately. Computing enables researchers to use complicated statistics and analyses that would otherwise be difficult and time consuming. Yet, generally speaking, computer-aided research has not yet had a significant impact on Chinese literature. Only a few scholars, such as Professor Chen Bingzao at the University of Wisconsin, are using computers in their research. Most scholars use computers only as advanced typewriters. In Anglo-American literature, computer-aided research can be traced back to the 1960s. According to Lin (n.d.), "Jacob Leed's *The Computer and Literary Style: Introductory Essays and Studies* (1966) and Louis Tonko Mimic's *A Quantitative Approach to the Style of Jonathan Swift* (1967) are the pioneers" (p. 151).

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However, computer-aided research in Chinese literature did not appear until 20 years later (1980s). A review of its achievements over the last two or so decades shows that most studies involve stylistic analysis and authorship. Stylistic analysis studies "linguistic style in a literary work" (Potter, 1991, p. 401). Authorship analyzes "average sentence length, vocabulary distributions, occurrence frequencies of characters/words/phrases, and so forth in literary works in order to discover the real author of a work" (Lin, n.d., p. 153-154). For example, in 1981 in his article The Authorship of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* by Lexical Statistics (Cong Cihui shang de Tongji Lun *Hong Lou Meng* Zuozhe de Wenti), Chen Bingzao proposes an argument contrary to the popular belief that the last 40 chapters of the novel were written by Gao E. This was the first time that the novel was studied with the assistance of the computer. Based on the occurrence frequencies of characters and words, Chen argues that all 120 chapters of the novel were written by Cao Xueqin.

I. 2 Sources

To study contemporary Chinese writers, it is necessary to consider historical settings, especially related political movements. In China, literature can be seen as a political barometer. The life cycles of the writers are unavoidably affected by politics.

The history of the PRC between 1949 and 1999 can be generally divided into three periods: the Mao Zedong era (October 1949 to October 1976), the Deng

Xiaoping era (October 1976 to June 1989), and the post-Tian'anmen era (June 1989 to December 1999).

On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong (1893-1976) proclaimed the founding of the PRC in Beijing, which opened the Mao era. The era ended with the death of Mao in September 1976. During the Mao era, the literary policy was "literature and art serving politics and worker-peasant-solider," as set out by Mao at the Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art in May 1942. In the Mao era, the first thaw of contemporary Chinese literature was raised by the Hundred Flowers movement in 1956-1957. On May 2, 1956, at the meeting of the highest State Council, Mao proposed the Hundred Flowers policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." He encouraged intellectuals to speak out freely and criticize the CCP from all points of view. The policy warmed the Chinese literary scene and raised writers' enthusiasm. Within only a year, a large number of magazines appeared and many good literary works were published, quickly forming an apex of literary creation since 1949.

Unfortunately, the Hundred Flowers was actually a strategy of Mao to strike at dissidents and strengthen new political authorities. After listening to different opinions for several months, and just when the creative freedom began to blossom and bear fruit, Mao rapidly changed the political atmosphere and launched the Anti-Rightist Campaign in June 1957. The campaign widely struck intellectuals who had proposed dissimilar political views during the Hundred Flowers

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movement. Numerous intellectuals were labelled "rightists" and sent to the labour camps to reform their thoughts. Literary works that exposed the socialist dark side were condemned as poisonous weeds of anti-party and anti-socialism and forbidden from publishing. The short boom of Chinese literature ceased abruptly. This was the first time in the history of contemporary Chinese literature that creative writing was suppressed on a large scale.

In 1958, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward campaign (1958-1959), with the aim of China's economy surpassing England's within 15 years. Urged by the political slogan of producing in greater quantity, faster, better, and more economically, an ethos of boasting prevailed in society from which the literary circles could not escape. The CWA proposed a general target, and each branch set the creative writing quota with deadlines. As a result of this, creative writing was in a crazy state and contemporary Chinese literature experienced an artificial boom.

The crash program of village industrialization of the Great Leap Forward forced the abandonment of farming activities and triggered large-scale famine in China.[4] The economic failure of the Great Leap Forward aroused the power struggle within the CCP between Mao and his supporters and the reformists, including future premier Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997). In May of 1966, Mao

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[4] Refer to Dali Yang's *Calamity and Reform in China – State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Greater Leap Famine*. Stanford (California): Stanford University Press, 1996.

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moved to his base Shanghai, and from there he and his supporters launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (May 1966 to October 1976). Mao ordered the closure of schools and forming of Red Guard units comprised mainly of students and youths. Millions of Chinese people died as a series of violent purges that were carried out by the Red Guards under the political slogan "against old ideas, old culture, old habits, and old customs." By early 1967 the Cultural Revolution had succeeded in bolstering Mao's position as China's paramount leader. The movement lasted 10 years and was ended by the death of Mao in 1976.

During the Cultural Revolution, China experienced an unprecedented cultural disaster. Literature was completely abused as a political tool. Publicly, literary creation was strictly controlled by the political authorities. Literary units were broken down or disbanded, and numerous writers were criticized or imprisoned. Contemporary Chinese literature was in its darkest time in Chinese history.

After the CCP took power in China, Mao urged urban intellectuals to reform their worldview by working in the countryside. The Cultural Revolution allowed Mao to put this thought into practice. After beating down his political opponents in order to dispose of the Red Guards who had lost their values in power struggles and also to relieve the employment pressure in the cities and reduce socially unstable factors, Mao initiated the Rustication Movement (December 1968). On

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December 22, 1968, *People's Daily* (*Renmin ribao*)[5] announced Mao's "supreme

directives: it is necessary for educated youths to go to the countryside to be

re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." Under this order, urban

graduates of junior/senior high schools, whether willing or not, were sent to

designated places in the countryside, usually to economically lagging counties.

The government cancelled the graduates' city residence cards and from then on

they would make a living by agricultural work. By December 1978, over 17

million educated youths had been sent down to the countryside, the largest scale

of migration in Chinese history. It also formed a special generation called Zhiqing

(sent-down youths) (Leung, 1994).[6]

The death of Mao on September 9, 1976 provoked a power struggle within

the CCP. Old opponents of Mao launched a campaign against his widow Jiang

Qing (1914-1991) and three of her "radical" colleagues: Zhang Chunqiao

(1917-1994), Yao Wenyuan (b. 1931), and Wang Hongwen (1934-1992). The

so-called Gang of Four was removed from power in October 1976 and Deng

Xiaoping began to control political authorities. Under Deng's leadership,

"rightist" intellectuals were rehabilitated (November 16, 1978), and their works of

"poisonous weeds" began to be republished.

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[5] Official organ of the CCP.

[6] Refer to Laifong Leung's *Morning Sun: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation*. Armonk (New York): M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1994.

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In December 1978, China began to carry out economic reform and open-door policies. Western technology and management techniques were imported to replace the Marxist tenets that had slowed modernization. Based on the demands of economic reform, on July 26 1980, *People's Daily* announced a new literary policy of "literature and art serving the people and socialism." Although this did not radically change the overall literary control system, it partially relaxed the atmosphere of creative writing. All of these factors led to an unprecedented flourishing of Literature in the New Era.

In 1987, the removal of party chairman Hu Yaobang (1915-1989), who supported democratic reform, signalled a hard-line resurgence within the CCP. Associated with the death of Hu in April 1989, the ideological struggle spilled into Beijing streets. Student demonstrators occupied Tian'anmen Square in May, calling for democratic reform. The impasse was broken on June 4 before daybreak while the demonstrations were crushed in a bloody crackdown as troops and tanks moved into the Square and fired on protesters. How many were killed is still unknown. The Tian'anmen Massacre signalled the end of the New Era. The literary achievements of the past decade suddenly "ended in a state of quandary" (Martin & Kinkley, 1992, p. xxii).

Following the massacre, the CCP carried out nationwide purges with

...the aim of eliminating the influence of 'trouble-makers' – the activists behind the Democracy Movement of 1989. In the literary field, purges were implemented from the CWA to the boards of publishing

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houses and editorial staffs. The CWA was reconstituted in 1989 and 1990. Many writers were labelled as agitators or ringleaders in the movement and either imprisoned or placed under house arrest. Writers who had exposed themselves in the movement were not permitted to travel abroad, and many of their publications were blacklisted and disappeared from the shelves of bookstores. Moreover, they disappeared from the public scene. (Martin & Kinkley, 1992, p. xxii-xxiii)

In 1992 and 1993, the China government pushed to speed up the pace of economic reform, while it retained political authoritarianism. The socialist market economic system began to replace the socialist planned economic system that had dominated China for over 40 years. Correspondingly, the Chinese literary system was regulated by a market economy and the government did not sponsor it any more. In this situation, the traditional ideology was changed, the position of pure literature declined and media culture became popular. As a result, literary intellectuals gradually lost their status as cultural elites and became marginalized.

I.3 Methodology

We can employ diverse approaches to study contemporary Chinese writers. Computer-aided qualitative data analysis brings a new methodology for writers' studies. The approach appeared in the early 1980s. Soon, it excited some qualitative researchers because computers could make the qualitative research process more transparent and rigorous and improve the reliability of the results (Kelle & Laurie, 1995). Later, various applications were developed for the special demands of qualitative data analysis. In order to fulfill the demands of

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statistics-based research of contemporary Chinese writers, this thesis utilizes this

approach.

I.3.1 Data Collection

All data of contemporary Chinese writers were collected from the 15 books

listed below. Among them, *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers*

was the chief data source, and others functioned as supplements and emendations.

1) *A Brief Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Writers (Zhongguo Dangdai Zuojia Jianjie)* (Lin, Han, & Jin, n.d.)

2) *A Grand Dictionary of Chinese Literature in the Twentieth Century (1930-1965) [Ershi Shiji Zhongguo Wenxue Dadian (1930 Nian-1965 Nian)]* (Chen, 1994)

3) *A Grand Dictionary of Chinese Literature in the Twentieth Century (1966-1994) [Ershi Shiji Zhongguo Wenxue Dadian (1966 Nian-1994 Nian)]* (Chen, 1996)

4) *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers (Zhongguo Zuojia Da Cidian)* (Zhao & Gao, 1999)

5) *A History of Contemporary Chinese Fiction (Zhongguo Dangdai Xiaoshuo Shi)* (Jin, 1990)

6) *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature (Zhongguo Dangdai Wenxue Shi)* (S. Chen, 1999)

7) *Portraits of Modern Chinese Writers (Zhongguo Xiandai Zuojia Xiaozhuan)* (Chinese Department at Shandong Teachers University, 1961)

8) *An Introduction to Contemporary Mainland Chinese Writers (Dangdai Zhongguo Dalu Zuojia Pingjie)* (Huang, 1979)

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9) *Brief Biographies of Contemporary Guangdong Writers (Guangdong Dangdai Zuojia Zhuanlue)* (Chen & Yuan, 1991)

10) *Dictionary of Chinese Writers (Modern, Vol. 1-4) (Zhongguo Wenxuejia Cidian)* (Yan, 2000)

11) *Handbook of Modern Chinese Literature (Volume 1) (Zhongguo Xiandai Wenxue Shouce)* (Liu, 1987)

12) *Morning Sun: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation* (Leung, 1994)

13) *One Hundred Self-Portrayals of Contemporary Chinese Writers (Dangdai Zhongguo Zuojia Bairen Zhuan)* (Jie, 1989)

14) *Sketch Biographies of Modern Chinese Writers (Zhongguo Xiandai Liubai Zuojia Xiaozhuan)* (Lee, 1977)

15) *Studies on Chinese Women Writers in the Twentieth Century (Ershi Shiji Zhongguo Nüzuojia Yanjiu)* (Yan, 2000)

The data collection took approximately one year (April 2004 to April 2005).

All data collected about writers were stored in the database for further processing.

As for data input, English names of writers were scanned from *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers* (1999). The OCR (Optical Character Recognition) program Omnipage was used to recognize images scanned into text. Other data about writers were manually keyboarded into the computer by the author. In order to reduce errors, all data were cross-checked. Proofreading was done twice in the paper version.

I.3.2 Database

Almost 7,000 contemporary Chinese writers were gathered from *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers* (1999). Facing so many writers and their diverse data, how to efficiently categorize and manage them became the first important challenge. A relational database management system (RDBMS) (MS Access 2003) was used to facilitate the work.

The database of contemporary Chinese writers contains three components, which are table, query, and form. Six tables are used to store the data of writers: TblEducation, TblEthnicity, TblProvinces, TblStudyAreas, TblStudyCountries, and TblWriters. Their schema definitions[7] are shown in figures 1.1 to 1.6. In order to clearly state the meaning of a table field, sometimes both English and Chinese are used for description. Relationships between tables are shown in Figure 1.7. The relationship between TblWriters and each of other five tables is many to one.

Field Name	Data Type	Description
educationId	Number	Education ID. Primary key
education	Text	Education in English
educationHz	Text	Education in Chinese (学历)

Figure 1.1 Schema Definition of Table TblEducation

Field Name	Data Type	Description
ethnicGroup	Text	Ethnic group in English. Primary key
ethnicGroupHz	Text	Ethnic group in Chinese (民族)
memo	Text	Memo (备注)

Figure 1.2 Schema Definition of Table TblEthnicity

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[7] Schema definitions define the structure and the type of contents that each data element within the structure can contain.

Field Name	Data Type	Description
provinceId	Number	Chinese province ID. Primary key
provinceName	Text	Chinese province name in English
provinceNameHz	Text	Chinese province name in Chinese (省名)

Figure 1.3 Schema Definition of Table TblProvinces

Field Name	Data Type	Description
studyAreaId	Number	Study area ID. Primary key
studyArea	Text	Area of study in English
studyAreaHz	Text	Area of study in Chinese (学科)

Figure 1.4 Schema Definition of Table TblStudyAreas

Field Name	Data Type	Description
studyCountry	Number	Study country in English. Primary key
studyCountryHz	Text	Study country in Chinese (留学国家)
memo	Text	Memo (备注)

Figure 1.5 Schema Definition of Table TblStudyCountries

Field Name	Data Type	Description
writerId	Number	Writer identifier. Primary key
lastNameHz	Text	Writer's last name in Chinese (中文姓)
firstNameHz	Text	Writer's first name in Chinese (中文名)
lastName	Text	Writer's last name in English (英文姓)
firstName	Text	Writer's first name in English (英文名)
birthYear	Number	Birth year of writer (生年)
deathYear	Number	Death year of writer (卒年)
sex	Text	Sex (性别), m:male(男), f:female(女)
ethnicGroup	Text	Name of Ethnic group. Foreign key, references TblEthnicity (民族)
birthProvince	Number	Province identifier, where writer was born. Foreign key
birthplace	Text	City/County, where writer was born (出生市/县)
education	Number	Educational background of writer (identifier). Foreign key
studyArea	Number	Area of study. Foreign key, references TblStudyAreas (学科)
graduationYear	Number	Graduation year (highest or latest) (最高/最近学历毕/肄业年)
studyCountry	Text	Country identifier, where writer studied abroad. Foreign key
military	True/False	Has military background? (参过军?)
rightist	True/False	Was a rightist? (曾为右派?)
zhiqing	True/False	Was a zhiqing (rusticated youth)? (曾为知青?)
sentDownPlace	Text	Place where the writer was sent down as a zhiqing (下放地点)
professionalWriter	True/False	Is a professional writer? (专业作家?)
award	True/False	Has award winning works? (作品获过奖?)
firstPublicationYear	Number	Year of writer's first publication (初次发表作品年)
joiningCWAYear	Number	Year of joining the Chinese Writers' Association (CWA)
cwaPosition	Text	Position at the Chinese Writers' Association (CWA)

Figure 1.6 Schema Definition of Table TblWriters

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TblEthnicity
- ethnicGroup
- ethnicGroupHz
- memo

TblEducation
- educationId
- education
- educationHz

TblStudyCou...
- studyCountry
- studyCountryHz
- memo

TblWriters
- writerId
- lastNameHz
- firstNameHz
- lastName
- firstName
- birthYear
- deathYear
- sex
- ethnicGroup
- birthProvince
- birthplace
- education
- studyArea
- graduationYear
- studyCountry
- military
- rightist
- zhiqing
- sentDownPlace
- professionalWriter
- award
- firstPublicationYear
- joiningCWAYear
- cwaPosition

TblProvinces
- provinceId
- provinceName
- provinceNameHz

TblStudyAreas
- studyAreaId
- studyArea
- studyAreaHz

Figure 1.7 Relationships Between Tables

Query offers retrieval functions. The database application has 21 queries used to obtain specific groups of contemporary Chinese writers for analyses. For example, professional writers were retrieved from the database in light of the value of field "professionalWriter" in the table TblWriters (value is 'true').

Form offers a graphical user interface to facilitate data entry. The database application has two forms. One is an operational console that displays functions such as query and data entry; another is used for data entry and update. All functions were written in SQL (Structured Query Language) or Visual Basic language.

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I.3.3 Data Statistics and Analyses

Three applications were employed for data statistics and analyses: MS
Access 2003 (relational DBMS), SPSS 13.0 (Statistical Program for Social
Sciences), and ArcGIS 9 (Geographical Information System).

Since a DBMS is good at searching for information among a lot of data, MS
Access was used to retrieve writers who met a specific criterion or certain criteria.
For example, women writers were obtained by querying table TblWriters in light
of values in the field "sex" (sex="f").

Yet for some sophisticated statistics such as age distribution of writers (Table
2.1) or statistical charts such as the histogram of birth years of writers (Figure 2.1),
it was awkward or impossible to use DBMS to calculate frequencies and
percentages or generate charts. In this case, SPSS was used. First, SPSS imported
various query results from MS Access. Then, by using functions such as
Frequencies and Crosstabs within the submenu Descriptive Statistics, various
statistical tables and charts were generated. For example, Figure 2.1 was
generated by the Frequencies function in light of variables in writers' birth years.
All statistical tables, histograms, and bar charts in chapter II and III were
generated in a similar way. An example of using the Crosstabs function can be
seen in Figure 4.6 (birthplaces of women writers). The numbers of women writers
born in different provinces were generated by Crosstabs using two variables:

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writers' birth provinces and their sexes. Except for population, all figures on the maps in chapters III and IV were generated using a similar method.

In chapters III and IV, maps are used to illustrate the distribution patterns of writers at the provincial level. Usually, provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions on these maps were classified into several (often two or three) groups by graduated colours based on various values such as the numbers of provincial women writers. A GIS application was used for this task. First, related statistical results of writers generated by SPSS were input into the attribute table of the layer of Chinese provinces. Then, utilizing the Graduated Colors function (under properties of the layer: Symbology->Quantities->Graduated Colors) to specify the criteria or data manually (Manual Classification), the layer was coloured by class. For example, Figure 4.2 (map of birthplaces of writers) was coloured with graduated shades of green according to the number of writers born in a province. The darker the shade, the greater the number of writers born in that place.

In addition, by using the Labels function, maps were labelled with the provincial name and other values such as numbers of women writers.

I.3.4 Image Processing

Charts or maps (generated by SPSS or ArcGIS) were not of sufficient quality for the presentation. Graphical software (Photoshop) was used to polish them. For example, Figure 4.2 (birthplaces of writers) was reduced in size to fit the space

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available. Figure 4.1 (China map) was modified from one colour to four to mark seven greater economic regions. On Figure 4.7 (birthplace of minority writers), the label of Zhejiang Province was moved from inside of the province to outside to provide a clearer view. All images in this thesis have been polished.

I.4 Summary

This thesis examines contemporary Chinese writers from three aspects based on computed-aided qualitative data analysis: characteristics, development history, and geographical distribution. Chapter II examines the characteristics of writers between 1949 and 1999. What are their numbers, gender, ethnicity, ages, educational backgrounds, first publications, and ages of joining the CWA, as well as Zhiqing and professional writers? Chapter III examines the development history of writers. How did political movements and literary policies have an impact on their careers? Chapter IV examines writers' geographical distribution at the provincial level. What are the geographical distributions of number, age, women writers, ethnicity, and educational background, as well as Zhiqing and professional writers?

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Chapter II

An Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Writers

In Chapter I, I described the background, historical settings, and approach of the thesis. Since writers' quantity and quality can partially reflect the literary status of a period, it is meaningful to study contemporary Chinese writers for a better understanding of contemporary Chinese literature. On the other hand, because of a lack of accurate data statistics, some incorrect data about contemporary Chinese writers have been found in publications. In this case, it is significant to systematically study contemporary Chinese writers from the quantitative perspective and fill the gap.

This chapter examines the characteristics of contemporary Chinese writers between 1949 and 1999. I propose to examine their number, gender, ethnicity, ages, educational backgrounds, first publications, and ages of joining the CWA, as well as Zhiqing and professional writers. I will also discuss how political movements have affected their lives.

II.1 Number

As mentioned in the last chapter, the phrase *contemporary Chinese writers* in this thesis refers to writers who had membership in the CWA. According to *A Grand Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Writers* (Zhao & Gao, 1999), published by the CWA, the number was 6,950. Among them, 664 had passed away by 1999. Thus, the number of writers living was 6,286.

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Actually, 6,966 writers had joined the CWA, but 16 writers were removed from it for political or individual reasons. For example, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan were members of the Gang of Four. In 1976, Zhang and Yao were imprisoned and expelled from the CWA. Su Xiaokang (b. 1949) was the chief author of a six-part television series *River Elegy* (*He Shang*). The series used the Yellow River as a symbol to criticize traditional Chinese culture. It was broadcast on Chinese Central Television[8] in June 1988 and was considered to directly promote the Democracy Movement of 1989. After the Tian'anmen massacre, *River Elegy* was condemned as the "blueprint of anti-revolution rebellion (fan geming baoluan de lantu)" and was criticized nationally. Su, due to the *River Elegy* and actively participating in the movement, was forced into exile in the United States. Subsequently, he was expelled from the CWA. In addition, Kong Jue (b. 1920) was expelled from the CWA for his illicit relationship with a woman reader. These examples illustrate that the CWA strictly followed the CCP.

II.2 Gender

Among the 6,950 writers in the CWA, 6,063 writers were male, accounting for 87.2% of the total. Women writers numbered 782, accounting for 11.4%. The gender of 105 writers was not known,[9] accounting for 1.4%. The number of male

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[8] Official organ of the CCP.
[9] The CWA does not have these writers' materials except for names. There was also no way to search for the information.

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writers was approximately 7.5 times that of females. Therefore, male writers have played a main role in contemporary Chinese literature.

II.3 Ethnicity

China is home to 56 ethnic groups. Among them, the Han is China's main nationality, accounting for 91.6% in 2000, and the other 55 ethnic groups are minorities, only accounting for 8.4% (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003, p. 200). Correspondingly, contemporary Chinese writers consisted of multi-ethnic groups. The number of each ethnic group was: Han, 6,111; Manchu, 126; Mongolian, 124; Hui, 69; Korean, 69; Uygur, 61; Zhuang, 52; Kazak, 40; Tibetan, 33; Miao, 23; Tujia, 19; Bai, 18; Yi, 16; Dong, 16; Yao, 9; Bouyei, 7; Xibe, 7; Naxi, 6; Daur, 5; Dai, 4; Hani, 4; Mulam, 4; She, 3; Dongxiang, 2; Kirgiz, 2; Lahu, 2; Salar, 2; Achang, 1; Ewenki, 1; Gelao, 1; Jing, 1; Li, 1; Lisu, 1; Oroqen, 1; Ozbek, 1; Tu, 1; Va, 1; and 1 foreigner (Romanian). The ethnicity of the remaining 105 writers is unknown. This means that there were 38 Chinese ethnic groups represented, and that not every ethnic group had writers in the CWA. The 19 ethnic groups that were not found having writers who are members of the CWA were Baoan, Blang, Deang, Drung, Gaoshan, Hezhen, Jingpo, Jino, Lhoba, Maonan, Moinba, Nu, Pumi, Qiang, Russian, Shui, Tajik, Tatar, and Yugur. Most were minority nationalities with very small populations. For example, the population of Gaoshan was 4,461 in 2000 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003, p. 104), and that of the Lhoba was 2,965 in 2000 (p. 152).

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The number of writers of a minority nationality was usually related to its population. The larger the nationality, the more writers it had, as shown by the number of Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Korean, Uygur, and Zhuang writers. Nevertheless, other factors affected the number of writers from a minority nationality, such as its geographical location. For example, in 2000, the Zhuang was the largest minority nationality in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003, p. 83), but the number of its writers in the CWA was about one half (41.3%) of the Manchu's (52:126). The phenomenon was caused by their different histories. Because the Manchu was the ruling nationality of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), many Manchu people migrated from the northeastern part of China, their native place, to Beijing and other large cities. Compared with other minority nationalities, the Manchu people had more opportunities for education. The Zhuang people lived mainly in the mountainous area of Guangxi Province, where economy and culture were underdeveloped. Thus, the Manchu writers represented the largest number of all writers of minority nationalities in the CWA.

II.4 Age

Contemporary Chinese writers included several generations. Woman writer Ding Ling said that 1980s writers were "five generations under one roof" (Zhou, 1990, p. 367). According to the data of the 6,845 sampling writers, their average age was 62 in 1999 (average birth year 1937, Table 2.1). Approximately three-fourths of writers were over 50 years old in that year, which means that most

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writers were born before the founding of the PRC. About half of the writers were in the age range of 51 to 70 (born in 1929 to 1948). Less than one quarter of writers were under 50 years old. Among all writers, the oldest (Shen Yinmo (1883-1971) was born in 1883 and the youngest (Xiao Tie) was born in 1979.

Table 2.1 Age Statistics of Contemporary Chinese Writers, 1999

No. 6845		Age (Birth Year)
Mean		62 (1937)
Median		61 (1938)
	25	71 (1928)
Percentiles	50	61 (1938)
	75	51 (1948)

The largest number of contemporary Chinese writers were born between 1928 and 1955, accounting for 67% of 6,845 writers sampled (Figure 2.1). Most writers (225 persons) were born in 1937, the first year of the Sino-Japanese War (July 7, 1937 to August 15, 1945).[10]

Three political movements occurred during the writers' birth years. The first one was the Hundred Flowers movement between 1956 and 1957. Writers who were born in 1928 to 1939 (i.e., from age 17 to 27), were hit by the movement. Relatively relaxed literary circumstances aroused their desires for writing. Hence, as a manifestation of the Hundred Flowers spirit in literature, many new writers emerged. They became the mainstream of Chinese literary creation in the 1950s.

[10] A war between China and Japan caused by Japan invading China.

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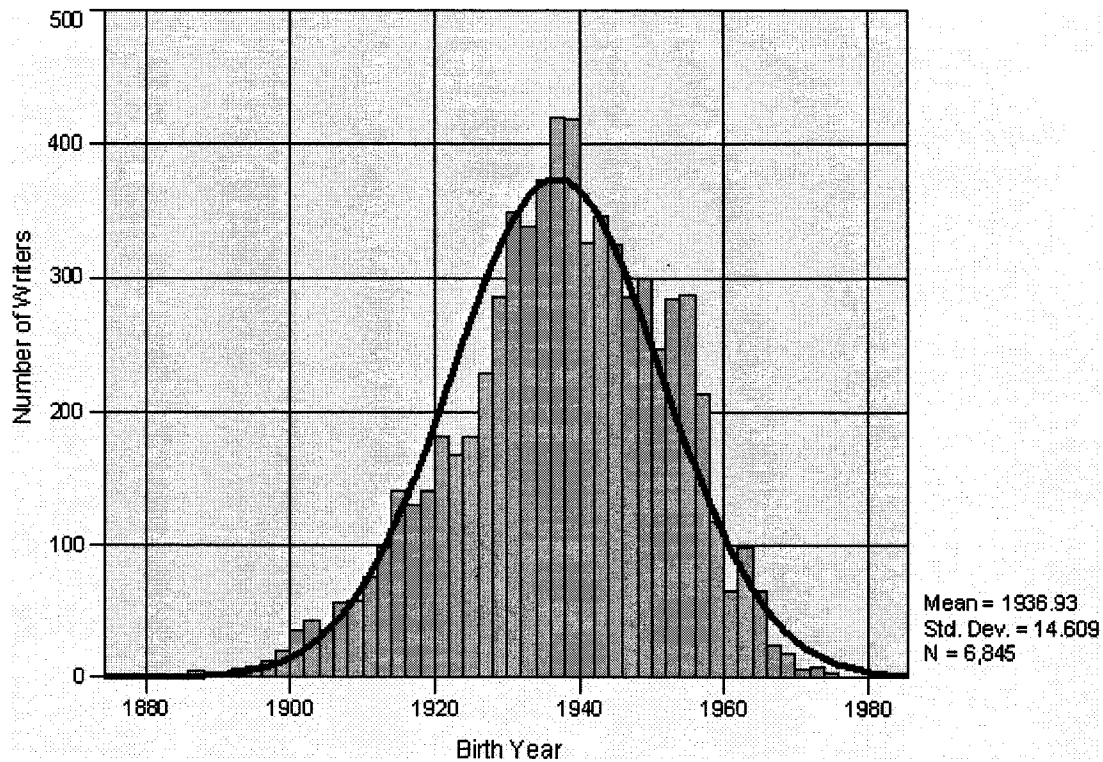
Figure 2.1 Birth Year Distribution of Contemporary Chinese Writers

Writers who were born in 1940 to 1955 encountered the Cultural Revolution

and the Rustication Movement. These events brought great suffering to

urban-educated youth of the 1960s and 1970s and formed a special group:

Zhiqing. After the movements completely stopped in 1979, millions of Zhiqing

awoke from the nightmare, and a climax of literary creation that depicted their

miserable experiences during the movements arose. On the other hand, the

movements provided abundant source materials for creative writing. Individual

suffering and family tragedy made up countless moving stories. Meanwhile, the

new literary policy of literature and art serving the people and socialism partly

relaxed the conditions for literary creation. All of these factors led to the

appearance of Zhiqing writers.

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II.5 Education Background

Generally, creative writing requires education or training. What were the educational backgrounds of contemporary Chinese writers? Did all of them have post-secondary education? Were any writers educated abroad? What did they study? What was the distribution of their graduation years? What do all of these factors suggest? This section addresses these questions.

First, most writers received many years of education. Statistics show that 80.9% of writers had post-secondary education (Table 2.2), which was higher than that of all Chinese people (2.87% in 1999) (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003, p. 263). In fact, some writers did not have much education when they began to write. While they made some achievements in creative writing, the CWA or their working units would offer them opportunities to study at the Lu Xun Literary Institute (Lu Xun Wenxue Yuan)[11] or other post-secondary institutions. One example is renowned writer Mo Yan (b. 1956). When he joined the army, he only had five years of education. In the army, he began to write. After he became known, his unit sent him to study at the Department of Literature in the Institute of Literature and Art in the People's Liberation Army (Jiefangjun Yishu Xueyuan). There, he was granted a Bachelor of Arts. He continued his study at Lu Xun Literary Institute and obtained a Master of Arts degree.

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[11] A subsidiary unit of the CWA, founded in October 1950, it provides the service of training writers.

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Table 2.2 Education Statistics of Contemporary Chinese Writers, 1999

Education	No.	%	Cumulative No.	Cumulative %
Post-Secondary	5623	80.9	5623	80.9
Under Post-Secondary	644	9.3	6267	90.2
Unknown	683	9.8	6950	100.0

The statistical results also present a phenomenon that women writers usually received higher education than their male peers. Among the 5,267 sampling writers, 93.4% of women writers and 89.2% of male writers had post-secondary education, 4.2% lower than women writers. The phenomenon occurred because Chinese society offered better conditions to male writers than to female writers, who had to enhance their competitive ability by having more education.

There were 237 writers educated overseas, accounting for 3.5% of the total. They studied in 25 countries, including Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, North Korea, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, South Korea, Switzerland, the United States, and Vietnam. The top five countries in which most of these writers were educated were Japan (72 persons), Russia (41 persons), the United States (36 persons), France (27 persons), and England (16 persons). The main reason that Japan attracted so many writers (30.6% of all writers who had studied abroad) was that it was a developed neighboring country. Russia ranked No. 2 partly because it was a neighboring country. The most important reason was the close political relationship between the former USSR government and the CCP in 1940s and 1950s. First, they were

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communist allies. Second, under the support of the Soviets, the CCP defeated the Nationalist regime.

Chinese Language, Literature, and Journalism were the common areas that writers studied. Nearly half of the writers (45.8%) had studied or were trained in these disciplines. The remaining 54.2% studied physics, engineering, chemistry, and so forth. In addition, Lu Xun Literary Institute played an important role in training writers (2.7% of writers were trained there), especially those who did not have post-secondary education or who did not study or train in the literary field. For instance, before being trained at Lu Xun Literary Institute, Wang Anyi (b. 1954, female) had only graduated from junior high school.

Usually, the distribution of writers' birth years affects their graduation years, and these two distributions should be similar in pattern. However, comparing the chart of birth years of contemporary Chinese writers (Figure 2.1) with the chart of their graduation years (Figure 2.2) shows that their distributions are different. The chart of birth years only has one peak of 1928-1955, but the chart of graduation years has two peaks of 1948-1968 and 1981-1989. Besides, there is a visible break (1969-1980) between the two peaks. Furthermore, in light of the average birth year of writers (1937), their average graduation year should be around 1957. However, statistics indicate that the average graduation year of contemporary Chinese writers was 1964, seven years later than expected.
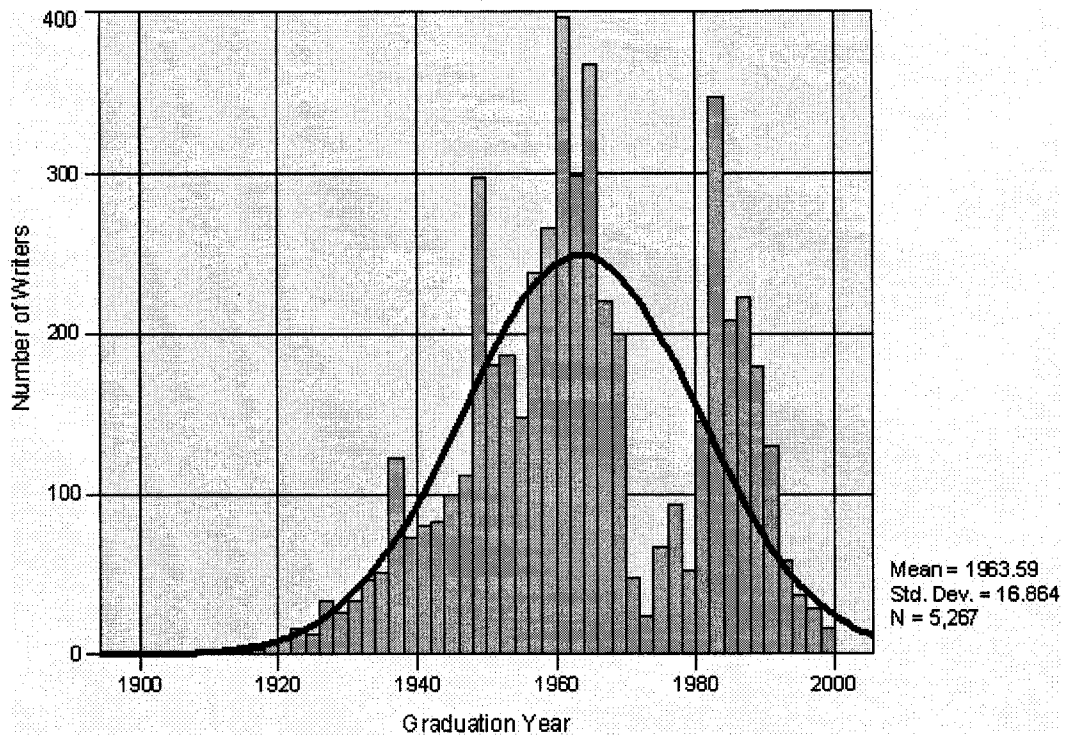
Figure 2.2 Graduation Year Distribution of Contemporary Chinese Writers

What caused the distribution of graduation years of writers to not match the distribution of their birth years? Why was there seven years' discrepancy in the average graduation years of writers? The answer is the Rustication Movement. Writers who were born in the second peak of 1949-1955 should have graduated around the years 1969-1975 and should have formed the highest graduation frequency. However, the chart shows that this period was the low tide of the writers' graduation. This is because most young people were sent down to the countryside during the Rustication Movement. Hence, their study time was interrupted. The situation lasted until October 12, 1977, when the State Council approved the restoration of the National Entrance Examination of Higher Education, which had ceased in 1966. Hence, 1978 was the first year that colleges

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and universities began to admit students. Therefore, 1982 was the year with most writers graduating from colleges (252 persons). Among them, 32.9% (83 persons) were Zhiqing writers.

II.6 First Publications

The distribution of emerging years of contemporary Chinese writers partly indicates the literary development status. And their emerging years are signalled by the years of their first publications. Figure 2.3 shows that the year distribution of the first publications of contemporary Chinese writers was similar to the year distribution of their graduation. There were also two peaks of writers publishing their first works (i.e., 1956-1959 and 1978-1981). Obviously, the movements of the Hundred Flowers and the Great Leap Forward caused the first publishing surge, and the new literary policy of Deng's era brought the second publishing peak.

In 1956-1957, writers, inspired by the Hundred Flowers spirit "to think freely, to debate freely, and to create and criticize freely" (Li, 1995, p. 415), devoted themselves to this mandate. In a short time, many literary works were written and published, and a climax of literary creation was quickly formed.

During the time of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 and 1959, with the CCP's desire of doing things with greater and faster results came the popularity of the so-called "boast ethos" in China. On April 14, 1958, *People's Daily* issued the editorial "Large-Scale Collecting of Folk Songs (Daguimo de shouji minge)" and

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the CWA proclaimed that "everyone is a poet (Renren wei shiren)." All CWA

branches had to encourage writing. The entire Chinese literary scene, like the

whole society, was in a frenzy. Many poor quality works were published in order

to meet the quota. Hence, the publishing peak of 1958-1959 was completely

different from that of 1956-1957; the former was man-made and the latter was

spontaneous.
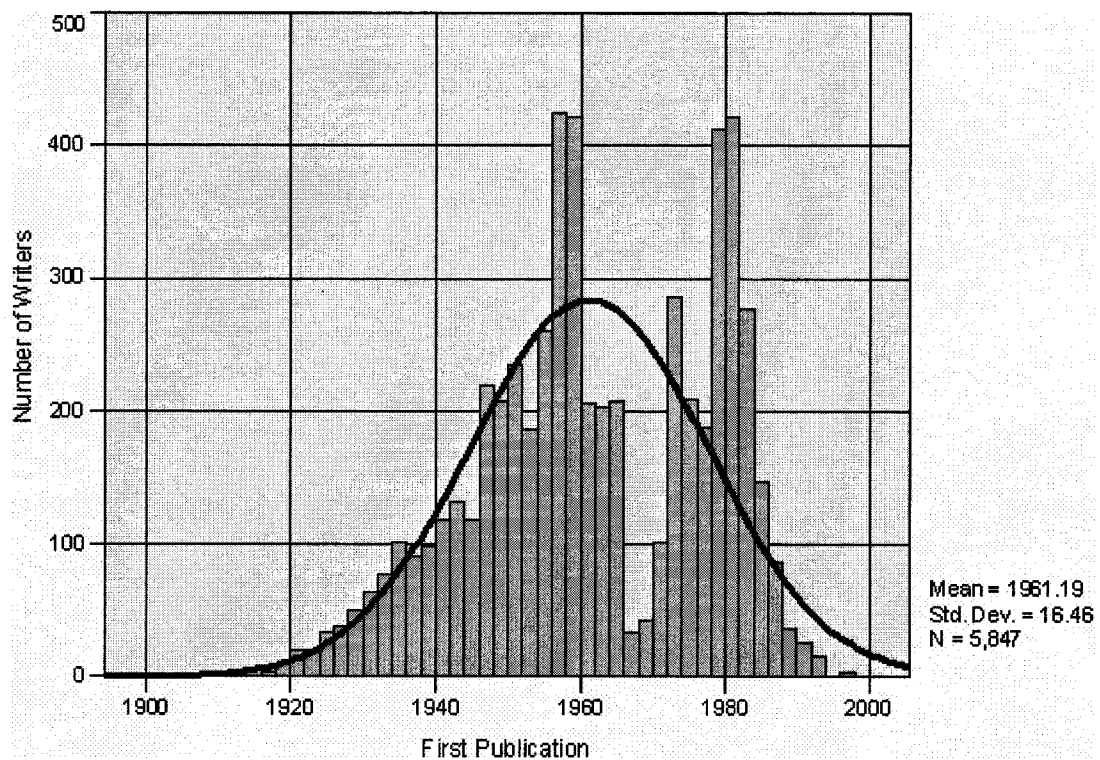
Figure 2.3 Year Distribution of First Publications of Chinese Writers

The second peak of writers publishing their first works was between 1978

and 1981. The historical setting was that the era of Deng had just begun, the

rightist intellectuals had been rehabilitated, and the new literary policy of

literature and art serving the people and socialism had been issued. As a result of

the relatively relaxed literary policy, many writers began to write. Meanwhile, the

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circulation of literary periodicals began to grow, especially large-sized literary magazines. All of these factors provided more opportunities for writers to publish their works. The year 1979 saw the most first publications because it was the warmest year of contemporary Chinese literature in the last 50 years.

A considerable number of contemporary Chinese writers published their first works in their early years. Among the 5,847 writers investigated, the average age of publishing first works was 24 and the median age was 23 (Table 2.3). Three-quarters of writers published their first works at 27 years old or younger. Two writers published their first work at age 7 [Li Xiu, (b. 1938) and Yao Feng (b. 1975)]. A statistical analysis demonstrates that the concentrated ages of writers publishing their first works was between 18 and 25 (Figure 2.4).

Table 2.3 Age Statistics of Writers Publishing Their First Works

No.		5847
Mean		24
Median		23
Minimum		7
Maximum		80
	25	19
Percentiles	50	23
	75	27

The early years are the time when a person gains knowledge and accumulates life experience, both of which are required by creative writing. What factors caused contemporary Chinese writers to begin publishing in the early 20s? First, China had a young population. People from approximately 18 to 30 occupied one-quarter (166 million) of its total population. Second, traditionally, Chinese

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young people were urged to achieve as early as possible. Many young people were encouraged to publish their writings. In fact, there are many examples of writers becoming renowned in their 20s. Ba Jin (1904-2005) began to publish his work at the age of 18. When he was 27 years old, he was already a well-known writer for his novel *The Family* (*Jia*, 1931). Cao Yu (1910-1996) wrote the outstanding drama *Thunderstorm* (*Leiyyu*, 1934) at the age of 24 (Cao, 1978). Of course, there are writers who began to publish very late, such as Xiao Ke (b. 1908), who published his first work at the age of 80, the oldest age of writers publishing their first works.
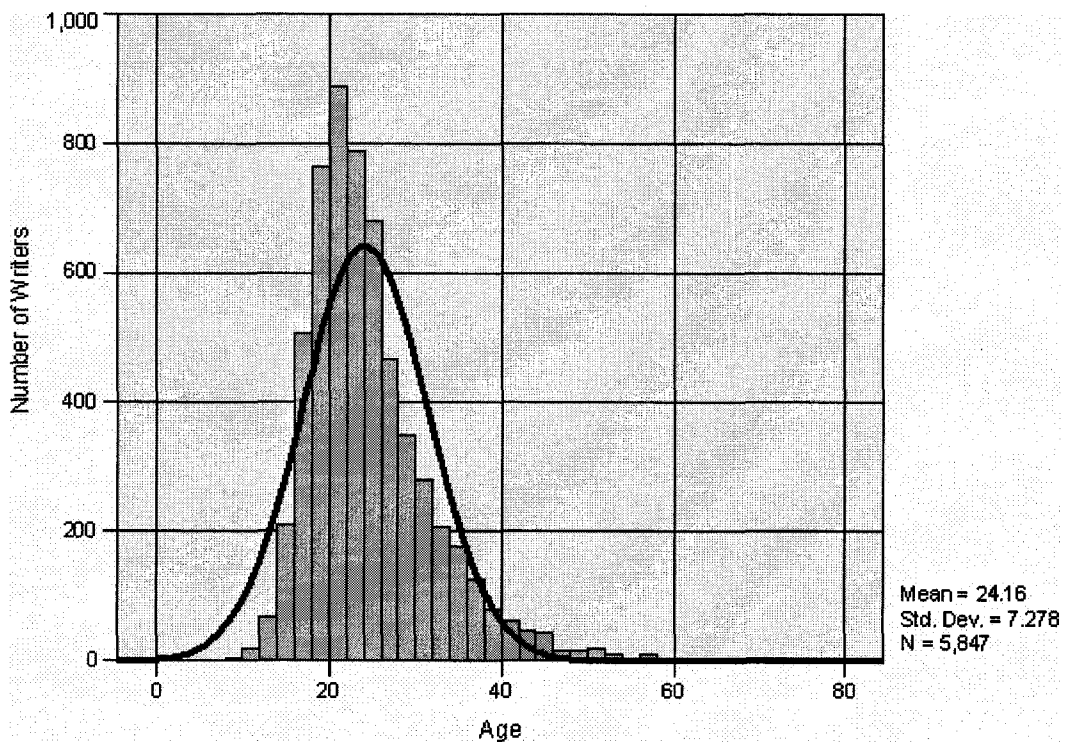

Figure 2.4 Age Distribution of Writers Publishing Their First Works

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II.7 Age of Joining the Chinese Writers' Association

Although many contemporary Chinese writers published their first works in their 20s, when they were accepted as members by the CWA, they were in their middle years. The statistic of 5,597 writers demonstrates that the average age of writers joining the CWA was 47. Three-quarters of writers joined the CWA at the age of 40 or over (Table 2.4), and most writers joined the CWA between the ages of 40 and 55 (Figure 2.5). The criteria for joining the CWA required that qualified writers must have published works of higher literary standard. Thus, although writers could begin publishing works in their 20s, they needed time to reap the fruits of their writing. There is no wonder that the majority of writers joined the CWA in the prime of their lives.

Table 2.4 Age Statistics of Chinese Writers Joining the CWA

No.		5597
Mean		47
Median		47
Minimum		16
Maximum		90
	25	40
Percentiles	50	47
	75	54

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500

400

Number of Writers

300

200

100

0

0   20   40   60   80   100

Age

Mean = 46.83
Std. Dev. = 9.882
N = 5,597
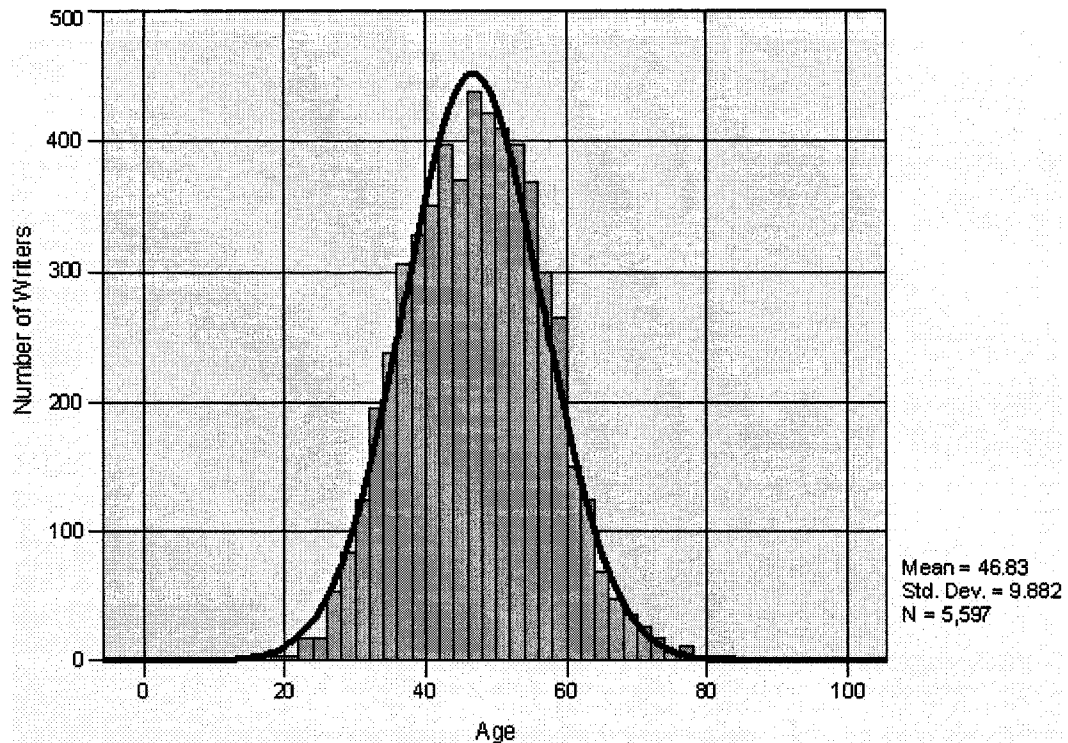
Figure 2.5 Age Distribution of Chinese Writers Joining the CWA

II.8 Zhiqing Writers

Zhiqing writers were the historical product of the Cultural Revolution and the

Rustication Movement. They were the first generation of the PRC, born in the late

1940s and early 1950s, and grew up in the 1960s and 1970s. More important, their

idealism was completely shattered by their harrowing experiences in these two

movements. The irreplaceable psychological scar, together with the sentiment of

passed youth, brought a negative and pessimistic mood to their literary works.

Zhiqing were the main force in writing in the 1980s, and they continued to lead

the Chinese literary scene in the 1990s. Thus, understanding Zhiqing writers can

deepen our knowledge of contemporary Chinese writers.

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Zhiqing writers emerged in the later 1970s and the early 1980s (most between 1977 and 1984) with Zhiqing literature[12] (Figure 2.6). By 1999, there were approximately 498 Zhiqing writers, accounting for 7.3% of writers. The places of their rustication spread over almost every province. Figure 2.7 illustrates that, except for Chongqing Municipality and Qinghai Province, where no Zhiqing writers were sent down, all other provincial-level administrations had Zhiqing writers sent down. Moreover, the Great Northern Wilderness in Heilongjiang province, the prairie areas in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the mountainous areas in Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces, and the border areas in Yunnan province and Xinjiang autonomous region were the most common places where Zhiqing writers were sent.
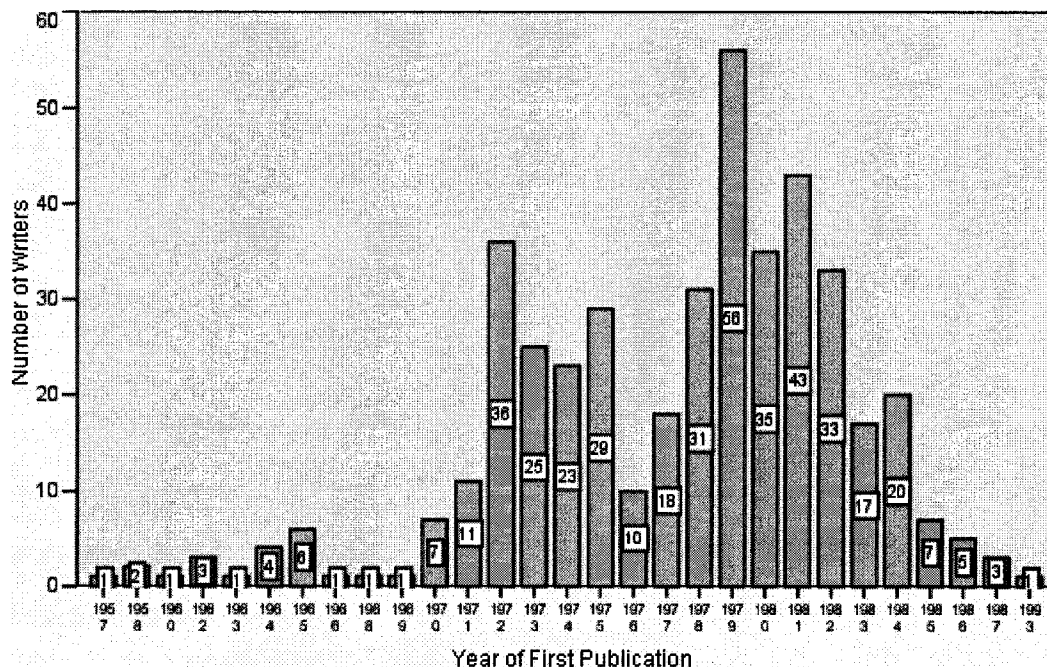

Figure 2.6 Year Distribution of Zhiqing Writers Emerging

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[12] Zhiqing writers wrote literary works that protested the Cultural Revolution and the Rustication Movement.

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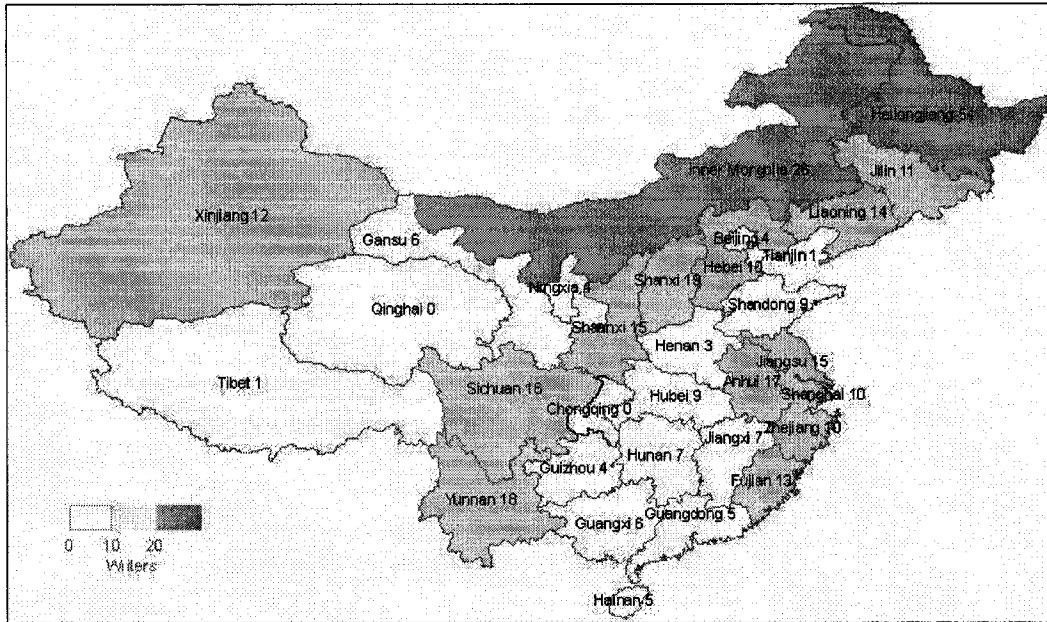
Figure 2.7 Places Where Zhiqing Writers Were Sent Down

II.9 Professional Writers

As discussed in the Introduction, professional writers belong to the CWA or to its local branches and are usually prominent writers. The status of professional writers is a unique characteristic of contemporary Chinese writers.

By 1999, there were approximately 1,425 professional writers, accounting for 20.8% of all writers. Approximately 80% (1,140 persons) had award-winning works, 13.5% more than that of all writers (66.5%). This figure illustrated that most of the professional writers were the elite of contemporary Chinese writers. Most professional writers had emerged in the period from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, or in the period from the 1970s to the early 1980s (Figure 2.8). Moreover, most professional writers emerged in 1958 and 1979 (59 and 80 persons respectively), since these two years had the most writers emerging.

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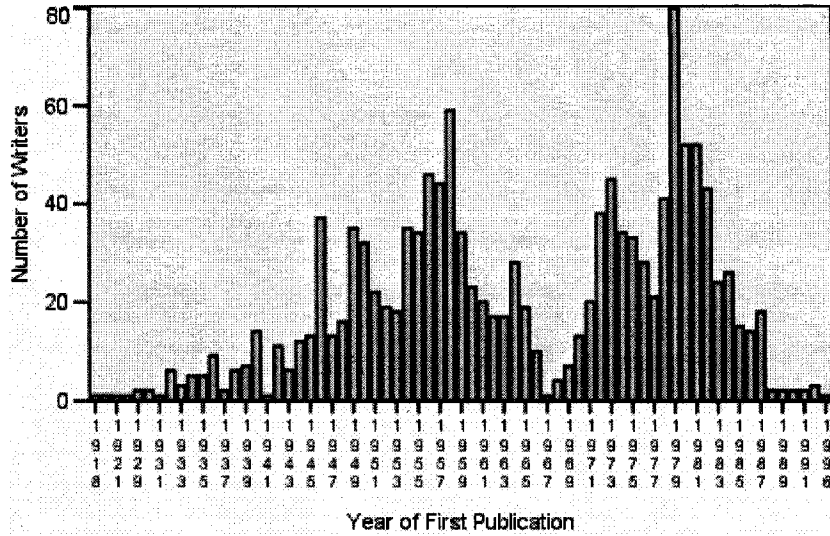
Figure 2.8 Year Distribution of First Publications of Professional Writers

II.10 Conclusion

This chapter examined the basic demographic characteristics of CWA writers, including their number, gender, ethnicity, age, educational background, first publication, and age of joining the CWA, as well as Zhiqing and professional writers. By 1999, there were 6,950 Chinese writers. Of these, 664 had passed away. The majority of the 6,950 writers were male (87.2%). At least 38 ethnic groups had members in the CWA. The Han writers were the majority. The Manchu writers comprised the largest group of a minority nationality.

The average birth year of contemporary Chinese writers was 1937. Their birth peak was between 1928 and 1955. A large percent of writers (82.2%) had post-secondary education, with 3.5% of writers educated overseas in 25 countries. Chinese Language, Literature, and Journalism were the writers' main study areas. The graduation years of writers had two peaks: 1948-1968 and 1981-1989. Many

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writers published their first works in their early 20s. Writers usually began to publish in the age range of 18 to 25. Many writers joined the CWA in their middle years (average age, 47). The most common age for writers to join the CWA was between 40 and 55.

Approximately 7.3% (498) of contemporary Chinese writers were Zhiqing writers who emerged in the later 1970s and the early 1980s, with most appearing between 1977 and 1984. Their sent-down places were over all provinces, except for Chongqing and Qinghai. Approximately 20.8% (1,425) of contemporary Chinese writers were professional writers. Moreover, most emerged in 1958 and 1979.

Chapter III

Development History of Contemporary Chinese Writers

The last chapter examined the characteristics of contemporary Chinese writers. Clearly, the development of writers was affected by the political climate. If literary policy became relatively relaxed, more new writers emerged; if writing was under strict control, fewer new writers appeared. Many publications have mentioned the phenomena, but only in a general statement such as 1980s writers "increasing in large number" (Jin, 1990, p. 185). However, what are the exact numbers of contemporary Chinese writers affected by a political movement? No answer has been found. For a better understanding of the development of contemporary Chinese writers, I have placed them into three historical eras to discuss their rise and fall (i.e., the Mao Zedong era, the Deng Xiaoping era, and the post-Tian'anmen era).

III.1 Mao Zedong Era (1949-1976)

For the period from October 1949 to October 1976, the PRC was under Mao Zedong's leadership. The literary policy was literature and art serving politics and worker-peasant-solider. To Mao, qualified revolutionary literary works should extol the bright side of socialism; the exposure of the dark side of socialist society was explicitly forbidden. Literature was abused as a propaganda tool by the political authorities.

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The 27 years of the Mao era is usually divided into two sub-eras: Seventeen Years of Maoist Socialism (October 1949 to May 1966) and the Decade of the Cultural Revolution (May 1966 to October 1976) in light of their historical characteristics. I will examine them individually.

III.1 .1 Seventeen Years of Maoist Socialism (1949-1966)

The founding of the PRC in 1949 led Chinese literature from modern Chinese literature[13] to contemporary Chinese literature. As a result of the changes of political authorities and literary policy, the composition of contemporary Chinese writers gradually altered during the Seventeen Years of Maoist Socialism.

When the PRC was founded, there were two categories of contemporary Chinese writers. One category was writers who came from the old liberated areas, [14] and the other was writers who came from the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction.[15] With the passage of time, more and more new writers who were natives of the old liberated areas appeared. If the geographical distribution of writers who emerged before 1949 is compared with those who emerged during the Seventeen Years (figures 3.1 to 3.2), the provinces/municipalities that ranked in the top 14 of producing writers before 1949 were primarily located in the eastern part of China. Moreover, 9 of the 14 were situated in the Nationalist jurisdiction (Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Sichuan,

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[13] Chinese literature in 1919-1949.
[14] Areas north of the Yangtze River ruled by the CCP before 1949.
[15] Areas south of the Yangtze River ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party before 1949.

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Zhejiang). During the Seventeen Years, the provinces (or autonomous regions) that produced new writers and ranked in the top 14 had shifted somewhat from east to west and from south to north. The provinces of the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction reduced to 7 (Anhui, Guangdong, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Sichuan, Zhejiang), and provinces or autonomous regions of the old liberated areas increased from 5 to 7 (Table 3.1). For example, the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces of the ex-Nationalist regime had ranked in the top two of producing writers before 1949. However, during the Seventeen Years, Shandong province, an old liberated area, raised its rank from No. 4 to No. 1. Meanwhile, Jiangsu and Zhejiang dropped to No. 2 and No. 4 respectively. On the other hand, the number of writers who emerged from 1949 to 1966 and were natives of the old liberated areas increased very quickly. For example, in Inner Mongolia, Shaanxi, Liaoning, Hebei, and Shandong, with increases in newly emerged writers of 533.3%, 139.3%, 167.6%, 101.1%, and 118.9% respectively compared to pre-1949. Newly emerged writers of the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction regime did not increase as much as in the old liberated areas. For instance, the newly emerged writers only increased by 47 persons in Jiangsu, 5 persons in Zhejiang, and 5 persons in Guangdong, compared with pre-1949.

**Figure 3.1** Birthplace Distribution of Writers Emerged before 1949, by Province

Figure 3.2 Birthplace Distribution of Writers Emerged in 1949-1966, by

Province

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Table 3.1 Birthplace Ranks of Writers before 1949 vs. 1949-1966, by Province

Rank	Region (Pre-1949)	Region (1949-1966)
1	Jiangsu	Shandong
2	Zhejiang	Jiangsu
3	Hebei	Hebei
4	Shandong	Zhejiang
5	Guangdong	Liaoning
6	Sichuan	Hunan
7	Hunan	Sichuan
8	Henan	Guangdong
9	Anhui	Jilin
10	Fujian	Henan
11	Hubei	Anhui
12	Liaoning	Hubei
13	Shanxi	Xinjiang
14	Shanghai	Shaanxi
15	Jilin	Guangxi
16	Chongqing	Inner Mongolia
17	Jiangxi	Jiangxi
18	Shaanxi	Shanxi
19	Beijing	Fujian
20	Guangxi	Heilongjiang
21	Tianjin	Shanghai
22	Yunnan	Guizhou
23	Heilongjiang	Beijing
24	Xinjiang	Yunnan
25	Inner Mongolia	Tianjin
26	Guizhou	Chongqing
27	Gansu	Gansu
28	Qinghai	Hainan
29	Hainan, Ningxia, Tibet	Ningxia
30		Qinghai
31		Tibet

Two factors resulted in this phenomenon of place shift producing new writers

in the Seventeen Years. First, after the founding of the PRC, a batch of soldiers in

the People's Liberation Army was demobilized. The peaceful circumstances

provided them with conditions to write down what they had experienced. On the

other hand, their experiences of war supplied them with unlimited source

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materials for writing. Second, the new literary policy of literature serving politics as well as the demands of propaganda and education for the new regime brought heightened opportunities for these hitherto unknown writers who grew up in the old liberated areas. For example, Feng Deying (b. 1935 in Shandong, emerged in 1953) and Su Shuyang (b. 1938 in Hebei, emerged in 1956) and Qu Bo (b. 1923 in Shandong, emerged in 1957) were this kind of writer.

In contrast to the phenomenon of the emergence of a large number of writers who were born in the old liberated areas, many writers from the ex-Nationalist areas with abundant old social life experience and high writing technique were gradually quitting writing. One reason was that writers who lived in the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction could not adapt to the new socialist life style and proletarian ideology of the CCP regime. Their writing generally was at a low ebb due to the requirement that "literature must employ communist ideology to educate the masses, eulogize the new revolutionary regime, portray the hero images of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and serve the proletarian politics" (Jin, 1990, p. 40). Some, "like Shen Congwen (1903-1988) and Wu Zuxiang (1908-1994), did not want to cater to the need of new regime and just dropped literary creation and turned to scholarly research" (Link, 2000, p. 123). Others, "such as Lao She (1899-1966), Ba Jin, and Cao Yu were interested in the new life and attempted to write under the new terms; they were far less successful than before" (Link, 2000, p. 123). Second, a series of political movements launched by

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Mao Zedong in the 1950s and 1960s, especially the Anti-Rightist Campaign, affected these writers of ex-Nationalist jurisdiction. Many of them were criticized and persecuted. Writers such as Ai Qing (1910-1996), Hu Feng (1902-1985), and Xiao Jun (1907-1988) were prime examples.

In addition, during the Seventeen Years, the development of contemporary Chinese writers took on a wave pattern (Figure 3.3). New writers appeared most in the years of 1956 and 1958 due to the Hundred Flowers and the Great Leap Forward. The writers who newly emerged in 1956 were nearly twice as many as those in the previous year (240:132). Compared with 1957, the newly emerged writers of 1958 increased 38% (73 persons).
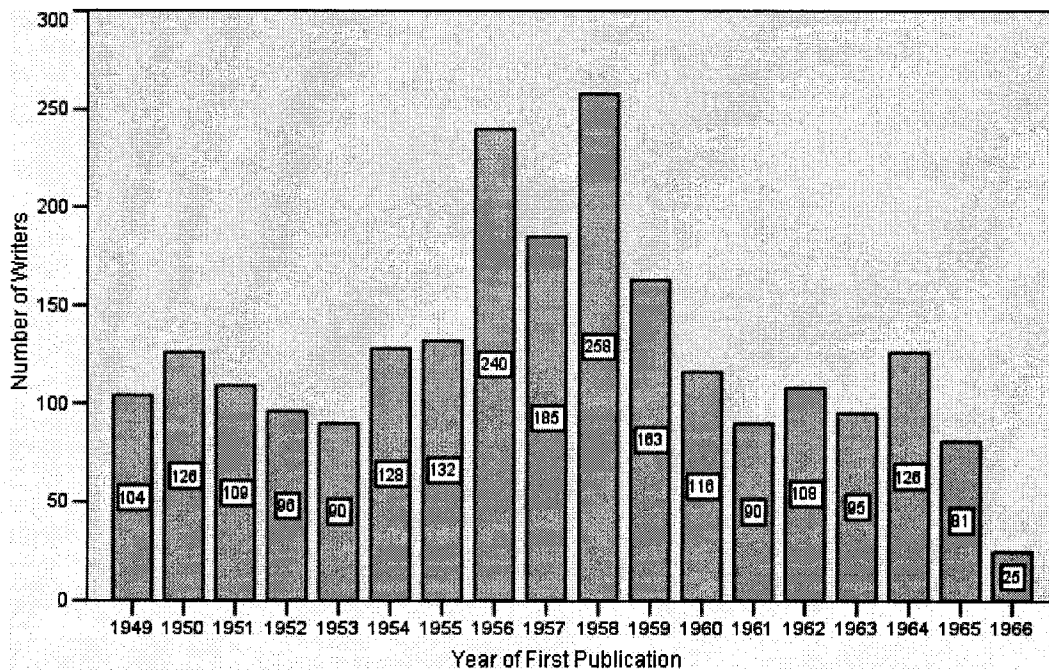
Figure 3.3 Distribution by Year of Chinese Writers Emerged in 1949-1966

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III.1.2 Decade of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

The Anti-Rightist Campaign in 1957 can be seen as a precursor of the Great
Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The movement, with the aim of remolding
society and even human nature, had contemporary Chinese writers publishing
almost nothing for 10 years. During the decade of the Cultural Revolution,
literature was geared narrowly to short-term political needs. Due to the strict
censorship of political authorities over publications, individual literary creation
was repressed, and writing was often done by groups. Most writers thereby lost
their right of publishing works individually. Numerous writers were criticized or
imprisoned during a series of violent purges. All units of literature and art were
broken down or disbanded. "All provincial literary magazines ceased publication
and all branches of the CWA were closed" (Link, 2000, p. 115). In such a situation,
writers could only protest silently. Most writers stopped writing; a few circulated
their work by manuscript copies underground.

In the Cultural Revolution period, few contemporary Chinese writers
emerged. In the first year of the Cultural Revolution (1966), only 25 new writers
emerged, a decrease of 69% compared with the previous year (Figure 3.3). Only 9
writers emerged in 1967, historically the lowest on record since 1949 (Figure 3.4).
Because the Cultural Revolution entered the phase of armed fighting, the country
was in a state of civil war. All organizations were forced to stop their normal

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business and take part in the fight. The CWA and publishing houses were shut

down.
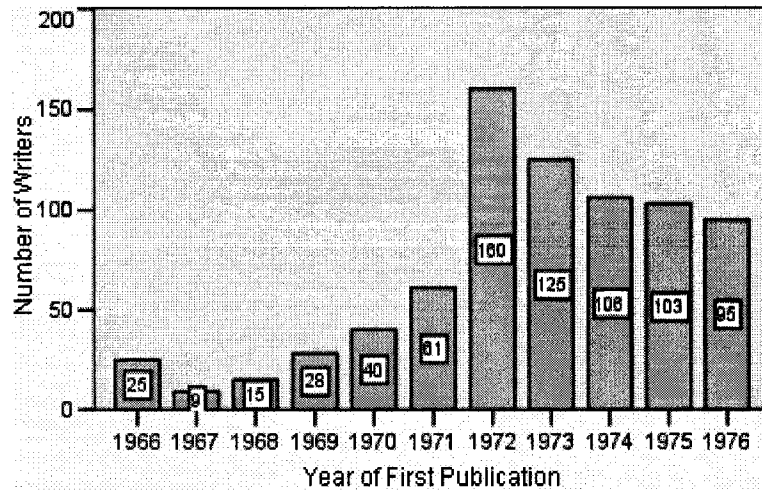
Figure 3.4 Distribution by Year of Chinese Writers Who Emerged in 1966-1976

The year 1968 saw the largest number of writers (22 persons) who died in the

Mao era. Most of them were persecuted to death during a series of violent purges,

such as Yang Shuo (1913-1968) and Tian Han (1898-1968). Investigation

indicates that the average age at death of writers who died in 1968 was 16 years

younger than that of contemporary Chinese writers (54 and 70 years old

respectively), and the percentage of the former under the age of 60 was almost 3

times that of the latter (68.2% and 23.2% respectively). Cultural Revolution did

have a negative impact on contemporary Chinese writers.

III.2 Deng Xiaoping Era (1976-1989)

Deng Xiaoping was reinstated as deputy premier in 1977 and thereafter

began to control Chinese political power. Owing to the demands of economic

reform and the new open-door policy, the literary policy was adjusted to literature

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and art serving the people and socialism in July 1981. Although the new policy retained some elements of Mao's literary policy, this relatively liberal policy had reaped the fruit of the development of contemporary Chinese writers.

From a different perspective, the decade of turmoil in the Cultural Revolution supplied abundant source materials for literature. During the Cultural Revolution and the Rustication Movement, numerous urban intellectuals were driven to the countryside, which brought them suffering as well as unforgettable experiences. The decade of calamity also fostered several generations of enraged writers. Having undergone so many political upheavals (the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Cultural Revolution, and the Rustication), these writers were ready to express their indignation.

In this era, two generations of writers dominated the literary scene: "ex-rightist" writers and Zhiqing writers. The "ex-rightist" writers began writing in the 1950s. Inspired by the spirit of the Hundred Flowers, they had written some literary works to expose the dark side of socialist New China. Consequently, they were labelled "rightists" and were deprived of the right to publish. In the Deng era, "ex-rightist" writers regained the right to write. Having witnessed the autocracy and inhumanity of the CCP regime, and having had humiliating experiences in labour camps, their thoughts had matured. Their works had deep insight. The "ex-rightist" writers occupied an important place in the early 1980s. Their prominent examples are Deng Youmei (b. 1931), Wang Meng (b. 1934), and

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Zhang Xianliang (b. 1936). Zhang Xianliang "wrote half a dozen semi-autobiographical novels about his experiences in the camps between 1957 and 1979" (Braester, 2003, p. 148), condemning the evil aspects in the labour camps, including the outstanding *Mimosa* (*Lühua Shu*, 1985) and *Half of Man Is Woman* (*Nanren de Yiban Shi Nüren*, 1988).

The emergence of Zhiqing writers in the late 1970s and the early 1980s led to a rapid growth in contemporary Chinese writers, a symbol of literary bloom. The experiences of Zhiqing writers were the Cultural Revolution and the Rustication Movement. Many of them had been Red Guards, the major participants of armed fighting in the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, and then the victims of the Rustication Movement. They had experienced a drastic change from being the main force of revolution to being the objects of reeducation. They had undergone hard lives and great psychological pressures for survival. Later, these hardships became their writing motivation and literary source materials.

In the Deng era, there were three major genres of Zhiqing literature. The first genre was Scar Literature (Shanghen wenxue, 1977-1979), which emerged in the late 1970s, named after Lu Xinhua's (b. 1954) short story *The Scar* (Shanghen, 1978). It was the first literary group devoted to the subject of the Cultural Revolution and its effects. It used vivid artistic figures to expose the disaster and negative psychological effects that the 10 years of calamity had brought to Chinese people. For Zhiqing writers, the dawn of disillusionment came when they

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were sent to the countryside, where they found wretched poverty and oppression. As the gap between high-sounding political language and the dismal realities of daily life grew larger, Zhiqing realized that they had been abused by Mao. They changed from fervent Maoism to fervent anti-Maoism. The prime examples are Zhang Kangkang (b. 1950) and Zheng Yi (b. 1947).

The second genre of Zhiqing literature was Reflection Literature (Fansi wenxue, 1979-1982). Many Zhiqing writers were not satisfied with superficial exposure and blame. They explored the historical and cultural reasons that had provided a hotbed for the 10 years of calamity. Compared with Scar Literature, works of Reflection Literature were more forthright in exposing flaws of pre-Cultural Revolution China. The prominent writers include Wang Anyi and Shi Tiesheng (b. 1951).

From 1985, "the Scar Literature ... gave way to the more experimental forms dubbed root-seeking literature" (Braester, 2003, p. 149). In that year, Han Shaogong (b. 1953), who was an enthusiastic Red Guard, published the story of *Pa Pa Pa* (*Ba, Ba, Ba*, 1985), which marked the beginning of Root-Searching Literature (Xungen wenxue).[16] Although the term *roots* originated from the book with the same name written by American writer Alex Haley (1921-1992), Chinese writers wanted to be influenced by the literature and culture of their own

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[16] "A literary trend from 1985 to 1986, characterized by fiction that seeks the roots of the Chinese national character through depiction of people living in remote regions" (Leung, 1994, p. 305).

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country's past. They searched the intrinsic flaws of Chinese traditional culture that had shaped the Chinese collective consciousness, or the Chinese national character. Other example writers were Zhong Acheng (b. 1949) and Mo Yan.

Although contemporary Chinese writers gained renaissance and growth during the reform era of Deng Xiaoping, due to the Cultural Revolution and the Rustication Movement, the overall knowledge level of writers dropped because many Zhiqing writers missed part of their education, as many schools were closed during the Cultural Revolution.

The year 1989 had the largest number of writers (36 persons) died in the Deng era. No evidence has been found that some writers died by accident. The average age at death of the writers who died in that year was close to that of contemporary Chinese writers (71 and 70 years old respectively), and the percentage of the former under the age of 60 was less than that of the latter (19.4% and 23.2% respectively). Yet, the Tian'anmen massacre did destroy the spirit of Chinese intellectuals.

III.3 Post-Tian'anmen Era (1989-1999)

The Tian'anmen massacre on June 4, 1989 ended the Deng Xiaoping era as well as the New Era of literature. Since the Democracy Movement of 1989 was supported by intellectuals, and because literary works such as *River Elegy* functioned as fuel for the fire, the relationship between literature and politics was tense in the early 1990s. The political authorities tightened their control on

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literary creation and criticism. After 1992, the Chinese central government began to commercialize China. Contemporary Chinese literature was pushed into commodity circulation areas and the government no longer sponsored it. However, the government kept control of writing.

Zhiqing writers of the 1980s were still the most active on the Chinese literary scene in the post-Tian'anmen era. Compared with the Deng era, the number of newly emerged writers was greatly reduced. Only 46 new writers emerged, the least among the three historical periods and 96.9% less than that of Deng's era and 98.5% less than that of Mao's era.

The reasons for the above phenomena are that there were political as well as economic factors. First, tightened censorship of government made Chinese intellectuals frustrated. Second, intellectuals' idealism was destroyed by the Tian'anmen massacre. Third, the Democracy Movement also exposed the weakness of flippancy and self-conceit of Chinese intellectuals. Therefore, their position dropped. Writing as a career became less attractive than it was in the Deng era. Fourth, since the old planned economy avoided the issue of economic benefits of cultural workers, affected by a commodity economy, intellectuals lost their economic status and psychological balance. Seduced by money, some writers put down their pens and went into business. "Ex-rightist" writer Zhang Xianliang was a typical case. He built the Movie City of West China, Inc. (Huaxia

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xibu yingshi cheng youxian gongsi) and acted as its chief executive. Other writers, distracted by economic benefits, wrote entertainment fiction.

Writers of Reflective Historical Fiction (Fansi lishi xiaoshuo) were active in the 1990s. They wrote stories from historical angles that differed from the genres of Zhiqing literature in the 1980s. Reflective Historical Fiction not only reconsidered the history of Chinese political movements since 1949, as did 1980s Reflection Literature; it also extended the writing range to the whole of the twentieth century. They wrote about the fates of common Chinese people who were vulnerable to political violence. Yu Hua (b. 1960) and Su Tong (b. 1963) were writers associated with the genre.

III.4 Conclusion

In sum, the development of contemporary Chinese writers was not smooth. During the 17 years of the Mao Zedong era, due to the changes of the regime and literary policy, the composition of contemporary Chinese writers gradually altered. Many of the newly emerged writers were natives of the old liberated areas, and the writers of the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction gradually quit creative writing. During the decade of the Cultural Revolution – the second phase of Mao's era – because of social upheaval and strict control on writing, the development of contemporary Chinese writers stopped or even retrograded.

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In the era of Deng Xiaoping, the relatively relaxed literary environment led to the rapid growth of contemporary Chinese writers. Reappeared "ex-rightist" writers and newly emerged Zhiqing writers made up two major groups of writers.

In the post-Tian'anmen era, due to the crackdown of the Democracy Movement of 1989 as well as the commercialization of the Chinese literature system, the position of writers declined. The number of newly appeared writers (46) in this era was the least among the three historical eras. Zhiqing writers of the 1980s continued to be active in the 1990s.

Chapter IV

Geographical Distribution of Contemporary Chinese Writers

In Chapter III, I reviewed the developmental history of contemporary Chinese writers between 1949 and 1999. This chapter aims to examine the geographical distribution of contemporary Chinese writers. Publications that discuss works and writing styles of contemporary Chinese writers by geographical group include Cui Hongxun's *Commentaries on Shanxi Writers* (1990) and Chen Heng and Yuan Guangda's *Brief Biographies of Contemporary Guangdong Writers* (1991). However, no publications about the geographical distribution of contemporary Chinese writers were seen. This chapter aims to fill the gap.

China is the third largest country in the world. In such a vast territory, the geographical environment and the natural resources in different areas vary. Therefore, the development of population, economy, and culture in these areas also differs. Did the regional discrepancies affect the writers? If yes, which factors were most influential? In light of the birthplaces of contemporary Chinese writers, this chapter compares and contrasts their characteristics by provincial-level administrative division, and examines their patterns of geographical distribution from seven aspects: birthplace, age, women writers, ethnicity, and educational background, as well as Zhiqing and professional writers.

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In order to better understand the geographical distribution of writers, it is necessary to introduce the administrative system of the PRC. China sets three types of provincial level administrative divisions: province, autonomous region, and municipality, which are directly under the central government. Chinese provincial-level administrative divisions are large socioeconomic entities.

In 1999, there were 22 provinces, 4 municipalities, 5 autonomous regions, 2 special administrative regions, and Taiwan (Figure 4.1). The special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macao recently returned to Chinese sovereignty (by Britain in 1997 and by Portugal in 1999 respectively). Before the return, their literature was regarded as colonial literature and did not satisfy the requirements of the CCP's literary policy. As a result of political control, the CWA had only two writers born in Hong Kong [Zheng Yifu (b. 1933) and Huang Qiuyun (b. 1918), who moved to Mainland China before 1949] and no writers born in Macao. Taiwan is under the Nationalist jurisdiction; therefore, the CWA had only 4 writers born there [Bai Shaofan (b. 1941), Li Mingbin (b. 1933), Zhou Qing (b. 1920), and Zheng Bingzhong (b. 1921), who moved to Mainland China around 1949]. Thus, in this chapter, writers who were born in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan are not included in the discussion.

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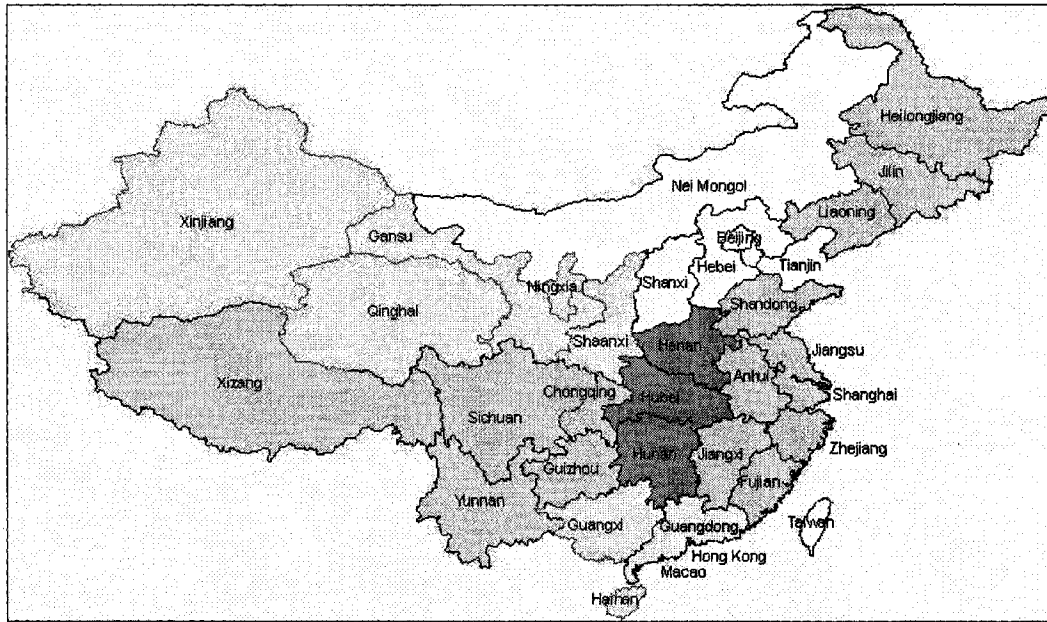
Figure 4.1 China Map, by Province

In addition, all provincial-level administrative divisions were divided into seven greater economic regions: North China, East China, Central China, South China, Northeast China, Southwest China, and Northwest China (Figure 4.1). North China included Beijing Municipality, Tianjin Municipality, Hebei Province, Shanxi Province, and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Beijing is the capital of the PRC as well as the political, economic, and cultural centre of the country. East China, the most developed area in China, includes six provinces: Anhui, Fujian, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Shandong, and Zhejiang as well as Shanghai Municipality, the largest city in the country. Central China includes three provinces: Henan, Hubei, and Hunan. South China includes Guangdong Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and Hainan Province. Northeast China, the base of Chinese heavy industry, includes three provinces: Heilongjiang, Jilin,

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and Liaoning. Southwest China, which is inhabited by many ethnic groups, includes Chongqing Municipality, Guizhou Province, Sichuan Province, Yunnan Province, and Tibet Autonomous Region. Northwest China has the largest area among seven greater economic regions and is populated by many ethnic groups. The greater region includes Gansu Province, Shaanxi Province, Qinghai Province, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

China is a multi-ethnic country with 56 ethnic groups. The population distribution of ethnic groups is uneven. Although the Han people are distributed throughout the country, they live mainly in the eastern and central parts of China. The minority nationalities are chiefly distributed over Southwest China and Northwest China.

IV.1 Birthplace

Affected by various factors, the geographical distribution of birthplaces of contemporary Chinese writers was imbalanced. Some provinces had more writers than others. Provinces situated on China's eastern coast were the main birthplaces of writers (Figure 4.2). The central provinces and some provinces in Northeast China ranked in the middle position. Most provinces or municipalities or autonomous regions in the western and northern parts of China had the fewest writers. For example, more than one-third (34.5%) of writers came from the provinces on the eastern coast, such as Jiangsu, Shandong, Hebei, and Zhejiang. Approximately 19.2% of writers came from the provinces of Liaoning (in

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Northeast China), Hunan, Sichuan, and Guangdong (in south China). Moreover,

more than one-half (53.7%) of the country's total writers came from these eight

provinces. In addition, Ningxia, Tibet, and Qinghai (in Northwest China) ranked

as the last three birthplaces of writers in the country, accounting for only 0.7% of

the total.

Figure 4.2 Birthplace Distribution of Chinese Writers, by Province

Three main factors affected the distribution features of the birthplaces of

writers: population, economy, and culture. First, the geographical distribution of

the Chinese population was responsible for the phenomena. Usually, the larger the

population a province had, the more writers were born there. Since provinces in

the eastern and central parts of China were more populous than provinces (or

municipalities/autonomous regions) in the western and northern parts of China

(Figure 4.3), the former produced more writers than the latter. For instance, the

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population in Jiangsu was more than that in Qinghai (72.13:5.10 million).

Likewise, writers came from the former numbered more than those from the latter

(673:18). Comparing the map of the birthplaces of writers (Figure 4.2) with that

of population distribution (Figure 4.3), it can be found that they were partially

similar; that is, the eastern and southern parts of China had greater population and

more writers, and the western and northern parts of China had less population and

fewer writers.

Figure 4.3 Geographical Distribution of Chinese Population, 1999 (National

Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003, p. 197)

Although the geographical distribution of birthplaces of writers resembles

that of the Chinese population distribution, they are not identical. The regional

economy affected the number of writers. Usually, the more developed the

economy in a place, the more writers it produced. This means that the place could

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offer better conditions for fostering writers. For example, although Zhejiang had

less population than Sichuan (44.75:85.50 million), the former had more writers

than the latter (509:312), perhaps in part because Zhejiang was wealthier than

Sichuan. In addition, the geographical distribution of the ratios between writers

and population by provincial level partially illuminates the impact of economy on

the birthplaces of writers (Figure 4.4). For instance, Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang,

and Jiangsu, where the ratios between writers and population were all over 10 per

million, were developed areas. In contrast, Guizhou, Gansu, and Ningxia, where

the ratios of writers and population were lower than 2.5 per million, were

economically underdeveloped.

Figure 4.4 Ratios between Writers and Population, by Province (1999)

Nonetheless, factors of population and economy cannot completely explain

the geographical distribution of the birthplaces of writers. Some provinces had

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neither a large population nor a developed economy such as Shanxi, Shaanxi, and

Hunan, but many writers came from there. The phenomena were caused by the

third objective factor: culture. If a place had a richer cultural base, it often

produced more writers. For example, comparing Shaanxi with Guizhou, both

were economically underdeveloped, yet their populations did not differ much

(36.18:37.10 million). However, approximately 2.7 more writers were born in

Shaanxi than born in Guizhou (208:77). This was because Shaanxi was a cradle of

Chinese civilization. Its rich ancient cultural heritage nurtured many writers and

offered abundant source materials of literature, which made writers of Shaanxi a

remarkable group on the contemporary Chinese literary scene. Another example

was that the population discrepancy between Hubei and Hunan was small

(59.38:65.32 million), and the former was more economically developed than the

latter. But the ratio between writers and population in Hunan was 1.64 per million

higher than that in Hubei (5.43:3.79 per million) because Hunan was the origin of

Chu culture (Chu wenhua).[17] Its rich culture base nurtured local writers such as

the renowned Roots writer Han Shaogong.

It should be pointed out that the impact of the above three objective factors on

the birthplaces of writers worked together. A province with a larger population did

not ensure that more writers were born there. A wealthy province did not ensure

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[17] Chu culture is primarily scattered in the place such as Hunan and Hubei provinces. It is a half-primitive culture whose religions, philosophy, science, and art are not yet fully differentiated. The rational and instinctive are mixed together as one.

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that it had more writers. For example, the population in Henan was approximately twice that of Zhejiang (93.87:44.75 million), but the former only produced approximately half as many writers of the latter (289:509). In this case, both population and economy leveraged together. Another example is that the population of Yunnan was a little more than that of Shaanxi (41.92:36.18 million), and both provinces had underdeveloped economies; however, writers from Shaanxi were about twice as many as in Yunnan (208:107). The factors of culture increased the discrepancy of birth writers between two provinces.

IV.2 Average Age

There were discrepancies in the average ages of writers among the provincial-level administrative divisions of China. The eastern, southern, and central provinces, municipalities, or autonomous regions had older writers than the western and northern ones (Figure 4.5, based on 6,803 sampling writers). For example, the average ages of writers in Guangdong of South China and Zhejiang of East China in 1999 were 67 and 66 years old respectively (average birth years 1932 and 1933 respectively). These provinces had the oldest average ages of writers in the country. Compared them with the national average age of 62 (average birth year 1937), the average ages of writers of Guangdong and Zhejiang were 5 and 4 years older respectively. On the other hand, the writers of Qinghai and Ningxia of Northwest China were the youngest in the country. Their average ages were only 51 and 52 years old respectively (average birth years 1948 and

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1947 respectively), which were 11 and 10 years younger than the national average age. Investigating the reason for the decline of average ages of writers from east to west and from south to north it was found that many writers who were natives of the eastern, southern, or central provinces or the municipalities or autonomous regions emerged before 1949, but many writers who were natives of the western and northern provinces or autonomous regions emerged after 1949.

Figure 4.5 Average Age of Contemporary Chinese Writers, by Province (1999)

IV.3 Women Writers

As stated in Chapter II, there were 782 women writers in the CWA. Were they evenly distributed throughout the country? This section examines the geographical distribution of these 776 women writers.[18]

Statistics show that the geographical distribution of women writers was

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[18] The other 6 did not have their birthplaces recorded.

imbalanced. Some provinces had more women writers than other provinces, and not every place at the provincial level had women writers, such as Ningxia. Like the birthplace distribution of writers, provinces or municipalities situated on the eastern coast of North China and East China were the areas with the most women writers (Figure 4.6). For example, women writers were mostly from Jiangsu (in East China) (87 persons). Except for the factor of population, the distribution pattern was related to economics and culture. The more developed the economy in a place, the more women writers it had. In underdeveloped areas of China, many girls usually had no opportunity to go to school. Moreover, the majority of girl students left school at grade three or earlier to do housework or to care for younger children. In addition, Beijing and Shanghai, the biggest cities in China, had the highest ratios of women writers (25.7% and 17.3% respectively).

Figure 4.6 Birthplaces of Contemporary Chinese Women Writers, by Province

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IV.4 Minority Writers

There are 56 ethnic groups in China, and they are widely distributed over the country. Since the minority population spreads out unevenly over provincial-level administrative divisions, the geographical distribution of minority writers was also imbalanced. Apart from Shaanxi, other provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities had minority writers (see Figure 4.7, based on a sampling of 6,803 writers). The concentrated areas of minority writers were in the western and northern parts of China. The eastern and southeast parts of China had few minority writers. For example, most minority writers in the country were from the northern autonomous regions of Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia (110 and 88 persons respectively). No more than 2 minority writers were from each of the eastern or southern provinces/municipalities of Shanghai, Tianjin, Jiangxi and Guangdong.

Furthermore, in terms of the ratio of minority writers to all writers in a province, all provinces or autonomous regions in which minority writers constituted more than 50% of the writers overall were located in the northern or western parts of China such as Tibet (100%), Xinjiang (96.5%), Inner Mongolia (77.2%), Qinghai (66.7%), and Yunnan (53.3%) (Figure 4.8, based on 6,803 sampling writers).
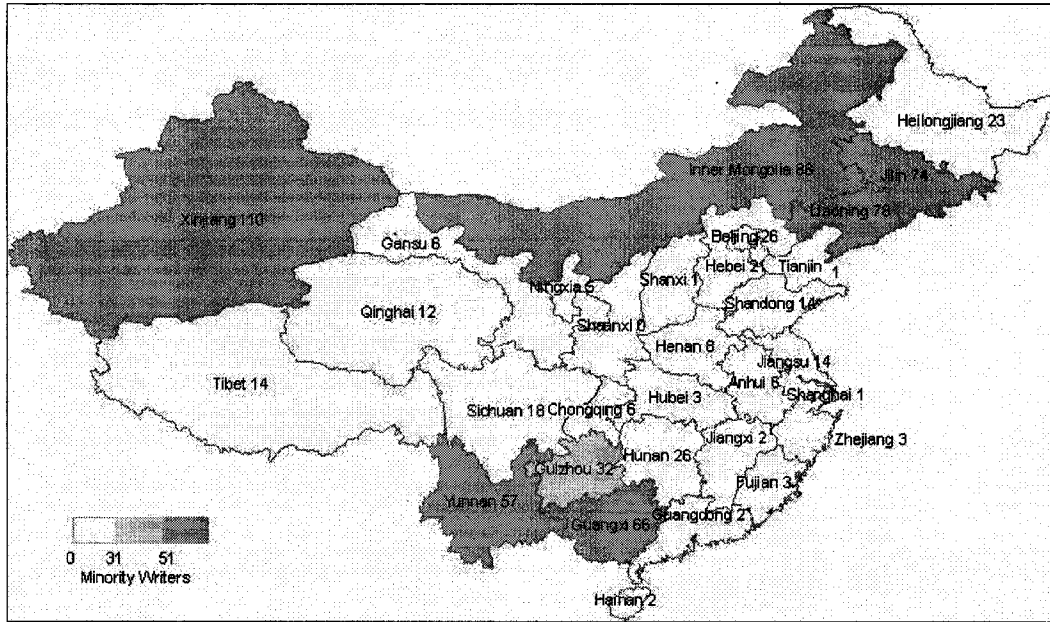
Figure 4.7 Birthplaces of Chinese Minority Writers, by Province (Number)
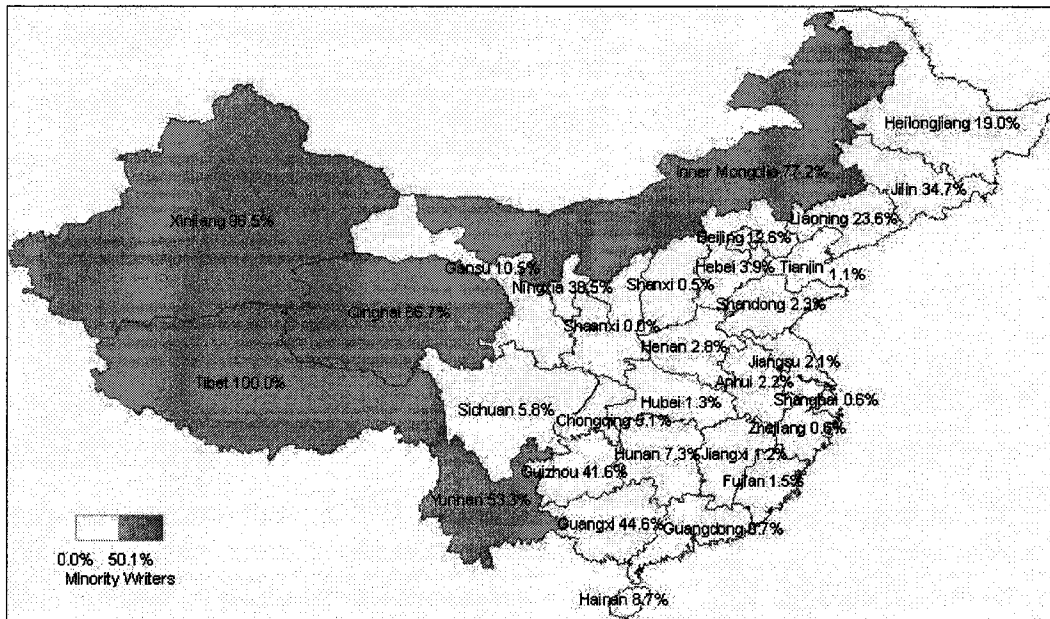
Figure 4.8 Birthplaces of Chinese Minority Writers, by Province (Ratio)

In addition, depending on the sizes of a minority ethnic group in different

areas, the number of writers of that ethnic group in these areas varied. Usually, if

a region had a larger population of a minority ethnic group than others, the region

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often had more writers of that ethnic group than others. For example, Inner Mongolia had the most Mongolian writers in the country (84 persons) as the place was the home of the Mongolians. Hunan produced the most Tujia writers in the country (13 persons) because it was the primarily living place of the Tujia people. Similarly, this was also discovered in Guangxi (Zhuang, 49), Liaoning (Manchu, 56), Jilin (Korean, 51), Tibet (Tibetan, 14), and Xinjiang (Uygur, 60).

Nevertheless, there are exceptions. A region having a larger population of a minority nationality than other areas did not ensure that the region had more writers of that ethnic group than others. For example, Ningxia is an autonomous region of the Hui nationality, which had the most Hui people in China. However, the Hui writers of Ningxia (5 persons) were less than that of Jiangsu (9 persons), Yunnan (8 persons), and Shandong (7 persons). The phenomena were random.

A few categories of minority writers were found in only one province or autonomous region. For example, Yunnan was the only province in the country with writers of the Achang, Bai, Dai, Hani, Lahu, Lisu, Naxi, and Va ethnic groups; Guizhou, the only province with Gelao writers; Xinjiang, the only region with Kirgiz and Ozbek writers; and Qinghai, the only province with Salar and Tu writers.

IV.5 Educational Background

This section examines the geographical distribution of educational background of contemporary Chinese writers by province based on 6,233

sampled writers. Statistics demonstrate that the average educational years of writers declined from northwest to southeast to central China (Figure 4.9). In the provinces or autonomous regions of Northwest China, except for Shaanxi, the ratios of writers with post-secondary education were all greater than 90%, such as Ningxia, 100%; Qinghai, 94.4%; Gansu, 91.2%; and Xinjiang, 90.4%. Comparing the national average rate of writers who had post-secondary education (82.2%) with that of Northwest China (86.1%), the latter was 3.9% higher than the former. Writers who were natives of Northwest China had higher educational backgrounds partially because of the local underdeveloped economy. The poor economy of Northwest China could not provide good social cultural conditions in which to foster writers. Writers had to make up for this through more systemic school education. Yet Tibet was an exception. Although it was one of the most underdeveloped regions in China, 64.3% of writers there had received post-secondary education, which was the lowest rate in the country. The phenomenon was caused by the fact that all writers of Tibet were Tibetans. The differing languages and cultures between the Han and the Tibet partially obstructed Tibetan writers from having a higher education than those of the Han culture.

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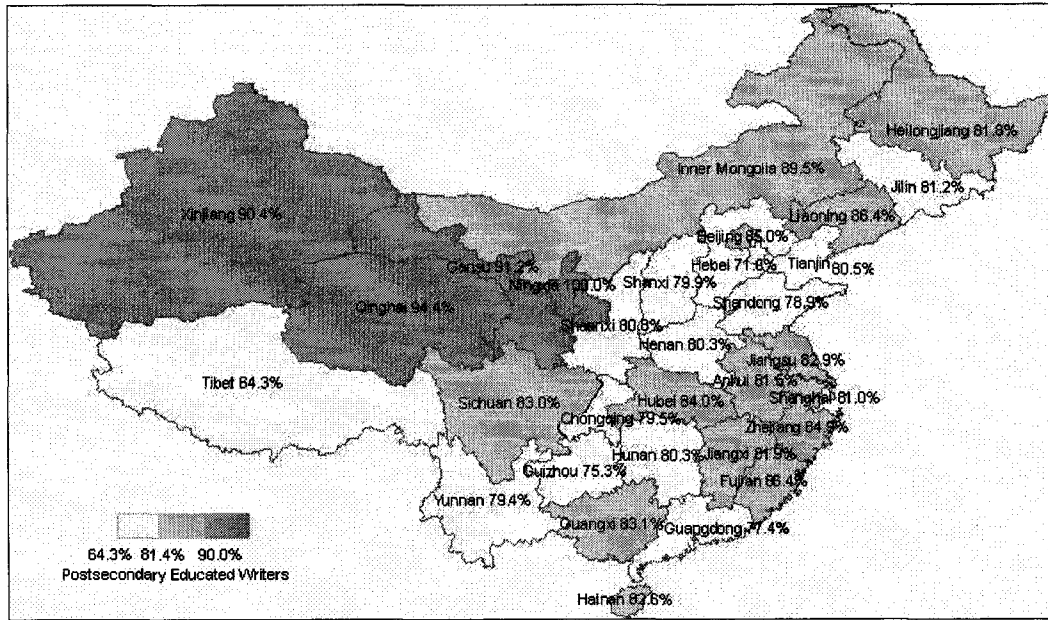
Figure 4.9 Rates of Writers with Post-Secondary Education, by Province (1999)

The pattern of geographical distribution of writers who studied overseas was different from that of the educational backgrounds of writers. Figure 4.10 shows that the eastern and southern provinces or municipalities had more writers who had studied overseas than the western and northern provinces or autonomous regions. For example, Zhejiang and Jiangsu of East China as well as Hunan and Guangdong of the south of China ranked in the top 4 in the country for having writers studying abroad (30, 20, 20, and 16 persons respectively). The developed economy and enlightened culture in these provinces provided good conditions for writers to study abroad. Moreover, their coastal geographical locations facilitated local scholars going abroad. In contrast, Gansu and Ningxia of Northwest China and Tibet of Southwest China had no writers who studied abroad. Perhaps the underdeveloped economy prevented local writers from studying abroad.

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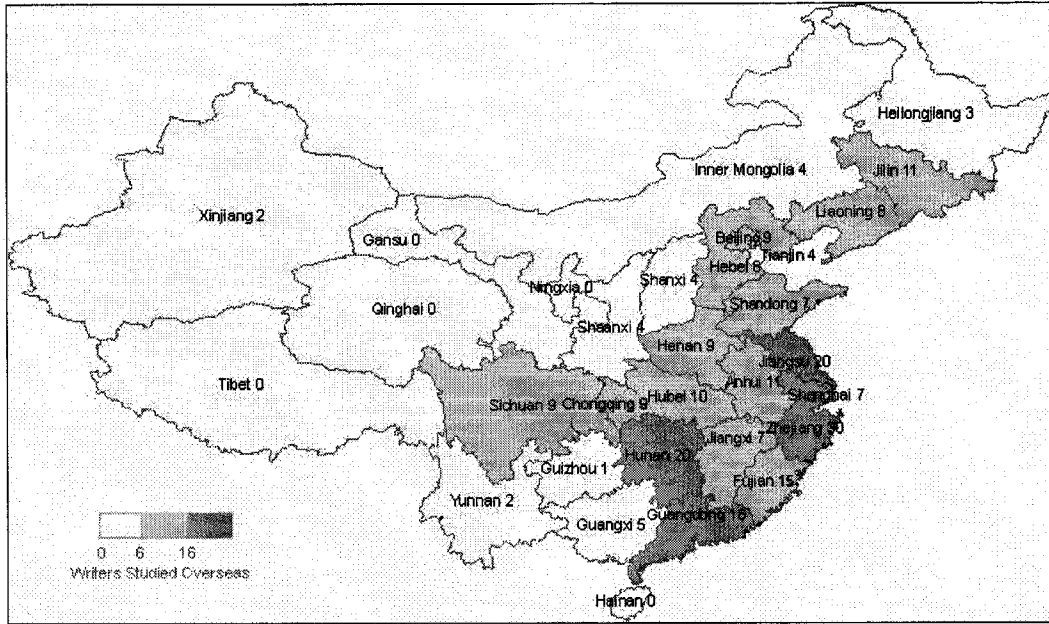
Figure 4.10 Birthplaces of Writers Educated Overseas, by Province

IV.6 Zhiqing Writers

Because of the special status of Zhiqing writers in the contemporary Chinese literary scene from the late 1970s to the 1990s, this section examines their geographical distribution based on the survey of 496 Zhiqing writers. Investigation shows that the pattern of geographical distribution of Zhiqing writers was very similar to that of birthplaces of writer (i.e., Zhiqing writers were mostly from China's eastern coast) (Figure 4.11). The number of Zhiqing writers in each province, municipality, or autonomous region declined from east to west. For example, the eastern provinces of Jiangsu, Shandong, and Zhejiang had the most Zhiqing writers in the country (56, 45, and 44 persons respectively), while Northwest China had only a few Zhiqing writers. The distribution pattern reflects the fact that the eastern and southern parts of China had larger urban populations,

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thus more educated youth sent down during the Rustication Movement. Northwest China had less urban population, thus fewer educated youth sent down during the movement. In addition, although the Rustication Movement was carried out throughout the country, not every region had Zhiqing writers (e.g., Ningxia and Qinghai).

Figure 4.11 Birthplaces of Zhiqing Writers, by Province

IV.7 Professional Writers

What was the geographical distribution of 1,416 professional writers? Research shows that the number of professional writers declined in the direction of east to west (Figure 4.12). China's eastern coast, such as Shandong, Hebei, and Jiangsu, had the largest number of professional writers in the country (179, 127, and 118 persons respectively). Conversely, the western provinces (or autonomous

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regions) of Tibet, Ningxia, and Qinghai had the fewest professional writers in the

country (1, 3, and 4 persons respectively).

Statistics also demonstrate that the relationship between professional writers

and writers at a provincial-level administrative division was disproportionate (i.e.,

if a province produced more writers, it did not necessarily produce more

professional writers). The different distributions of professional writers in number

and ratio illustrate the above argument very clearly because the concentrated area

of the latter was situated on the northeast part of China, such as Heilongjiang

(35.5%), Shanxi (29.4%), Shandong (28.8%), and Shaanxi (25.0%) (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.12 Birthplaces of Professional Writers, by Province (Number)

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Figure 4.13 Birthplaces of Professional Writers, by Province (Ratio)

IV.8 Conclusion

This chapter examines the geographical distribution of contemporary Chinese writers from seven aspects: birthplace, average age, women writers, minority writers, educational background, Zhiqing, and professional writers.

Many writers were born in the provinces on China's eastern coast. Their numbers decreased in the directions east to west and south to north. The distribution pattern was primarily related to three objective factors: population, economy, and culture. Usually, the larger the population, the more developed the economy and the better the cultural conditions, the larger the number of writers produced. Moreover, these factors worked together.

The geographical distribution of the average age of writers was uneven. The southern and eastern provinces had older writers than other areas. Writers of

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Qinghai had the lowest average age in the country (51 years old in 1999), 16 years younger than Guangdong, which had the oldest writers in the country (67 years old in 1999).

The geographical distribution of women writers declined from east to west and not every province had women writers. Jiangsu had the most women writers in the country and Beijing had the highest ratio of women writers in the country. Except for Shaanxi, other provinces, municipalities, or autonomous regions had minority writers. Provinces or autonomous regions in the west and north of China had more minority writers than others.

The geographical distribution of writers who had post-secondary education declined from west to east and north to south. Conversely, the geographical distribution of writers who had studied overseas declined from east to west and south to north.

Except for Ningxia and Qinghai, all other provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions had Zhiqing writers. The geographical distribution of Zhiqing writers declined from east to west. Every province, autonomous region, and municipality had professional writers. The geographical distribution of professional writers declined from east to west. However, the relationship between professional writers and writers of a province was disproportionate.

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Conclusions

In sum, based on a large number of writers' data collected from 15 books and utilizing computer-aided qualitative data analysis, the thesis has examined contemporary Chinese writers from three aspects: characteristics, history of development, and geographical distribution. Here, *contemporary Chinese writers* means writers who were members of the CWA between 1949 and 1999.

By 1999, there were 6,950 contemporary Chinese writers. Among them, 664 writers had passed away. Male writers comprise 87.2% of the total. Writers were from 38 ethnic groups: Achang, Bai, Bouyei, Dai, Daur, Dong, Dongxiang, Ewenki, Gelao, Han, Hani, Hui, Jing, Kazak, Kirgiz, Korean, Lahu, Li, Lisu, Manchu, Miao, Mongolian, Mulam, Naxi, Oroqen, Ozbek, Salar, She, Tibetan, Tu, Tujia, Uygur, Va, Xibe, Yao, Yi, Zhuang, and one foreigner. Understandably, the Han writers were the majority among all writers, and the Manchu writers were the majority among all minority writers.

The average age of contemporary Chinese writers was 62 in 1999. The birth peak of writers was between 1928 and 1955. A large percent (82.2%) of writers had received post-secondary education, and a few (3.5%) had studied overseas in 25 countries. Chinese Language, Literature, and Journalism were the main fields of study. A considerable number (75%) of writers published their first works before the age of 28. However, by the time writers were accepted as members of the CWA, they had often reached middle age (average age, 47). Zhiqing writers

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accounted for 7.3% of all writers, and professional writers comprised 20.8% of all writers.

Contemporary Chinese writers were affected by political movements. During the first 17 years of the Mao era (1949-1966), the literary scene was dominated by new writers from the liberated areas in northern China. Many writers from the ex-Nationalist jurisdiction with higher writing skills gave up writing for political reasons. The Hundred Flowers and the Great Leap Forward resulted in a brief bloom of contemporary Chinese writers during the period 1956-1958. However, in the following decade of the Cultural Revolution, the development of writers stopped or even retrograded.

In the Deng Xiaoping era, the relatively relaxed literary environment led to a rapid increase in contemporary Chinese writers. Reappeared "ex-rightist" writers and newly emerged Zhiqing writers made up two major groups.

In the post-Tian'anmen era, with the rapid development of the Chinese economy and more choices in life, the number of writers entering the CWA declined. Only 46 new writers were admitted in this period, which was the fewest among the three historical periods. Zhiqing writers of the Deng era continued to be active on the Chinese literary scene in the 1990s.

The geographical distribution of birthplaces of writers declined from east to west and from south to north. Three objective factors led to the phenomenon: population, economy, and culture. The tendency is that the larger the population,

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the more developed the economy, and the richer the cultural base, the larger the number of writers in the CWA. Moreover, these factors worked together. The average ages of writers of the southern and eastern provinces or municipalities were often older than those of the northern and western provinces, municipalities, or autonomous regions. This is because many writers from the former emerged before 1949 and many writers from the latter emerged after 1949. The birthplaces of women writers were concentrated in the eastern coastal provinces and municipalities, and their number declined in the west and north. Some provincial-level administrative divisions had no women writers.

Except for Shaanxi Province, all other provincial-level administrative divisions had minority writers. The northern and southwest provinces or autonomous regions had more minority writers than provinces, municipalities, or autonomous regions in the southeast areas. The educational level of writers declined from Northwest China to the eastern and southern provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Tibetan writers had the lowest average education level (64.3%). Almost every provincial-level administrative division had Zhiqing writers. It is because the Rustication Movement was carried out throughout the country. Zhiqing writers declined in number in the direction of east to west. The eastern coastal provinces were the main areas of professional writers, and the number declined from east to west. However, even though a province

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produced a large number of writers in the CWA, this was no guarantee that it had more professional writers.

My research shows that the development of contemporary Chinese writers was imbalanced. One noteworthy phenomenon was the number of female writers, which was far less than that of male writers. There is obviously a need to nurture and accept more female writers throughout China.

As mentioned in Chapter I, one of the goals of this thesis was to fill a gap in our knowledge of contemporary Chinese writers by studying them from a quantitative perspective. I believe I have achieved my purpose although there are a few areas that deserve further study. First, "ex-rightist" writers have played an important role in the contemporary Chinese literary scene. They deserve to be discussed in greater detail. However, limited by gathered data, I did not further analyze them.

Second, restricted by the data source of writers, I only deal with contemporary Chinese writers who had national membership in the CWA. In future if conditions allowed, the range of contemporary Chinese writers should be enlarged to include writers who had provincial-level membership in the CWA, or even those who are non-official writers so that the research is more accurate and significant.

Third, although I have tried my best to search for information on contemporary Chinese writers from the library of the University of Alberta as

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well as websites of other universities or relevant research institutes, I was not able to find data for a few writers. In this case, most statistics were based on a sample of writers. Though not 100% accurate, the method did not affect the validity and implication of the statistical results.

Lastly, due to the constraints of the data gathered, the analyses of geographical distributions of contemporary Chinese writers were only done at the provincial level. In fact, municipal writers also deserve to be discussed. In future, if possible, I will narrow the classified range from the provincial level to municipal level so that more detailed geographical distributions about contemporary Chinese writers may be displayed.

As for the second goal of the thesis: meeting the need of applying computing in Chinese literature, I have made some contribution. But as the Chinese proverb says, a single tree cannot form a forest; one person cannot completely change the backward status of applying computing in Chinese literature. I believe that the thesis brings a new way of thinking about the combination of Chinese literature and computing and opens up a new research perspective.

In brief, after attempting to use the approach of computer-aided qualitative data analysis to examine contemporary Chinese writers, I found that it was almost impossible to gather data of contemporary Chinese writers without the CWA. I also found that there were challenges at every step in the progression. For example, during the stage of data collection, categorizing the collected data of

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writers was modified several times for efficient management. Meanwhile, it was very often the case that one argument's evidence needed several software applications to generate, which was very time consuming in addition to the problem of technical challenges. Since it was at the initial stage of applying computer technology to the field of Chinese literature, the referential materials and the experience that could be used were few or none, which increased the difficulties of the attempt. But when finishing the computer-aided research of contemporary Chinese writers, I am pleased that I have made a contribution in applying computer technology to Chinese literature, even if there are more academic challenges ahead.

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Appendix A: Glossary

Names of Writers Mentioned in the Thesis

Ai Qing 艾青

Ba Jin 巴金

Bai Shaofan 白少帆

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹

Cao Yu 曹禺

Chen Bingzao 陈炳藻

Deng Youmei 邓友梅

Ding Ling 丁玲

Feng Deying 冯德英

Gao E. 高鹗

Han Shaogong 韩少功

Hu Feng 胡风

Huang Qiuyun 黄秋耘

Kong Jue 孔厥

Lao She 老舍

Li Mingbin 李明滨

Li Xiu 李岫

Lu Xinhua 卢新华

Mo Yan 莫言

Qu Bo 曲波

Shen Congwen 沈从文

Shen Yinmo 沈尹默

Shi Tiesheng 史铁生

Su Shuyang 苏叔阳

Su Tong 苏童

Su Xiaokang 苏晓康

Tian Han 田汉

Wang Anyi 王安忆

Wang Meng 王蒙

Wu Zuxiang 吴组缃

Xiao Jun 萧军

Xiao Ke 肖克

Xiao Tie 肖铁

Yang Shuo 杨朔

Yao Feng 姚奉

Yao Wenyuan 姚文元

Yu Hua 余华

Zhang Chunqiao 张春桥

Zhang Kangkang 张抗抗

Zhang Xianliang 张贤亮

Zheng Bingzhong 郑炳中

Zheng Yi 郑义

Zheng Yifu 郑逸夫

Zhong Acheng 钟阿城

Zhou Qing 周青

Others

Chu wenhua 楚文化

Dagui mo de shouji minge 大规模地
收集民歌

Fan geming baoluan de lantu 反革命
暴乱的蓝图

Fansi lishi xiaoshuo 反思历史小说

Fansi wenxue 反思文学

Huaxia xibu yingshi cheng youxian
gongsi 华夏西部影视城有限公司

Jia 《家》

Jiefangjun Yishu Xueyuan 解放军艺
术学院

Leiyyu 《雷雨》

Lu Xun Wenxue Yuan 鲁迅文学院

Lühua Shu 《绿化树》

Nanren de Yiban Shi Nüren 《男人的
一半是女人》

Renmin ribao 人民日报

Renren wei shiren 人人为诗人

Shanghen wenxue 伤痕文学

Talks at the Yan'an Forum on
Literature and Art 在延安文艺座谈
会上的讲话

Wenxue gongzuozhe xiehui 文学工
作者协会

Wushi tongtang 五世同堂

Xin shiqi wenxue 新时期文学

Xungen wenxue 寻根文学

Zhongguo zuojia xiehui 中国作家协
会

Names of Fifty-Six Ethnic Groups in China

Achang 阿昌族

Bai 白族

Baoan 保安族

Blang 布朗族

Bouyei 布依族

Dai 傣族

Daur 达斡尔族

Deang 德昂族

Dong 侗族

Dongxiang 东乡族

Drung 独龙族

Ewenki 鄂温克族

Gaoshan 高山族

Gelao 仡佬族

Han 汉族

Hani 哈尼族

Hezhen 赫哲族

Hui 回族

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Jing 京族

Jingpo 景颇族

Jino 基诺族

Kazak 哈萨克族

Kirgiz 柯尔克孜族

Korean 朝鲜族

Lahu 拉祜族

Lhoba 珞巴族

Li 黎族

Lisu 傈僳族

Manchu 满族

Maonan 毛南族

Miao 苗族

Moinba 门巴族

Mongolian 蒙古族

Mulam 仫佬族

Naxi 纳西族

Nu 怒族

Oroqen 鄂伦春族

Ozbek 乌孜别克族

Pumi 普米族

Qiang 羌族

Russian 俄罗斯族

Salar 撒拉族

She 畲族

Shui 水族

Tajik 塔吉克族

Tatar 塔塔尔族

Tibetan 藏族

Tu 土族

Tujia 土家族

Uygur 维吾尔族

Va 佤族

Xibe 锡伯族

Yao 瑶族

Yi 彝族

Yugur 裕固族

Zhuang 壮族

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