MAY09

CSW update

NEWSLETTER OF THE UCLA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN

BY ANDREA S. GOLDMAN

Social Melodrama and the Sexing of Political Complaint in Nineteenth-Century Commercial Kun Opera

ZHAO CUIER was a creation of elite male fantasy, as Wu Changyuan tells it, capable of ensnaring audiences—both lay and clerical—in the illusionary world of the eighteenth-century Chinese stage. Zhao Cuier is the lead character from the play *The Garden of Turquoise and Jade (Feicui yuan)*. The play tells the story of a poor scholar's attempt to protect his land from annexation by a ruthless official. The scholar, Shu Depu, is assisted by a winsome vagabond seamstress, Zhao Cuier, and a bumbling deputy of the law, Wang Steamed-Bun. This trio of righteousness is held up as the moral antidote to the destructive power of masculine privilege. When legal channels fail them, the heroes

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When I was making my catalogue..., I found it a pity that there were not any actors from Hangzhou. Fu Tingshan told me: "Twenty years ago, there was a Kun opera boy-actress in a capital troupe who was originally from Hangzhou, but I've forgotten his name. He was outstanding in the role of Zhao Cuier, and very good in other plays too." Then I recalled a time in the fall of 1766 when I was attending some plays with Master Rang, the Abbot of Longxiang Monastery.... An Indian monk in attendance said to me: "The boy-actress in this troupe who plays the part of Zhao Cuier really makes one's mouth water." Master Rang looked embarrassed. I responded: "This teacher's sudden enlightenment exceeds even a cup of Zen tea...." We looked at one another and laughed. Now, as for the boy-actress who old master Fu saw, can I presume that he too made one's mouth water?

– Wu Changyuan, *Yanlan xiaopu* (1785) [1]

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take matters into their own hands. Justice is eventually restored by an emperor-*ex-machina*.

Audiences for commercial Kun opera rarely saw full plays, however. Commercially performed versions tended to truncate the story and dispense with its happy ending. The climactic scenes featured the daring deeds of the heroine and ended, typically, with the protagonists on the run and the seamstress grieving her mother's murder by the henchman of the corrupt official. Audiences, it turns out, were more attuned to sentimentalized depictions of injustice than to the restoration of order. The cross-dressed youths who played the seamstress clearly stole the show. Commercial Kun opera thus offered urban playgoers a space for escape *and* a vehicle for the voicing of pointed social commentary. This melodrama of *ressentiment* was inflected with class and gender sympathies: the good tended to be poor and/or female; the bad, rich men and their conniving flunkeys. This sexing of political complaint—that is, both the gendered face of chivalry and the allure of the boy actresses—became a hallmark of Kun opera in the Qing capital.

The Play and Its Sources

The Garden of Turquoise and Jade, attributed to the Suzhou-based playwright Zhu Suchen (ca. 1620–at least 1701), is loosely based on historical figures and events from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Its creation is dated to the early Qing dynasty (1644–1911), likely circa 1660. In twenty-six scenes, *Garden* portrays the struggle between Shu Depu and the villainous official who covets his land, Ma Fengzhi. Ma wants the land to build a perfectly square Garden of Turquoise and Jade, which he intends to use to worm his way into the good graces of his powerful royal patron, the Prince of Ning. In the first half of the drama, when Shu refuses to sell the property, he is framed for a crime and hauled before the county magistrate. When the magistrate adjudicates in the poor scholar's favor, Ma gets the prince to appoint him as judge for a re-trial. Shu is imprisoned and slated for execution; however, Cuier, the vagabond seamstress, comes to his rescue. She steals the official tally authorizing the execution and hands if off to Steamed-Bun, who uses it secure Shu's escape. The second half of *Garden* presents the rebellion of the Prince of Ning against the reigning emperor. By the end of the play, the forces of good (including the honest magistrate, Shu Depu, and Steamed-Bun) have vanquished the rebels.

The themes explored in *Garden* are typical of the plays written by contemporaries among the so-called Suzhou writers' group of early Qing dramatists. These dramas explore questions of individual moral virtue, draw upon historical materials for their plots, and often pair scholar-and-beauty romance narratives with court case dramas about social justice; but since justice is not typically served through official channels, these plots also frequently showcase chivalric knight-errants.[2] Similar to so many of these early Qing dramas, abridged versions and selected scenes from *Garden* became popular fare for Kun opera well into the nineteenth century. The popularity of this play on stage reveals that urban audiences identified with the plight of the downtrodden.

Audiences, it turns out, were more attuned to sentimentalized depictions of injustice than to the restoration of order.

For all its critique of a social and political order gone awry, *Garden* holds out hope for an ideal resolution, at least in the playwright's edition. For their righteous (albeit extra-legal) deeds, Steamed-Bun is appointed to a post in the Palace Guard and Cuier is joined in matrimony to the scholar's son (who has since won top honors in the metropolitan examinations). Old enmities are forgiven: Ma Feiying, the charitable daughter of Shu's rich and powerful nemesis, is also married off to Shu's now-eminent son, and her virtue wins pardon for her

father's crimes. In the end, those of low status have been elevated in the social hierarchy for their good deeds, those with learning have been recognized and accorded a position in the official bureaucracy consonant with the Confucian ideal, and those who have abused power have been reprimanded and punished. The travesty of social justice gives way to comedic order, and one young man gets "paired" happily ever after with not one but two beautiful and virtuous women.

Garden and the Ethics of the Early Qing Suzhou Playwrights

The social melodrama presented in *Garden* reflects both early Qing obscurantist and late Ming romantic sympathies. The play's showcasing of courtroom justice harkens back to Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) variety play (*zaju*) plots, although it also shares the structural and thematic characteristics of Ming romance drama. *Garden* is pro-establishment and pro-hierarchy, so long as rank within the social order is based on Confucian ideals of merit and moral worth. And yet, its treatment of the protagonists exhibits continuity with a critical strain of imaginings about gender and class that shaped so much of late Ming fiction and drama in which young women and the poor speak truth to power.

The choice by early Qing playwrights to return to the court case themes so central to Yuan drama was surely rife with symbolic import. The historical parallel of life under alien rule—then Mongol, now Manchu—was not lost on Han writers from Suzhou, one of the hotbeds of resistance to the Qing conquest. Literary depiction of judicial process was a relatively safe way of registering dissatisfaction with the status quo. Compared with their Yuan models, however, the early Qing court case plays exhibit much more cynicism toward the potential for justice to be served. The impossibility of redress of grievance within the system thus necessitates the intervention of chivalric figures such as Cuier and Steamed-Bun. This valorization of vigilante action as a tactic of the weak underscores a polemical bite to the play, traces of which were retained even as it circulated in truncated form in commercial performance over the next 150-plus years.

The gender politics of *Garden* are also a blend of old and new. The central figure of Cuier is indebted to late Ming literati fascination with characters who exhibit *bense* or emotional authenticity, a trait that came especially to be mapped onto the young, desiring, and desirous woman. As literary historians have shown, what begins in the late Ming as a counterhegemonic discourse of cultural redemption is by Qing times often simply a playful literary trope, stripped of its more transgressive implications.[3] Perhaps this development helps to explain, too, the marriage destinies in *Garden*. The late Ming "cult of emotions" ideal, which had begun to embrace singular romantic devotion, is passed over for the fantasy of getting "two-in-one," and thus foreshadows the resolutions of so much of later Qing fiction and drama.[4] In the character of Cuier, then, we find the outward trappings of authenticity, but this ideal type is now harnessed to a "restorationist" sentiment—socially, if not politically.

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Garden on the Commercial Stage

The early Qing conservative re-appropriation of late Ming gender politics as reflected in *Garden* were re-directed toward social complaint, however, when scenes of the play moved into commercial production. When *Garden* moved from page to stage, the play was presented in truncated form, typically in eight to twelve scenes. It could

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also feature the solo scene "Stealing the Tally" ("Dao ling"), although sometimes in combination with the subsequent "Murder on the Boat" ("Sha zhou"). Less commonly, the "Stealing the Tally" scene was paired with the concluding scene, "Parading the Top Candidate" ("You jie").

The earliest evidence of how *Garden* might have been performed on the commercial stage comes from 1770 in the excerpts published in the massive drama anthology, *A Cloak of Patchworked White Fur* (*Zhuibaiqiu*).[5] The *Cloak* edition features twelve scenes, all drawn from the first half of the play. The dramatic action of the linked scenes concludes with Cuier's theft of the tally, the murder of Cuier's mother, and Shu's escape from prison. Another early nineteenth-century script of *Garden*, which claims provenance from the famous Sanqing commercial troupe in Beijing, turns out to be copied nearly word for word from the scenes in *Cloak*.[6] Yet another indication of how *Garden* was rendered in commercial production comes from an entry in the anonymous diary, *Playwatching Journal* (*Guanju riji*), which records a staging in 1798 of all the scenes from the opening "Heavenly Pronouncement" ("Yubao") to "Stealing the Tally." This, then, was the favored abridgment when acting troupes staged the "complete" version of *Garden*.

This production choice ensured that the play ended at a climax of emotional intensity. While the *Cloak* selection ends with the escape of Shu Depu, the Sanqing script makes the final scene the one in which Cuier discovers her mother's death. In this version, especially, the play becomes a vehicle for display of the virtuosity of the actor playing Cuier. In her final aria, Cuier combines pathos with filial remorse. She sings:

YA, YA, YA… YA, MY HEART IS PIERCED WITH PAIN!
LOOK, LOOK, LOOK… LOOK AT THIS BODY SPLAYED OUT IN A POOL OF BLOOD; A MURDER MOST INHUMANE!
IT MUST, MUST, MUST… IT MUST BE THAT SHE MET UP WITH AN OLD ENEMY ON A NARROW LANE.

(Spoken): Oh, I know! It must have been that old bastard Ma Fengzhi. Hating that I saved Scholar Shu through trickery, he must have sent someone after me to do me harm. But I was a step too slow in returning. My mother on the boat was accidentally murdered in my place. Ah, Mother…

YOU, YOU, YOU… YOU HAD LOOKED ONLY TO ME TO PASS YOUR TWILIGHT YEARS IN A PEACEFUL VEIN.
AND NOW, NOW, NOW… NOW, ALL BECAUSE OF YOUR DAUGHTER, YOU INSTEAD ARE SLAIN.[7]

Such sentimentalized depiction of injustice was the stuff that grabbed at audience heartstrings. It worked all the better when it was enacted by the young female lead (played, no less, by an attractive cross-dressing youth).[8] And, as the opening epigraph demonstrates, comments by aficionados at the time speak of audiences drooling over the boy-actresses in the role of Cuier.[9]

By the late eighteenth century, more often than not, urban audiences encountered just one—at most two—scenes from *Garden* in any one theatrical viewing. The great majority of hand-copied scripts from the story cycle that have come down to us are for the scene "Stealing the Tally." Clearly, then, the scene in which Cuier steals the tally out from under the nose of the sleeping Ma Fengzhi could be performed as a stand-alone piece. When performed alone, the scene would have been a showcase piece for the ingénue role, with plenty of suspense and stage business surrounding the theft of the tally. According to choreography directions in an actor-copied script from 1861, the moment of theft required the actor playing Cuier to display the highly demanding skill of scurrying about the stage on his knees. The actor also had to attempt the theft of the tally three times in response to coughs and snores from the actor playing the villain.[10]

Alternatively, sometimes the scene "Parading the Top Candidate" was paired with "Stealing the Tally," although from time to time it could be performed solo as well.[11] This scene, too, elicited audience responses, particularly for the special joyous walk the character of Cuier performed after she learns that she will be married to Shu Fen, the new top candidate. In all versions of "Parading the Top Candidate," however, the plot ends with the single marriage between Cuier and Shu Fen. No mention is made of a second liaison between Ma Feiying and Shu Fen. Thus, in the telescoped two-scene version of the play, a companionate marriage becomes Cuier's reward for her chivalrous deeds.

In contrast, the only extant version of *Garden* that preserves the two-in-one marriage of the original comes from a production script that was created explicitly for the viewing pleasure of members of the Qing royal household in the 1860s. This is the only production script that includes the final scene "Making the Jade Whole" ("Cui yuan"), which suggests that the nineteenth-century court appreciated the conservative social message of the original ending. Through contrast, this underscores the extent to which most performances for the commercial stage dispensed with the comforting restoration of social order and normative gender hierarchies at the conclusion of the play. Instead, audiences for commercial Kun opera preferred to wallow in melodramatic railing against injustice or, alternatively, to delight in the victories of underdog vigilantism. The erotic allure of the cross-dressing actors who played such roles further endeared audiences to the plight of the lead character. And thus, entertainment value did not have to cede way to a veiled polemics within the space of the commercial playhouse.

Granted, the scenes from *Garden* were but a handful among a much larger repertoire of plays that filled the stages of the capital playhouses, but they belonged, nevertheless, to an important subset of plays that shaped the tenor of commercial Kun opera in Qing Beijing. Scenes from *Garden* and from other dramas by the early Qing Suzhou dramatists made up a full fourth of the 500-plus plays featured in the eighteenth-century drama anthology, *Cloak*. Time and again, the excerpted selections drawn from these plays in commercial performance emphasized the suffering of the wronged heroines and heroes. In these plays, too, young women and the poor both line up on the side of righteousness and authenticity. The commercially produced plays of the *Garden* plot, then, are one example of what I identify as the gendered face of social complaint.

We can find this gendered polemics of complaint in other facets of Qing metropolitan theater culture too. We can find it in the writing of guides to the cross-dressing boy actors, in which the marginalized literati authors deeply identified with the feminized and debased youths of the opera demimonde.[12] We can find similar sentiments in the mid nineteenth-century novel *A Precious Mirror of Boy Actresses* (*Pinhua baojian*)—an extension of that world—in which willingly playing the feminized part constitutes a pointed rejection of the privilege that comes with status. Perhaps we can find it, too, even in perceptions of the culture of sensuous Jiangnan (the Yangzi River delta)—epitomized in the Suzhou-derived Kun opera—which was rendered feminine vis-à-vis the Manchu-identified court in Beijing. Ironically, perhaps, the polemics

of complaint voiced via the space of the metropolitan commercial opera was strongest when the Qing court kept urban theatricals at a distance, that is, contained within the outer section of the capital city, which was dominated by the taste of Han literati. By the second half of the nineteenth century, as the court began to embrace and patronize commercial opera, it came to have much more influence over the content of performance within the urban space. Concurrently, the feminized polemics of complaint that had been so central to commercial Kun opera (and which voiced literati disaffection) came to be eclipsed by new narratives of male heroics, which were harnessed to the preservation of state-endorsed moral and social hierarchies.

Author's note: The above is excerpted from the fifth chapter of the manuscript, "Opera in the City: The Staging of Gender and Class in Beijing, 1770-1900."

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Notes

1. Wu Changyuan, *Yanlan xiaopu* in Zhang Cixi, comp., *Qingdai yandu liyuan shiliao* (Beijing, 1988), 44. Hereafter, *QYLS*.
2. Some of the major playwrights associated with the mid-seventeenth-century "Suzhou writers' group" include: Li Yu, Zhu Suchen and his brother, Zhu Zuochao, Bi Wei, Ye Shizhang, Qiu Yuan, Sheng Jishi, and Zhang Dafu. All were natives of Suzhou or its immediate environs, and most of them were friends or acquaintances, some even collaborating on the creation of long multi-scene dramas.
3. Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, Ma., 2001), 107-11.
4. Li Yu's *Lianxiang ban*, Cao Xueqin's *Honglou meng*, and Wen Kang's *Ernü yingxiong zhuan* come to mind as examples.
5. *Feicui yuan*. 1770. In Wanhua zhuren & Qian Decang, comp., *Zhuibaiqiu*. In Wang Qiugui, ed., *Shanben xiqu congkan*, vol. 65, 2685-2770 (Taipei, 1987); facsimile edition.
6. *Feicui yuan kunyi quanben*. Early to mid nineteenth century. Housed in the Traditional Drama Archive of the Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan.
7. *Ibid.*, 37a.
8. Eugenia Lean's study of public sentiment in Republican China has shown that urban audiences were hungry for such soap-opera type scenarios, whether played out in real life or on the stage. Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley, 2007). Here, I suggest that the formation of popular sympathy predates the Republican era; the site for the expression of such public sentiment was the commercial playhouse.
9. Wu, *Yanlan xiaopu* in *QYLS*, 44.
10. *Feicui yuan*. 1861. Hand-copied by Du Shuangshou. Du was an actor in the service of the court. The cover page has a stamp with Manchu writing, which reads "ineggidari ichemleme biyadari iundehei." This translates into Chinese as a four character auspicious phrase meaning "*rixin yuesheng*" or "May your days be many and your months plentiful." This script is currently stored in the Rare Books Library, Beijing University. Du Shuangshou edition, 48b-49a.
11. *Playwatching Journal* (*Guanju riji*), 1a & 12a. Manuscript stored in the Traditional Drama Archive of the Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan.
12. Andrea S. Goldman, "Actors and Aficionados in Qing Dynasty Texts of Theatrical Connoisseurship," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 68.1 (June 2008): 1-56.

Glossary

bense	本色
Bi Wei	畢魏
Cao Xueqin	曹雪芹
“Cui yuan”	翠圓
“Dao ling”	盜令
Du Shuangshou	杜雙壽
Ernü yingxiong zhuan	兒女英雄傳
Feicui yuan kunyi quanben	翡翠園崑弋全本
Feicui yuan	翡翠園
Guanju riji	觀劇日記
Hongloumeng	紅樓夢
Jiangnan	江南
Kun opera	崑劇
Li Yu	李漁
Li Yu	李玉
Lianxiang ban	憐香伴
Ma Feiying	麻翡英
Ma Fengzhi	麻逢之
Pinhua baojian	品花寶鑒
Prince of Ning	寧王
Qian Decang	錢德蒼
Qingdai yandu liyuan shiliao	清代燕都梨園史料
Qiu Yuan	丘園
rixin yuesheng	日新月盛
“Sha zhou”	殺舟
Shanben xiqu congkan	善本戲曲叢刊
Sheng Jishi	盛際時
Shu Depu	舒德溥
Shu Fen	舒芬
Wang Qiugui	王秋桂
Wang Steamed-Bun	王饅頭
Wanhua zhuren	玩花主人
Wen Kang	文康
Wu Changyuan	吳長元
Yanlan xiaopu	燕蘭小譜
Ye Shizhang	葉時章
“You jie”	遊街
“Yu bao”	預報
zaju	雜劇
Zhang Cixi	張次溪
Zhang Dafu	張大復
Zhao Cuier	趙翠兒
Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan	中國藝術研究院
Zhu Suchen	朱素臣
Zhu Zuochao	朱佐朝
Zhuibaiqiu	綴白裘

LOIS M. TAKAHASHI

Patriarchy/Matriarchy versus Blood Quantum

Cultural Significance as Evidenced in Hawaii Land Commission Grants

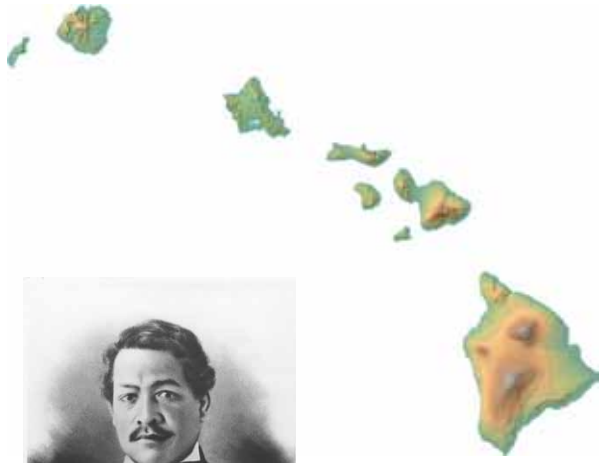
UPDATE ON CSW FACULTY DEVELOPMENT SEED GRANT

During the land division of 1848 (Great Mahele), both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians were given the ability to make a formal claim to land in the Hawaiian Islands,[1] seemingly regardless of gender. While the West was a predominantly patriarchal society at this time, lineage purity and 'godliness' were the markers of Hawaiian society. While many scholars have pointed to the Mahele as a major turning point in the land distribution system (that is, land was taken from the Hawaiian people and 'redistributed' to non-Hawaiians), it may have also been an unusual opportunity for gendered resource distribution: namely formal, governmentally-recognized land ownership by women. Hawaiian society, while predominantly class-based within a patriarchal system, did allow females positions of power.

To explore the gendered dimensions and consequences of this land governance transformation, the overall project in which I am engaged has three main goals: (1) to determine the gendered dimensions of land claims in the records of awarded Mahele land grants; (2) to explore the race/ethnicity dimensions of claims made by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians; and (3) to determine to what extent Hawaiian culture may have influenced the Western migrants in the Islands regarding gender mobility via access to land ownership.

EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON GENDER, INDIGENEITY, AND PROPERTY

Exploring land rights and property claims in historic indigenous contexts provides a unique opportunity for theorizing feminist indigeneity. In the mid-1800s, no property



The Great Mahele was signed into law by Kamehameha III in 1848.

right was more significant than that of the right to succession of an estate.[2] Much of the feminist interest in property rights, however, has focused on women as objects of property rather than as subjects.[3]

Generally, studies on the Pacific Island region tend to overlook gender issues, especially when examining land tenure. The majority of studies on the Mahele, for example, mainly focus on the distribution of land between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians prior to and after the completion of the land grant application review period.[4] Indigenous literature has typically minimized gender studies, often because of the emphasis on "historical cultural significance"; namely, that patriarchal/matriarchal social relations are a significant part of the indigenous culture.[5] That is, within the indigenous literature, gendered power relations often are conceptually bundled into "culture," thereby minimizing the issue of gender inequalities.

Indigenous scholarship has highlighted the differences between community "ownership" of land (otherwise conceptualized as "use rights") and Western notions of individualized ownership. Communal "ownership" provided for greater access for women, because such rights were provided regardless of sex or age. Thus, women had rights to the land by virtue of their membership within the communal society, and typically not directly attributable to a dependent relationship on men, inheritance, or purchase.[6] (Within the Hawaiian case, dependency may have had more to do with familial tenancy, which may have privileged male descendants.) Context-specific (historical and geographical) analysis of gendered land claims would aid in clarifying these gendered indigenous dimensions of property.

Though the Hawaiian culture historically privileged "pure" lineages – a direct descendent of the gods – gender roles were culturally embedded in daily life (male/female foods and customs for gender separation and mingling, for example).[7] We hypothesize that during this period of cultural change in the Hawaiian Islands due to Western influence, women may have been able to effectively modify their position within society through property claims and purchase.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Historically, the prevalent societal hierarchy privileged males making claims on land. However, we posit that during the Mahele, which constituted a significant transformation in governance and cultural practices concerning land, other societal norms may have become less stable as well (that is, gendered social norms concerning land ownership). To explore this assertion, for this seed grant, we explored the following research questions: (1) were Hawaiian women able to purchase land?; and (2) what were the differences in Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian female land purchases?

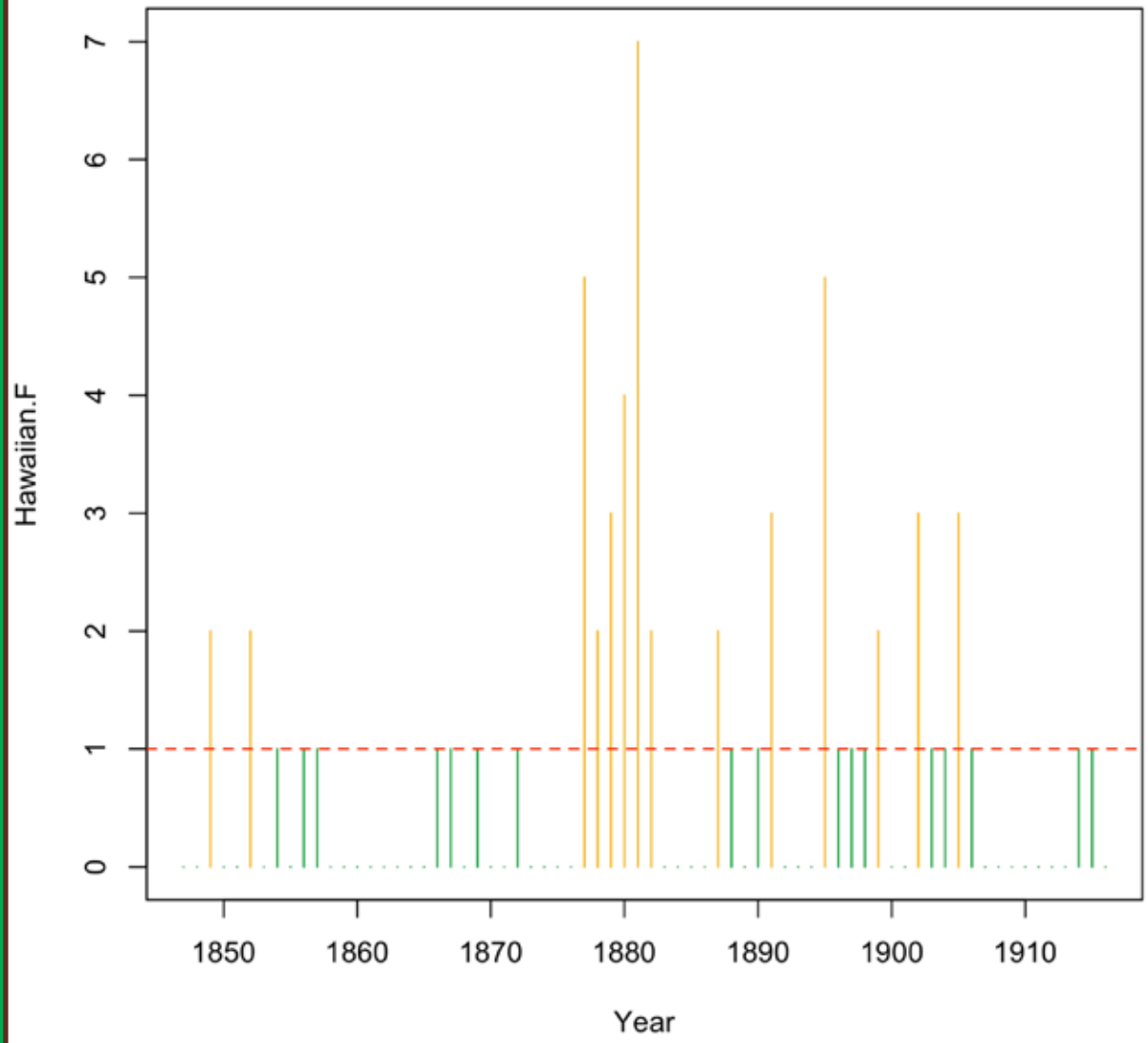
DATA

Approximately 6,500 purchase records[8] were analyzed using a typology of purchasers: Hawaiian, Potentially Hawaiian, and Non-individuals. "Hawaiian" was identified via names that were clearly Hawaiian; "Potentially Hawaiian" included individuals that had Hawaiian names, or partial Hawaiian names, though could not be verified as "Hawaiian" due to potential of marriage. The category "Non-individuals" included any purchase that was not by an individual; this category could include private businesses as well as public works purchases.

The gendered aspects of the purchases were grouped in a similar fashion – Hawaiian Female purchasers were identified via a "(w)" next to their name (for wahine, the Hawaiian word for female) since Hawaiian names are typically not gender-specific. "Non-Hawaiian

Figure 1: Hawaiian Female purchases

Total purchases per year (average: ~0.9)



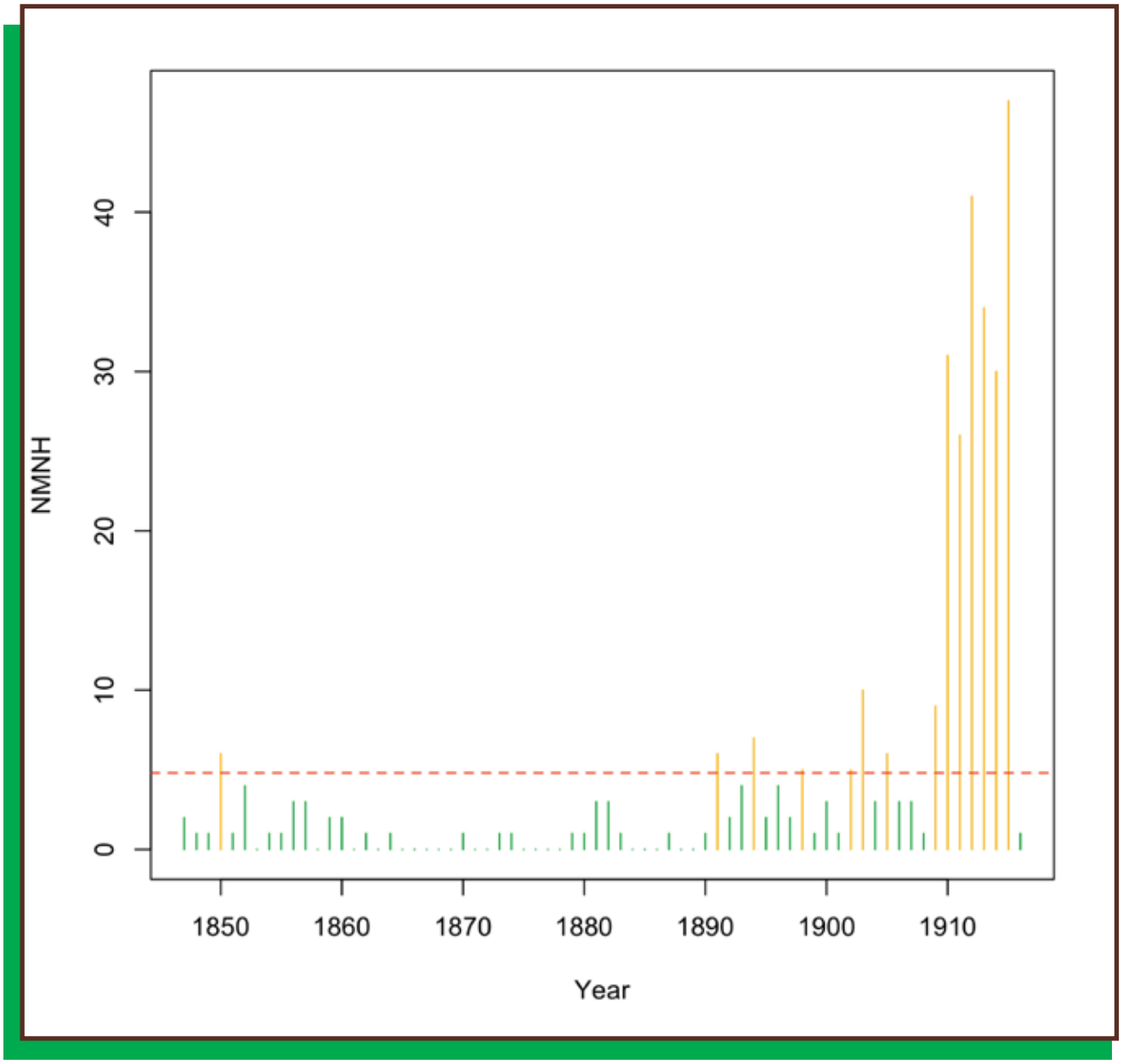
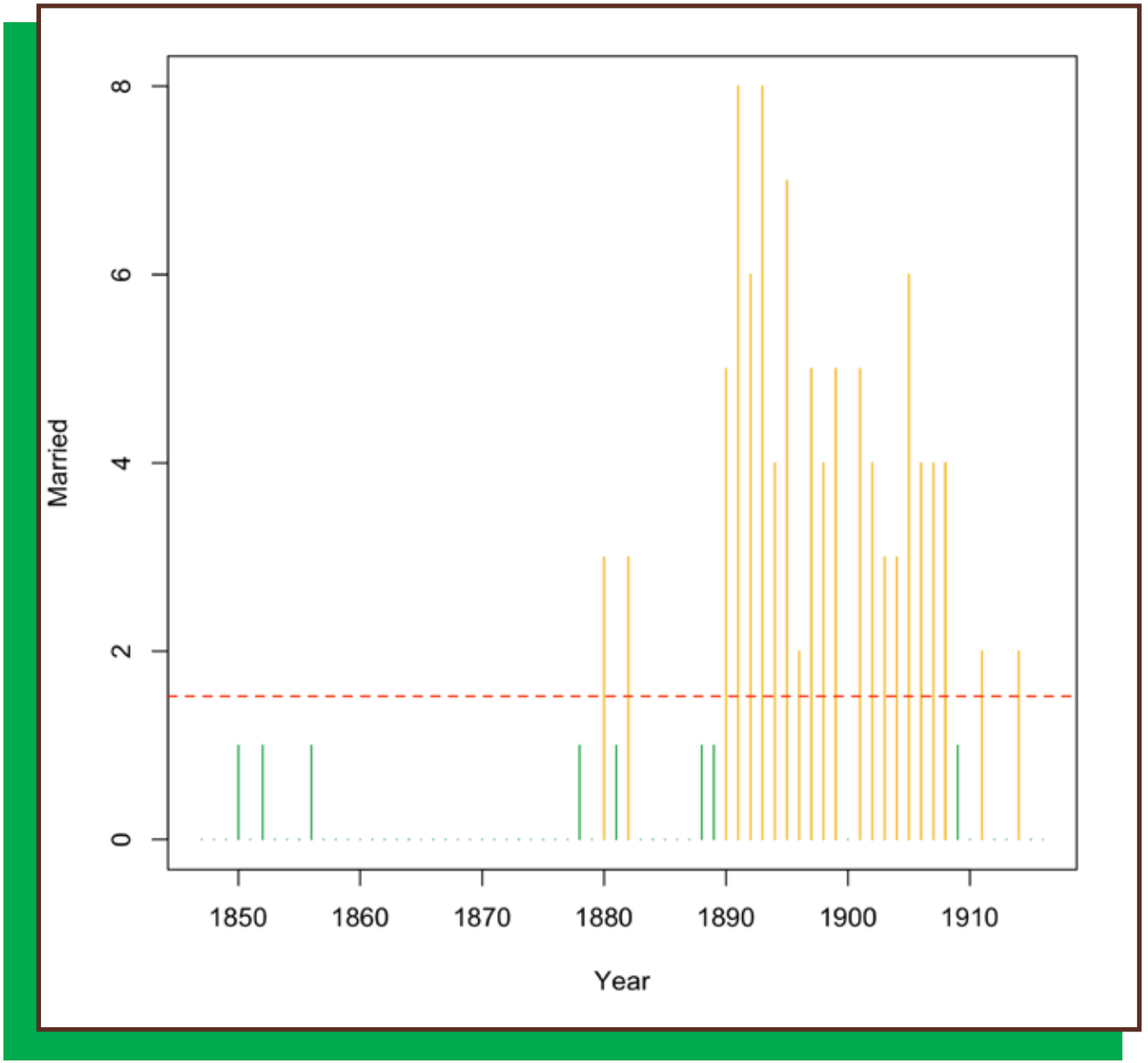


Figure 2: Non-Married, Non-Hawaiian Female purchases, or NMNH

Total purchases per year (average: ~4.8 purchases)

Figure 3: Married (Non-Hawaiian) Female purchases

Total purchases per year (average: ~1.5 purchases)



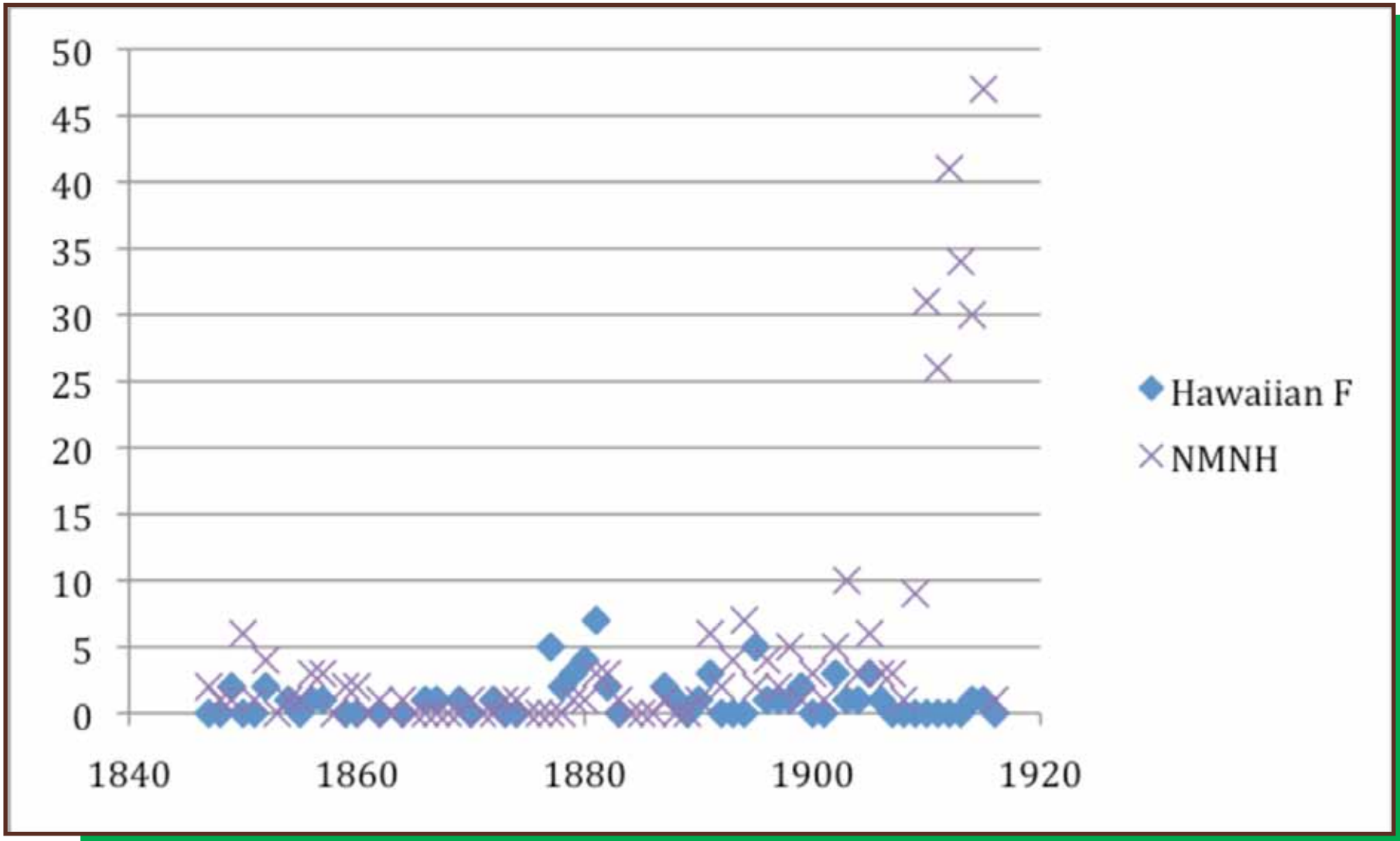


Figure 4: Hawaiian Females compared to Non-Married Non-Hawaiian (NMNH) Females

Total Purchases Per Year

Non-Married" included all other names that would typically be considered female, though did not include any names that were gender ambiguous such as Francis, Leslie, or Kelly. It is possible that "Non-Hawaiian Non-Married" includes individuals who are Hawaiian though whose names are not overtly Hawaiian potentially due to intermarriage or to baptism. The category "Mrs." includes all individuals that recorded this title, though Hawaiian royalty who were married are not included in this list. It is also undeterminable whether any of these individuals are widows.

While Hawaiian purchasers accounted for a fairly substantial amount of the transactions (~33%+), the proportions were significantly higher on the less-inhabited islands of Lanai and Molokai, though interestingly enough also on the fairly heavily inhabited island of Maui. Non-individual transactions counted for a very small share, the highest being 5% on Oahu. Niihau and Lanai exhibit no female purchases.

Hawaiian female purchases ranged from 0%-2.1% (Molokai) of total purchases recorded. Hawaiian female purchases (Figure 1)[9] were initially infrequent though spiked noticeably around 1880, gradually decreasing until 1915.

Non-Married, Non-Hawaiian female transactions were infrequent though increased dramatically around 1910 (Figure 2) and stayed comparatively consistent until about 1915. Records with the title "Mrs." recorded ranged from 0%-3.1% (Oahu). Married female (non-Hawaiian) purchases (Figure 3) interestingly were non-existent till 1890, after which the amount of purchases significantly increased and was relatively comparable till around 1910. Of particular interest to this study, Hawaiian females illustrated similar transaction frequency with Non-married, Non-Hawaiian females (Figure 4) till around 1910, when Non-Married, Non-Hawaiian female purchases noticeably increase in frequency, while Hawaiian female purchases essentially cease.

CONCLUSION

Our preliminary results indicate that there were variations in women's land purchase by island and over time. The majority of Hawaiian purchases occurred on the smaller, "less-major" islands, with the exception of Maui, the former capital of the Kingdom of Hawaii. While Hawaiian females did not account for a large portion of transactions, they did account for up to 2% (Molokai). Overall, females generally exercised purchasing power to a slightly greater degree—the highest percentage was on Oahu and Kauai at slightly over 10% of total transactions recorded, which is five times the highest percentage recorded for Hawaiian females. Married women, who typically in Europe at this time were unable to own property on their own (due to marriage union legalities, the male married partner retained ownership) did not exhibit significant purchasing power. However, the presence of any transactions at all for married women suggests that the typical social norms of Europe may not have applied as strictly in Hawaii, with up to 3% of all purchases on Oahu made by individuals who identified themselves with the "Mrs." title. More research is needed to clarify the social dynamics underlying these patterns. Uncovering those socio-political forces is the next step in this research.

Lois M. Takahashi *is a Professor in the Department of Urban Planning. She received a CSW Faculty Development Seed Grant in 2008–09 and she gave a presentation at the Works in Progress I symposium on April 29th. Her Graduate Research Assistant is Beth Tamayose, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Urban Planning.*

Author's note: *Figures 1-3 illustrate the number of purchases per category over time. The green bars denote the number of purchases per year below a particular threshold (denoted with a red dotted line), whereas the yellow bars indicate the number of purchases above this amount. The threshold is defined as the mean or average number of purchases observed over the full length of the study period for each category.*

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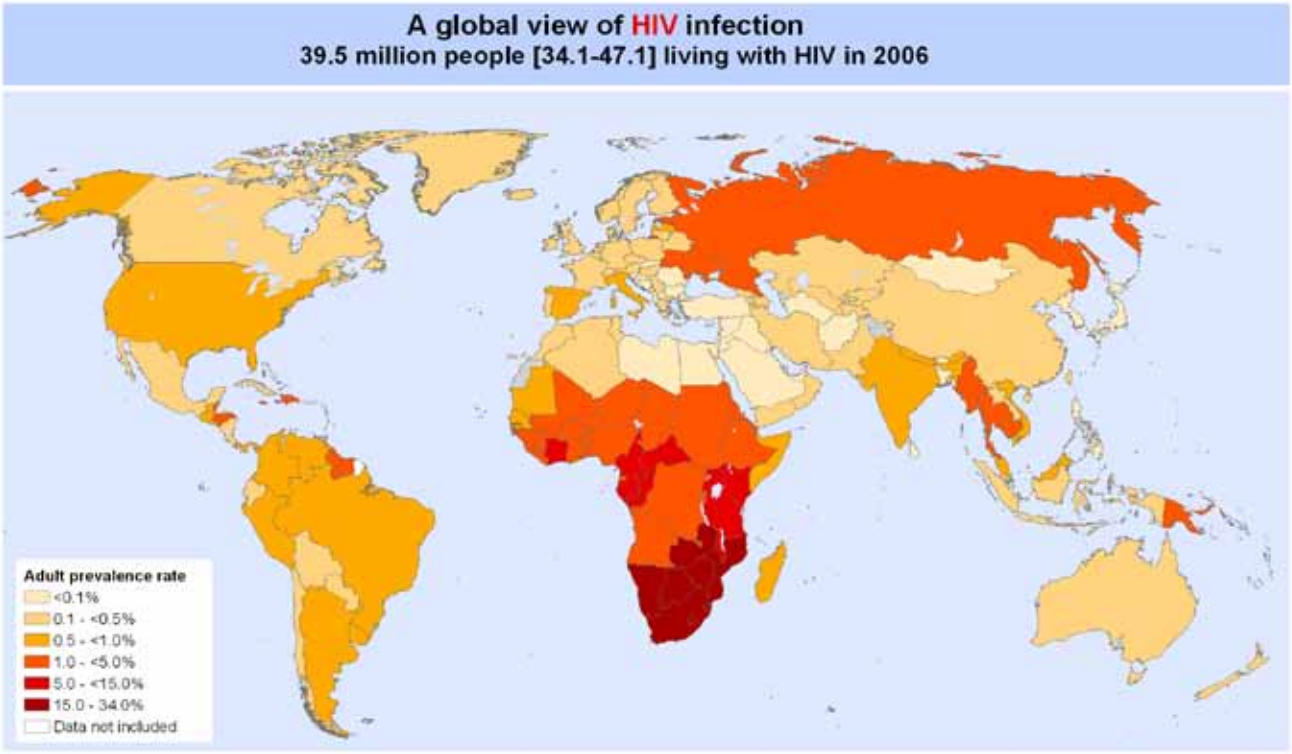
BY GISELE MAYNARD-TUCKER

FAMILY PLANNING an unmet need INTEGRATION

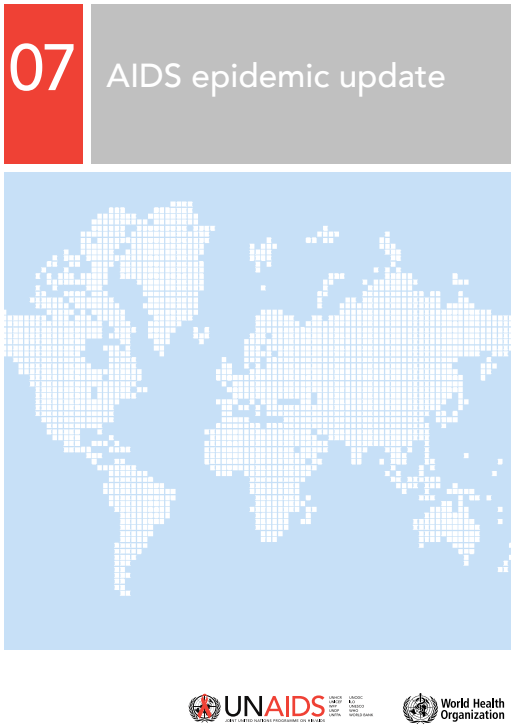


SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA has been experiencing steady population growth since the beginning of the twentieth century. The latest United Nations projections, published in March 2007, estimated a figure of 1.5 to 2 billion inhabitants by the year 2050. Recommended by the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994, the integration of reproductive health (RH) and family planning (FP) in various health services of Africa and other developing countries is highly controversial. It is supported by the World Health Organization, but it has been difficult to accomplish in view of the weak health systems and the lack of human and material resources. In most parts of the world, family planning and HIV services are usually offered separately through what are called vertical programs. Family planning services target married women of reproductive age

and HIV services target individuals at high risk of infection. However, the integration of family planning in HIV programs or vice versa would permit women of reproductive age who are affected or infected by HIV to benefit from family planning and/or HIV prevention counseling and services.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, less than 20 percent of married women in the age group 15-49 use modern contraceptive methods, and 30 percent claim an unmet need for contraception (AIDS Epidemic Update, December, 2007, UNAIDS). In addition, it is estimated that 36,000 women die from unsafe abortion complications each year in Sub-Saharan Africa (Van Look, *Levels and trends in the incidence of unsafe abortion and related mortality,* 2007). Women age 15-24 are infected with the HIV virus at rates two or three times higher than men and boys of the same age, and in 2007 there were 2.3 million children infected with HIV/AIDS, of which 90 percent were living in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2008). The use of contraception would permit HIV-positive women to avoid unintended pregnancies and would prevent the birth of children infected by the virus. However, funding for family planning has decreased by an estimated 40 percent over the last 10 years and donors have switched their goals and interests to the fight against HIV/AIDS. Large grants are mostly allocated for HIV/AIDS treatment, care, and prevention programs.

Attempts have been made to integrate family planning in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and South Africa, with a variety of services such as voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) for HIV/AIDS, sexual transmitted infections (STIs) diagnosis, prevention of



AIDS Epidemic Update, December, 2007, UNAIDS

Van Look, P. Levels and trends in the incidence of unsafe abortion and related mortality, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, World Health Organization, 19 October 2007.

mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT), and antiretroviral therapy (ART). Most common have been (1) the integration of services that combine VCT with counseling and referrals to FP or (2) maternal and child health (MCH) and PMTCT services with counseling and referrals about contraceptive methods and HIV prevention. Having all of these services delivered from one health center would constitute a holistic approach, meaning that integration would render comprehensive reproductive health services to include all aspects of HIV/AIDS and family planning services. But, this programmatic approach would need sustainable funding and a solid infrastructure between national and regional districts along with adequately trained personnel and efficient service delivery. It would also require well-thought coordination between reproductive health, family planning, and HIV/AIDS services along with an efficient computerized administration established between the Ministry of Health, international donors, and administrative agencies.

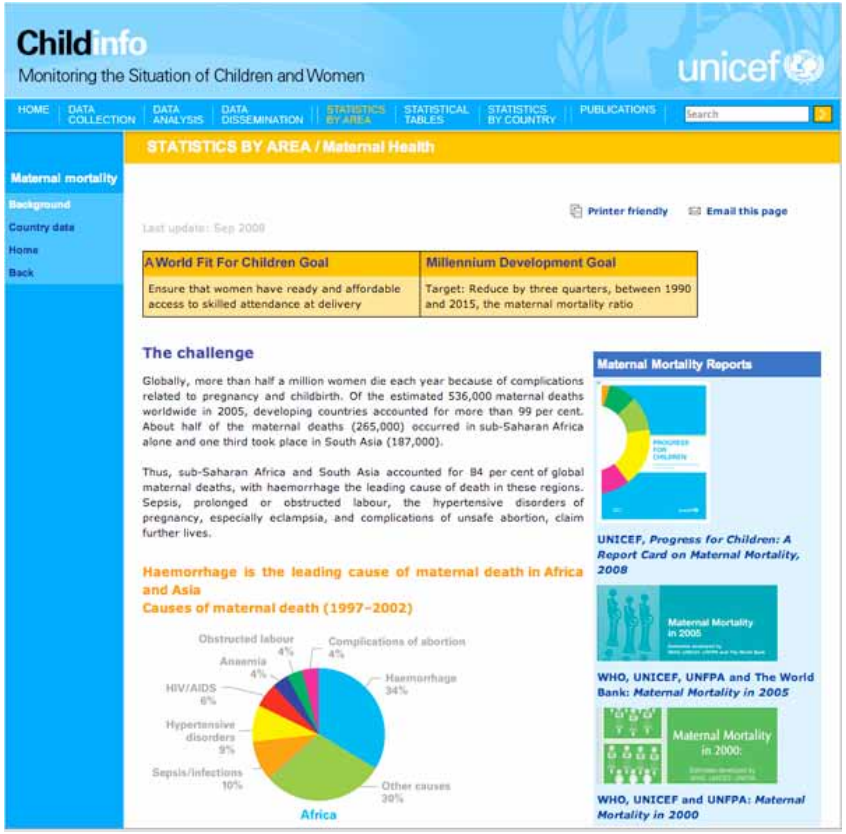
Multilateral integration of several services is very challenging for most countries where the health systems are weak and the infrastructure is inadequate. In addition, family planning programs have been eroding since President G.W. Bush enforced the Global Gag Rule. The Global Gag Rule, based on the Mexico City Policy, prevents non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from receiving federal funding for performing or promoting abortion services as a method of family planning (the exception for abortions are rape, incest, or life-threatening conditions). The Global Gag Rule was initiated by President Reagan in 1984, canceled by President Clinton in 1993, reinstated by President G. W. Bush in 2001, and reversed by President Obama in January 2009. Over the last decade the Global Gag Rule has impacted the services delivery of family planning by reducing funding from the U.S. Congress by 40 percent. It is blamed for women's high mortality because of an increased use of unsafe abortions and pregnancy-related complications due to the unmet need for family planning services. The United Nations estimates that at least 200 million women worldwide every year want to use

Executive Summary, Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic, 2008, UNAIDS

contraceptive methods, but are unable to do so because of lack of information and services about family planning or community support. Furthermore, donors have switched their interests and goals from supporting family planning services to the fight against HIV/AIDS. Yet, the situation is critical.

Women constitute 60 percent of those living with HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa and infection rates are rising. Each year 20 million women suffer from pregnancy-related complications and over half a million die. Of this figure, 265,000 women die each year in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF 2008). Providing access to family planning for women living with HIV/AIDS could reduce the number of unintended pregnancies, unsafe abortions, and decrease the number of children born with HIV. Further, HIV-positive women enrolled in a family planning program with HIV/AIDS services would have access to prevention with mother-to-child-transmission during pregnancy and breastfeeding. In the literature, findings from evaluation projects about integrated family planning services in Kenya and Uganda revealed that they are less costly than vertical programs and that women like getting family planning and HIV services from the same health center.

Major cultural barriers to contraceptive use include the belief that there are no advantages to a small family, lack of knowledge, lack of access, fear of side effects, and male dominance in sexual decision-making. In urban regions some of these obstacles are decreasing, but in semi-urban and rural regions there is a need for information, access, and more community effort to inform men and women about the benefits of contraception and the advantages of smaller families. Rural regions



The Challenge, 2008, UNICEF

show high fertility prevalence based on beliefs that children are "assets for the future" and/or are "proof of men's virility."

Male partners or husbands play a major role in women's lives, as they are the decision-makers about reproductive matters and contraceptive use. But, men are not the focus of most family planning programs—women are—and in many societies women have no power to make decisions about their reproductive

functions. The role of men in family planning is important; it has been disregarded and the lack of success of family planning programs could be attributable to the failure of studying men's attitudes and cultural upbringing as it relates to reproduction and contraception. Integration of reproductive health services that includes sexually transmitted diseases and family planning with HIV/AIDS counseling or referrals is one way to reach men and educate them about the use of contraception, such as dual methods (condoms plus another method), and to inform them about STIs and HIV infections. In the literature, women's subservient role in reproductive decision-making is explained by a lack of economic independence and a lack of schooling compared to men, in addition to the cultural norms that emphasize women's fertility and reproductive role. However, women's passive attitudes toward reproduction would change with education opportunities, skills empowerment, and economic independence.

To conclude, despite the huge need for the integration of family planning and HIV/AIDS services in most countries, the number of services currently available to people living with HIV/AIDS is inadequate, and the number of HIV/AIDS services that integrate family planning is minimal. Integration of family planning into HIV programs or vice versa would be very beneficial for clients, but may be challenging for health systems and medical personnel because of additional activities. Consequently, family planning should be integrated into HIV/AIDS programs, when it is feasible and with sustainable goals. Patterns of integration depend on local situations and should not be generalized. For instance, a holistic approach to RH-FP and HIV services in a one-stop health center would function well in hospitals or urban clinics where they have the epidemiological and medical staff along with the material and supplies available. But, a holistic approach would be difficult to implement in rural regions because of lack of human and material resources. For the present, there is a need for perseverance and for strong support from local governments, the international community, and local communities encouraging family planning integration in all major health services. This is a mandate that will better men's and women's future lives and health in developing countries and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Gisele Maynard-Tucker *holds a Ph.D. in anthropology and works in development as an international consultant. She has been a Research Scholar at the Center for the Study of Women at UCLA since 1998.*

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Coordinator for Thinking Gender 2010 is Erin Hill

Erin Hill is a PhD candidate in the program in Cinema and Media Studies at UCLA's school of Theatre, Film and Television. Her doctoral dissertation concerns women workers and feminized labor within Hollywood studio system of the 1920's-1940's, and her other research interests include women in contemporary film and television production culture, TV audiences, and new media's impact on televisual style and structure. She also co-founded and served as co-Editor in Cheif of *Mediascape*, UCLA's online media studies journal. Prior to entering the CMS program, Erin worked for producers and writers in the film and television industry, and she continues to work there as a story analyst and blogger on a freelance basis.

Exhibition: Losing Yourself in the 21st Century

Call for Participation

Georgia State University (GSU) Welch School Gallery invites emerging women and women-identified artists whose work investigates the construction and deconstruction of the gendered "self" in the 21st century to post recent work on the new blog site www.losingyourself.com. We're particularly interested in projects that involve time-based, performative, and installation media. On May 15th, curators will begin reviewing the posts and selecting artists for an exhibition to be held at the Welch School Gallery in fall 2009.

Losing Yourself is premised on the notion that contemporary media, information systems, and consumer culture foster flexible and diverse notions of self and community while simultaneously regulating new spheres of personal life and conduct. Contemporary perceptions of female identity are also shaped by feminist discourse and women's social and economic gains. How, we ask, do emerging women artists perceive this complex discursive terrain? How, in turn, do they negotiate it? How have their diverse experiences and backgrounds equipped them to engage in questions of identity and self-expression in the new millennium? What currency, if any, do feminist politics have for them in our so-called postfeminist culture?

Mirroring new media art practices, and particularly the central role of the Internet in social networking today, the artists in *Losing Yourself* will be selected through an online curatorial review. The curators have created a website in order to establish relationships with emerging women artists across the country and begin a discussion among them. The website will me maintained through spring 2011 as an open-ended repository of posted art and ideas. The print catalog for the exhibition will also include an index of artists participating in the blog site, www.losingyourself.com

Curators are Susan Richmond, GSU Welch School; Jillian Hernandez, Rutgers; and Cathy Byrd, Maryland Art Place.

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