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Anhui Polytechnic University

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题目 《性别，能动与变革》（第九章）

英汉翻译实践报告

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**A Report on the E-C Translation Practice
of *Gender, Agency and Change* (Chapter 9)**

Zhao Jiawen

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

For the degree of Master of

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In English Translation

Supervised by Prof. Zhu Li

School of Foreign Studies

Anhui Polytechnic University

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摘 要

本翻译实践报告选取维多利亚·安·戈达德《性别，能动与变革》的第九章作为源文本进行研究。第九章讲述的是女性及学生在保加利亚国家变革中发挥了重要的作用。作者强调要抛弃对女性的性别偏见，鼓励女性也参与工作，发挥其自身作用，这与现代社会倡导男女平等的思想不谋而合。通过翻译，译者不仅可以了解到其他国家的发展历史，而且可以了解到不同文化之间的差异，在翻译时着力解决这些差异带来的问题，传递文化信息。

按照纽马克提出的 3 种文本类型，该文本属于信息型文本。在翻译过程中，文化信息的准确传递，句子结构隐含意义的显性表达以及篇章整体的逻辑与通顺，是本次翻译实践报告的难点。对此，译者从三个方面入手解决这些难点：在词汇层面，译者采取了词义引申以及词性转换的策略来处理原文；在句子层面，译者从被动语态的转换，长句的拆分以及句子语序的调整三个方面处理原文；在语篇层面，译者从明晰代词指代以及句子衔接这两方面处理原文。

通过此次翻译实践，译者的翻译能力在文化信息的传递，到句子结构的精确处理，再到篇章逻辑的呈现等方面都得到了进一步的提升，并且认识到在翻译时一个难点可以采取多种翻译方法和策略加以解决。同样，译者也深刻认识到自己的写作能力以及知识储备的不足，希望通过这次翻译实践使自己的翻译写作能力得到加强，也希望本篇

翻译实践报告能为人类学研究提供借鉴与参考。

关键词：《性别，能动与变革》；文化信息；词义引申；语序调整；
篇章逻辑

Abstract

The report chooses the ninth chapter of *Gender, Agency and Change* by Victoria Ana Goddard as source translation material. The ninth chapter is about the events of the change in Bulgarian. Women and students have played an important role in the changes. The author emphasizes the need to abandon gender prejudice against women and encourages women to participate in the work and play their own roles as well, which coincides with the idea of gender equality advocated in modern society. Through translation, the translator can not only learn the history of other countries, but also understand the differences between different cultures. Thus, when translating, the translator can focus on solving the problems caused by these differences and conveying cultural information.

According to the three text types proposed by Newmark, this text is an informational text. In the process of translation, the accurate transmission of cultural information, the explicit expression of the implicit meaning of sentence structure and the logic and coherence of the whole text are the difficulties in this translation practice report. Therefore, the translator tries to solve these difficulties from three aspects: at the lexical level, the translator deals with the original text from the word meaning extension and words conversion; at the sentence level, the

translator deals with the original text from the transformation of passive voice, the splitting of long sentences, and the adjustment of the sentence order; at the discourse level, the translator deals with the original text from the aspects of the clarification of pronouns' references and the cohesion of the sentences.

Through this translation practice, the translator's translation ability has been further improved in terms of the transmission of cultural information, the accurate processing of sentence structure, the presentation of passage logic, etc., and has realized that a difficult point can be solved by adopting multiple translation methods and strategies in translation. Besides, the translator also deeply recognizes the insufficiency of her own writing ability as well as her knowledge reserve, and sincerely hopes that through this translation practice her own translation and writing ability will be strengthened, and also hopes that this translation practice report can provide some reference for anthropological research.

Key Words: *Gender, Agency and Change*; cultural information;
extension of words; sentence order adjustment;
contextual logic

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Chapter 1 Introduction

As a branch of anthropology, social anthropology, also known as cultural anthropology in the United States, has received increasing attention in recent years. *Gender, Agency and Change* is a book about the historical development of societies in different countries. The book consists of eleven chapters, of which the translator has chosen Chapter Nine. This chapter mainly takes the Bulgarian as an example to describe the changes that occurred in Bulgaria during the post communist period, emphasizing the roles played by students and women during that period. The translator hopes that this translation practice report will help readers better understand the background of the historical development of Bulgaria as a country and gain a glimpse of the ideas of Western social anthropology.

1.1 Task Description

There are eleven chapters in the book *Gender, Agency and Change*, and the translator has translated chapter nine. This article has not yet been officially published in Chinese translation. The ninth chapter focuses on the changes in Bulgaria in the post-communist era in which students have played an important role in the reform process, and at the same time, the chapter emphasizes the issue of the gender ratio, followed by a description of women's participation in the political revolution and their access to education. The number of words in the original text is 8,246 and the number of words in the translated text is 13,980, which meets the requirements for the source text in the graduation thesis of the translation major.

1.2 Introduction of the Source Text

The book *Gender, Agency and Change* provides an overview of how individuals of different ages and genders create opportunities and conditions to cope with change in different ways. The book is edited by Victoria Anna Goddard. As a professor, she

researches economic and political anthropology, particularly in gender and class.

People create new opportunities and conditions in response to change. These responses are influenced by both gender and age. In *Gender, Agency and Change* the emphasis is on ‘agency’, where agency is taken to be the capacity and willingness of people to act in relation to their social situation. Professor Goddard has worked in the fields of economic and political anthropology, who likes to have a particular emphasis on gender and class.

The translator has translated Chapter Nine. The author of the ninth chapter is Siyka Kovacheva, who studies social policy and social sciences and is interested in the formation of European citizenship - civil society and new forms of governance in Europe, which is why this article is based on Bulgaria. At the same time, she is currently working on the problems of the younger generation, which is why this article mentions how student youth play a role.

This text is an informational text. Informative text mainly conveys the information of the original text to the readers truthfully and fluently. In addition, Newmark proposes that different translation strategies should be adopted according to different text types, and puts forward the famous semantic and communicative translation strategies, which help translators adopt appropriate translation strategies. Therefore, Newmark’s text type theory is very instructive for the translation practice of this text.

1.3 Significance of the Translation Practice

In both Chinese and Western expressions, anthropology refers to the study of human beings and is a discipline that emphasizes wholeness. Its core lies in asking and revealing “what is a human being”, and if it goes a little deeper, it also seeks to answer the questions “where do we come from, where are we” and “where do we go” in the first person plural (徐新建, 2008). In fact, anthropology and translation studies belong to different disciplines, but their similarities are extremely high. In recent years, the interdisciplinary research between cultural anthropology and translation

studies has emerged in the development of translation studies both domestically and internationally, and has gradually become a topic of concern and discussion among anthropologists, all of which are closely related to the “cultural attributes” of translation studies (李寐竹, 2020). Therefore, the focus on culture allows for mutual reference and influence between cultural studies and anthropology, reflecting their cross-cultural nature (夏建中, 2003:330).

On a theoretical level, this topic is beneficial for promoting the dissemination of anthropological and cultural knowledge. With the development of times, the integration of various disciplines is getting closer and closer, which reflects that the research is also making progress. Through the combination of anthropological knowledge and translation strategy, it can provide reference for translation strategy and translation methods.

On a practical level, this selection is an opportunity for both translators and translation majors to improve their translation level and ability. In the process of translation practice, through continuous analysis and reflection, people can generate their own thoughts and facilitate the establishment of a database. This not only benefits their future learning and life, but also provides reference for other scholars in the field of anthropological translation.

Chapter 2 Preparation for Translation

Before translating Chapter Nine, the translator first has a certain understanding of the source text, grasps the theme and key points of the source text, and analyzes the syntactic structure and expression of the source text so as to understand the source text in depth and prepare for the subsequent translation. Besides, the translator learns that the content of the selected chapter is related to anthropology through reading the source text. After understanding the key points, the translator searches for articles and books on anthropology to get a preliminary understanding of anthropology and learn the specialized knowledge about anthropology. Moreover, the translator consults dictionaries and reference materials for the terms that appear in anthropology, selects parallel texts, and translates them with the help of online dictionaries and computer software. What's more, the style of translation is determined. The translator needs to determine the type of the text, and then according to the characteristics of the original text and the reading habits of the target language readers, adopts a combination of translation strategies and methods to translate.

2.1 Analysis on Source Text

The translator chose Chapter Nine — *the 'old red woman' against the 'young blue hooligan' — Gender stereotyping of economic and political processes in post-communist Bulgaria* as the source text for translation. When dealing with the source text, in view of the difficulties in the accurate transmission of cultural information appearing in the source text, the explicit expression of the hidden meaning of the sentence structure, and the logic and cohesion of the passage as a whole, the translator starts from three aspects to solve these difficulties. At the lexical level, involving some professional words, the translator adopts the method of direct translation and free translation, which also involves the problem of word conversion, and the translator needs to take into account the differences between

Chinese and English expressions for translation and changes the part of speech during translation to make it fit the reading habits of the target language readers. At the sentence level, the translator first analyzes the sentence structure and splits long sentences and then reassembles sentences for translation. In addition, for some sentence forms, such as passive voice, etc., the translator adopts the way of communicative translation according to the reading habits of the target language readers. In terms of sentence expression, there are also differences between the two languages, so the translator needs to adjust the sentence focus in translation. At the discourse level, the translator is prepared to analyze from two aspects: reference and the cohesion of the sentence. According to the classification of text types, this article belongs to the category of informative text. The main informational function of this text is to truthfully and smoothly convey the information of the source text to readers. Therefore, the translator should keep this in mind when translating, and the translation should conform to the reading habits of the target language readers.

2.2 Tools and Parallel Text

When translating this article, the translator looks up online dictionaries such as Google, Youdao Online Dictionary to reduce the burden of the translation and also uses computer-aided translation software such as Trados, memoQ, and chatGPT for rough review during the translation process.

Besides, since all the chapters in the book chosen by the translator are related to anthropology, in order to fully understand the knowledge about anthropology, the translator has searched the literature and books about anthropology on the Internet for reference, and the translator has referred to the book *An Invitation to Anthropology* (王媛, 2021) when translating this chapter. The book is divided into two main parts. The first part, “Anthropology, Culture, and Ethnography,” focuses on the foundational assumptions and concepts that have driven the development of anthropological theory and practice since the beginnings of modern anthropology. The focus then narrows to culture (particularly sociocultural anthropology), exploring some metaphors, and analyses from which contemporary anthropologists have drawn their inspiration,

theories, and methodologies. The second part, “Ethnography: Some Human Issues”, explores three cross-cultural human issues: gender, family, and religion. The book provides a wealth of fascinating examples of how anthropological perspectives can be applied to real-world issues at the individual, regional, and world levels. The content of this book is consistent with the theme of this chapter, so the translator uses this book as a reference text.

Chapter 3 Case Analysis

After the pre-translation preparation, the translation of the source text is followed. The translator has translated the source text multiple times before obtaining the final translation. Moreover, during the translation process, the translator has also encountered some translation difficulties. In order to strive for the most natural and appropriate equivalence between the source text and the target text, and to accurately express the author's intended ideas, the translator plans to solve these difficulties from three aspects: at the lexical level, the translator solves problems from the perspectives of word extension and conversion of the word; at the sentence level, the translator adopts methods such as transforming passive voice, splitting long sentences, and adjusting semantic focus; at the discourse level, the translator adopts the means of clarifying pronoun reference and the cohesion of sentences.

3.1 Translation at the Lexical Level

In translation, the operation of language is simply to replace one language text with another language text. It was not until the 1960s that a large number of scholars and translators began to make a scientific study of translation, considering translation as an art or a skill. The American linguist and translation theorist Eugene Nida once said, "Because just as linguistics can be classified as descriptive science, the transfer of information from one language to another is also an effective topic for scientific description (Alksnis, I, 1980)".

As a kind of cultural communication activity, translation is by no means simply translating one language into another, nor is it only related to the translator's activities, but involves various external and internal factors, such as history, society, culture, politics, aesthetic taste, etc. Among them, culture and translation are closely related (武光军, 2013). The differences in linguistic and cultural factors involved in the translation process, as well as how to more accurately transfer from the source language to the target language, need to be carefully considered during translation.

3.1.1 Extension of the Word Meaning

Vocabulary is the main unit that constitutes language, and English vocabulary is the basis for studying Western culture, learning English and translating. Words can show their specific usage and meaning in specific contexts, so it is very necessary to study words in context. The translator needs to be flexible when translating and appropriately use some methods of translation, which can help the target language readers to bring in better.

Example 1

Source Text: Thus the ‘old red woman’ was used as a label to identify defenders of the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP) and the ‘young blue hooligan’ became a symbol for the supporters of the newly formed Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

Target Text: 因此，“守旧的红色女性革命者”看作是保加利亚社会主义（前共产党）党（BSP）捍卫者的标签，而“新生代的民主革命生力军”则成为新成立的民主力量联盟（UDF）支持者的象征。

Analysis: The word ‘hooligan’ originally means “流氓，无赖” and used in derogatory sense. But in this sentence, it is clear that this is not what the author wants to emphasize. After carefully reading the original sentence, the translator find that what the author wants to emphasize is the result of the opposition between the two parties. Because BSP chose an older image, in order to form a contrast, UDF chose a completely opposite image. Based on the above reasons, if the meaning of hooligan is translated directly, it is obviously not in line with the image of the UDF. In this way, the government will not receive public support in the future, and the reform cannot be carried out. Therefore, when translating, the translator should consider the emotional color of the source text and combine it with the context.

Example 2

Source Text: On their part, the students accused the Socialist Party of being ‘old’,

‘rotten’ and ‘immoral’, incapable of carrying out the radical reforms needed by the country.

Target Text: 学生们指责社会党“老派”、“腐败”和“不道德”，没有能力对国家来进行激进改革。

Analysis: Free translation is a meaning-oriented translation method, with the core idea of conveying the meaning of the original work. In the translation process, the meaning of the original work can be conveyed by means of word change, word order adjustment, content addition and deletion (李云仙, 2023). The word “old” means “老的；古老的；过去的” and “旧的”. But according to the Chinese expression habit, we won’t use “老的” to describe a political party, and the meaning “旧的” is more appropriate to the Chinese expression habit. But on this basis, the translator extends the meaning. In the original sentence, the author expresses the backwardness of the Socialist Party, so the translator extends it further by using the word “老派” to better reflect the Socialist Party, which is not in line with the public’s needs. The translator should extend the meaning of the words according to the context and use words and expressions closer to the target language and cultural background to make the translation more natural and fluent.

Example 3

Source Text: As Stephan, the leader of the Green Balkans which was a student environmental association in Plovdiv and among the first dissident groups in Bulgaria, explained: ‘We were tired of being equal with faces as grey as the concrete roads and buildings around us. We wanted to be recognised as still alive, with various faces and thoughts behind them.’

Target Text: 绿色巴尔干组织是普罗夫迪夫的一个学生环境协会，也是保加利亚最早的持不同政见者团体之一，该组织的领导人斯蒂芬解释道：“我们厌倦了与周围死气沉沉的水泥路和建筑物一样。我们还活着，有不同的面孔和思想。”

Analysis: The English word “grey” means “灰色”. However, when the translator translates this word, she does not translate it directly, but choose the method of free translation. After reading the original text, the translator understands that the

general meaning of the original sentence is that young people want to speak up and express their thoughts and opinions. The word “alive” clearly expresses the idea of the student organization, and in order to form a contrast with this word and clearly convey the emotion of the source text, the translator doesn’t directly translate the word “grey” in the translation. This shows that the translator should understand the idea of the source text and choose the appropriate translation method to deal with it, so that the readers of the target language can also feel the same emotion.

3.1.2 Conversion of Part of Speech

Chinese is a dynamic language, so it mostly uses verbs; whereas English is a static language and mostly uses noun structures (邵惟謨, 邵志洪, 2015). The static characteristics of English are first reflected in the richness of English nouns and the advantages of nouns over verbs (连淑能, 1990). Many nouns in English are derived from verbs, and nominalization has become a very common phenomenon in modern English (王武兴, 2004). Therefore, when translating, the translator sometimes needs to change the form of words and converts them into verb forms commonly used in Chinese according to the context, making them more in line with Chinese expression habits and making them better accepted by target language readers.

Example 4

Source Text: Family ties and group solidarities were eroded by the pressure of claims to allegiance either to the ‘old’ or to the ‘new’ regime.

Target Text: 家庭或团体的紧密性受到了侵蚀, 其影响来自于声称效忠于“旧”或“新”政权的压力。

Analysis: The tendency to prioritize verbs in English greatly reflects the static nature of the language, which makes sentences tighter, more abstract, and easier to express complex meanings. In English, nouns are generally have information stability, temporal stability, and cognitive stability. The use of nouns prevents the subject of the action from being involved, and helps to keep the sentence simple and compact, and

the expression euphemistic and subtle. For example, the word “allegiance” in this sentence is a noun, but in Chinese, it needs to be translated into a verb in order to meet the reading habits of the target language readers. This reflects the difference between the static and dynamic forms of expression in English and Chinese.

Example 5

Source Text: There were no young women (under the age of 30) in parliament, neither were they visible in the youth sections of the political parties.

Target Text: 议会中没有年轻女性（30 岁以下），在党政机关的青年部门中也看不到她们的身影。

Analysis: In addition to the significant feature of nominalization, adjectives can also reflect its static features. Adjectives in English are often translated into Chinese verbs, and the translator should restore their dynamic meanings when translating. For example, the word “visible” in this sentence is an adjective form, which means “看得见的”. But the preceding word “neither” has negative meaning in the original sentence, the author emphasizes that there are no young women in government agencies, not even in the youth section. Therefore, when translating, the translator should grasp the context of the sentence and the dynamic characteristics of Chinese, carefully analyze the forms of words with action meaning in English, and convert them to conform to the way of expression in Chinese.

3.2 Translation at the Syntactical Level

In English, vocabulary forms sentences, and sentence combinations together form discourse. It can be said that sentences play a bridging role. In addition to analyzing small things like vocabulary, the overall structure of the sentence should be grasped. Sentences also contain syntax, so analyzing syntax is also an indispensable part of translation. So the translator discusses some processing methods for sentences, such as the conversion of passive voice, the splitting of long sentences, and the adjustment of sentence focus, and provides examples to help target language readers

better understand the source text.

3.2.1 Transformation of Passive Voice

English passive sentences are based on the need of “objectivity”, and the subject is mostly “things”; Chinese passive sentences have the color of “subjectivity”, and the subject is mostly “people” (吴群, 2003). The passive voice in English does not involve the speaker or the person concerned in evaluating the whole incident, nor does it involve stating whether or not the recipient has suffered any misfortune, and the tone is more objective and impartial. In Chinese, passive voice is used only in some specific situations and mostly expresses negative meanings. Therefore, it needs to be converted flexibly according to the actual situation when translating.

Example 6

Source Text: For example, in two of the popular songs from the UDF election campaign in 1991 the Socialist Party was compared with an ageing, no-longer loved woman.

Target Text: 例如, 在 1991 年民主力量联盟竞选活动的两首流行歌曲中, 将社会党比作成一个年迈的、不再受人喜爱的女人。

Analysis: In the original English sentence, the subject is “songs”, which is an object, not a person. This is actually an English expression habit, which is often expressed in passive voice with object as the subject. However, the expression in Chinese is exactly the opposite, and the Chinese commonly uses person as the subject for translation. After recognizing the difference between the two languages, the translator follows the Chinese expression habit to deal with the original sentence and change it into active form to make it conform to the Chinese expression. This translation makes the semantic meaning of the whole sentence clear, enhances the expressive effect of language and obtains the purpose of translation.

Example 7

Source Text: With the turn toward democracy, the programmes targeting women as mothers, endowing them with long maternity leaves while keeping their jobs in the state economy, were perceived as privileges comparable to those of the hated party ‘nomenclatura’.

Target Text: 随着民主化进程的推进，对已成为母亲的女性，准予她们长产假，同时保留她们在国有经济中的工作，这一举动视为与令人憎恶的政党的“要职人员”一样，拥有特权。

Analysis: As a whole, this sentence is relatively long. When translating a sentence, it is necessary to strip away the other components and identify the main body of the sentence, and then add other parts upwards. After analyzing the sentence, the translator finds that the original subject is “programme”, which is also an object but not a person. According to English expression habits, its literal translation means “被看作……”. But we obviously don’t say that in Chinese expression, so when translating this sentence, it is crucial to omit the passive component and change it to the active form.

Example 8

Source Text: In this way the new political and economic spaces created by the withdrawal of the state were seen as suitable arenas for the activities of men with the largest reserves of ‘natural energy’ to carry out the reforms.

Target Text: 这样一来，国家退出后所创造的新的政治和经济空间可以看作更适合男人活动，最好是那些足够年轻的人，拥有最大的“自然能量”储备来进行改革。

Analysis: In the original sentence, the phrase ‘were... as...’ is a typical expression of passive voice. In this sentence, the subject is “the new political and economic spaces” and the subject is obviously an object rather than a person. The passive voice in Chinese mostly expresses negative meanings, which is different from the English expression habit, so the translator omits “被……” in order to make the translation more in line with the Chinese expression habit and convey more active emotions.

3.2.2 Splitting of Long Sentences

In English, we can often see sentences that are very long, even taking up three or four lines before we see the full stop. This is what we call a long and difficult sentence in English, and it is also one of the most difficult. For translators, this is also one of the most difficult challenges. When translating long and difficult sentences, it is necessary to carry out accurate sentence segmentation processing, be familiar with the concept and composition of English syntactic components, pay attention to the correlation between syntactic components, and properly deconstruct and reconstruct phrases and clauses when necessary. Besides, in the sentence expression, sometimes it is not so complete and some word expressions will be omitted, which requires the translator to take the initiative to fill in the missing content when translating. Similarly, sometimes the source text may contain parts that need to be deleted by the translator when translating, and the translator needs to grasp the meaning of the source text and translate flexibly so as to make it conform to the expression habits of the readers of the target language.

Example 9

Source Text: But change did not happen evenly and the disjunctures that emerged between different areas of social life fomented generalised feelings of uncertainty regarding the transition as a whole.

Target Text: 但是，不是在每个领域都产生了变化，社会生活不同领域之间出现的脱节现象，让人们对整个过渡期抱有不确定性。

Analysis: Firstly, when we see “and”, it indicates that this sentence is composed of two coordinate sentences. Secondly, the following sentence also includes an attributive clause guided by “that”, with the main sentence being “disjunctures fomented generalized feelings”. When analyzing this sentence, the main components can be clearly identified, and then added to the main components to ensure accurate translation.

Example 10

Source Text: An example of this is provided by the march of students from the University of Plovdiv, who carried strings of dead birds around the town in protest at the government's campaign in the summer of 1988 to reduce the population of voles through poisoning, which also killed many wild animals and birds.

Target Text: 普罗夫迪夫大学的学生游行就是一个例子，他们带着一串串死鸟在镇上游行，抗议政府在 1988 年夏天发起的通过投毒减少田鼠数量的运动，该运动也杀死了许多野生动物和鸟类。

Analysis: First, after analyzing the sentence, it becomes clear that the sentence contains more than one clause. The first clause is “who carried...”, it is obvious that the first clause modifies the word “students” mentioned earlier. At the end of the sentence, there is another attributive clause, which is modifies the word “the government's campaign”. The passive voice also appears at the beginning of the sentence, and the translator needs to change the expression of the sentence when translating it. Therefore, when seeing a long sentence, the translator should first analyze it. Generally, this kind of long sentence covers more than one clause, what the translator needs to do is to distinguish what type of clause is, and find out the components modified by the clause before translating.

Example 11

Source Text: But the young blue hooligan was no more successful: society was changing without offering more opportunities for the young, neither professional realisation nor personal self-expression, as living standards were unable to return to their pre-reform level of 1989.

Target Text: 但进步的民主革命生力军也没有取得更大的成功。由于生活水平无法恢复到 1989 年改革前的水平，即使社会在不断变化，却没有为年轻人提供更多的机会，既没有提供职业实现的机会，也没有提供个人自我表达的机会。

Analysis: First of all, this sentence is obviously a long sentence, and after analyzing it, the translator find that the original sentence is actually split into two sentences with punctuation marks, and the subjects of the two sentences are different,

The first sentence is the result, and the reasons will be explained later. There is also an adverbial clause after it, which should be put in front of the first one according to the expression habits of the English-Chinese sentence order. When translating, the translator should pay attention to the conjunction word “neither...nor...”, the translator should grasp that the original sentence is expressed in a negative context, and the translation should be combined with the context.

3.2.3 Adjustment of Sentence Order

Newmark, a British translation theorist, believes that “the discourse is the final arbiter, and the sentence is the basic unit of translation operation” (Newmark, 1991:66). English puts the main idea and result at the beginning of the sentence or in the main clause, while Chinese is different from English. The semantic center of gravity of Chinese sentences is often backward, and the semantic structure is “top-heavy”. What the speaker thinks is most important content appears at the back, and the further it goes, the more important it becomes (程洪珍, 2005(03):50-53). Therefore, when translating, the translator should master the different expression habits of English and Chinese, and keep in mind the principle of “the center of gravity of English is in the front, and the center of gravity of Chinese is in the back”.

Example 12

Source Text: A major role in the construction of age and gender political images was played by the media which experienced a boom after tight state controls on the press were lifted and enthusiastically captured the sense of changing scenarios and the high emotional intensity.

Target Text: 在国家解除了对媒体的严格管控后, 媒体行业迎来了繁荣之景, 用镜头积极的捕捉不断变化的社会场景, 传递出强烈的情感, 在构建年龄和性别政治形象方面发挥了重要作用。

Analysis: The source text puts the results at the beginning, which is also the central idea that this sentence wants to express, that is, “the media which experienced

a boom”, and puts the reason for this phenomenon at the end. On the contrary, according to the expression habits of Chinese, it is customary to put important information behind, so the translator should pay attention to this when translating.

Example 13

Source Text: This fear is their inertia, their incurable habit... There should be a long wandering in the wilderness before all those born in slavery have died, as in the Bible, before true democracy can be born afresh.

Target Text: 这种恐惧是他们的惰性，是他们不可救药的习惯……就像《圣经》中所说的那样，所有出生在奴隶制下的人在死去之前，应该有一段漫长的旷野漂泊，才能诞生真正的民主。

Analysis: Actually, this paragraph contains two sentences. The previous sentence can be translated normally, and a short sentence has been added in the following sentence, which is “as in the Bible”. When translating, the translator should place this sentence at the front to highlight the Chinese expression habits from cause to effect. This way, the translation conforms to the logical habits of Chinese expression and can be better accepted by the target language readers.

Example 14

Source Text: Relations between men and women were among the topics that elicited the highest score with regard to strongly expressed opinions, coming second only to the concern for peace.

Target Text: 在表达强烈意见方面，男女关系是得分最高的主题之一，仅次于对和平的关注。

Analysis: In the original sentence, “with regard to...” is a prepositional phrase that usually appears at the beginning of the sentence, but in English, it can also be placed in the middle of the sentence. However, according to the custom of Chinese expression, it is usually put at the top of the sentence, narrowing the scope first, and then promoting the content. This logical order is in line with the Chinese way of thinking, because Chinese tends to emphasize the part from small to large, and put the

part that need to be emphasized at the end to highlight its importance, and the translator has to be mainly aware of this point when translating.

3.3 Translation at the Discourse Level

With regard to “discourse”, many people understand it as “a unit of language larger than a sentence”, which can include clusters of sentences, segments, paragraphs, and whole texts (陆俭明, 2024). The theory of discourse cohesion originated from Halliday’s work in 1964, in which he believed that the discourse needs to be articulated with the help of certain articulation means, so as to make it really become a semantically coherent, logically rigorous, and clearly organized complete semantic body. At the same time, he also put forward the specific methods of discourse articulation in his research—lexical articulation and grammatical articulation. In 1976, Halliday also collaborated with Hasan in the research, and put forward the five categories of “reference, substitution, ellipsis, connection, and lexical cohesion” (王雪松, 2023).

3.3.1 Clarity of Pronoun Reference

In order to avoid repetition, English commonly used pronouns (personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, etc.), as well as “such” and “so”, refer to the content mentioned earlier, and closely connect sentences in structure and semantics through reference. The translator needs to pay attention to the use of such referential relations to translate accurately and quickly.

Example 15

Source Text: At the start of communist reforms, in 1951, the number of women working in industry was three and a half times lower than that for men; in 1969 they constituted nearly half of the labour force and more than half of these were young women (Semov 1972: 58).

Target Text: 1951 年共产主义改革开始时，在工业中工作的女性人数比男性

少 3.5 倍; 1969 年, 女性几乎占了劳动力的一半, 劳动力一半以上是年轻女性(谢莫夫 1972: 58)。

Analysis: In addition to cohesion, the discourse also mentions reference. For example, “they” in this sentence, according to the previous sentence, it is obvious that “they” are referring to the “women” mentioned earlier, so the translator translated “they” as “女性”. And “they” can be judged as “that labor force” based on the meaning of the sentence, so the translator also translated “these” directly into “劳动力” when translating. When translating demonstrative pronouns, the first thing the translator needs to do is to clarify the logical relationship of the context and find the noun, which is usually mentioned in the previous sentence. When checking, the translator needs to put the noun back into the sentence to see if it is coherent and if the logic is coherent.

Example 16

Source Text: The intermingling of cultural constructs of gender and age is not an entirely new phenomenon in Bulgarian public life. Its roots can be traced to pre-industrial society.

Target Text: 在保加利亚的公共生活中, 性别和年龄的文化建构的交融并不是一个全新的现象, 交融的根源可以追溯到前工业化的社会。

Analysis: Sometimes the demonstrative pronoun and the noun referred to may appear in the same sentence. Generally, we can find the corresponding noun at the beginning of the sentence. But sometimes the demonstrative pronoun and the noun referred to do not appear in the same sentence, so it is important to make careful judgments. In this example, the subject “its” in the second sentence is clearly a demonstrative pronoun and is related to the preceding sentence, Based on the content of the previous sentence, the translator translated “it” as “交融”. When translating, the translator first sorts out the preceding sentence, identifies the noun components of the preceding sentence, and then determines whether it is the component referred to by the demonstrative pronoun before translating.

3.3.2 Conjunction Cohesion

In Systemic Functional Linguistics, Halliday and Hason argued that the main factor in the ability of a set of sentences to form a discourse lies in the cohesion and coherence relations between sentences, and in this way produces discourse coherence (Halliday Mak, Hason R., 1978:2-23). When semantic connections are formed between various language components in a discourse, and the meaning of one component depends on the interpretation of another component, a cohesive relationship arises between them. From a small word, phrase, or punctuation to a large sentence or paragraph, it can all serve as a cohesive function. In the process of discourse cohesion, only through the flexible use of a variety of articulation means can the vocabulary in the discourse be articulated so as to ensure the coherence of the discourse. As Hu Zhuanglin pointed out, “Only with relatively concentrated vocabulary can the theme and semantic field of a discourse be unified (胡壮麟, 1994:38-40)”.

Example 17

Source Text: Public opinion treated young women as irrelevant to the new politics—as women they could not be supporters of the new democratic parties and being young they could not be full supporters of the ‘old’ socialist party. Numerous ‘facts’ supported these assumptions.

Target Text: 舆论认为年轻女性与新政治无关——作为女性，她们不可能成为新民主主义政党的支持者，而作为年轻人，她们也不可能成为“旧”社会主义政党的完全支持者。并且有大量“事实”支持着这些假设。

Analysis: This passage conveys a progressive emotion. From gender to identity, there is a progression of emotions, so the translator did not translate “and” directly, but chose the word “而” to translate, in order to convey a progression of emotions, showing that it is not easy for women in the new politics. The translation is also added when connecting with the next sentence. The conclusion is given in the first sentence, and the reason is given immediately afterward. The addition of the translation “并且

有” can make the logical relationship between the lines tighter, reflecting the integrity and logic of the article.

Example 18

Source Text: The recruitment of young women as Komsomol officers served the ideological goals of the party rather than being a response to a conscious personal choice or public recognition of women’ s political potential. In general, the obligatory participation in the ‘youth political organisation’ reflected the powerlessness of youth in a gerontocratic communist society and this powerlessness was especially marked in the case of young women.

Target Text: 招募年轻女性担任共青团干部是为了实现党的意识形态目标，而不是出为了响应个人的自觉选择或公众对女性政治潜力的认可。因此总的来说，强制参加“青年政治组织”反映了青年在老式共产主义社会中青年的无权无势，且在年轻女性身上尤为明显。

Analysis: The text has coherence and cohesion, which requires the translator to present its characteristics in the translation when dealing with the original text. The logical coherence of a text includes explicit coherence and implicit coherence. Explicit logic coherence is reflected through some connected vocabulary, while implicit logic coherence is reflected in the context of a sentence, which requires translators to reflect this logical relationship during translation. For example, in this example, the previous sentence indicates that the status of women is still not valued, so the conclusion of the latter sentence is reached. In the original sentence, there is no obvious logical connecting vocabulary between the previous sentence and the following sentence, Therefore, the translator adds the word “因此” to make the logical relationship more obvious, which can better help the target language readers to understand the logical relationship.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

Through the translation practice, the translator improves her translation ability and realizes that a qualified translator should be proficient in the conversion of two languages. In addition, the translator has read the literature on anthropology during the translation process, which enriched her background knowledge related to the Bulgarian reform and broadened her knowledge. Through this practice, the translator improves her knowledge base, translation skills, language expression, etc., and thus it is meaningful for this translation practice report.

4.1 Proofreading

After the completion of this practice report, the translator has reviewed it.

First of all, the translator has started with self-revision. After the initial reading, the translator has checked the overall structure and content, and then read in detail, checking grammar and spelling sentence by sentence. The next step is to check the formatting to make sure the formatting is consistent. Then check the details to ensure logical consistency, practice the content of the report is logical, and the transition between paragraphs is natural. In addition, the translator has also used some tools, such as Trados, to check for grammatical errors more clearly.

After self-revision, the translator also conducted mutual revision with her colleague. Because the translation involves different chapters of the same book, consistency should be emphasized in the translation of book titles. For example, for the word “agency”, it was initially translated as “能动性”, but after mutual discussion and research, it was more appropriate to translate it as “能动”.

Finally, the teacher conducts a proofreading, carefully checking the content written, promptly raising any issues that need to be revised, and confirming that there are no missing errors.

4.2 Gains of the Translation

Translation, as an important part of cross-cultural communication, not only carries the function of language transmission, but also is an important carrier of cultural transmission. In order to translate well, the translator needs to understand the background knowledge of the original text. After reading through the original text, it is important to have a general understanding of its content in order to understand the author's reasons for writing this work and the ideas he wants to convey. In the process of translation, according to the differences between Chinese and English cultures, the translator can choose some translation strategies and methods to assist the translation, so that the translated result will be more in line with the content that the original writer wants to convey, and the translated text will be more in line with the language expression habits of the target language readers.

4.3 Limitations of the Translation

After this translation practice report, the translator is well aware of her shortcomings. One of them is the lack of vocabulary. As a matter of fact, English-Chinese vocabulary cannot be fully equivalent, and there may be some implicit words in English which the translator can hardly find corresponding Chinese words to correspond to. Due to the translator's limited translation level, in the process of translation, there are some sentences that she does not know how to translate, and even if she knows what translation methods are available, she is not able to be very comfortable in applying the translation methods to assist translation. Secondly, the translator's writing ability is limited. In fact, translating an article is no different from writing a good article. The difficulties encountered in the process of translation, as well as one's own understanding test the translator's writing ability to some extent. This also proves that the road of translation is long and difficult, and the translator still has a lot to learn and a long way to go if she wants to be a good translator.

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Appendix I Term List

原文	译文
Anthropology	人类学
Cultural Emblem	文化象征
Cultural Constructs	文化结构
Democratic Movement	民主运动
Economic Liberalisation	经济自由化
Gender Equality	性别平等
Gender Stereotyping	性别成见
Green Balkans	绿色巴尔干
Higher Education	高等教育
Individual Subjectivities	个人主体性
Labour Force	劳动力
National Assembly	国民议会
National Statistical Institute	国家统计研究所
Pioneer Organisation	先锋组织
Private Sphere	私人领域
Post-communist Bulgaria	后共产主义时代的保加利亚
Political Liberalisation	政治自由化
<i>Plovdiv University Newspaper</i>	《普罗夫迪夫大学报》
Reform-minded Group	改革派
Social Order	社会秩序
Sofia University	索非亚大学
Traditional Stereotype	传统的刻板印象
the Bulgarian Socialist	保加利亚社会主义（前共产党）党
<i>the Bible</i>	《圣经》
the Independent Student Union	独立学生会组织委员会
the Prague Spring	布拉格之春
the Hungarian revolt	匈牙利起义
Gender Stereotyping	性别成见
United National Independence Party	联合民族独立党
Union of Democratic Forces	民主力量联盟
Universal Suffrage	普选权

Appendix II the Source Text and the Target Text

Chapter 9	第九章
The ‘old red woman’ against the ‘young blue hooligan’ — Gender stereotyping of economic and political processes in post-communist Bulgaria	“守旧的红色女性革命者”与“新生代的民主革命生力军”的斗争—后共产主义时代的保加利亚在经济和政治进程中的性别成见
Siyka Kovatcheva	西卡·科瓦切娃
Ten years on from the events of 1989 and 1990 marking the beginning of a transition from authoritarian rule towards democracy in Bulgaria, the unanimous acceptance that first greeted these changes has faded. Instead, current public interpretations of the restructuring of the country vary from expressions such as: ‘Nothing has changed - we still live in the midst of communism’ to ‘we live in a permanent situation of change - a never-ending circle in which reforms are reforming previous reforms’. Social theories explaining the emergence of post-communist societies acknowledge the complexities of processes which affected all social spheres: legislative, political, economic, cultural (Darendorf 1990; Offe 1991; Lipset 1994; Genov 1998). <u>But change did not happen evenly and the disjunctures that emerged between different areas of social life fomented generalised</u>	1989 年和 1990 年的事件标志着保加利亚开始从集权统治走向民主管理，十年过去了，民众最初认可的态度发生了转变。相反，目前公众对国家改革的理解从“什么都没有改变——我们仍然生活在共产主义之中”到“我们生活在一个永远变化的环境中——这是一个永无止境的循环，在这个循环中，改革正在对以前的改革进行改革”。共产主义社会产生的理论承认在立法、政治、经济、文化等社会领域产生变化的复杂性：（达伦多夫 1990；奥菲 1991；利普塞特 1994；格诺夫 1998）。但是，不是在每个领域都产生了变化， <u>社会生活不同领域之间出现的脱节现象，让人们对整个过渡期抱有不不确定性。</u>

<u>feelings of uncertainty regarding the transition as a whole.</u>	
A gender perspective to social change in post-communist Bulgaria offers an additional and perhaps a deeper insight into the relationship between cultural constructs and economic and political liberalisation. Fifty years ago the ideological constructs of gender egalitarianism served the political task of legitimising the Communist Party's regime and the economic objective of large-scale industrialisation. Similarly, post-communist reforms mobilise traditional stereotypes and new sentiments to facilitate their own course of action. But beyond representations of womanhood connected with national projects, a focus on gender, and more specifically on women's experiences and public constructions of their role in the transition, sheds light on controversial shifts in the social structure of post-communist society.	从性别角度看待后共产主义保加利亚的社会变化，我们可以进一步深入了解到文化结构与经济和政治自由化之间的关系。50年前，性别平等主义的意识形态结构服务于共产党政权合法化的政治任务 and 大规模工业化的经济目标。同样，后共产主义改革改变了人们传统的刻板印象，调动了新的情绪，从而推动行动方针。但是，除了与国家项目有关的女性特征的表现之外，对性别的关注，更具体地说，对女性的经历和她们在转型中所扮演角色的公共建构的关注，揭示了后共产主义社会社会结构中颇具争议的转变。
This chapter examines the principal gender stereotypes mobilised in the transformation of authoritarian structures in Bulgaria, to reveal both continuity and change in the process. The chapter explores these through the analysis of gender issues within the student movement. The student movement	本章研究了保加利亚专制结构转型过程中主要的性别成见，来揭示这一过程中的连续性和变化性。本章通过对学生运动中的性别问题进行分析来探讨这些问题。学生运动在转型过程中发挥了重要作用，推动了激进的政治形式和经济自由化。在这些重大

played a major role in the transition, pressing for radical political and economic liberalisation. In the process of participating in these momentous changes, young people shaped and reshaped their individual subjectivities and collective identities. The chapter elaborates on a study carried out by the author between 1992 and 1998 of the values articulated in different moments of student participation in the transition. The chapter discusses the dominant gender constructs current within this important group which will provide the future decision-makers and managers of the post-communist social order.	变革的过程中，年轻人发挥了个人主体性的作用，重塑了集体身份。这一章详细阐述了作者在 1992 年至 1998 年间，对学生参与转型的不同时期所传递的价值观进行的研究。本章讨论了这一占主导地位的重要群体中的性别结构，为后共产主义社会秩序的未来决策者和管理者提供参考。
Large-scale surveys indicate that there are continuing differences in the participation of young men and women in contemporary Bulgarian politics. Although there is consensus regarding gender equality in most fields, there are indications that men in particular adhere to a traditional role for women in the context of the family. The individual accounts of young women and men illustrate the complex and often contradictory notions of change and equality that constitute the discourse of student and, more widely, Bulgarian political mobilisation. While young people	大规模的调查表明，当前保加利亚的政治中，年轻男性和女性的参与程度仍然存在差异。尽管在大多数领域达成了性别平等的共识，但仍有迹象表明，男性仍然坚持着女性在家庭中扮演的传统角色。青年男女的个人经历说明了变化和平等的复杂性和相互矛盾的概念，这些概念筑成了学生和更广泛的保加利亚政治动员的话语。虽然年轻人在总体上期望向民主的这一过渡为两性带来更多的机会，但他们对自己在经济、政治和私人领域的自我实现有不同的期望。因此，有必要对学生的性别态度进行更细致

as a whole expect that the transition to democracy will bring more opportunities for both genders, they have different expectations as to their own self-realisation in the spheres of the economy, the political and the private sphere. A more nuanced analysis of gender attitudes among students is therefore necessary in order to understand their divergent experiences and aspirations during the time of transition.	的分析，以了解他们在转型时期的不同经历和愿望。
Gender and age stereotyping during economic and political liberalisation	经济和政治自由化时期的性别和年龄成见
In the first years following the collapse of the communist regime Bulgarian society witnessed a deep emotional polarisation across all social strata, causing divisions within families and professional groups. <u>Family ties and group solidarities were eroded by the pressure of claims to allegiance either to the ‘old’ or to the ‘new’ regime.</u> In an over-politicised reality people’s constructions of their experiences gave rise to gender and age stereotyping - a fact which reveals much about the new social order of post-communism. The contradiction between one-party rule with a command economy and multi-party governance with a market-based economy was presented through contrasting images	在共产主义政权告别政治舞台的最初几年，保加利亚社所有社会阶层经历了情感的两极分化，使家庭和职业团体内部出现分裂。<u>家庭或团体的紧密性受到了侵蚀，其影响来自于声称效忠于“旧”或“新”政权的压力。</u>在一个过度政治化的现实中，人们对自己经历的构建导致了性别和年龄成见——这一事实揭示了后共产主义时代新的社会秩序。对比“守旧的红色女性革命者”和“新生代的民主革命生力军”的形象，体现了集权统治与指令性经济和多党统治与市场经济之间的矛盾。两者这消极的文化象征，都归咎于竞争双方。<u>因此，“守旧的红色女性革命者”看作是保加利亚社会主义（前共产党）党捍卫者的</u>

of the ‘old red woman’ and the ‘young blue hooligan’. Both were negative cultural emblems, mutually attributed by competing sides. <u>Thus the ‘old red woman’ was used as a label to identify defenders of the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP) and the ‘young blue hooligan’ became a symbol for the supporters of the newly formed Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).</u> Both images emerged from the mass demonstrations organised by the main factions of the new political arena. <u>For example, in two of the popular songs from the UDF election campaign in 1991 the Socialist Party was compared with an ageing, no-longer loved woman.</u> In this way, the political controversy was pictured not only through differing colours but also, and more meaningfully, in terms of gender and age.	标签，而“新生代的民主革命生力军”则成为新成立的民主力量联盟支持者的象征。这两个形象都出现在新政治舞台上主要派别组织的大规模示威游行中。例如，在1991年保加利亚社会主义党竞选活动的两首流行歌曲中，将社会党比作成一个年迈的、不再受人喜爱的女人。这样来看，政治争议不仅通过不同的颜色，更有深意的是，通过性别和年龄来描述。
Opinion polls established a clear-cut age difference between supporters of the two major political actors, that of the UDF being much younger than that of the BSP (Tonchev and Jordanova 1991). <u>A major role in the construction of age and gender political images was played by the media which experienced a boom after tight state controls on the press were lifted and</u>	民意调查表明，两个主要政治角色的支持者之间存在明显的年龄差异，保加利亚社会主义党的支持者比民主力量联盟的支持者年轻得多（顿切夫和约旦诺瓦，1991）。在国家解除了对媒体的严格管控后，媒体行业迎来了繁荣之景，用镜头积极的捕捉不断变化的社会场景，传递出强烈的情感，在构建年龄和性别政治形象方面

<u>enthusiastically captured the sense of changing scenarios and the high emotional intensity.</u> Pensioners who were among the first to suffer from inflation and the overall economic crisis dominated the meetings of the Socialist Party; images of angry old women banging empty pans were popularised by television and newspaper coverage. But the most vocal critics of the authorities, still represented by the re-formed communists, were young people represented by the media through images of male youths at the street blockades. Underlying the portrayal of these two images were particular interpretations of the political and economic changes, shared on both sides of the controversy.	<u>发挥了重要作用。</u>最先受到通货膨胀和整体经济危机影响的退休者主导了社会党的会议；愤怒的老妇人敲打空锅的画面因电视和报纸报道而广为流传。但对当局最直言不讳的批评者，以重组后的共产主义者为代表，媒体则通过男性青年在街头堵路的形象来表现他们。这两种形象的背后，是争论双方对政治和经济变化的特殊解读。
One of the features to emerge from this was the new political space defined as more suited to men, as suggested by the tactics used by the new political parties. Although these parties attempted to work through state institutions, they predominantly used non-institutional channels to exert political pressure. The mass protests blocking main crossroads, storming the Communist Party's head-quarters, the hunger strikes in the 'Towns of Truth' were very confrontational and were seen as a forceful and hence a	由此产生的特征之一是新的政治空间定义为更适合男性，正如新政党所使用的策略里表明的那样。虽然这些政党试图通过国家机构开展工作，但他们主要利用非机构渠道来施加政治压力。他们的大规模抗议封锁了主要的十字路口，冲击了共产党的总部。“真理之城”极具对抗性，被视为一种强有力的政治表达方式，因此是一种典型的男性和年轻的政治表达形式。社会党试图将自己与更宽容的形象联系在一起，以一个在民主制

typically male and youthful form of political expression. The Socialist Party tried to associate itself with a more tolerant image, represented by a figure who operated within democratic institutions rather than outside them. The image of an ageing woman used to represent supporters of the Socialist Party was grounded in the generous social policy of the communist regime towards underprivileged social groups - women and the elderly. <u>With the turn toward democracy, the programmes targeting women as mothers, endowing them with long maternity leaves while keeping their jobs in the state economy, were perceived as privileges comparable to those of the hated party 'nomenclatura'.</u> Thus women came to be seen as having a vested interest in the preservation of the centrally planned economy. Current gender stereotypes promoted by party programmes and the media represent women as opposed to liberalisation, prompted by nostalgia for the stability and security of totalitarianism.	度内而不是在民主制度外运作的人物为代表。用来代表社会党支持者的老年妇女形象是基于共产党政权对社会弱势群体——女性和老人——的慷慨社会政策。<u>随着民主化进程的推进，对已成为母亲的女性，准予她们长产假，同时保留她们在国有经济中的工作，这一举动视为与令人憎恶的政党的“要职人员”一样，拥有特权。</u>因此，将女性看作是维护中央计划经济的既得利益者。目前，政党纲领和媒体所宣扬的性别成见将女性视为反对自由化的人，因为她们怀念极权主义的稳定和安全。
<u>In this way the new political and economic spaces created by the withdrawal of the state were seen as suitable arenas for the activities of men with the largest reserves of 'natural energy' to carry out the reforms.</u>	这样一来，国家退出后所创造的新的政治和经济空间可以看作更适合男人活动，最好是那些足够年轻的人，拥有最大的“自然能量”储备来进行改革。舆论认为年轻女性与新政治

Public opinion treated young women as irrelevant to the new politics — as women they could not be supporters of the new democratic parties and being young they could not be full supporters of the ‘old’ socialist party. Numerous ‘facts’ supported these assumptions. <u>There were no young women (under the age of 30) in parliament, neither were they visible in the youth sections of the political parties.</u> The new opportunities offered by the market economy were also perceived as irrelevant to young women. Women comprise a third of the self-employed and only a fifth of the employers in post-communist Bulgaria (National Statistical Institute 1997: 49). Furthermore, a comparative study of women entrepreneurs (Kotzeva and Todorova 1994) found the Bulgarian group was not only smaller but also older on average than their Canadian counterparts.	无关——作为女性，她们不可能成为新民主主义政党的支持者，而作为年轻人，她们也不可能成为“旧”社会主义政党的完全支持者。并且有大量“事实”支持着这些假设。议会中没有年轻女性（30 岁以下），在党政机关的青年部门中也看不到她们的身影。市场经济提供的新机会也被认为与年轻女性无关。在后共产主义时代的保加利亚，女性占个体经营者的三分之一，而仅占雇主的五分之一（国家统计局研究所 1997:49）。此外，一项对女性企业家的比较研究（科茨瓦和托多罗娃 1994）发现，保加利亚的女性企业家群体不仅规模较小，而且平均年龄也比加拿大女企业家大。
<u>The intermingling of cultural constructs of gender and age is not an entirely new phenomenon in Bulgarian public life. Its roots can be traced to pre-industrial society.</u> In the nineteenth century, male children in farming and craftsmen’s families were treated as clan reproducers and future members while girls were considered to be	在保加利亚的公共生活中，性别和年龄的文化建构的交融并不是一个全新的现象，交融的根源可以追溯到前工业化的社会。在 19 世纪，农业和手工业者家庭中的男孩子被视为宗族的繁衍者和未来的成员，而女孩被认为只是临时成员，因为她们在结婚时会离开父亲的宗族（波切夫 1907）。

only temporary members as they left their father's clan at marriage (Bobchev 1907). At marriage the young woman received no inheritance and could only 'take the things she had produced with her own hands, that is, only rags' (Odzakov 1895). While there could be some respect for adult married women as their husbands' informal labour partners, having an important role in the family economy, young women could at best expect to receive care and patronage. The power hierarchy in traditional society is revealed in the following age and gender gradation offered by the sociologist Ivan Khadzijski (1974:207):	结婚时，年轻女子得不到任何遗产，只能“拿着她亲手创造的东西，也就是说，只有破布”（奥扎科夫 1895）。虽然成年已婚女性作为其丈夫的非正式劳动伙伴，在家庭经济中发挥重要作用，可能会受到一些尊重，但年轻女性最多只能期望得到照顾和庇护。社会学家伊万·卡济斯基（1974:207）提出了以下年龄和性别的等级划分，揭示了传统社会中的权力等级。
[In the pre-industrial] Bulgarian town it was impossible to see anyone strolling along the streets on a working day impossible for a boy, even more impossible for a woman, and the most impossible for a girl.	（在前工业化的）保加利亚小镇，在工作日不可能看到任何人在街上闲逛，男孩不可能，女人不可能，女孩更不可能。
Changes in the social order, starting with the establishment of the one-party regime after the Second World War included the transformation of age and gender relations. The official communist ideology portrayed young people as the builders of a bright future and followed egalitarian principles by showing as many women -for example as tractor-drivers and turners - as men in the	从第二次世界大战后一党制的建立开始，社会秩序的变化包括年龄和性别关系的转变。官方的共产主义意识形态将年轻人描绘成光明未来的建设者，并遵循平等主义原则，在国家管控的媒体中，女性（如拖拉机司机和车工）与男性一样多。中央计划经济需要女性劳动力，就像社会主义家庭需要女性的收入一样。在工厂里，

state-controlled media. The centrally planned economy needed the female labour force as much as the socialist family needed women's income. In the factories young women were the preferred source of labour because of their lower cost. Bulgarian women worked shoulder to shoulder with men, becoming a basic agent of the 'socialist road' to industrialisation. <u>At the start of communist reforms, in 1951, the number of women working in industry was three and a half times lower than that for men; in 1969 they constituted nearly half of the labour force and more than half of these were young women (Semov 1972: 58).</u> However, in spite of these changes women were concentrated in the lower-paid, less technically developed and lower-status jobs. Similarly, within the pyramid of political power women occupied the lower levels and had little influence on decision making because this was strongly centralised under the one-party regime, which was predominantly male.	年轻女性由于成本较低而成为首选的劳动力来源。保加利亚女性与男人并肩工作，成为通往工业化“社会主义道路”的基本推动者。<u>1951年共产主义改革开始时，在工业中工作的女性人数比男性少3.5倍；1969年，女性几乎占了劳动力的一半，劳动力一半以上是年轻女性（谢莫夫 1972: 58）。</u>然而，尽管发生了这些变化，女性仍集中从事于工资较低、技术欠缺和地位较低的工作。同样，在政治权力金字塔中，女性占据较低的层次，对决策几乎没有影响，因为在男性占主导地位的一党制下，决策高度集中。
Bulgarian women were not fully enfranchised until communism, as late as 1946, in sharp contrast with the political rights granted to men as early as 1879 by the first Constitution of the newly liberated	直到1946年共产主义时期，保加利亚女性才获得完全的选举权，这与早在1879年新解放国家的第一部宪法赋予男性的政治权利形成了鲜明的对比，当时保加利亚成为欧洲第四个

state, when Bulgaria became the fourth country in Europe to introduce ‘universal suffrage’ (for men only). Under communism the political participation of women was a major factor in the legitimisation of the regime. Women were involved in all forms of political activities-as members of political organisations, as participants in all political campaigns, meetings and demonstrations, marches and delegations. The social sciences in Bulgaria reacted by coining the term ‘the triple social role’ of women in society to describe women’s activities as a mother-wife, worker and political activist (Kjuranov 1982).	实行 “普选权”（仅限男性）的国家。在共产主义制度下，女性的政治参与是政权合法化的主要因素。女性参与各种形式的政治活动——作为政治组织的成员，作为所有政治运动、会议和示威、游行和代表团的参与者。保加利亚社会科学界创造了女性在社会中的“三重社会角色”这个术语来描述女性作为母亲、妻子、工人和政治家的活动（库拉诺夫 1982）。
Young women were even more involved in representative politics than older women. Nearly all of them became members of the Komsomol, the only political youth organisation under state socialism in Bulgaria, which had the highest membership of all the corresponding organisations in the former Soviet block countries. The participation of young people from the age of 14 until the age of 28 was the norm and it was obligatory for those planning to enter into higher education because the so-called ‘Komsomol	与大龄女性相比，年轻女性参与代议制政治的程度更高。所有人几乎都是共青团成员，这是保加利亚国家社会主义制度下唯一的政治青年组织，在前苏联集团国家的所有相应组织中，该组织的成员人数最多。从 14 岁到 28 岁的年轻人都要参加，这对那些计划接受高等教育的人来说是强制性的，因为所谓的“共青团特征”或参考资料是大学录取的基本要求。

characteristics' or reference were an essential requirement for acceptance by a university.	
While young women represented half of the membership of the Komsomol, they were not well represented on its governing bodies-a tendency that reflected the situation of women in the ruling Communist Party. Women Komsomol leaders tended to be concentrated in the lower ranks of the organisation whilst the higher offices were dominated by men. Women were in a majority at the lower levels of the organisation, the so-called 'organisational methodological cadres', and the paid staff of the 'pioneer organisation'. The proportion of women among the higher ranking 'organisational political cadres' was much lower and they were concentrated in the lower grades and positions, such as regional committees rather than the Central Committee (Kitanov 1981: 47). <u>The recruitment of young women as Komsomol officers served the ideological goals of the party rather than being a response to a conscious personal choice or public recognition of women's political potential.</u> <u>In general, the obligatory participation in the 'youth political organisation' reflected</u>	虽然年轻女性占共青团成员的一半，但她们在其执政机构中的代表性并不高，这一趋势反映了执政党共产党中女性的处境。女性共青团领导人往往集中在组织的低层，而高层则由男性主导。在组织的低层，即所谓的“组织方法干部”和“先锋组织”的带薪员工中，女性占多数。在高阶级的“组织政治干部”中，女性的比例要低得多，她们集中在较低的级别和职位上，例如地区委员会而不是中央委员会（基塔诺夫 1981: 47）。<u>招募年轻女性担任共青团干部是为了实现党的意识形态目标，而不是出为了响应个人的自觉选择或公众对女性政治潜力的认可。因此总的来说，强制参加“青年政治组织”反映了青年在老式共产主义社会中的无权无势，且在年轻女性身上尤为明显。</u>

<u>the powerlessness of youth in a gerontocratic communist society and this powerlessness was especially marked in the case of young women.</u>	
Post-communist Bulgaria attempted to break with the previous ideological tradition. Yet just as authoritarian economic and political practices coexist with liberal mechanisms, so too the ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ cultural models of gender roles and age relationships continue to exist side by side. How is the controversy between the ‘old red woman’ and the ‘young blue hooligan’ influencing the current social transformation? How are the complexities of the transformation experienced by the people-men and women, elderly and young-involved in them? In search of answers to these questions this chapter analyses the values and strategies of university students during the first ten years of post-communist reforms in Bulgaria.	后共产主义的保加利亚试图打破以前的意识形态传统。然而，正如集权的经济和自由的经济并存一样，性别角色和年龄关系的“传统”和“现代”文化模式也继续并存。“守旧的红色女性革命者”和“新生代的民主革命生力军”之间的争议如何影响当前的社会转型？参与其中的男性和女性、老年人和年轻人经历了怎样的复杂转型？为了寻找这些问题的答案，本章分析了保加利亚后共产主义改革头十年期间大学生的价值观和策略。
The framing of the transition by the student movement in Bulgaria	保加利亚学生运动的转型框架
Student mobilisation occurred at all crucial stages of the transition towards pluralistic politics. The regime change in Bulgaria started on 10 November 1989, as a reshuffle at the top, when Zhivkov, the oldest and	在向多元化政治过渡的所有关键阶段，都出现了学生运动。保加利亚的政权更迭始于 1989 年 11 月 10 日，当时欧洲最年长、任职时间最长的共产党领导人日夫科夫被党内一个具

longest-serving communist leader in Europe was removed from his post both as General Secretary of the party and as President of the country by a reform-minded group within the party. The old elite planned to carry out the inevitable institutional restructuring according to its own design and interests, keeping the main positions in the political hierarchy under the new conditions of party pluralism. But the collective action of various social groups foiled these plans for limited democratisation. The student movement was prominent among them.	有改革思想的团体解除了党的总书记和国家主席的职务。旧精英阶层计划按照自己的设计和利益进行不可避免的制度重组，在政党多元化的新条件下保持在政治层级中的主要地位。但各种社会团体的集体行动挫败了这些有限的民主化计划。学生运动在他们当中尤为突出。
The student ‘chains’ around the parliament in 1989, the two nation-wide waves of occupations of university buildings in 1990, the road blockades in the winter months of 1997 all promoted radicalisation and the transfer of power from the old to the new political elite. Joining the wider democratic movement in the country, student protests resulted in no less than one change of president (in 1990) and two changes of governments (in 1990 and 1997). The conditions and the resources of the movement (Kovatcheva 1995b) favoured non-violent tactics promoted by the framing contests between the opposing sides.	1989 年围绕议会的学生“链”，1990 年两次全国范围的占领大学大楼的浪潮，1997 年冬季的道路封锁，都促进了激进主义和权力从旧的向新的政治精英的转移。学生抗议加入了国内更广泛的民主运动，导致至少一次总统更换（1990 年）和两次政府更换（1990 年和 1997 年）。运动的条件和资源（科瓦切娃 1995b）倾向于由对立双方之间的互相竞争所推动的非暴力策略。

From the start, student mobilisation involved specific constructs of social reality to support their activism by frame alignment processes. Reality interpretation during the protest wave, which McAdam (1990) conceptualises as ‘the phenomenology of social protest’, was very important for the loosely structured student movement, as it provided a basis for better co-ordination and a stronger sense of belonging. The Bulgarian student movement showed its activists’ ability to define the current social circumstances as unjust and in need of change and pointed to a shift in political opportunities that were favourable for collective action.	从一开始，学生运动就涉及到社会现实的具体构建，通过框架调整过程来支持他们的行动主义。抗议浪潮中的现实解释，即麦克亚当（1990）提出的“社会抗议的现象学”，对结构松散的学生运动非常重要，因为它为之后更好的协调和更强的归属感提供了基础。保加利亚学生运动表明，其积极分子有能力将目前的社会环境定义为不公正和需要变革的环境，并指出政治机遇的变化有利于集体行动。
Collective protests had powerful symbolic value for students defending their right to political dissent. The new experience of the ‘strikes’, as the students named the occupations, unthinkable during communism, was for them a search for self-expression and individuality. <u>As Stephan, the leader of the Green Balkans which was a student environmental association in Plovdiv and among the first dissident groups in Bulgaria, explained: ‘We were tired of being equal with faces as grey as the concrete roads and buildings</u>	集体抗议对于学生捍卫其政治异议权利具有强大的象征意义。学生们对此称之为“罢工”，这在共产主义时期是不可想象的，对他们来说，这是对自我表达和个性的追求。<u>绿色巴尔干组织是普罗夫迪夫的一个学生环境协会，也是保加利亚最早的持不同政见者团体之一，该组织的领导人斯蒂芬解释道：“我们厌倦了与周围死气沉沉的水泥路和建筑物一样。我们还活着，有不同的面孔和思想。”</u>

<u>around us. We wanted to be recognised as still alive, with various faces and thoughts behind them.'</u>	
The master frame of students' demands was 'the change of the system' - the complete break with the authoritarian past and the creation of a new liberal society. Young people insisted on a repeal of the constitutional clause designating Bulgaria a socialist country and proclaiming the leading role of the Communist Party (in December 1989), on the resignation of the president of the Socialist Party, on the exposure of irregularities during the first elections, and demanded a greater concern for morality in politics (in June and July 1990). They also demanded the resignation of the socialist government, university autonomy and student representation at all levels of academic governance (in November-December 1990). The leaders of the UDF openly supported the students' protests, declaring that their claims were 'a manifestation of very mature civic thinking' (Democracia, 3 July 1990). The Socialist Party elite engaged in disputes with the movement, without directly confronting it. In their speeches the party leaders hinted that the movement was manipulated by the	学生们要求的主要内容是“制度的改变”——彻底摆脱过去的集权统治，创建一个新的自由社会。年轻人坚持要求废除宪法中规定保加利亚是社会主义国家和宣布共产党的领导作用的条款（1989年12月），要求社会党主席辞职，揭露第一次选举中的违规行为，并要求更多地关注政治道德（1990年6月和7月）。他们还要求社会主义政府辞职，要求大学自治和确保各级学术管理的学生代表权（1990年11月至12月）。保加利亚社会党的领导人公开支持学生的抗议，并宣称他们的要求是：“非常成熟的公民思想的表现”（民主政体，1990年7月3日）。社会党精英与该运动产生争论，但没有与之对抗。政党领导人在讲话中暗示这场运动受到了反对党的操纵。学生使用的方式定义为“不民主”，并指控制造了不必要的冲突，对“国家生活产生了不利的影响”（杜马，1990年6月28日）。正是在这些框架式的竞赛中，出现了年龄和性别成见的融合。使用不守规矩方式抗议的学生定义为流氓。学生们指责社会党“老派”、“腐

opposition parties. Student tactics were declared ‘undemocratic’ and accused of creating a needless conflict with an ‘unfavourable effect for the life in the country’ (Duma, 28 June 1990). It was in these framing contests that the fusion of age and gender stereotyping emerged. Protesting students using unruly tactics were defined as hooligans. <u>On their part, the students accused the Socialist Party of being ‘old’, ‘rotten’ and ‘immoral’, incapable of carrying out the radical reforms needed by the country.</u> While the student movement in Bulgaria did not explicitly use the image of the ‘old red woman’ in its interpretative processes, they often framed the transition as a ‘conflict between generations’. A particular concern of the activists, and one about which they felt most strongly, was the fact that unlike other Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Poland, there had not been any mass revolt against the communist system in Bulgaria. As Dimitar, a member of the first occupational committee at the University of Plovdiv put it:	败”和“不道德”，没有能力对国家来进行激进改革。虽然保加利亚的学生运动解释在过程中没有明确使用“守旧的红色女性革命者”的形象，但他们经常将这种过渡时期定义为“几代人之间的冲突”。积极分子特别关注，也是他们感受最强烈的一个问题是，与匈牙利、捷克斯洛伐克或波兰等其他东欧国家不同，保加利亚没有发生任何反对共产主义制度的大规模起义。正如普罗夫迪夫大学第一职业委员会成员迪米塔尔所说：
Only in our country were there no events to show that the old were against communism-such as the Prague Spring in	在我们国家，没有任何事件表明老年人是反对共产主义的——比如 1968 年的布拉格之春，1956 年的匈牙利起

1968, or the Hungarian revolt in 1956, or the strikes of Solidarity in Poland. There was no open protest, not even the slightest attempt - nothing to wipe the shame from their faces ...Even now- look who voted for the Socialist Party-all the old people led by fear of the unknown. <u>This fear is their inertia, their incurable habit... There should be a long wandering in the wilderness before all those born in slavery have died, as in the Bible, before true democracy can be born afresh.</u>	义，或者波兰的团结工会罢工。没有公开的抗议，甚至连一点尝试都没有——无地自容……即使是现在——看看谁把票投给了社会党——未知的恐惧影响了老人的思考。<u>这种恐惧是他们的惰性，是他们不可救药的习惯……就像《圣经》中所说的那样，所有出生在奴隶制下的人在死去之前，应该有一段漫长的旷野漂泊，才能诞生真正的民主。</u>
While accepting this interpretation of the events in 1990, it should be mentioned that when speaking about their own parents, young people were tolerant and sympathetic and did not admit to any bitter family conflicts. The activist cited above even claimed to have convinced all his family to vote for the Union of Democratic Forces.	在接受对 1990 年事件的这种解释的同时，应该提到的是，当谈到自己的父母时，年轻人是宽容和同情的，不承认有任何尖锐的家庭矛盾。上面提到的活动分子甚至声称已经说服他的家人投票给民主力量联盟。
The first wave of protest continued with varying intensity until the victory of the Union of Democratic Forces in the second general elections in October 1991, followed by the victory of the UDF leader in the direct presidential elections in January of that year. With the transfer of power in such important institutions as the presidency and the government into the hands of new	第一波抗议持续到 1991 年 10 月，民主力量联盟在第二次大选中获胜，随后保加利亚社会党领导人在当年 1 月的总统直选中获胜。随着总统和政府等重要机构的权力移交给新的民主党派，学生运动变得更加温和，并转向教育问题。随着经济问题日益突出，学生团体的成员减少了，保加利亚社会党开始分裂，而民主力量联盟

pro-democracy parties completed, student activism became more subdued and turned towards educational issues. Membership of student groups declined, the UDF started to fragment, and the BSP grew in strength, as economic problems became more acute. Several mass demonstrations by pensioners were organised in 1992 and 1993 against the UDF government to protest against both the meagreness and the system of allocation of state pensions. Now it was the UDF's turn to accuse the opposition of manipulating collective action. However, there was no attempt to draw direct comparisons between the pensioners' campaigns and the earlier activities of the student movement. With the fragmentation of political elites, the clear-cut polarisation that had characterised the interpretations of change weakened, as did the confrontation between the older and the younger generations.	的力量则不断壮大。1992 年和 1993 年，退休者组织了几次大规模示威活动，反对保加利亚社会党政府，抗议国家养老金的匮乏和分配制度。现在轮到保加利亚社会党指责反对派操纵集体行动。然而，没人试图将退休者的运动与学生运动的早期活动进行直接比较。随着政治精英的四分五裂，对解释变革特征清晰的两极分化以及老一代和年轻一代之间的对立也在削弱。
In early 1997 young people responded to an increasingly difficult situation through various forms of collective action throughout the country. This was decisive in that it revealed the inadequacy of the government to tackle the complexities of the transition and contributed to the collapse	1997 年初，青年通过在全国各地采取各种形式的集体行动来应付日益困难的局势。这一点具有决定性的意义，因为它暴露了政府在处理复杂的过渡问题方面的不足，并导致了自 1994 年选举以来建立的社会主义政府的垮台。抗议的目标似乎与第一次

of the socialist government that had been in place since the elections of 1994. The target of the protest appeared to be the same as during the first mobilisation - the old elite - but this time the framing of events was different in a significant way. Although the protest was highly confrontational, using unruly tactics such as road blockades that paralysed towns and cities, or storming parliament and demanding the resignation of the government, there was no contrast drawn between generations or sexes. Achieving a national consensus for radical reforms was the new master frame of collective protest after a decade of fruitless political struggles. Mariana, a young female student who participated in these events explained: 'We were jumping' not against one party, but against total destruction and impoverishment, against the irresponsibility and fraud implanted in one type of politics' (Plovdiv University Newspaper, March 1997:3).	动员时的目标相同——旧的精英阶层——但这次事件的框架在很大程度上有所不同。尽管抗议活动极具对抗性，使用了道路封锁等难以控制的方式，使城镇陷入瘫痪，或冲击议会并要求政府辞职，但在年龄或性别之间没有形成对比。在十年政治斗争无果之后，在全国范围内达成彻底改革的共识是集体抗议的新框架。参加这些活动的年轻女学生玛丽安娜解释说：“我们不是反对一个政党，而是反对彻底的破坏和贫困，反对植入政治中的不负责任和欺诈”（普罗夫迪夫大学报纸，1997年3月3日）。
In their interviews young people warned 'the politicians': 'Don't paint the interests in Bulgaria in political colours! Professionalism is without a colour, an attitude above the parties' interests, of concern for people's destinies' (Mitev	在采访中，年轻人警告“政客”：“不要把保加利亚的利益涂上政治色彩！专业精神不带任何色彩，是一种超越政党利益，关心人民命运的态度（米特夫，1997）。 ”

1997).	
Instead of mobilising the earlier gendered and age-based forms of representation, the students now focused on gaining wide public support, for example pointing to the food and milk brought by old women from the nearby villages (see for example Plovdiv University Newspaper, February 1997: 4). The sharp economic crisis with bread shortages, bank closures and an inflation rate of 300 per cent, was defined as the disintegration of society and a threat to all social groups. The activists of the movement offered one very successful framing -the threat of emigration. Popular slogans on street marches and barricades were: ‘We are the students, we are the change. We want to live in Bulgaria.’ The protests were directed against the disastrous rule of the Socialist Party that forced young people to leave the country, and against the general collapse of society. In this way gender or age oppositions in the movement’s framing became irrelevant. Anna, who participated in the 1997 protests explained:	现在，学生们不再动员早期以性别和年龄为基础的代表形式，而是专注于获得广泛的公众支持，例如，他们指向附近村庄的老妇人带来的食物和牛奶（参见《普罗夫迪夫大学报》，1997年2月：4）。面包短缺、银行倒闭和通货膨胀率高达300%的严重经济危机定义为社会的解体和对所有社会群体的威胁。这场运动的积极分子提出了一个非常成功的方法——移民。街头游行和隔板上流行的口号是：我们是学生，我们要变革。我们想住在保加利亚。抗议活动的矛头直指社会党迫使年轻人离开国家和社会的全面崩溃。这样，运动框架中的性别或年龄对立就变得无关紧要了。参加了1997年抗议活动的安娜解释道：
We all share the same plight. Men and women are equally disadvantaged by low salaries and rising prices. It is true that the	我们都面临着同样的困境。工资低、物价上涨，男人和女人同样处于不利地位。的确，老年人怀念过去，而年

old look back with nostalgia to the past while the young look with envy toward the western style of living. But only united efforts will allow people to live normally in this country.	轻人则羡慕西方的生活方式。但只有齐心协力，才能让人们在这个国家正常生活。
So the public euphoria during the first years of the transition, born from expectations of rapid improvement, brought forth interpretations of the change represented by the contrasting images of different ages, genders and colours. Ten years later the sentiments of the mobilisation changed notably: discontent overtook hopes, economic anxieties overtook political concerns while all individuals felt equally threatened by the inability of the state to solve the mounting problems. The old red woman did not regain the lost security and social order of the overturned authoritarian society. <u>But the young blue hooligan was no more successful: society was changing without offering more opportunities for the young, neither professional realisation nor personal self-expression, as living standards were unable to return to their pre-reform level of 1989.</u>	因此，在过渡的头几年里，公众对迅速改善的欣喜期望，带来了对不同年龄、性别和肤色的对比图像所代表的变化的解释。十年后，动员的情绪发生了显著变化：不满取代了希望，经济焦虑取代了政治担忧，所有人都感受到了国家无力解决日益严重的问题所带来的威胁。在已推翻的集权社会中，守旧的女性革命者并没有重新找回失去的安全感和社会秩序。<u>但进步的民主革命生力军也没有取得更大的成功：由于生活水平无法恢复到1989年改革前的水平，即使社会在不断变化，却没有为年轻人提供更多的机会，既没有提供职业实现的机会，也没有提供个人自我表达的机会。</u>
Notions of gender equality among Bulgarian students	保加利亚学生的性别平等观念
Considering survey data from 1992 and	考虑到1992年和1995年的调查数据

1995 (Kovatcheva 1995b), it seems that students at Bulgarian universities share an acceptance of gender equality, especially when their opinions about gender roles are compared with their opinions regarding other issues identified in the questionnaire. <u>Relations between men and women were among the topics that elicited the highest score with regard to strongly expressed opinions, coming second only to the concern for peace.</u> An interest in politics and confidence in political institutions, for example, elicited answers that were much less clearly defined. Gender relations were also among the issues where there was the greatest extent of unanimity. Consensus was highest on matters of women's rights and the preservation of nature, while opinions were most polarised when it came to evaluating the political leadership and in relation to the issue of whether Bulgaria should join the European Union.	(科瓦切娃 1995b), 保加利亚大学的学生似乎都接受性别平等, 特别是当他们对性别角色的看法与他们对问卷中确定的其他问题的看法进行比较时。<u>在表达强烈意见方面, 男女关系是得分最高的主题之一, 仅次于对和平的关注。</u>例如, 对政治的兴趣和对政治制度的信心得到的答案就不那么明确了。性别关系也是意见最一致的问题之一。在妇女权利和保护自然的问题上共识度最高, 而在评价政治领导人和保加利亚是否应该加入欧盟的问题上, 意见则最为两极分化。
That issues relating to gender roles and to the environment should meet with the highest scores for consensus among students was not accidental. Environmental issues inspired the first mass protests of Bulgarian students under state socialism. <u>An example of this is provided by the march of</u>	有关性别角色和环境的问题在学生中获得最高的共识, 这并非偶然。环境问题激发了保加利亚学生在国家社会主义制度下的首次大规模抗议活动。<u>普罗夫迪夫大学的学生游行就是一个例子, 他们带着一串串死鸟在镇上游行, 抗议政府在 1988 年夏天</u>

students from the University of Plovdiv, who carried strings of dead birds around the town in protest at the government's campaign in the summer of 1988 to reduce the population of voles through poisoning, which also killed many wild animals and birds. One consequence of this was the formation of the student organisation 'Green Balkans'. The 1989 protest of young mothers in the town of Rouse claiming the need for clear air for their babies could be considered as the start of an open demonstration of discontent with state policy. After Chernobyl there were growing concerns about the important links between environmental pollution and women's ill health (Petrova 1993:29).	发起的通过投毒减少田鼠数量的运动，该运动也杀死了许多野生动物和鸟类。其结果之一就是成立了学生组织“绿色巴尔干”。1989年，罗兹镇的年轻母亲们举行抗议活动，声称她们的婴儿需要清新的空气，这可以被认为是公开表达对国家政策不满的开始。切尔诺贝利事故后，人们越来越关注环境污染与妇女健康之间的关系（彼得罗娃 1993：29）。
When student opinions regarding gender roles are examined in more detail, we see the consensus is not unproblematic. Students were most definite in their support of women's professional potential and the need for spouses to share housework. Large majorities in the 1992 and 1995 surveys disagreed with the statement that 'A woman can never make a good surgeon' and accepted the statements that 'Housework is men's responsibility as much as it is	当更详细地研究学生对性别角色的看法时，我们发现共识并非没有问题。学生们非常明确地支持女性的职业潜力和配偶分担家务的必要性。在1992年和1995年的调查中，绝大多数人不同意“女人永远不能成为一名好的外科医生”的说法，而接受“家务既是女性的责任，也是男性的责任。”和“家里谁赚的钱多不重要”的说法。百分之90以上的学生认为女性的专业能力与男性相似。然而，

women's' and 'It doesn't matter who earns more money in the family'. Nine out of ten students accepted that women's professional abilities were similar to those of men. However, the commitment to gender equality was shattered when it came to considering the importance of the family. Only a fifth of the respondents in both surveys strongly disagreed with the statement that 'Women's fulfilment in life is their home and children.				当考虑到家庭的重要性时，就打破了对性别平等的认同。在两项调查中，只有五分之一的受访者强烈反对“女性在生活中的成就在于家庭和孩子”这一说法。		
Table 9.1 Student attitudes to gender roles, 1992				表 9.1 1992 年学生对性别角色的态度		
% agree	1992	1995		支持的百分比	1992	1995
Housework is equally the responsibility of men and women	75.0	79.8		做家务是男人和女人的平等责任	75.0	79.8
It doesn't matter who earns more money in the family	76.3	73.2		家里谁挣钱多并不重要	76.3	73.2
Women's main fulfilment in life is through their	41.7	40.8		妇女通过家庭和孩子展现自己的成就	41.7	40.8
				一个女人永远做不好外科医生	12.5	10.1

home and children			
A woman can never make a good surgeon	12.5	10.1	
Survey data suggests that students in post-communist Bulgaria accept the role of women as the equal of men in business but they consider ‘the family’ as the most significant sphere in women’s life. This attitude can be associated with the special place of the family under the authoritarian regime. The home was an anti-political space where people could fully express themselves in a situation in which all public activities were strictly regulated by the Communist Party and its official organisations and the Fatherland Front (a mass organisation encompassing all people according to their place of residence).			调查数据显示，后共产主义时代的保加利亚学生接受女性在商业上与男性平等的角色，但他们认为“家庭”是女性生活最重要的领域。这种态度与家庭在集权统治下的特殊地位有关。在所有的公共活动都受到共产党及其官方组织（一个根据居住地涵盖所有人的群众组织）严格管制的情况下，家庭是一个轻松的空间，人们可以在这里充分表达自己。
With the persistence of economic difficulties during the transition, the family acquired a new importance as an institution for pooling resources in the struggle for survival. In this situation the efforts of men and women to maintain family stability in a collapsing social world appear - and not			由于转型期经济困难持续存在，家庭作为在生存斗争中汇集资源的机构具有了新的重要性。在这种情况下，男人和女人在崩溃的社会世界中为维持家庭稳定所做的努力，不仅是对学生而言，似乎也是实现人生价值的一个关键领域。因此调动旧的性别成

only to students - as a crucial area of fulfilment in life. Old gender stereotypes are mobilised to address this need. Nedka, a woman student specialising in pedagogy explained: 'Men are not equal to women when it comes to endurance, resourcefulness and inventiveness. Only a woman can make something out of nothing. Growing poverty makes this ability even more valuable.'	见来满足这种需求。内德卡是一名专攻教育学的女学生，她解释说：“在耐力、机智和创造力方面，男性和女性并不平等。只有女性具有天生创造力。日益严重的贫困使这种能力变得更加宝贵。”
The survey data indicate that women and men tend to diverge in their opinions regarding gender equality to a much greater extent than on any other subject. Undoubtedly, women show much stronger commitment to gender equality than men. This raises the question as to why egalitarian ideas about women's rights are not so widespread among male students. And then, do women students make any efforts to defend and extend their citizenship rights?	调查数据表明，男女在性别平等问题上的意见分歧往往比在其他任何问题上都要大得多。毫无疑问，女性对两性平等的在意程度比男性强烈得多。这就产生了一个问题，为什么关于女性权利的平等主义思想在男生中并不普遍？那么，女学生是否应该努力捍卫和扩大自己的公民权利呢？
Women's participation in higher education	女性接受高等教育的情况
At present women constitute one-half of all students in Bulgarian universities and higher education institutions and 54 per cent of the labour force with higher education (Statistical Yearbook 1995). This statistical equality within the educational system was	目前，女性占保加利亚大学和高等教育机构所有学生的一半，占受过高等教育的劳动力中的 54%(1995 年统计年鉴)。在共产主义时期，经过长期的公众辩论、教育改革和政治变革，教育系统内实现了统计上的平等。

achieved during communism following a long period of public debate, educational reforms and political changes.	
During Bulgaria's early modernisation drive primary education was made obligatory in 1891. However, absenteeism from schools continued until the Second World War when 50 per cent of school-age children in villages and 75 per cent of peasant girls were still not in attendance (Chakarov 1975: 348). Thus in 1940 the rate of illiterate young women was considerably higher than that of illiterate young men and twice as many young men were in higher education than women. Men outnumbered women in secondary education until the middle of the century and women were only allowed into university in 1901. Arguments against women's participation in higher education were based on formal and moral grounds: female secondary education did not meet the standards required by the university and there were concerns about young women and men studying side by side. On the eve of the Second World War the female student population was only one-third of the male university student population. However, by 1965 (after twenty years of communist regime) women actually gained numerical	在保加利亚早期的现代化进程中，小学教育在 1891 年定为义务教育。然而，旷课现象一直持续到第二次世界大战，当时 50% 的农村适龄儿童和 75% 的农村女孩仍然没有上学（查卡洛夫 1975: 348）。因此，在 1940 年，年轻女性的文盲率大大高于年轻男性的文盲率，而年轻男性接受高等教育的人数是女性的两倍。到本世纪中叶为止，中等教育中的男性人数一直多于女性，而女性直到 1901 年才允许进入大学。反对女性接受高等教育是基于形式的和道德方面的原因：女性中等教育不符合大学要求的标准，而且人们对年轻女性和男性一起学习表示担忧。在第二次世界大战前夕，女大学生人数仅为男大学生人数的三分之一。然而，到 1965 年（共产主义政权统治 20 年之后），女性在高等教育中实际上获得了数量上的优势（谢莫夫 1972:59）。此外，女学生享有带薪产假、子女津贴、幼儿日托以及自由堕胎的权利。

superiority over men in higher education (Semov 1972: 59). Furthermore, women students enjoyed the right to paid maternity leave, child allowances, accessible day care for small children,and the right to free abortion.																																											
During the first five years of democratic reforms in the 1990s, Bulgaria’s higher education experienced an unprecedented expansion during which two new universities were founded each year and the subsidiaries of older institutions in smaller towns multiplied. In this period student numbers more than doubled as people took up the opportunities offered in the private universities and the forms of self-paid studies offered by the state universities.	在 20 世纪 90 年代民主改革的头五年中，保加利亚的高等教育经历了前所未有的扩张，每年都有两所新大学成立，小城镇中老大学的附属机构也成倍增加。在此时期，学生人数增加了一倍多，因为人们使用私立大学提供的机会和州立大学提供的自费学习形式。																																										
Table 9.2 illustrates the constant increase in the number of newly enrolled students in Bulgaria, particularly in part-time studies (correspondence courses). Women are the principal beneficiaries of the expansion in part-time studies, as they constitute about 70 per cent of students engaged in such courses.	表 9.2 说明了保加利亚新入学学生人数在不断增加，特别是非全日制学习（函授课程）。女性是扩大非全日制学习的主要受益者，因为她们约占参加此类课程的学生 的 70%。																																										
<table><tr><th colspan="6">Table 9.2 Newly enrolled students in higher education</th></tr><tr><td>Stud</td><td>1990</td><td>1991</td><td>1992</td><td>1993</td><td>1994</td></tr><tr><td>ents</td><td>/91</td><td>/92</td><td>/93</td><td>/94</td><td>/95</td></tr></table>	Table 9.2 Newly enrolled students in higher education						Stud	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	ents	/91	/92	/93	/94	/95	<table><tr><th colspan="6">表 9.2 高等教育新生</th></tr><tr><td>学</td><td>199</td><td>199</td><td>199</td><td>199</td><td>199</td></tr><tr><td>生</td><td>0/91</td><td>1/92</td><td>2/93</td><td>3/94</td><td>4/95</td></tr><tr><td>总</td><td>31,2</td><td>33,3</td><td>41,5</td><td>44,4</td><td>48,4</td></tr></table>	表 9.2 高等教育新生						学	199	199	199	199	199	生	0/91	1/92	2/93	3/94	4/95	总	31,2	33,3	41,5	44,4	48,4
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Total	31,205	33,388	41,511	44,420	48,422	数	05	88	11	20	22
Regular training	22,254	24,130	26,702	28,702	28,702	定期培训	22,254	24,130	26,702	28,702	28,702
part-time training	8,231	9,130	14,643	16,241	17,572	兼职培训	8,231	9,130	14,643	16,241	17,572
Female students	14,901	19,923	26,150	27,307	29,782	女性学生	14,901	19,923	26,150	27,307	29,782
Female, regular	2,935	13,767	15,608	16,056	17,678	女性定期参与人数	2,935	13,767	15,608	16,056	17,678
Female, part-time	5,274	6,075	10,399	11,251	12,104	女性兼职参与人数	5,274	6,075	10,399	11,251	12,104
Bulgarian students in 1997 sheds light on the young women's motivation: 'A woman needs more education because she is physically weak and not well suited for manual labour...' (Neli). 'Men leave the educational system earlier because they have to work and earn money while it is											

natural for the parents to support their daughters for longer ...'(Ivan). 'Women make more efforts and achieve greater success in education because after that they meet more difficulties in the sphere of work—I mean when they search for jobs or want to get a promotion'(Elena).	1997 年的保加利亚学生揭示了年轻女性的学习的动机：“女性需要更多的教育，因为女性身体较弱，不适合体力劳动……”（内利）。“男性更早离开学校，因为他们得工作挣钱，父母抚养女儿的时间自然更长……”（埃文）。“女性在教育上应更努力，要取得更大的成功，因为在那之后，她们在工作领域会遇到更多的困难——我是说当她们找工作或想要升职时”（埃琳娜）。
These 'explanations' of the complete reversal of traditional practice, according to which the male child continued into higher education, nevertheless reveal the continuity of gender stereotyping of women as weak and dependent. There is also a recognition of the discrimination women can expect to face after leaving the university - in the labour market and in their working careers.	尽管这些“解释”完全颠覆了男孩子继续接受高等教育的传统做法，但却揭示了将女性视为弱者和依赖者的性别成见的延续。此外，人们还认识到，女性在离开大学后——在劳动力市场和职业生涯中——可能会面临歧视。
The current transition towards a market economy disempowers women students in one important aspect: it makes them more dependent on their parents by concentrating them in the self-paid rather than in the state-funded sectors of higher education (paying fees for higher education is a new practice introduced after the collapse of the	当前向市场经济的转型在一个重要方面剥夺了女学生的权力：这使她们更加依赖父母，因为她们集中在自费而非国家资助的高等教育部门（支付高等教育费用是共产主义福利国家崩溃后引入的新做法）。1995 年的调查数据表明，虽然女性作为一个群体拥有与男性相同的收入来源（父母的

communist welfare state). Survey data from 1995 show that while women as a group had the same sources of income as men (parents' support, state stipend, part-time jobs), they were much more likely to rely on their parents and were far less likely to have access to income through part-time work. Women were twice as likely to study in the so-called paid forms of education in contrast with forms that were fully financed by the state. Women students' lack of autonomy was further intensified by the high inflation that accompanied the economic restructuring that also undermined child benefits and student stipends. Furthermore, the lengthily discussed legislation aimed at introducing a system for state loans for education was postponed.	支持、国家津贴、兼职），但她们更有可能依赖父母，并且通过兼职获得收入的可能性要小得多。与完全由国家资助的教育形式相比，女性在所谓的有偿教育形式中学习的可能性是前者的两倍。伴随着经济结构调整而来的通货膨胀进一步加剧了女学生缺乏自主权的情况，这也损害了儿童福利和削弱了学生津贴。此外，讨论已久的引入国家教育贷款制度的立法也推迟。
In the post-communist labour market women who are more highly qualified than men constitute the majority of the unemployed (64 per cent in 1993 and 54 per cent in 1998). The prospect of unemployment was a major source of concern for women students, as interview data indicate, and forced them to lower their career aspirations, directing them towards 'more realistic goals'. 'I would like to start	在后共产主义劳动力市场，比男子资历更高的女性占失业者的大多数（1993 年为 64%，1998 年为 54%）。正如采访数据所显示的那样，失业的前景是女学生关注的主要问题，这使她们降低职业抱负，朝着“更现实的目标”发展。来自索非亚大学心理学专业学生、独立学生会组织委员会成员斯维特拉说“我想开始学业，我不认为有任何空缺之处。这就是为什么

an academic career but I don't think there will be any openings. That is why I am taking additional courses in pedagogy as there are still jobs for teachers in my home town' said Svetla, a psychology student at Sofia University and a member of the organising committee of the Independent Student Union. Daniela, who studied law at Plovdiv University and was a member of its Academic Council, declared that she had given up making any plans so as not to be disappointed afterwards.	我要选修教育学课程，因为我的家乡有教师的职位。”丹妮拉曾在普罗夫迪夫大学学习法律，是该校学术委员会的成员。她表示，为了不让自己失望，她已经放弃了制定任何计划。
After the first wave of student strikes in 1990, the authorities agreed to student representation (of 33 per cent) at all levels of the university-elected bodies. But by 1997 the students' presence on these bodies was reduced to less than 10 per cent. When confronted with this, academic authorities resorted to explanations in terms of student apathy about the problems of higher education at the local level. In fact, the data outlined in Table 9.3 shows strong motivation by young people to participate in university governance in 1995. Between four fifths and two thirds of students expressed approval of student involvement in questions relating to the distribution of state stipends, to educational plans and to	1990 年第一次学生罢课浪潮之后，当局同意学生代表（33%）参与大学各级选举机构。但到 1997 年，学生人数在这些机构中的比例下降到不足 10%。面对这种情况，学术当局给出的解释是，学生对地方高等教育的问题漠不关心。事实上，表 9.3 所列的数据显示，1995 年年轻人参与大学管理的积极性很高。五分之四到三分之二的学生表示赞成学生参与与国家津贴分配、教育计划和教师晋升有关的问题。

faculty promotion.							
Women tended to support all forms of student involvement more often than men yet there were fewer women students in the ruling bodies of the universities. This reflected the limited presence of women amongst the leadership of the student organisations.				女性往往比男性更支持学生参与的各种形式，但在大学的领导机构中，女学生人数较少。这反映出女性在学生组织领导层中的人数有限。			
At the universities included in the research there were two types of student organisations: one formed 'from below' in confrontation with university authorities and the other constituted 'from above', encouraged (in some cases inspired) by university authorities. Organisations of the first type were involved in more violent forms of activities.				在参与研究的大学中，有两种类型的学生组织：一类是“自下而上”形成的，与学校当局对抗；另一类是“自上而下”形成的，受到学校当局的鼓励（有时是启发）。第一种类型的组织参与了更加暴力形式的活动。			
Table 9.3 Approval* of student participation in forms of university				表 9.3 批准学生参加大学的各种活动			
Forms	Me n	Wome n	Tota l	形式	男人	女人	总计
Faculty promotion	53.0	70.4	60.8	教职员 工晋升	53.0	70.4	60.8
Educational plans	78.6	84.0	81.5	教育计 划	78.6	84.0	81.5
Scientific plans	36.8	46.2	43.2	科学计 划	36.8	46.2	43.2
Stipenddistribution	74.3	83.4	79.0	奖金分 配	74.3	83.4	79.0
*Percentages of those approving 'fully' or 'somewhat'.				赞成“完全”或“部分”的人的			

At the Agricultural University in Plovdiv both student organisations belonged to this type. They organised occupations of the university buildings at least twice a year from 1990 to 1994. At Plovdiv University student organisations belonged to the second type and were involved in various committees dealing with student issues. Here the occupational committees from the protest waves of 1990 failed to establish an organisation and the first dissident organisation in the town, the Green Balkans, turned their attention to more narrowly defined environmental issues. At the universities in Sofa both types of student organisation were present in each case study and only the Business University 'senate' had representatives from all the associations.	百分比。 普罗夫迪夫农业大学的两个学生组织都属于这种类型。从 1990 年到 1994 年，他们每年至少组织两次占领大学校舍的活动。在普罗夫迪夫大学，学生组织属于第二种类型，并参与处理学生问题的各种委员会。1990 年抗议浪潮中成立的职业委员会未能在这里建立组织，而镇上第一个持不同政见者组织——绿色巴尔干组织——则将注意力转向了范围更小的环境问题。在索法大学中，两种类型的学生组织都参加了每个案例研究，只有商学院的“参议院”有来自所有协会的代表。
The role of women in these organisations was very limited. There was no organisation defining itself as feminist, nor were there any claims put forward regarding specifically women's interests. Furthermore, there were few women in the ruling bodies of the fifteen organisations included in the research. Women formed the majority of the leadership only in the section of BDM (the heir of the former	女性在这些组织中发挥的作用非常有限。没有任何组织将自己定义为女权主义者，也没有任何关于女性利益的主张。此外，参与研究的 15 个组织的领导机构中几乎没有女性。1992 年，女性只在普罗夫迪夫大学 BDM（前共青团的继承组织）的领导层中占多数，但到 1994 年，该组织已经解散，1995 年，取代它的新学生会的领导层中没有女性。在对抗性较强

Komsomol) at Plovdiv University in 1992 but by 1994 this organisation had dissolved and in 1995 the new student union which replaced it had no women among its leadership. Women were practically absent from the leadership of the more confrontational organisations. There was not a single woman in the councils of the student organisations at the Agricultural University in 1992 and only in 1995 was a woman leader elected when one of the organisations turned to more moderate activity based on co-operation. Albena, the woman leader of the Alternative, one of the student organisations at the Agricultural University, claimed: There is a real competition now within the Alternative. So that was how I became the leader. The time of the confrontation with the authorities to show mere strength is over. As is the time when a handful of Komsomol leaders could command an organisation of millions. We are an assemblage of personalities and there is real competition. We are individuals and any one can become a leader. The difference between us and the previous leadership is the intellectual level. Then impersonal figures were commanding masses of discontented people. Now we

的组织中，几乎没有女性担任领导职务。1992 年，农业大学的学生组织理事会中没有一名女性，直到 1995 年，当其中一个组织转向以合作为基础的更温和的活动时，才选出了一名女性领导。农业大学学生组织之一“另类”的女领导人阿尔伯娜声称：内部现在存在着真正的竞争。与当局对抗以显示实力的时代已经结束。就像当年几个共青团领导人就能指挥一个数百万人的组织一样。我们是个人的集合体，存在真正的竞争。我们是个人，任何人都可以成为领袖。我们与以往领导层的不同之处在于知识层面。当时，一些不近人情的人指挥着大批不满的群众。现在，我们提出倡议并与其他学生讨论，我们与当局谈判并通过信念赢得胜利。

raise initiatives and discuss them with other students, we negotiate with authorities and win through conviction.	
Research carried out in 1992 and 1995 indicates that students did not play an effective role in decision making at the university. Ordinary students and activists alike considered that they made little impact on the functioning of higher education and the life of their own institutions. Most decisions were made prior to the assemblies and students were merely invited to vote for them. Everywhere it was rare for an issue to be raised by the students (whether male or female) for inclusion in the agenda of the meetings. Where university authorities encouraged the election of women activists to the Academic Councils and Assemblies it was because they were members of organisations that were considered to be less confrontational and inclined to pursue student interests through more peaceful methods. In the student organisations themselves women were mainly present in the leadership of those that had been founded by and functioned with the consent and often support of the university authorities.	1992 年和 1995 年进行的研究表明，学生在大学的决策中没有发挥有效的作用。普通学生和积极分子都认为，他们对高等教育的运作和自己学校的生活影响甚微。大多数决定都是在集会之前做出的，学生们只是受到邀请后投票表决。在任何地方，学生（无论男女）提出问题列入会议议程的情况都很少。大学当局鼓励女性活动家当选为学术委员会和议会成员，是因为认为她们是对组织抗拒性较弱的成员，倾向于通过更和平的方式追求学生利益。在学生组织中，女性主要参与那些由大学当局创建并在其同意和支持下运作的组织的领导工作。
The political participation of women	女学生的政治参与

students	
The absence of a significant presence of women in the governing bodies of the university system is congruent with women's attitudes and behaviour in the wider world of politics. Following the distinction suggested by Barnes et al. (1979) between conventional and unconventional political participation, I will examine the characteristics of women's political behaviour in the context of Bulgarian student politics.	在大学系统的管理机构中没有很多女性，这与女性在更广泛的政治世界中的态度和行为是一致的。根据 巴恩斯等人（1979 年）提出的常规政治参与和非常规政治参与之间的区别，我将研究保加利亚学生政治背景下女性政治行为的特点。
The first and most obvious statement is that women students were not active in the sphere of conventional, institutional politics. At the four universities included in the 1992 and 1995 studies, there were a few women who declared themselves to be members of the Socialist Party while men showed a wider range of party affiliation. Female students rarely admitted an involvement in political party campaigns. This lack of political activity by young women was consistent with their voting behaviour. While young people in general were more likely to vote for the new, anti-communist parties in the first general elections (see Tonchev and Jordanova 1991: 9), young women were less likely to go to	第一点也是最明显的一点是，女学生在传统的制度政治领域并不活跃。在 1992 年和 1995 年的研究所包括的四所大学中，少数女性宣布自己是社会党成员，而男性则表现出更广泛的党派关系。女学生很少承认参与过政党运动。年轻女性缺乏政治活动与她们的投票行为是一致的。虽然在第一次大选中，年轻人一般更倾向于投票给新的反共政党（见顿切夫和约旦诺瓦 1991: 9），但年轻女性比男性投票人数更少。1992 年和 1995 年的调查数据显示，与男生相比，更多的女生不愿意投票，也更不确定自己的政党选择。男性投票支持两个最大政党的可能性是女性的两倍，但女性也不可能支持较小的政党。在后共产主义国

the polls than young men. Data from the 1992 and 1995 surveys indicate that a higher percentage of female students were unwilling to vote and were more uncertain of their party choice than male students. Men were twice as likely to vote for the two largest parties as women, but women respondents were just as unlikely to support the smaller parties. On the hotly debated issue of the structure of the post-communist state, women declared they would vote in a referendum to decide on a republican or a monarchical system, but were more undecided about their stance on this issue.	家结构这一争论激烈的问题上，女性宣称她们将在全民公决中投票决定共和制还是君主制，但在这一问题上，她们的立场更加犹豫不决。适合培养未来的好母亲的简单传统”。然而，并不是所有的传统都是好的。据报道，在呼吁恢复旧时的明智选择的三年后，肯尼思·卡翁达抨击了陈旧，过时，倒退的传统，比如，让人匪夷所思的是，有些人认为女性除了厨房服务员外，也担当不了什么别的角色。
Women students were more disappointed with mainstream politics than men were, they expressed less interest in politics and less confidence in political institutions and political leaders. According to the interviews, women students tended to view politics as a ‘dirty business’, with parties and their leadership primarily preoccupied with the struggle for power. Milena was an activist from the student union at Sofia University. She explained:	女生比男生对主流政治更失望，她们对政治的兴趣更低，对政治机构和政治领导人的信心也更低。访谈显示，女学生倾向于将政治视为“肮脏的交易”，政党及其领导层主要专注于权力斗争。米莱娜是索菲亚大学学生会的积极分子。她解释说：
We used to discuss politics a lot at the beginning - in 1989, 1990. At home and when talking with friends, everything seemed so exciting, so thrilling with the	1989 年和 1990 年，我们开始经常讨论政治。在家里和与朋友交谈时，一切似乎都是如此令人兴奋，新的经历和光明的前景令人激动。现在，新

new experiences and bright prospects. Now the new politicians have proved that they think only about themselves, about their egoistic interests rather than about the common people. They still come to the university and organise meetings followed by discos but they will do nothing for the students. They are coming only for our support. I didn't even vote in the past election.	的政客们已证明，他们只考虑自己，只考虑自己的私利，而不是普通民众。他们仍来到大学，组织各种会议，然后去迪斯科舞会，但他们不会为学生做任何事情。他们只是来得到我们的支持。在过去的选举中，我甚至没有投票。
Women students were no longer enthusiastic about the multi-party politics of post-communism. Nor did they compensate for this with greater involvement in social activism outside the major political institutions, for example in protest politics.	女学生不再热衷于后共产主义的多党政治。因此，她们也没有更多地参与主要政治机构之外的社会活动，例如抗议政治。
A brief history of student politics in Bulgaria	保加利亚学生政治简史
Student activism in Bulgaria started soon after the foundation of the first university in Sofia at the end of the nineteenth century. At the time women actively participated in student campaigns. The most prominent student protest in the first half of this century -when the Bulgarian Knjaz was mockingly whistled at in front of the National Theatre on 3 January 1977 -provoked a fierce reaction from the government. Among measures such as the	十九世纪末索非亚第一所大学成立后不久，保加利亚的学生运动就开始了。当时，女性积极参与学生运动。本世纪上半叶最突出的一次学生抗议活动——1977年1月3日，保加利亚人克尼亚兹在国家大剧院前嘲弄地吹口哨，引起了政府的激烈反应。除了关闭大学一整年、增加税收等限制工人阶级和农民青年接受大学教育的措施外，还禁止女性接受高等教育，以防止她们参加政治抗议活

closure of the university for a whole year and a tax increase that limited access of working-class and peasant youth to university education, was the banning of women from higher education to prevent them from participating in political protests (Arnaudov 1939). Opposition newspapers at the time commented that the exclusion of women was unfounded, bearing no relationship to women's presence in the protests. In fact at the time male students outnumbered women by ten to one. However, the government's reaction was indicative of the political elite's inclination to interpret civic activity as a consequence of 'the demoralisation at the university', and to associate this loss of morals with particular gender stereotypes.	动（阿尔诺多夫，1939）。当时的反对派报纸评论说，将女性排除在外是毫无根据的，与女性参加抗议活动没有任何关系。事实上，当时男学生的数量是女学生的十倍。然而，政府的反应表明，政治精英倾向于将公民活动解释为“大学道德败坏”的结果，并将这种道德与特定的性别成见联系起来。
The communist take-over brought all independent student activity to an abrupt halt. Any initiative that was not authorised by and channelled through the official youth organisation was stigmatised. Komsomol officials persecuted attempts to develop autonomous activities even when these were consistent with party policy. This was the case with the demonstration by secondary school pupils in the town of Stara Zagora in support of the state's anti-nuclear	共产党掌权后，所有独立的学生活动戛然而止。任何未经官方青年组织授权并通过官方青年组织进行的活动都会被污名化。政府官员阻止人们自行开展自主活动的尝试，即使这些活动符合党的政策。斯塔拉扎戈拉镇中学生为支持国家反核运动而举行的示威活动就是这种情况。年轻的参与者犯的错误就是他们没有通过政府组织的抗议活动（米特夫，1988）。保加利亚年轻人持不同意见的活动

campaign. The young participants made the mistake of not organising their protest through the Komsomol (Mitev 1988). The dissident activity of the young in Bulgaria generally took the form of youth sub-cultures or campaigns over environmental issues. There were also informal clubs for discussing various problems, ranging from the arts to morality and 'samizdat publications. However, the major dissident organisations prevented young people from playing significant roles for fear of 'ruining their future'. Women dissidents were less visible than men and occupied less important positions, a pattern that is also characteristic of such movements in other Eastern European countries (Einhorn 1993).	一般采取青年亚文化或环境问题运动的形式。还有一些非正式的俱乐部，谈论从艺术到道德和“地下出版物”等各种问题。然而，主要持不同政见的组织阻止年轻人扮演重要角色，因为他们害怕“毁了他们的未来”。女性持不同政见者的知名度低于男性，但却占据着重要职位，这种模式也是其他东欧国家此类运动的特征（爱因霍恩 1993）。
From the beginning of the transition, young people constituted the majority of those involved in the spontaneous demonstrations. Women students participated in the two nationwide waves of occupations of university buildings in 1990. However, they represented less than a fourth of the members of the occupation committees (Kovatcheva 1995b). Their participation was heavily sexualised as had been the case with women in the	从过渡时期开始，参加自发示威的大多数是年轻人。女学生参加了 1990 年全国范围内的两次占领大学校舍的浪潮。然而，她们在占领委员会成员中所占比例还不到四分之一（科瓦切娃，1995b）。与共产党统治时期亚文化中女性的情况一样，她们的参与被严重性别化（皮尔金顿，1992）。例如，1992 年，BDM（共青团的继承组织）领导人姆拉登声称，他曾看到“女孩们解开上衣从研讨会室走出

sub-cultures during the period of communist rule (Pilkington 1992). For example in 1992 Mladen, the leader of the BDM (the organisation that was heir to the Komsomol), claimed to have seen ‘girls coming out of the seminar rooms with unbuttoned blouses. Who knows what those staging the occupation did at night in the empty building!’	来。谁知道那些发动占领的人晚上在空荡荡的大楼里干了些什么！”。
This observation was confirmed by the data from the second survey five years after the start of the reforms. Fewer women claimed to have participated in student protest (31.7 per cent of women compared with 43.9 per cent of men) and were more likely to disapprove of student tactics, preferring non-violent forms such as petitions.	改革开始五年后的第二次调查数据证实了这一观点。声称参加过学生抗议活动的女性人数较少（女性占 31.7%，而男性占 43.9%），而且她们更有可能不赞成学生的策略，而更喜欢请愿等非暴力形式。
In 1997, women students joined the mass mobilisation. They participated in the marches and meetings, in the street shows and television discussions. This time the media did not suggest gender-based interpretations of the events. In the only research on this particular campaign known to me (Mitev 1997) gender differences did not emerge as an issue. The principal opposition here was between the corrupt and inefficient party and the students or the young as a whole. One year after the winter	1997 年，女学生参加了群众运动。她们参加了游行和集会、街头表演和电视讨论。这一次，媒体并没有对事件做出基于性别的解释。在我所知的唯一一项关于这场特殊运动的研究（米特夫，1997）中，性别差异并未成为一个问题。这里的主要是腐败且低效的政党和学生或所有年轻人之间的对立。在冬季罢工和封锁一年后，普罗夫迪夫大学独立学生联盟的学生蒂尔乔评论道： 表 9.4 学生抗议的形式

strikes and blockades, Tiljo a student from the Union of Independent Students at Plovdiv University, commented:	<table><tr><td>形式</td><td>女人</td><td>男人</td></tr><tr><td>情愿</td><td>91.9</td><td>85.1</td></tr><tr><td>示威游行</td><td>91.7</td><td>92.4</td></tr><tr><td>占领</td><td>42.8</td><td>53.1</td></tr><tr><td>绝食抗议</td><td>21.4</td><td>27.8</td></tr></table> *表示“完全”或“部分”的人所占百分比。	形式	女人	男人	情愿	91.9	85.1	示威游行	91.7	92.4	占领	42.8	53.1	绝食抗议	21.4	27.8			
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<table><tr><th colspan="3">Table 9.4 Forms of student protest</th></tr><tr><th>Forms</th><th>Women</th><th>Men</th></tr><tr><td>Petition</td><td>91.9</td><td>85.1</td></tr><tr><td>Demonstration</td><td>91.7</td><td>92.4</td></tr><tr><td>Occupation</td><td>42.8</td><td>53.1</td></tr><tr><td>Hunger Strike</td><td>21.4</td><td>27.8</td></tr></table> *Percentages of those approving ‘fully’ or ‘somewhat’.	Table 9.4 Forms of student protest			Forms	Women	Men	Petition	91.9	85.1	Demonstration	91.7	92.4	Occupation	42.8	53.1	Hunger Strike	21.4	27.8	
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Forms	Women	Men																	
Petition	91.9	85.1																	
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Hunger Strike	21.4	27.8																	
The strike and civic disobedience campaign are not the standard way to act and to stabilise the situation in Bulgaria. On the contrary - it is always better to work through negotiations, peaceful means and serious dialogue to tackle problems and take the right solution. But when the politicians prove to be headstrong and worthless, there is no other way left. I consider that the students very seriously influenced the ousting of the BSP government. Just think what would have happened if this government had not fallen. I clearly remember the wrath in the eyes of the protestors.	罢工和公民不服从运动不是采取行动和稳定保加利亚局势的合理方式。相反，通过谈判、和平手段和认真对话来解决问题并采取正确的解决方案是更好的选择。但当政客们证明是刚愎自用、毫无价值时，就别无他法了。我认为学生们对民主力量联盟政府的下台影响很大。试想一下，如果这个政府没有倒台，会发生什么。我清楚地记得抗议者眼中的愤怒。																		
(Plovdiv University Newspaper, February 1998: 4)	（《普罗夫迪夫大学报》，1998年2月：4）																		
There were some very bright women among	在我的研究中，受访者中有一些非常																		

those interviewed in my research. None of them believed there was a need to express specifically ‘women’s interests’. They were preoccupied with their professional development, which they did not see as different from those of men. They relied on the accumulation of knowledge and skills offered by the university to prepare them for the hardships of the labour market. They envisaged the labour market as equally hostile to women and men graduates and saw no useful role for a women’s organisation to help in the transition from the university to the labour market. At the same time, the majority of women students were more disillusioned with all forms of organised activity, although this feeling was common among all students and the majority favoured spontaneous campaigns rather than the routinised practice of organisations.	聪明的女性。她们都不认为有必要专门表达“女性的利益”。她们专注于自己的职业发展，认为这与男性没有什么不同。她们依靠大学学到的知识和积累的技能，为应对劳动力市场的困难做好准备。在她们看来，劳动力市场对女性和男性毕业生同样充满敌意，因此认为女性组织在从大学向劳动力市场过渡过程中没有起到任何作用。与此同时，大多数女学生对各种形式的有组织的活动更加失望，尽管这种感觉在所有学生中都很普遍，而且大多数人更喜欢自发的运动，而不是组织的常规做法。
Conclusion	结论
In the course of the transition from authoritarian rule to a democratic society in Bulgaria, cultural contests were consistent with confrontations over political and economic issues. Conservative gender ideologies derived from traditional agricultural society combined with	在保加利亚从集权统治向民主社会过渡的过程中，文化竞争与政治和经济问题的对抗一脉相承。源自传统农业社会的保守的性别意识与共产主义时期倡导的平等主义理想以及一系列关于市场社会中个人企业的自由主义观念相结合。对大学生中盛行

egalitarian ideals promoted during communism and a range of liberal notions about individual enterprise in market-based society. The deconstruction of the values that prevailed among university students reveals that behind their emphatic acceptance of gender equality there are controversial interpretations concerning the nature and meaning of equality. Not only the ‘old’ university authorities and party leaders, but also male students are less inclined to accept women;s full citizenship rights than women themselves. On the other hand women students are not willing to struggle for their rights.	的价值观的解构揭示出，在他们强调接受性别平等的背后，存在着对平等的性质和意义的争议性解释。不仅是“旧的”大学当局和党的领导人，就连男生也比女生更不愿意接受女性享有完全的公民权利。另一方面，女学生不愿意为自己的权利而奋斗。
They are less interested in and more disappointed with main-stream politics than men; they are not eager to participate in governing their immediate environment, the university, but have a greater presence in the elected governing bodies than in the student organisations formed during the months of the unruly student protest. This suggests that quotas for women in the power hierarchy should not be dismissed as merely a ‘totalitarian state practice’. Rather than wait for self-made ‘superwomen’ (Corrin 1992), it would be more effective to use such strategies to encourage women’s	与男性相比，她们对主流政治兴趣不大，甚至更加失望；她们不热衷参与管理自己的直接环境——大学，但在民选的管理机构中，她们比在学生抗议活动的几个月里成立的学生组织中拥有更多的影响力。这表明，不应将女性在权力等级中的占比仅仅视为“极权国家的做法”。与其等待自我造就的“超级女性”（科林，1992），不如利用此类方式鼓励女性进入其学习和工作所在机构的决策机构，这样会更有效。当女性真正参与组织或大学治理时，她们比男性更倾向于和平、非暴力的干预形式。

presence in decision-making bodies at the institutions in which they study and work. When women do become involved in organisations or university governance, they favour more peaceful, non-violent forms of intervention than the men. The experiences of women students in Bulgarian universities suggest then that women can make a difference in post-communist politics by influencing the direction of decision making towards greater tolerance and non-violence in conflict resolution.	保加利亚大学女学生的经历表明，女性可以通过影响决策方向，在解决冲突时采取更宽容和非暴力的方式，从而在后共产主义政治中有所作为。
The analysis of gender stereotypes within the process of Bulgaria's social transformation indicates that cultural constructs are used to promote and facilitate economic and political change. The impassioned political confrontation of the first years of reforms was portrayed as a contest between the old red woman and the young blue hooligan. More subtle forms of gender distinctions, reflecting shifts in public perception later replaced this form of gender and age opposition. Now people are no longer faced with the monolithic authoritarian state and feel free to pursue their own interests. However, in the major restructuring of the social fabric that is taking place, symbolically potent gender	对保加利亚社会转型过程中的性别成见的分析表明，文化结构用来促进和推动经济和政治变革。改革最初几年的激烈政治对抗描绘成守旧的女性革命者和新生代的民主革命生力军之间的较量。后来，反映公众观念转变的更微妙的性别区分形式取代了这种性别和年龄对立的形式。现在，人们不再面对像铁板一样坚硬的集权国家，可以自由追求自己的利益。然而，在正在进行的社会结构的重大重组中，仍然使用象征性的强有力的性别形象，是为了将女性的活动限制在私人领域，让男性在后共产主义的政治和经济中留下更多空间。

images are still used, this time to limit women's activity to the private sphere and leave more space for men in the politics and economy of post-communism.	
Sentiments are mobilised by recognizing the gains that women obtained under communism in the work sphere and the political arena and by promoting both 'memories' from the pre-communist past and idealised Western models. The relationship between cultural visions and economic and political reforms discloses the reformers' inclination to limit and contain the liberalisation of social life. This in turn diminishes the prospects for a successful end to the cherished transition to a market-based economy and to a system of democratic governance.	通过肯定女性在工作领域和政治舞台上所取得的成就，以及通过宣扬共产主义前的“记忆”和理想化的西方模式，调动人们的情绪。文化愿景与经济和政治改革之间的关系揭示了改革者限制和遏制社会生活自由化的倾向。这反过来又削弱了成功实现向市场经济和民主治理体系过渡的前景。

注：文中划线部分为报告正文中所选取的译例。