

STATUS OF WOMEN

Public Participation

POLITICAL DECISIONMAKING

The Chinese government is obligated under its international commitments¹ and domestic laws² to ensure gender-equal political participation; however, women remain underrepresented in political decisionmaking positions. Female representation remains low or non-existent in key Communist Party and government leadership positions, including ministerial positions;³ provincial leadership;⁴ and membership in the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee (Politburo),⁵ Politburo Standing Committee,⁶ and National People's Congress.⁷ Representation at both upper and lower levels of government continues to fall short of the 30 percent target recommended by the UN Commission on the Status of Women.⁸

CIVIL SOCIETY

During the Commission's 2015 reporting year, Chinese non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women's advocates saw positive developments within a climate of increasing state control. For the first time, domestic NGOs submitted reports to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (Committee) for its October 2014 review of China's compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).⁹ The Chinese government reportedly did not allow domestic NGOs to submit reports for prior Committee reviews.¹⁰ In November 2014, the State Council issued a draft PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law,¹¹ following over a decade of advocacy both within the government and by civil society.¹² After its release, lawyers and advocates held conferences,¹³ gave interviews,¹⁴ submitted comments to the State Council,¹⁵ and wrote opinion pieces assessing the draft law and suggesting improvements.¹⁶

Women's rights advocates in China faced numerous restrictions in the past year. Chinese authorities reportedly censored NGO reports submitted to the Committee¹⁷ and prevented at least two women from participating in international women's rights forums, including the CEDAW review.¹⁸ Authorities also detained women's rights advocates in the days preceding International Women's Day.¹⁹ [See box titled Detentions of Women's Rights Advocates below.] These actions violated China's obligations under international standards²⁰ and went against the Committee's recommendation to China to "protect women human rights defenders."²¹

Detentions of Women’s Rights Advocates

On March 6 and 7, 2015, police in three major Chinese cities detained 10 women²² who planned to raise awareness about sexual harassment on public transportation by distributing stickers and pamphlets on March 8, International Women’s Day.²³ After releasing five of the women, police from Beijing municipality criminally detained the remaining five—Li Tingting,²⁴ Wang Man,²⁵ Wei Tingting,²⁶ Wu Rongrong,²⁷ and Zheng Churan²⁸—on suspicion of “picking quarrels and provoking trouble,” which they later changed to “gathering a crowd to disturb order in a public place.”²⁹ Authorities subjected the women to lengthy interrogations and sleep deprivation.³⁰ Following widespread domestic³¹ and international outcry,³² authorities released the five on April 13.³³ The women were released on bail,³⁴ however, meaning their freedom remains curtailed and police are closely monitoring them.³⁵ While observers noted surprise at the detentions—the government had previously tolerated some advocacy on women’s issues³⁶—they also viewed the detentions as part of a broader crackdown on civil society.³⁷ All five women worked for NGOs,³⁸ including the Beijing Yirenping Center, a public health and anti-discrimination NGO³⁹ that Chinese authorities have recently targeted.⁴⁰ The NGO Weizhiming, which Wu Rongrong founded and for which Zheng Churan also worked, closed on May 29 under pressure from authorities.⁴¹ [For more information on the crackdown on Yirenping and other NGOs, see Section III—Civil Society.]

Gender-Based Discrimination

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Women’s labor force participation in China is relatively high⁴²—64 percent in 2013 according to the World Bank⁴³—however, women continue to face challenges such as discrimination in hiring,⁴⁴ a growing pay gap,⁴⁵ and underrepresentation in management positions.⁴⁶ During this reporting year, Chinese courts heard at least two lawsuits for gender-based discrimination in hiring: In November 2014, a woman won a case against the Hangzhou New East Cuisine School for discriminatory hiring practices.⁴⁷ In March 2015, the Shunyi District People’s Court in Beijing municipality heard another such case brought against a courier company, but the Commission had not observed reports of a verdict as of August 2015.⁴⁸ China’s first gender-based employment discrimination lawsuit concluded with a settlement in December 2013.⁴⁹

In their submissions to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, several Chinese NGOs noted concerns over employers’ discriminating against pregnant women.⁵⁰ Domestic and international media also reported cases of employers pressuring women to sign “no pregnancy” agreements as part of employment contracts⁵¹ and pushing pregnant women to resign in order to avoid paying for maternity benefits.⁵² China is obligated under its international commitments⁵³ and domestic laws⁵⁴ to eliminate discrimination against women, including discrimination against women based on pregnancy.⁵⁵ Provisions in the PRC Labor Law and other regulations forbid women, including pregnant women, from performing certain jobs.⁵⁶

EDUCATION DISCRIMINATION

Chinese women and girls generally match or exceed their male peers in terms of enrollment rates in primary,⁵⁷ secondary,⁵⁸ and tertiary education;⁵⁹ however, rural girls reportedly have higher school drop-out rates than their male and urban peers.⁶⁰ While the PRC Education Law prohibits gender-based discrimination in education,⁶¹ the government allows limits on female enrollment in certain fields such as military and public security.⁶²

PROPERTY RIGHTS DISCRIMINATION

Chinese law guarantees equal property rights for women and men;⁶³ in practice, however, Chinese women's property rights lack adequate protection. For example, in rural areas, land contracts are issued to households rather than individuals,⁶⁴ and as of 2011, only 17 percent of land contracts included women's names.⁶⁵ Rural women are vulnerable to loss of land rights in the event of marriage, divorce, or the death of a spouse.⁶⁶ When rural governments appropriate land rights, women are reportedly less likely than men to receive compensation.⁶⁷ In one such case in November 2014, domestic and international media reported that 92 women in Hainan province sued their village committee when, following forced relocation, the committee compensated only male villagers.⁶⁸

A 2011 Supreme People's Court interpretation of the PRC Marriage Law stated that in a divorce, property should go to the party whose name appears on the deed.⁶⁹ Reports, however, indicate that urban women often contribute financially to the purchase of a home without having their names on the deed.⁷⁰ The UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women found in November 2014 that this interpretation "indirectly discriminat[es] against women."⁷¹

Violence Against Women

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

For over a decade, women's rights advocates and NGOs in China have called for a national-level domestic violence law.⁷² On November 25, 2014, the State Council Legislative Affairs Office issued a draft PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law for public comment.⁷³ The draft law clearly defined domestic violence⁷⁴ and contained provisions on prevention,⁷⁵ handling domestic violence cases,⁷⁶ and issuing restraining orders.⁷⁷ Chinese domestic violence experts and women's rights advocates described the draft law as "significant" and a "milestone."⁷⁸

Many advocates and lawyers suggested revisions to the draft law, including: expanding the definition of domestic violence to include sexual violence;⁷⁹ adding cohabiting couples within the scope of "family members" (*jiating chengyuan*) protected by the law;⁸⁰ and allowing domestic violence victims to apply for restraining orders directly, as the draft required restraining orders be part of a civil suit.⁸¹ In September 2015, the National People's Congress Standing Committee issued for public comment a revised draft law⁸² that does not define "family members."⁸³ One commentator argued this omission might allow for a broader the scope of those covered

by the law.⁸⁴ In addition, unlike the earlier draft, the revised draft law omitted emotional—or psychological—abuse (*jingshen baoli*) from the definition of domestic violence.⁸⁵ The revised draft also no longer linked restraining orders to civil suits, allowing domestic violence victims or individuals facing the threat of domestic violence to apply directly to the courts for restraining orders.⁸⁶

In March 2015, the Supreme People’s Court (SPC) and other government entities jointly issued a Guiding Opinion on Handling Criminal Domestic Violence Cases in Accordance with the Law (the Opinion)⁸⁷ that included cohabiting couple violence within the definition of domestic violence.⁸⁸ The Opinion also instructed courts to show lenience in cases in which victims of domestic violence harm their abusers.⁸⁹ In April, the Sichuan Province High People’s Court issued a suspended death sentence in the high-profile retrial of Li Yan,⁹⁰ who killed her husband in 2010 after enduring months of spousal abuse.⁹¹ In 2012, the same court had upheld Li’s death sentence on appeal,⁹² but in June 2014, the SPC ordered a retrial⁹³ following Chinese and international advocates’ calls for a sentence commutation.⁹⁴ Li is now unlikely to face execution,⁹⁵ but many Chinese advocates still expressed disappointment with the severity of the sentence.⁹⁶

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Chinese law prohibits sexual harassment, yet it lacks a clear legal definition and standards for prevention, reporting, and punishment.⁹⁷ In November 2014, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (the Committee) urged China to require employers to assume legal liability for sexual harassment occurring in the workplace.⁹⁸ In March 2015, the government-affiliated All-China Federation of Trade Unions put forward a proposal to the National People’s Congress and the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference suggesting that local governments should clearly define sexual harassment, and firms should create mechanisms for preventing sexual harassment.⁹⁹ Also in March, a group of women issued an open letter to the Guangzhou Municipal People’s Congress in Guangdong province calling for sexual harassment prevention training for public transportation workers.¹⁰⁰

STATE-AUTHORIZED VIOLENCE

Officials in China reportedly continued to use coercion¹⁰¹ and violence¹⁰² against women while implementing family planning policies, in contravention of international standards.¹⁰³ Following its October 2014 review of China, the Committee noted its concern over “illegal practices such as forced abortion and sterilization.”¹⁰⁴ [For more information, see Section II—Population Planning.]

In an October 2014 report, the NGO Chinese Human Rights Defenders noted that the “great majority” of detainees held in extra-legal detention facilities known as “black jails” (*hei jianyu*) were women.¹⁰⁵ These women were at great risk of physical and sexual violence.¹⁰⁶ In fall 2014, other NGOs and the Committee also voiced concern over arbitrary detention and reports of violence against women in “custody and education” facilities.¹⁰⁷

Notes to Section II—Status of Women

¹Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of 18 December 79, entry into force 3 September 81, art. 7. Under Article 7 of CEDAW, China is committed to ensuring the right of women, on equal terms with men, “to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.” United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, last visited 23 June 15. China signed the convention on July 17, 1980, and ratified it on November 4, 1980.

²PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo funu quanqi baozhang fa], passed 3 April 92, effective 1 October 92, amended 28 August 05, art. 11; PRC Electoral Law of the National People’s Congress and Local People’s Congresses [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo quanguo renmin daibiao dahui he difang geji renmin daibiao dahui xuanju fa], passed 1 July 79, amended 10 December 82, 2 December 86, 28 February 95, 27 October 04, 14 March 10, art. 6. Both of these laws stipulate that an “appropriate number” of female deputies should serve at all levels of government.

³“China Political Leaders” [Zhongguo zhengyao], Chinese Communist Party News, People’s Daily, last visited 25 March 15. Out of 25 ministries and ministry-level agencies, 2 have female leaders.

⁴Ibid. Out of 31 provinces, provincial-level municipalities, and special autonomous regions, 1 has a woman serving as governor, and none have women serving as provincial Party Secretaries.

⁵Ibid.; “Chinese Communist Party 17th Congress Central Leadership Organization Members” [Zhongguo gongchandang di shiqi jie zhongyang lingdao jigou chengyuan], China Internet Information Center, last visited 23 June 15; “Chinese Communist Party Central Committee (7th Session—17th Session)” [Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhui (diqi jie—dishiqi jie)], Xinhua, last visited 19 May 15. In the 12 sessions of the Politburo since 1945, not including alternate members, at most there have been two women serving at a time (9th and 18th); 4 sessions included one woman (10th, 12th, 16th, and 17th), and 6 sessions had no women members (7th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 14th, and 15th).

⁶Ibid.; “Chinese Communist Party Central Committee (7th Session—17th Session)” [Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhui (diqi jie—dishiqi jie)], Xinhua, last visited 19 May 15. In the 12 sessions of the Politburo since 1945, there has never been a female member of the Politburo Standing Committee.

⁷Women Studies Institute of China, “The Shadow Report of Chinese Women’s NGOs on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Report Submitted by China Under Article 19 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Temporary Special Measures and the Political and Public Life (Article 4 & 7),” September 2014, 1. Women held 23.4 percent of seats in the 12th National People’s Congress, which began in 2013. According to the 2014 China Statistical Yearbook, female representation in the National People’s Congress has remained around 21 percent since the late 1970s. National Bureau of Statistics of China, “Number of Deputies to All the Previous National People’s Congresses,” China Statistical Yearbook 2014, 2014, Table 24–1.

⁸Women Studies Institute of China, “The Shadow Report of Chinese Women’s NGOs on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Report Submitted by China Under Article 19 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Temporary Special Measures and the Political and Public Life (Article 4 & 7),” September 2014, 1–2; Introductory Statement by H.E. Mme. Song Xiuyuan, Head of the Chinese Delegation, at Consideration of China’s Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, item 3. Women made up 23.4 percent of the 12th National People’s Congress and 22.6 percent of village committee members. “Target: 30 Percent of Leadership Positions to Women by 1995—United Nations Commission on the Status of Women,” UN Chronicle, June 1990, reprinted in Popline. The target of 30 percent female representation in leadership positions by 1995 was recommended by the UN Commission on the Status of Women at its 34th session in 1990.

⁹See, e.g., Anti-Domestic Violence Network/Beijing FanBao, Beijing Zhongze Women’s Legal Consulting Services Center, and China Women’s University, “The Shadow Report of Chinese Women’s NGOs on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Report Submitted by China Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Violence Against Women (General Recommendation No.19),” September 2014; Beijing Cultural Development Center for Rural Women, “The Shadow Report of Chinese Women’s NGOs on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Report Submitted by China Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: The Rights of Migrant Women,” September 2014; China LBT Rights Initiative, “Shadow Report: Implementation of the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women in the PRC,” September 2014. For access to the complete list of NGO submissions to CEDAW, see United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “CEDAW—Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 59th Session (20 Oct 2014–7 Nov 2014),” last visited 18 March 15.

¹⁰Ye Shan and Yao Yao, “Making Progress,” Women of China English Monthly, February 2015, reprinted in All-China Women’s Federation, 25 May 15; Women in a Changing China, Staff Roundtable of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 8 March 10, Katherine Zhao, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, Remarks during Question and Answer Period; Women in a Changing China, Staff Roundtable of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 8 March 10, Rangita de Silva de Alwis, Director of International Human Rights Policy Programs, Wellesley Centers for Women, Remarks during Question and Answer Period.

¹¹ State Council Legislative Affairs Office, PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law (Draft) [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa (cao'an)], issued 25 November 14.

¹² Feng Yuan, “Reprint: Feng Yuan: What To Make of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law Comment Draft? A Detailed Interpretation” [Zhuanzai: feng yuan: ruhe lijie fan jiabao fa zhengqiu yijian gao? chao xiangxi jiedu], Nuquan Zhi Sheng, reprinted in Rights Defense Network, 18 December 14; “Home Truths,” *Economist*, 6 December 14; Zhou Hongshuang, “Each Year All-China Women’s Federation Receives 50,000 Domestic Violence Complaints; How Many Hurdles Remain in Combating Domestic Violence?” [Meinian fulian jie jiating baoli tousu da 5 wan jian fan jiabao yao guo ji daokan?], *Guangming Daily*, 12 January 15; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “Pushing for a Law Against Domestic Violence in China,” *New York Times*, Sinosphere (blog), 26 February 14.

¹³ Yang Changping, “Anti-Domestic Violence Law Enters Legislative Process, Experts Recommend: Sexual Violence Should Be Considered Domestic Violence” [Fan jiating baoli fa jinru lifa chengxu zhuanjia jianyi: xing baoli yingdang suan jiabao], *Beijing Evening News*, 14 December 14; Feng Xixi, “Draft Anti-Domestic Violence Law Is Out, Boyfriends Beating Girlfriends Should Be Considered Domestic Violence” [Fan jiabao lifa cao'an chulu nanyou ouda nuyou ying suan jiating baoli], *Yangcheng Evening News*, 21 November 14; Hou Jianbin, “Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Law Holds Anti-Domestic Violence Law Conference” [She ke yuan faxue suo juban fan jiabao lifa yantaohui], *Legal Daily*, 14 January 15.

¹⁴ See, e.g., “China’s Domestic Violence Law ‘Needs Detailed Work’: Experts,” *Radio Free Asia*, 2 December 14; Zhang Hui, “Experts Say Draft Domestic Violence Law Far From Perfect,” *Global Times*, 4 December 14; Lijia Zhang, “New Domestic Violence Law Won’t Change Chauvinistic Attitudes of China’s Men,” *South China Morning Post*, 8 December 14; Yang Changping, “Anti-Domestic Violence Law Enters Legislative Process, Experts Recommend Sexual Violence Should Be Considered Domestic Violence” [Fan jiating baoli fa jinru lifa chengxu zhuanjia jianyi xing baoli yingdang suan jiabao], *Beijing Evening News*, 14 December 14.

¹⁵ Legal Center for NGO, “Comments and Suggestions on Modifying the Anti-Domestic Violence Law (Draft) Comment Draft” [Guanyu dui “fan jiating baoli fa (cao'an) zhengqiu yijian gao” de xiugai yijian he jianyi], reprinted in NGO Development Exchange Network, 31 December 14; Leadership Matrix Network, “18 Organizations Jointly Submit Revision Suggestions for Anti-Domestic Violence Law Comment Draft” [18 jia jigou lianhe tijiao “fan jiating baoli fa” (zhengqiu yijian gao) de xiugai jianyi], 20 January 15.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Feng Yuan, “Reprint: Feng Yuan: What To Make of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law Comment Draft? A Detailed Interpretation” [Zhuanzai: feng yuan: ruhe lijie fan jiabao fa zhengqiu yijian gao? chao xiangxi jiedu], Nuquan Zhi Sheng, reprinted in Rights Defense Network, 18 December 14; Deng Xueping, “‘Anti-Domestic Violence’ Law Still Clearly Conservative” [“Fan jiabao” lifa reng xian baoshou], *Beijing News*, 26 November 14.

¹⁷ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Concluding Observations on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports of China, Adopted by the Committee at its 59th session (20 October–7 November 2014), CEDAW/C/CHN/CO/7–8, 14 November 14, para. 32.

¹⁸ Jess Macy Yu, “Chinese AIDS Activist Says She Was Kept From U.N. Conference,” *New York Times*, Sinosphere (blog), 23 October 14; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “[CHRB] Women’s Rights Defenders Face Reprisals Over UN Review (10/31–11/6/2014),” 6 November 14; “Chinese Authorities Slap Travel Ban on Outspoken Women’s Rights Activist,” *Radio Free Asia*, 13 November 14; “Meet the 5 Female Activists China Has Detained,” *New York Times*, 6 April 15. Chinese authorities prevented Wang Qiuyun from attending China’s review by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in October 2014, and prevented another activist, Zheng Churan, from attending a UN-sponsored women’s rights event in Thailand in November 2014. Zheng Churan was also among the five women’s rights advocates detained prior to International Women’s Day. For more information on China’s use of travel restrictions against dissidents and others, see Section II—Freedom of Residence and Movement.

¹⁹ Edward Wong, “China Releases 5 Women’s Rights Activists Detained for Weeks,” *New York Times*, 13 April 15; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “[CHRB] 5 Women’s and LGBT Rights Activists Detained in Escalating Clampdown on NGOs (3/6–12/15),” 12 March 15.

²⁰ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of 10 December 48, arts. 13(2), 20(1); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 23 March 76, arts. 21, 22(1). China has signed but not ratified the ICCPR. See *United Nations Treaty Collection*, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, last visited 29 May 15.

²¹ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Concluding Observations on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports of China, Adopted by the Committee at its 59th session (20 October–7 November 2014), CEDAW/C/CHN/CO/7–8, 14 November 14, para. 33(a).

²² Edward Wong, “China Releases 5 Women’s Rights Activists Detained for Weeks,” *New York Times*, 13 April 15; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “[CHRB] 5 Women’s and LGBT Rights Activists Detained in Escalating Clampdown on NGOs (3/6–12/15),” 12 March 15.

²³ *Ibid.*; Sophie Richardson, *Human Rights Watch*, “Dispatches: China—How Not To Observe International Women’s Day,” 10 March 15.

²⁴ For more information on Li Tingting, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00116.

²⁵ For more information on Wang Man, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00115.

²⁶ For more information on Wei Tingting, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00114.

²⁷ For more information on Wu Rongrong, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00117.

²⁸For more information on Zheng Churan, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00118.

²⁹"Detained Women's Rights Activist's Liver Disease Worrying, Outside World Urges Authorities To Provide Humanitarian Treatment" [Bei ju nuquan zhe ganbing kanyou wajie cu dangju rendao yizhi], Voice of America, 23 March 15; Sui-Lee Wee, "China Frees Five Women Activists on Bail After Outcry," Reuters, 13 April 15; "Women's Rights Advocate Guo Jing Forbidden To Travel Abroad, Five Women's Rights Advocates Demand Dismissal of Their Case" [Nuquan zhe guo jing bei jin chujing luyou 5 nuquan yaoqiu che an], Radio Free Asia, 26 May 15. The five women were reportedly involved in a range of advocacy activities: Li Tingting (also known as Li Maizi) is known for street performances such as "Occupy the Men's Toilet" and managed the LGBT program at the Beijing Yirenping Center; Wang Man worked on gender and poverty issues for the Global Call to Action Against Poverty; Wei Tingting worked for the LGBT rights NGO Ji'ande; prior to founding the NGO Weizhiming, Wu Rongrong previously worked for the health advocacy NGO Beijing Aizhixing Institute and the Beijing Yirenping Center; and Zheng Churan (also known as Datu) advocated for victims of domestic violence and women with disabilities. See Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "[CHRB] 5 Women's and LGBT Rights Activists Detained in Escalating Clampdown on NGOs (3/6-12/15)," 12 March 15; "Meet the 5 Female Activists China Has Detained," New York Times, 6 April 15; Tania Branigan, "Five Chinese Feminists Held Over International Women's Day Plans," Guardian, 12 March 15.

³⁰"Chinese Feminist Subjected to 'Extreme' Interrogations: Lawyer," Radio Free Asia, 26 March 15; Simon Denyer, "China Releases Five Women's Rights Activists After Global Uproar," Washington Post, 13 April 15.

³¹Wei Zhili, "Workers Support Feminists Trapped in Prison—Workers Show Support for Women's Rights Activists Detained on March 7" [Nuquan xian laoyu gongren lai shengyuan—gongren shengyuan 3 yue 7 ri bei daizou de nuquan xingdongzhe], New Media Women, reprinted in iLabour.org, 10 March 15; "Out of the Window: Support Sun Yat-sen University Alumna and Women's Rights Advocate—Sun Yat-sen Students Add Names in Solidarity" [Chuangwai shi zhichi zhongda xiaoyou ji nuquan gongyiren—zhongda xuezi de lianming shengyuan], edaily, reprinted in China Digital Times, 12 March 15; Rights Defense Network, "Letter by 34 Women Lawyers From 18 Provinces and Cities Denouncing Detention of Several Women's Rights Advocates" [Quanguo shiba sheng shi sanshi ming nu lushi jiu shu ming nuxing quanyi changdao zhe bei jiya de jubao xin], 15 March 15; Sui-Lee Wee, "China Frees Five Women Activists on Bail After Outcry," Reuters, 13 April 15.

³²Oiwan Lam, "Five Young Feminists Still Missing in China," Global Voices, 16 March 15; Simon Denyer, "China Releases Five Women's Rights Activists After Global Uproar," Washington Post, 13 April 15; Sui-Lee Wee, "China Frees Five Women Activists on Bail After Outcry," Reuters, 13 April 15.

³³Edward Wong, "China Releases 5 Women's Rights Activists Detained for Weeks," New York Times, 13 April 15; Sui-Lee Wee, "China Frees Five Women Activists on Bail After Outcry," Reuters, 13 April 15; Rights Defense Network, "Feminist Five Case News Flash: Wei Tingting, Wang Man, and Zheng Churan Released; Li Maizi and Wu Rongrong Still Detained (Latest Information: Li Maizi and Wu Rongrong Also Released. Currently, All Five Have Been Released.)" [Nuquan wu jiemei an kuaixun: wei tingting, wang man he zheng chu [sic] san ren bei fang li maizi he wu rongrong liang ren reng zai ya (zuixin xiaoxi: li maizi he wu rongrong ye yi shifang. daoci, wu ren yijing quanbu shifang.)], 13 April 15.

³⁴Human Rights in China, "HRIC Law Note: Five Detained Women Released on 'Guarantee Pending Further Investigation,'" 13 April 15; Edward Wong, "China Releases 5 Women's Rights Activists Detained for Weeks," New York Times, 13 April 15. The women were released on bail (*qubao houshen*), which Human Rights in China translates as "release on guarantee pending further investigation." By releasing the women on bail, authorities may continue to restrict their freedom of movement, summon the women for further questioning, and monitor the women. For relevant Chinese legal provisions, see PRC Criminal Procedure Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xingshi susong fa], passed 1 July 79, amended 17 March 96, 14 March 12, effective 1 January 13, arts. 68–69; Ministry of Public Security, Public Security Procedural Regulations on Handling Criminal Cases [Gong'an jiguan banli xingshi anjian chengxu guiding], issued 13 December 12, effective 1 January 13, arts. 77, 85–86, 89.

³⁵"Beijing Stomps on Civil Society," Wall Street Journal, 15 April 15; Human Rights in China, "HRIC Law Note: Five Detained Women Released on 'Guarantee Pending Further Investigation,'" 13 April 15; "China's Five Women's Rights Activists Return Home, Immediately Under Close Surveillance" [Zhongguo wu nuquan huodong renshi huijia ji shou yanmi jiankong], Radio Free Asia, 14 April 15; Edward Wong, "China Releases 5 Women's Rights Activists Detained for Weeks," New York Times, 13 April 15.

³⁶Yaxue Cao, "Detention of Five Chinese Feminist Activists at the Juncture of Beijing+20—An Interview With Gender Scholar Wang Zheng," China Change, 11 April 15; Emily Rauhala, "Five Feminists Remain Jailed in China for Activities the Government Supports," Time, 19 March 15; Rachel Lu, "They Are the Best Feminist Activists in China," Foreign Policy, 17 March 15.

³⁷Elizabeth Lynch, "The Future Is Already Present? How the Draft Foreign NGO Management Law Could Be Applied," China Law & Policy (blog), 11 May 15; Simon Denyer, "China Releases Five Women's Rights Activists After Global Uproar," Washington Post, 13 April 15; Yaxue Cao, "Detention of Five Chinese Feminist Activists at the Juncture of Beijing+20—An Interview With Gender Scholar Wang Zheng," China Change, 11 April 15; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "[CHRB] 5 Women's & LGBT Rights Activists Detained in Escalating Clampdown on NGOs (3/6-12/15)," 12 March 15.

³⁸Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "[CHRB] 5 Women's & LGBT Rights Activists Detained in Escalating Clampdown on NGOs (3/6-12/15)," 12 March 15; Simon Denyer, "China Releases Five Women's Rights Activists After Global Uproar," Washington Post, 13 April 15; Weizhiming, "Statement on Hangzhou Weizhiming Women's Organization Forced Closure" [Hangzhou

weizhiming funu jigou jiang bei po guanbi shengming], reprinted in *Feminists Activists Delicious* [Nuquan xingdongpai hen hao chi], WeChat post, 29 May 15; “Chinese Women’s Rights Group Collapses Under Official Pressure,” Associated Press, reprinted in *Guardian*, 5 June 15.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Edward Wong, “China Releases 5 Women’s Rights Activists Detained for Weeks,” *New York Times*, 13 April 15; Yaxue Cao, “Detention of Five Chinese Feminist Activists at the Juncture of Beijing+20—An Interview With Gender Scholar Wang Zheng,” *China Change*, 11 April 15; “China Targets Rights Group Yirenping After Activists’ Release,” BBC, 15 April 15.

⁴⁰ William Wan, “China Raids NGO Offices in Latest Sign of Crackdown on Dissent,” *Washington Post*, 26 March 15; Yaxue Cao, “Detention of Five Chinese Feminist Activists at the Juncture of Beijing+20—An Interview With Gender Scholar Wang Zheng,” *China Change*, 11 April 15; “China Targets Rights Group Yirenping After Activists’ Release,” BBC, 15 April 15; Sui-Lee Wee, “Chinese Police Detain Two Activists Linked to Prominent NGO,” *Reuters*, 15 June 15; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “Lawyer Charged After Trying To Defend June 4 Commemorators,” *New York Times*, *Sinosphere* (blog), 7 July 14.

⁴¹ Weizhiming, “Statement on the Forced Closure of Hangzhou Weizhiming Women’s Organization” [Hangzhou weizhiming funu jigou jiang bei po guanbi shengming], reprinted in *Feminists Activists Delicious* [Nuquan xingdongpai hen hao chi], WeChat post, 29 May 15; Vanessa Piao, “Pressure From Chinese Authorities Forces Ex-Detained Feminist To Shutter Organization,” *New York Times*, *Sinosphere* (blog), 5 June 15. See also “Chinese Women’s Rights Group Collapses Under Official Pressure,” Associated Press, reprinted in *Guardian*, 5 June 15.

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