

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 continue to be underrepresented in political decisionmaking positions. Female representation remains low or non-existent in key Chinese Communist Party and government leadership positions.³ Overall, representation at 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.⁴

CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADVOCACY

During the Commission's 2016 reporting year, the Chinese government restricted many women's rights advocates from providing services and engaging in activism, violating China's obligations under international standards.⁵ One prominent example was the closure, on February 1, 2016, of the Beijing Zhongze Women's Legal Counseling and Service Center (Zhongze), after government authorities reportedly ordered the organization to shut down.⁶ Founded in 1995, Zhongze focused on such issues as domestic violence, gender equality, and sexual harassment in the workplace, and had received widespread recognition and praise for its work, including from the Chinese government and state media.⁷ Observers viewed Zhongze's closure, which occurred amid an ongoing crackdown on non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as a notable sign of the shrinking space for civil society in China.⁸

The Chinese government continued to target individual women's rights advocates with criminal prosecution and other forms of harassment and intimidation. On July 9, 2015, at the onset of the Chinese government's nationwide crackdown on human rights lawyers and advocates,⁹ authorities took prominent female human rights lawyer Wang Yu into custody, and in January 2016, formally arrested her on suspicion of "subversion of state power."¹⁰ Wang worked on a wide range of rights issues, including the representation of Li Tingting, one of five women's rights advocates detained in the spring of 2015, and the women's rights activist Ye Haiyan (also known as Hooligan Sparrow).¹¹ In early August 2016, reports emerged that authorities had released Wang Yu on bail, coinciding with the airing of a prerecorded confession that members of the Chinese human rights community believe was coerced.¹² In April 2016, women's rights and democracy activist Su Changlan—who has been in custody since October 2014—was put on trial in Foshan municipality, Guangdong province, for "inciting subversion of state power."¹³ As of August 2016, authorities had not yet announced a verdict.¹⁴ The indictment issued in Su's case alleged that she had engaged in online "rumor-mongering" and "libel" to "attack the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system."¹⁵

As discussed in the Commission's 2015 Annual Report, in March 2015, Beijing municipal authorities criminally detained five women's rights advocates (also known as the Feminist Five)¹⁶ in con-

nection with a planned anti-sexual harassment campaign. Following widespread domestic and international outcry, authorities released the five on bail in April 2015, and subjected them to restrictions on their movement and tight police surveillance.¹⁷ In April 2016, police lifted bail conditions for the women, but they are still considered suspects in an investigation for the crime of “gathering a crowd to disturb order in a public place.”¹⁸ Li Tingting, one of the five, described the environment for the feminist movement in China in late 2015 as being at an “all-time low.”¹⁹

Employment Discrimination

China’s labor laws require equal treatment of women in employment practices. The Chinese government is obligated to address discrimination in the workplace under its international commitments²⁰ and domestic laws.²¹ Despite the legal framework prohibiting employment discrimination, a March 2016 article in *Xinhua* stated that “job discrimination against women still pervades Chinese society.”²² According to the World Economic Forum’s 2015 survey, women in China remained underrepresented in management positions²³ and female employees earned 65 percent of male employees’ earnings for similar work.²⁴ The National People’s Congress Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs noted at a November 2015 meeting that employment discrimination became “increasingly serious in the wake of China’s rapid economic development,” and announced plans to draft legislation to address existing discrimination based on factors such as gender.²⁵

During this reporting year, employers in China continued to discriminate against women in recruiting, hiring, compensation, and other employment practices.²⁶ Chinese law prohibits businesses from posting discriminatory advertisements for recruitment,²⁷ but observers noted that weak enforcement enables employers to impose discriminatory conditions,²⁸ and businesses continued to post advertisements specifying gender, personality, and physical appearance requirements.²⁹

More women are suing employers, or prospective employers, for gender-based discrimination.³⁰ In what is believed to be the third gender-based employment discrimination legal case in China, and the first reported discrimination case against a state-owned enterprise to be heard in court, in November 2015, a court in Beijing municipality ruled for plaintiff Ma Hu (pseudonym) in her suit against the Beijing Postal Express and Logistics Co., Ltd.³¹—an affiliate of the national postal service China Post—finding that the defendant had refused to hire Ma because she was a woman.³² Ma had sought 57,570 yuan (US\$8,653) in compensation and an apology, but the court only awarded her 2,000 yuan (US\$300), and rejected her request for an apology.³³ In August 2015, Gao Xiao (pseudonym), a female cook in Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong province, sued a local company for refusing to hire her for a chef’s apprentice position because of her gender.³⁴ After she filed suit, authorities threatened her and her landlord evicted her.³⁵ In April 2016, a Guangzhou court ruled in her favor, but awarded her only 2,000 yuan in compensation.³⁶ The Guangzhou Intermediate People’s Court heard Gao’s appeal of the ruling in August 2016.³⁷ In June 2016, the Yuexiu District People’s Court in

Guangzhou heard an administrative suit Gao filed against the Guangzhou Human Resources and Social Security Bureau for failing to address workplace discrimination in the city.³⁸

Employment discrimination against women based on pregnancy continues to be a serious problem, despite laws protecting the rights of pregnant workers.³⁹ Results from a survey of nearly 1,000 female employees in government and private workplaces conducted by the Xicheng district, Beijing, branch of the All-China Women's Federation and the Law Research Center for Women and Children indicated that over 52 percent of the respondents experienced discrimination when they were pregnant, on maternity leave, or breastfeeding, and as a result, suffered pay cuts, forced transfers, lost promotion and training opportunities, or were pressured to resign.⁴⁰ In one such case, Yin Jing, a shopping mall counter manager in Beijing, was pushed out of her job in 2014 soon after she told her supervisor she was pregnant.⁴¹ In November 2015, a Beijing appeals court awarded Yin Jing 62,237 yuan (US\$9,354) in compensation after she provided evidence that her employer knew she was pregnant when the company transferred her to a location three hours away and then fired her when she refused to transfer.⁴²

Violence Against Women

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law (Anti-DV Law) went into effect on March 1, 2016.⁴³ The National People's Congress passed the legislation in December 2015 after more than a decade of advocacy and organizing by women's rights advocates and Chinese officials.⁴⁴ Challenging the long-held view that domestic violence is a private "family matter," the law requires police and courts to take action in cases of domestic violence.⁴⁵ According to the All-China Women's Federation, nearly 25 percent of married Chinese women have experienced violence in their marriage.⁴⁶

Women's rights advocates celebrated the passage of the law but also expressed concerns.⁴⁷ For example, advocates heralded a range of positive measures in the law, including that it applies to non-married, co-habiting partners in addition to married couples,⁴⁸ and that the definition of domestic violence specifies both physical and psychological abuse.⁴⁹ The law clarifies, moreover, a range of legal protections for victims, and requires public security officers to respond immediately to reports of domestic violence.⁵⁰ Rights advocates, nevertheless, criticized the law for omitting two common forms of abuse—sexual violence and economic coercion—from the definition of domestic violence, and for the law's silence with respect to same-sex couples.⁵¹

The Anti-DV Law authorizes courts to issue protection orders (also referred to as restraining orders) as stand-alone rulings to domestic violence victims or those facing a "real danger" (*xianshi weixian*) of domestic violence.⁵² The law stipulates that courts must rule on a protection order application within 72 hours, or within 24 hours in urgent situations.⁵³ Such orders may include a variety of protections for the applicant, including requiring the abuser to move out of the residence.⁵⁴

STATE-AUTHORIZED VIOLENCE

Officials in China reportedly continued to use coercion and violence against women while implementing family planning policies, in contravention of international standards.⁵⁵ The UN Committee against Torture (Committee) noted in the concluding observations following its November 2015 review of China's compliance with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment that it was "concerned at reports of coerced sterilization and forced abortions."⁵⁶ The Committee also expressed regret that the Chinese government had failed to provide information the Committee requested on investigations of such reports, as well as information on redress provided to past victims.⁵⁷ [For more information, see Section II—Population Control.]

During the course of the Committee's review, the Chinese government also failed to respond to questions posed by the Committee relating to reports of violence inflicted on women in "black jails," including the rape of Li Ruirui in 2009 and the suspicious deaths of Li Shulian in 2010 and Wang Delan in 2013.⁵⁸ The Chinese government similarly ignored the Committee's request for information about the cases of eight women who had been detained and abused at the Masanjia Women's Reeducation Through Labor Center in Yuhong district, Shenyang municipality, Liaoning province, and whom authorities subsequently imprisoned in 2014 after the women attempted to seek justice.⁵⁹ [For more information on "black jails" and other forms of arbitrary detention, see Section II—Criminal Justice.]

Notes to Section II—Status of Women

¹Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of 18 December 79, entry into force 3 September 81, art. 7. Under Article 7(b) of CEDAW, China, as a State Party, is obligated to “ensure to women, on equal terms with men,” the right “[t]o 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 13 July 16. China signed the convention on July 17, 1980, and ratified it on November 4, 1980, thereby committing to undertake the legal rights and obligations contained in these articles.

²PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo funu quanyi baozhang fa], passed 3 April 92, amended 28 August 05, effective 1 December 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 people’s congresses.

³“China Political Leaders” [Zhongguo zhengyaol], People’s Daily, Chinese Communist Party News, last visited 20 July 16; “Chinese Communist Party 17th Congress Central Leadership Organization Members” [Zhongguo gongchandang di shiqi jie zhongyang lingdao jigou chengyuan], China Internet Information Center, last visited 13 July 16. Within Party leadership, only 2 of the 25 members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee (Politburo) are women, and there are no women among the 7 members of the Politburo Standing Committee—the most powerful governing body in China. There are no women serving as Party secretaries at the provincial level. In government leadership, women hold 2 out of 25 national-level ministerial positions and 2 out of 31 governorships of provinces, provincial-level municipalities, and special autonomous regions (1 of the 2 female governors has provisional, or “acting,” status as of July 2016). In the 12th National People’s Congress, which began in 2013, women held 699 out of the 2,987 seats (23.4 percent). Women’s 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. For more information on female members of the Politburo since 1945, see CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 176, endnote 5.

⁴Women’s 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. Women made up 23.4 percent of the 12th National People’s Congress and 22.6 percent of all village committee members. Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the UN, “Introductory Statement by H.E. Mme. Song Xiuyuan, Head of the Chinese Delegation, Consideration of China’s Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women,” 23 October 14, sec. 3. 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. “Target: 30 Percent of Leadership Positions to Women by 1995—United Nations Commission on the Status of Women,” UN Chronicle, Vol. 27, No. 2, June 1990.

⁵Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of 10 December 48, art. 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); United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, last visited 14 July 16. China has signed but not ratified the ICCPR.

⁶Rights Defense Network, “Authorities Force China Women’s Rights NGO ‘Zhongze Women’s Legal Counseling and Service Center’ To Shut Down” [Zhongguo nuquan NGO “zhongze funu falu zixun fuwu zhongxin” zao dangju qiangpo xuangao jiesan], 29 January 16. See also Yaxue Cao, “Guo Jianmei, Zhongze, and the Empowerment of Women in China,” China Change, 14 February 16.

⁷Yaxue Cao, “Guo Jianmei, Zhongze, and the Empowerment of Women in China,” China Change, 14 February 16; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “China Is Said To Force Closing of Women’s Legal Aid Center,” New York Times, Sinosphere (blog), 29 January 16.

⁸Rights Defense Network, “Authorities Force China Women’s Rights NGO ‘Zhongze Women’s Legal Counseling and Service Center’ To Shut Down” [Zhongguo nuquan NGO “zhongze funu falu zixun fuwu zhongxin” zao dangju qiangpo xuangao jiesan], 29 January 16; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “China Is Said To Force Closing of Women’s Legal Aid Center,” New York Times, Sinosphere (blog), 29 January 16. See also Yaxue Cao, “Guo Jianmei, Zhongze, and the Empowerment of Women in China,” China Change, 14 February 16.

⁹American Bar Association, “Chinese Lawyer Wang Yu To Receive Inaugural ABA International Human Rights Award,” 8 July 16. For more information on Wang Yu, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00252. For further information about the crack-down on rights lawyers and advocates that began in and around July 2015, see CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 272.

¹⁰Human Rights Watch, “Arrests Reflect Xi Jinping’s Broader Repression of Rights Activism,” 14 January 16.

¹¹Chris Buckley, “China Arrests Rights Lawyer and Her Husband on Subversion Charges,” New York Times, 13 January 16; “A Human Rights Film China Wants Canned,” Agence France-

Presse, reprinted in Straits Times, 9 June 16. For more information on Li Tingting, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00116.

¹²Emily Rauhala, "Jailed Chinese Lawyer Reappears To Deliver a 'Confession,' but the Script Seems Familiar," Washington Post, 1 August 16; "China Releases Prominent Human Rights Lawyer on Bail," Associated Press, reprinted in New York Times, 1 August 16; Josh Chin, "Chinese Activist Wang Yu Seen 'Confessing' in Video," Wall Street Journal, 1 August 16. See also American Bar Association, "Chinese Lawyer Wang Yu To Receive Inaugural ABA International Human Rights Award," 8 July 16.

¹³Human Rights Campaign in China, "For Four Essays, Foshan's Su Changlan To Be Tried April 21 for Inciting Subversion of State Power" [Yi si pian wenzhang wei you bei shandong dianfu guojia zhengquan zui qisu de foshan su changlan an jiang yu 4 yue 21 ri kaiting shenli], 19 April 16. For more information on Su Changlan, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2014-00406.

¹⁴"Trials Postponed Again for Foshan Rights Defenders Su Changlan, Chen Qitang" [Foshan weiquan renshi su changlan, chen qitang shenxun zai bei yanqi], Radio Free Asia, 10 August 16.

¹⁵Human Rights Campaign in China, "For Four Essays, Foshan's Su Changlan To Be Tried April 21 for Inciting Subversion of State Power" [Yi si pian wenzhang wei you bei shandong dianfu guojia zhengquan zui qisu de foshan su changlan an jiang yu 4 yue 21 ri kaiting shenli], 19 April 16.

¹⁶Amid the domestic and international outcry for the release of the five women's rights advocates, "Feminist Five" emerged as a label and social media hashtag to identify them. See, e.g., "Before International Women's Day, Feminist Five and Their Lawyers Are Called in by Police," China Change, 6 March 16; "Chinese Police Step Up Pressure on Feminist Five," Radio Free Asia, 23 September 15.

¹⁷"One Year On, China's Five Feminists Remain Under Tight Surveillance," Radio Free Asia, 1 March 16.

¹⁸Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "Police Remove Bail Conditions on 5 Chinese Feminists Detained Last Year," New York Times, Sinosphere (blog), 13 April 16; "One Year On, China's Five Feminists Remain Under Tight Surveillance," Radio Free Asia, 1 March 16; Human Rights in China, "Supporting Women's Rights in China," 14 April 16; CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 173. For more information on the "five feminists," see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database records 2015-00114 on Wei Tingting, 2015-00115 on Wang Man, 2015-00116 on Li Tingting, 2015-00117 on Wu Rongrong, and 2015-00118 on Zheng Churan.

¹⁹Philip Wen, "China's Few Defiant Feminists Jailed, Harassed, Watched," Sydney Morning Herald, 12 December 15.

²⁰Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of 18 December 79, entry into force 3 September 81, art. 11(1); United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, last visited 3 August 16. China signed the convention on July 17, 1980, and ratified it on November 4, 1980. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 3 January 76, art. 7; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, last visited 14 July 16. China signed the ICESCR on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001.

²¹PRC Constitution, issued 4 December 82, amended 12 April 88, 29 March 93, 15 March 99, 14 March 04, art. 48; PRC Labor Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo laodong fa], passed 5 July 94, effective 1 January 95, art. 13; PRC Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo funu quanyi baozhang fa], passed 3 April 92, amended 28 August 05, effective 1 December 05, art. 2.

²²"Discrimination Against Pregnant Woman Riles Netizens," Xinhua, reprinted in China Daily, 5 March 16.

²³World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2015: China," 18 November 15. Eighteen percent of firms have women in senior management positions, according to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵"NPC Deputies Recommended the Development of an Employment Anti-Discrimination Law To Improve Mechanisms for Protecting Equal Employment Rights" [Renda daibiao jianyi zhiding fan jiuye qishi fa, wanshan pingdeng jiuye quan baozhang jizhi], China Internet Information Center, 4 November 15.

²⁶"Discrimination Against Pregnant Woman Riles Netizens," Xinhua, reprinted in China Daily, 5 March 16; "Women Complain About Gender Discrimination in Workplace," China Daily, 8 March 16; "Catalyst Quick Take: Women in the Workforce: China," Catalyst, 8 July 16. See also CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 173.

²⁷PRC Labor Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo laodong fa], passed 5 July 94, effective 1 January 95, arts. 12, 13. Gender-based discrimination against employees or applicants for employment is prohibited under Articles 12 and 13 of the PRC Labor Law. See also Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, Decision Regarding Revising "PRC Employment Services and Employment Management Regulations" [Guanyu xiugai "jiuye fuwu yu jiuye guanli guiding" de jue ding], issued 29 December 14, effective 1 February 15, arts. 20, 58.

²⁸"Building a Society With Equal Employment for Women," Sina, translated in Women of China, 6 February 15; China Labour Bulletin, "Workplace Discrimination," last visited 5 August 16; Jonathan Kaiman, "In China, Feminism Is Growing—And So Is the Backlash," Los Angeles Times, 15 June 16.

²⁹"Chinese Activists Probe Colleges Over Sexist Job Adverts," Radio Free Asia, 31 March 16; China Labour Bulletin, "Workplace Discrimination," last visited 5 August 16; Luo Wangshu, "Woman Sues Logistics Firm for Discrimination," China Daily, 29 September 15; "Women Com-

plain About Gender Discrimination in Workplace,” China Daily, 8 March 16; Mao Kaiyun, “‘Already Nourished’ Becomes the Standard To Measure Suspected Employment Discrimination” [“Yiyu” cheng jiuye fama shexian qishi], Beijing Morning Post, reprinted in Sina, 8 March 16.

³⁰China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” last visited 5 August 16.

³¹Nuquan Zhi Sheng (genderinchina), “She Was the First Woman To Sue a State-Owned Enterprise for Gender-Based Employment Discrimination, Then Won” [Ta shi zhongguo di yi ge zhuanggao guoqi jiuye xingbie qishi de nusheng, ranhou ying le], Weibo post, 3 November 15, 10:59 a.m.; Maria Siow, “Gender Discrimination Lawsuit in China Creates Buzz Among Activists,” Channel NewsAsia, 20 September 15; Luo Wangshu, “Woman Sues Logistics Firm for Discrimination,” China Daily, 29 September 15.

³²Nuquan Zhi Sheng (genderinchina), “She Was the First Woman To Sue a State-Owned Enterprise for Gender-Based Employment Discrimination, Then Won” [Ta shi zhongguo di yi ge zhuanggao guoqi jiuye xingbie qishi de nusheng, ranhou ying le], Weibo post, 3 November 15, 10:59 a.m.; Maria Siow, “Gender Discrimination Lawsuit in China Creates Buzz Among Activists,” Channel NewsAsia, 20 September 15; “Waiting for Verdict in China Gender-Based Employment Discrimination Case” [Zhongguo jiuye xingbie qishi an dengdai fayuan panjue], Radio Free Asia, 25 September 15; China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” last visited 5 August 16.

³³Nuquan Zhi Sheng (genderinchina), “She Was the First Woman To Sue a State-Owned Enterprise for Gender-Based Employment Discrimination, Then Won” [Ta shi zhongguo di yi ge zhuanggao guoqi jiuye xingbie qishi de nusheng, ranhou ying le], Weibo post, 3 November 15, 10:59 a.m.; China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” last visited 5 August 16.

³⁴Lin Jie, “Woman Rejected for Kitchen Apprenticeship Due to Gender” [Yi nusheng yingpin chufang xuetu yin xingbie zao ju], China Youth Daily, reprinted in People’s Daily, 18 September 15; Jonathan Kaiman, “In China, Feminism Is Growing—And So Is the Backlash,” Los Angeles Times, 15 June 16.

³⁵Jonathan Kaiman, “In China, Feminism Is Growing—And So Is the Backlash,” Los Angeles Times, 15 June 16.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷China Labour Bulletin, “Guangzhou Chef Goes to Court Again in Gender Discrimination Battle,” 22 August 16.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹“Women Complain About Gender Discrimination in Workplace,” China Daily, 8 March 16; China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” last visited 5 August 16; China Labour Bulletin, “Pregnant Women Workers Struggle To Defend Their Rights in China’s Factories,” 1 December 15; “Discrimination Against Pregnant Woman Riles Netizens,” Xinhua, reprinted in China Daily, 5 March 16; “Gender Inequality Still Exists in the Workplace,” China Women’s News, reprinted in Women of China, 3 August 16; PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo funu quanyi baozhang fa], passed 3 April 92, amended 28 August 05, effective 1 December 05, art. 27. An employer may not rescind the labor contract of an employee during “pregnancy, childbirth, or while nursing.” PRC Labor Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo laodong fa], passed 5 July 94, effective 1 January 95, art. 29(3).

⁴⁰“Gender Inequality Still Exists in the Workplace,” China Women’s News, reprinted in Women of China, 3 August 16.

⁴¹China Labour Bulletin, “Pregnant Women Workers Struggle To Defend Their Rights in China’s Factories,” 1 December 15; China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” last visited 5 July 16.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16.

⁴⁴“Legislators Approve China’s First Law Against Domestic Violence,” Xinhua, 27 December 15; “China’s Domestic Violence Law Gets Mixed Reception,” Voice of America, 29 December 15; Wang Xiaodong, “Law To Get Tough on Domestic Violence,” China Daily, 5 March 15; Robin Runge, “Operating in a Narrow Space To Effect Change: Development of a Legal System Response to Domestic Violence in China,” in *Comparative Perspectives on Gender Violence: Lessons From Efforts Worldwide*, eds. Rashmi Goel and Leigh Goodmark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 31. In her essay detailing the advocacy efforts and challenges leading up to the final adoption of the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law, Robin Runge notes that anti-domestic violence advocates and women’s rights scholars in China have been advocating for the past 25 years for the Chinese government to recognize domestic violence as a crime in both law and policy. For more background regarding the drafting of the law, see also CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 174–75.

⁴⁵PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, arts. 15, 23; “China Exclusive: China’s Anti-Domestic Violence Laws To Protect Wives,” Xinhua, 30 December 15; China Law Translate, “Thicker Than Water: An Overview of China’s New Domestic Violence Law,” 31 December 15.

⁴⁶“China Exclusive: China’s Anti-Domestic Violence Laws To Protect Wives,” Xinhua, 30 December 15; Emily Rauhala, “Domestic Abuse Is Thriving in China’s Culture of Silence,” Washington Post, 2 May 16. According to the All-China Women’s Federation, only a fraction of abused wives report domestic violence.

⁴⁷Emily Rauhala, “China’s Domestic Violence Law Is a Victory for Feminists. But They Say It Doesn’t Go Far Enough,” Washington Post, 29 December 15; “China’s Domestic Violence Law Gets Mixed Reception,” Voice of America, 29 December 15; “Activists Welcome China’s 1st Domestic Violence Law,” Associated Press, 28 December 15; “China’s First Anti-Domestic Violence Law Is Formally Unveiled” [Zhongguo shoubu fan jiaobao fa zhengshi chutail], Radio Free Asia, 28 December 15.

⁴⁸Emily Rauhala, “China’s Domestic Violence Law Is a Victory for Feminists. But They Say It Doesn’t Go Far Enough,” Washington Post, 29 December 15; “China’s Domestic Violence Law

Gets Mixed Reception,” Voice of America, 29 December 15; “China’s First Anti-Domestic Violence Law Is Formally Unveiled” [Zhongguo shoubu fan jiabao fa zhengshi chutai], Radio Free Asia, 28 December 15; PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, arts. 2, 37.

⁴⁹“Activists Welcome China’s 1st Domestic Violence Law,” Associated Press, 28 December 15; PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16 art. 2.

⁵⁰“China Exclusive: China’s Anti-Domestic Violence Laws To Protect Wives,” Xinhua, 30 December 15; “China’s First Anti-Domestic Violence Law Is Formally Unveiled” [Zhongguo shoubu fan jiabao fa zhengshi chutai], Radio Free Asia, 28 December 15; PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, arts. 2, 13, 15–17, 19, 23–32, 37.

⁵¹Emily Rauhala, “China’s Domestic Violence Law Is a Victory for Feminists. But They Say It Doesn’t Go Far Enough,” Washington Post, 29 December 15; “China’s Domestic Violence Law Gets Mixed Reception,” Voice of America, 29 December 15; “China’s First Anti-Domestic Violence Law Is Formally Unveiled” [Zhongguo shoubu fan jiabao fa zhengshi chutai], Radio Free Asia, 28 December 15; “Activists Welcome China’s 1st Domestic Violence Law,” Associated Press, 28 December 15; PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16.

⁵²PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, arts. 23, 28; China Law Translate, “Thicker Than Water: An Overview of China’s New Domestic Violence Law,” 31 December 15.

⁵³PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, art. 28; “Activists Welcome China’s 1st Domestic Violence Law,” Associated Press, 28 December 15.

⁵⁴PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, art. 29; China Law Translate, “Thicker Than Water: An Overview of China’s New Domestic Violence Law,” 31 December 15.

⁵⁵Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women on 27 October 95, and endorsed by UN General Assembly resolution 50/203 on 22 December 95, paras. 115, 124(b); UN Women, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, General Recommendations Made by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, last visited 24 June 16, General Recommendation No. 19 (11th Session, 1992), paras. 22, 24(m); General Recommendation No. 21 (13th Session, 1994), paras. 21–23.

⁵⁶UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations on the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 1391st and 1392nd Meetings (2–3 December 2015), CAT/C/CHN/CO/5, 3 February 16, para. 51.

⁵⁷Ibid., paras. 51, 52.

⁵⁸UN Committee against Torture, List of Issues in Relation to the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 54th Session (20 April–15 May 2015), CAT/C/CHN/Q/5/Add.1, 15 June 15, paras. 17(a), 18; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “CHRD and Coalition of NGOs Information Submission to the UN Committee Against Torture for Consideration in List of Issues—February 2015,” 9 February 15, paras. 8(b) (including endnote 16), 14(a). For background on the types of abuse female detainees face in black jails, see Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “‘We Can Beat You to Death With Impunity’: Secret Detention & Abuse of Women in China’s ‘Black Jails,’” October 2014, 1, 8–16.

⁵⁹UN Committee against Torture, List of Issues in Relation to the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 54th Session (20 April–15 May 2015), CAT/C/CHN/Q/5/Add.1, 15 June 15, para. 17(a); Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “CHRD and Coalition of NGOs Information Submission to the UN Committee Against Torture for Consideration in List of Issues—February 2015,” 9 February 15, para. 8(b) (including endnote 16). For more information on the eight former detainees of the Masanjia Women’s Reeducation Through Labor (RTL) Center who were subsequently imprisoned, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2015-00307 on Shi Junmei, 2015-00347 on Su Dezhen, 2015-00348 on Sun Rongyou, 2015-00349 on Zhao Lifan, 2015-00350 on Shi Guiying, 2015-00351 on Zhong Shujuan, 2015-00352 on Zhu Jianyun, and 2015-0353 on Li Li. For more information on Masanjia and the RTL system, see CECC, “Special Topic Paper: Prospects for Reforming China’s Reeducation Through Labor System,” 9 May 13.