

STATUS OF WOMEN

Public Participation

POLITICAL DECISIONMAKING

The Chinese government is obligated under its international commitments to ensure gender equality in political participation;¹ Chinese domestic law also stipulates the importance of women's political participation.² Women's representation at upper and lower levels of political leadership nonetheless continued to fall short of the 30 percent target recommended by the UN Commission on the Status of Women.³ Scholars and overseas media note that barriers to women's participation in political leadership at higher levels include lack of access to the male-dominated relationship networks critical to leadership appointments,⁴ earlier retirement ages for female civil servants,⁵ and marginalization to leadership positions with less political influence,⁶ in addition to the pressures that make it difficult for women to participate in public life more generally, such as gender discrimination and unequal distribution of childcare and domestic labor.⁷

CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADVOCACY

During the Commission's 2018 reporting year, Chinese citizens continued to advocate on behalf of women's issues while Chinese officials maintained restrictions by censoring online discussion and harassing and threatening individual citizens engaging in advocacy. These restrictions are a continuation of official repression of women's rights advocacy beginning in 2015.⁸

Women's rights advocates reported that the freedom to organize activities remained limited as officials continued to impose pressure on participants in the form of harassment, threats, and censorship. Due to such pressure, some advocates reported that they no longer performed direct actions in public spaces and had shifted their focus to awareness-raising and organizing online.⁹ Online advocacy has been subject to continued¹⁰ censorship: online posts were censored,¹¹ hashtags used for advocacy on women's issues were blocked on social media platforms,¹² and social media accounts advocating women's rights were shut down.¹³ Although advocacy and discussion of women's rights were previously tolerated,¹⁴ one advocate reported that the topic "has been politicized and stigmatized" in recent years¹⁵ as authorities continued¹⁶ to link their advocacy to hostile foreign interference.¹⁷ [For more information on censorship, see Section II—Freedom of Expression.]

Campaigns Against Sexual Harassment on University Campuses

In January 2018, Chinese students, alumni, and faculty initiated a series of independent campaigns to prevent sexual harassment on college campuses. These included public allegations of misconduct by individual professors, petitions calling on universities to institute policies to prevent sexual harassment, and public requests for information about university actions in past sexual assault cases. Reports of sexual harassment in other sectors such as manufacturing,¹⁸ journalism,¹⁹ civil society,²⁰ the state-sanctioned Buddhist community,²¹ and the Protestant community in Hong Kong²² also drew public attention. Among the most prominent were allegations posted by Luo Xixi, currently residing in the United States, who detailed the sexual harassment of her former PhD advisor, Chen Xiaowu of Beihang University in Beijing municipality.²³ Inspired by the #MeToo movement in the United States,²⁴ Luo published these allegations in January 2018,²⁵ drawing significant attention and sparking a social media campaign in China that drew millions of views to related hashtags before it was censored.²⁶ Chen's teaching qualifications were revoked²⁷ and the Ministry of Education announced that it would form a group to study the implementation of policies to prevent sexual harassment.²⁸ After one allegation against a professor at Renmin University in Beijing, a group of more than 70 students gathered outside his classroom, refusing to leave until the university agreed to investigate the claims.²⁹ There were a number of other allegations against professors at other universities, some of which led to dismissals.³⁰

Other actions directed at universities followed. Students, alumni, and faculty circulated petitions calling on their respective institutions to implement policies to prevent sexual harassment, reportedly with more than 8,000 people participating at 74 colleges and universities³¹ before being censored.³² Students at Peking University in Beijing called on the school to release information about its actions dealing with a case involving a professor's sexual assault of a student 20 years earlier.³³

**Campaigns Against Sexual Harassment on University
Campuses—Continued**

While some actions taken by university and government authorities were supportive of the issues raised by the campaigns, official responses nonetheless prioritized suppressing grassroots mobilization. In addition to the investigation and dismissal of some of the professors accused of misconduct, supportive actions included lawmakers' submission of legislative proposals to address sexual harassment during the legislative session after lobbying by women's rights advocates³⁴ and the recognition of sexual harassment as a serious issue by some state and Party media.³⁵ Official actions aimed at suppressing discussion and collective action included online censorship³⁶ and increased surveillance,³⁷ while university officials pressured students to cease campaigning³⁸ by questioning them about their organizing,³⁹ harassing their family members,⁴⁰ and in at least one instance threatening to prevent a student from graduating.⁴¹ When a student at Peking University drew significant attention and support after describing the extent of her harassment by school officials,⁴² authorities subsequently released instructions to censor all reporting regarding the incident.⁴³ A January 2018 commentary published in the *Global Times*, a Party-run media outlet, stated that "[m]ore efforts should be put into establishing and perfecting laws and regulations so as to deter potential sexual violence" while cautioning that "[s]ocial movements can only play a limited role in reducing sexual harassment."⁴⁴

Gender-Based Discrimination

EMPLOYMENT

Women in China continued to face a variety of barriers to equal employment, which the Chinese government is obligated to address under its international commitments⁴⁵ and domestic laws.⁴⁶ A study of Chinese job recruitment advertisements conducted by international non-governmental organization (NGO) Human Rights Watch (HRW) found that discriminatory and sexualized views of women were pervasive: recruitment advertisements reflected assumptions that women are less qualified for work requiring strength, intelligence, or mental fitness;⁴⁷ that the thinking and behavior of women is inherently inferior;⁴⁸ and that it is acceptable for employers to use the physical attractiveness of female employees as a condition of employment even when unrelated to job performance,⁴⁹ or as an inducement for recruiting male employees.⁵⁰ The study found discriminatory recruitment in both the private and public sectors, with 19 percent of postings for the national civil service jobs in 2018 listing a requirement or preference for males, up from 13 percent in 2017.⁵¹ The World Economic Forum's 2017 Global Gender Gap Report found that discrimination in China also continued to manifest in the underrepresentation of women in management positions⁵² and disparities in pay, with women earning on average 62 percent of what men earn.⁵³

A 2015 study by the International Labour Organization attributed most of the wage differential to discrimination,⁵⁴ noting that such disparities have increased over the period of economic reform

Status of Women

that began in 1978,⁵⁵ accelerating during the 2000s with the intensification of market liberalization.⁵⁶ The HRW study attributed the lack of women in leadership roles and the increasing wage gap in part to individual employers' discriminatory views of women and their increased discretion over employment decisions beginning in the reform period.⁵⁷ Another significant factor identified by scholars has been the shifting of responsibility for child care from the government system (via publicly funded maternity leave and nursery schools) to the private sector, with the resulting burden falling disproportionately to individual women.⁵⁸ National law guarantees 98 days of paid maternity leave and no paternity leave,⁵⁹ making employers reluctant to hire female employees because they are seen as more costly and a pregnancy "risk."⁶⁰ Experts said that such discrimination had been exacerbated by the "universal two-child policy" implemented in January 2016.⁶¹ [For more information on the "universal two-child policy," see Section II—Population Control.]

International observers reported that employer discrimination in China has not been checked by prohibitions against gender discrimination in existing laws⁶² because enforcement has been rare and negligible.⁶³ Chinese laws do not themselves give a clear definition of gender discrimination,⁶⁴ and women reported being reluctant to initiate complaints because of the time, cost, and risk to future employment.⁶⁵ The local bureaus responsible for enforcing laws against discrimination in hiring have rarely initiated their own investigations and have seldom taken punitive action in response to complaints.⁶⁶ In addition, some laws continued to discriminate against women by barring them from performing certain jobs—in some cases based on whether they are menstruating, pregnant, or breastfeeding.⁶⁷

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Women in China continued to lack secure rights to property due to a combination of discriminatory policy implementation and adherence to patriarchal cultural values. Many rural women were deprived of land rights—guaranteed under national law—due to village-level policies and customs that deny women rights to collectively owned land if they marry outside of the village, divorce, become widowed, or remain unmarried above a certain age.⁶⁸ Legal advocates say that enforcement mechanisms for guaranteeing women's land rights are lacking.⁶⁹ Women's property rights assigned at the household level are also marginalized by a lack of decision-making power within households; according to a sample survey conducted by the state-run Research Center for Rural Economy, 30.4 percent and 80.2 percent of rural women were not registered on any commercial land rights certificates and residential property certificates, respectively.⁷⁰ Officials suggested a number of proposals aimed at addressing these issues during the upcoming round of agricultural policy reforms.⁷¹

Violence Against Women

Women in China continued to face challenges with domestic and sexual violence as officials continued to develop a legal and institu-

tional infrastructure to prevent such abuse. By the end of October 2017, the courts had issued a total of 1,830 protection orders under the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law,⁷² in effect since March 2016.⁷³ A 2017 Chinese NGO report found that while there were improvements in implementation of the law, such as increased awareness and the publishing of local implementing regulations, other challenges remained.⁷⁴ Chinese courts maintained an evidentiary standard for proving domestic violence that was difficult for victims to meet, and victims escaping abusive domestic situations received inadequate support in seeking shelters, with only 149 admissions to roughly 2,000 shelters for victims nationwide in 2016.⁷⁵

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, arts. 7, 24. 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 27 July 18. 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, 29 August 15, art. 6. Both of these laws stipulate that an “appropriate number” of female deputies should serve at all levels of people’s congresses.

³“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, 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. “China Political Leaders” [Zhongguo zhengyao], Chinese Communist Party News, People’s Daily, last visited 13 April 18. “China’s National Legislature Starts Annual Session in Beijing,” Xinhua, 5 March 18; “Reality Check: Does China’s Communist Party Have a Woman Problem?,” BBC, 25 October 17. Upon the convening of the 19th Party Congress in October 2017, women represented 1 out of 25 members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee (Politburo) and there remained no women among the 7 members of the Politburo Standing Committee—the most powerful governing body in China. The 13th National People’s Congress (NPC) was seated in March 2018 with 24.9 percent female delegates, a slight increase from the 23.4 percent in the 12th NPC. Under the State Council, 1 of the 26 national-level ministerial positions was filled by a woman. No women were appointed as Party secretaries at the provincial level, while women were selected for 3 of 31 provincial-level governorships—compared with 2 out of 31 in the previous government.

⁴“Reality Check: Does China’s Communist Party Have a Woman Problem?,” BBC, 25 October 17.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Sarah O’Meara, “How to Be More Than a Token Woman in Chinese Politics,” Sixth Tone, 26 December 16.

⁷Yu Mengtong, “The Hard-To-Smash Glass Ceiling: Looking at the Predicament of Women’s Political Participation from the NPC Delegate Statistics” [Nan da po de boli tianhuaban: cong renda shuju kan zhongguo nuxing congzheng kunjing], Voice of America, 8 March 18.

⁸See, e.g., Rebecca E. Karl et al., “Dark Days for Women in China?” Asia Society, ChinaFile, 18 March 15; Maya Wang, “China’s Chilling Message to Women,” CNN, 7 April 15. See also CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 172–73; CECC, 2016 Annual Report, 6 October 16, 178–79; CECC, 2017 Annual Report, October 5, 2017, 176–85.

⁹Lin Lin, “China’s Women’s Rights Movement: How Far Can They Go?” [Zhongguo nuquan yundong: tamen hai neng zou duo yuan?], BBC, 26 September 17.

¹⁰CECC, 2017 Annual Report, October 5, 2017, 176–77.

¹¹Javier C. Hernández and Zoe Mou, “‘Me Too,’ Chinese Women Say. Not So Fast, Say the Censors,” New York Times, 28 January 18; Kemeng Fan, “China’s #MeToo Movement Started on College Campuses. It May End There,” Los Angeles Times, 7 February 18; China Digital Times, “Minitrue: Do Not Report on PKU Open Letter,” 25 April 18; “Women Excluded From Highest Echelons of Power in China, as Men Embroiled in Sex-for-Favours Scandals,” Agence France-Presse, reprinted in Hong Kong Free Press, 23 October 17.

¹²Grace Tsoi and Viola Zhou, “Feminist Campaign Gets Blocked in China on International Women’s Day,” Inkstone, 8 March 18; “#MeToo in China: The Story Beyond Censorship,” Elephant Room (blog), 13 February 18.

¹³Aaron Halegua et al., “What Is the Significance of China’s #MeToo Movement?” Asia Society, ChinaFile, 20 March 18; “Muzzled China Feminist Group To Sue Over Online Censorship,” Agence France-Presse, reprinted in SinoDaily, 24 March 18; China Digital Times, “Chili Pepper Tribe: China’s Only Dedicated Information Platform for Female Workers Blocked on Weibo” [Jianjiao buluo: zhongguo weiyi nugong zhuanhu shu xixun pingtai zao weibo fengsha], 13 July 18.

¹⁴Human Rights Watch, “Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 2018, 6.

¹⁵Lin Lin, “China’s Women’s Rights Movement: How Far Can They Go?” [Zhongguo nuquan yundong: tamen hai neng zou duo yuan?], BBC, 26 September 17.

¹⁶Song Xiuyan, “Run a Thread of Political Discussion Through the Whole Process of ACWF Reform and Work” [Ba jiang zhengzhi guanchan yu fulian gaige he gongzuo quan guocheng], China Women’s News, 19 May 17; Er Guang, “From Silencing on Weibo to ‘Halal Goddess,’ How is Chinese Feminism Being Encircled and Annihilated Both Inside and Outside the System?” [Cong weibo jin yan dao “qingzhen shengmu”, tizhi nei wai ruhe weijiao zhongguo nuquan?], Initium, 31 March 17.

¹⁷Yang Zhichu, “Combating Sexual Harassment: #MeToo in China?” [Fanji xing saorao: #MeToo zai zhongguo?], Voice of America, 13 January 18; Javier C. Hernández and Zoe Mou, “‘Me Too,’ Chinese Women Say. Not So Fast, Say the Censors,” New York Times, 28 January

- 18; Jiayang Fan, “China’s #MeToo Moment,” *New Yorker*, 1 February 18; Jiayun Feng, “Peking University Student to School: Stop Trying To Gag Me on Rape Case!” *SupChina*, 23 April 18.
- ¹⁸ Jiayun Feng, “I Am a Woman Worker at Foxconn, and I Demand a System That Opposes Sexual Harassment: A Translated Essay,” *SupChina*, 26 January 18.
- ¹⁹ Catherine Lai, “No #MeToo in China? Female Journalists Face Sexual Harassment, but Remain Silent,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, 5 December 17; Aaron Halegua et al., “What Is the Significance of China’s #MeToo Movement?” *Asia Society, ChinaFile*, 20 March 18; Jiayun Feng, “#MeToo in China Reaches the Nonprofit and Media Worlds,” *SupChina*, 26 July 18.
- ²⁰ Jiayun Feng, “#MeToo in China Reaches the Nonprofit and Media Worlds,” *SupChina*, 26 July 18.
- ²¹ Jiayun Feng, “Abbot of Beijing Longquan Temple Denies Sexual Abuse Allegations,” *SupChina*, 1 August 18.
- ²² “#MeToo Complaints Rise in Hong Kong’s Protestant Churches, as Victims Come Forward,” *Radio Free Asia*, 25 June 18.
- ²³ Wesley Rahn and Fang Wan, “#MeToo Movement Meets China’s Firewall,” *Deutsche Welle*, 7 March 18.
- ²⁴ Jiayang Fan, “China’s #MeToo Moment,” *New Yorker*, 1 February 18.
- ²⁵ Wesley Rahn and Fang Wan, “#MeToo Movement Meets China’s Firewall,” *Deutsche Welle*, 7 March 18.
- ²⁶ “#MeToo in China: The Story Beyond Censorship,” *Elephant Room (blog)*, 13 February 18.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Han Xiaotong, “Ministry of Education Revokes Chen Xiaowu’s ‘Yangtze River Scholar’ Title, Halts Payment and Requires Return of Stipend” [Jiaoyu bu jue ding chexiao chen xiaowu “chang jiang xuezhe” chenghao, tingfa bing zhuihui yifa jiangjin], *The Paper*, 14 January 18.
- ²⁹ Te-Ping Chen, “#MeToo Meets China’s Censors and Students Learn a Tough Lesson,” *Wall Street Journal*, 23 April 18.
- ³⁰ Fan Yiying, “University Fires Teacher Who Traded Grades for Sex,” *Sixth Tone*, 5 January 18; Wang Yiwei, “Nanchang University Dismisses Deans Over Alleged Rape,” *Sixth Tone*, 21 December 17; Yanan Wang, “Chinese Vice-Dean Accused of ‘Inappropriate’ Behavior,” *Associated Press*, 26 April 18; Te-Ping Chen, “#MeToo Meets China’s Censors and Students Learn a Tough Lesson,” *Wall Street Journal*, 23 April 18.
- ³¹ Xiao Meili and Zheng Churan, “I Am a Troublemaker, Not a Helpful Cog in the Machine’: The Voice of China’s Feminist Activism” [“Wo shi daodangui, bu shi luosiding”: zhongguo nuquan xingdongpai de shengyin], *Initium*, 12 February 18, translated in Zheng Churan, *Free Chinese Feminists, “The Success of China’s Anti-Sexual Harassment Campaign,”* reprinted in Facebook, 18 April 18; Jiayun Feng, “Chinese University Instructors Sign Anti-Sexual Harassment Manifesto,” *SupChina*, 22 January 18.
- ³² Kemeng Fan, “China’s #MeToo Movement Started on College Campuses. It May End There,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7 February 18.
- ³³ Javier C. Hernández and Iris Zhao, “Students Defiant as Chinese University Warns #MeToo Activist,” *New York Times*, 24 April 18.
- ³⁴ Mimi Lau, “After #MeToo Success, Chinese Rights Activists Urge Lawmakers To Join the Fight Against Sexual Harassment,” *South China Morning Post*, 8 March 18.
- ³⁵ “Chinese Professor Removed From Post Following Sexual Harassment Allegation,” *Xinhua*, 12 January 18; Chen Jinhong, “Don’t Cover Up Sexual Harassment in Higher Education Any Longer” [Gaoxiao xing saorao, bie zai wu gaizi le], *Qianjiang Evening News*, reprinted in *People’s Daily*, 16 January 18; *Renmin Ribao Pinglun (rmrbpl)*, “Beihang-Gate’s Sexual Harassment: Bravery Is Your Finest Pose” [Beihang xing saorao men: yonggan shi ni zui haokan de zitai], *WeChat post*, 5 January 18.
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- ³⁷ Jiayun Feng, “Yue Xin Back at School, Surveillance Cameras up on Peking University Campus,” *SupChina*, 26 April 18.
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- ⁴⁴ Liu Lulu, “Addressing Sexual Harassment Needs More Than #MeToo,” *Global Times*, 4 January 18.
- ⁴⁵ Convention 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 17 July 18. 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 17 July 18. China signed the ICESCR on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001.

Status of Women

⁴⁶PRC Constitution, issued 4 December 82, amended 12 April 88, 29 March 93, 15 March 99, 14 March 04, 11 March 18, 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.

⁴⁷Human Rights Watch, "Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China," April 2018, 2.

⁴⁸Ibid., 19–20.

⁴⁹Ibid., 30.

⁵⁰Ibid., 33.

⁵¹Ibid., 6, 22–23.

⁵²World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2017," 2 November 17, 120–21. According to the World Economic Forum report, in 2017 women remained underrepresented in management positions, with 20.1 percent of firms including women in top-level management.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Sukti Dasgupta et al., International Labour Organization, "Women in the Labour Market in China," ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series, May 2015, 18–19. See also World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2017," 2 November 17, 120–21.

⁵⁵Sukti Dasgupta et al., International Labour Organization, "Women in the Labour Market in China," ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series, May 2015, 2.

⁵⁶Ibid., 8.

⁵⁷Human Rights Watch, "Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China," April 2018, 10.

⁵⁸Yingchun Ji and Shuangshuang Yang, "A Gendered Reading of China's Two-Child Policy," University of Nottingham, Asia Research Institute, Asia Dialogue, 19 September 17.

⁵⁹PRC 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; Dezan Shira & Associates, "Expecting in China: Employee Maternity Leave and Allowances," China Briefing, 6 April 18; Dezan Shira & Associates, "Paternity Leave in China: Regional Policies and Differences," China Briefing, last visited 18 July 18.

⁶⁰Fu Yang, "New Discrimination Dilemmas for Female Employment: From 'Married With Child' to 'Two Children'" [Xin qishi kunrao nuxing jiuye cong "yihun yiyu" dao "yisheng ertai"], Beijing Daily, 20 December 17.

⁶¹Ibid.; Yang Yue, "CPPCC Member Li Shouzheng: Seventy Percent of Women Worry That Second Child Will Affect Career Development, Recommend Extending Maternity Leave for Second Child" [Li shouzheng weiyuan: qicheng nuxing danxin er hai yingxiang zhiye fazhan jianyi yanchang er hai chanjia], China Youth Net, 8 March 18.

⁶²PRC 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, Provisions on Employment Services and Employment Management [Jiuye fuwu yu jiuye guanli guiding], issued 5 November 07, amended 23 December 14, effective 1 February 15, arts. 20, 58(2); PRC Constitution, issued 4 December 82, amended 12 April 88, 29 March 93, 15 March 99, 14 March 04, 11 March 18, art. 48.

⁶³China Labour Bulletin, "Workplace Discrimination," last visited 23 April 18; Human Rights Watch, "Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China," April 2018, 3–4.

⁶⁴Human Rights Watch, "Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China," April 2018, 3–4.

⁶⁵Fu Yang, "New Discrimination Dilemmas for Female Employment: From 'Married With Child' to 'Two Children'" [Xin qishi kunrao nuxing jiuye cong "yihun yiyu" dao "yisheng ertai"], Beijing Daily, 20 December 17.

⁶⁶Human Rights Watch, "Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China," April 2018, 43–44.

⁶⁷PRC Labor Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo laodong fa], passed 5 July 94, effective 1 January 95, arts. 59–61, 63; State Council, Special Provisions for the Protection of Female Employees' Labor [Nu zhigong laodong baohu tebie guiding], issued and effective 28 April 12, Appendix, para. 1 (labor restrictions for all women), para. 2 (labor restrictions during menstruation), para. 3 (labor restrictions during pregnancy), para. 4 (labor restrictions while breastfeeding).

⁶⁸"New Issues Related to Women's Land Rights Amid Rural Reforms and the Way To Overcome Them" [Nongcun bianqian zhong funu tudi quanyi xin wenti ji pojie zhidao], China Women's News, reprinted in All-China Women's Federation, 19 December 17; Qianqian Law Firm, "Beijing Municipality Qianqian Law Firm Recommendations for Amending the 'Rural Land Contract Law (Draft)'" [Beijing shi qianqian lushi shiwusuo guanyu "nongcun tudi chengbao fa (cao'an)" de xiugai yijian], 26 December 17.

⁶⁹Qianqian Law Firm, "Beijing Municipality Qianqian Law Firm Recommendations for Amending the 'Rural Land Contract Law (Draft)'" [Beijing shi qianqian lushi shiwusuo guanyu "nongcun tudi chengbao fa (cao'an)" de xiugai yijian], 26 December 17; Mao Xiaoya and Li Lulu, "NPC Representative Declares: Let Rural Women Benefit From Equal Land Rights" [Daibiao weiyuan jianyan: rangnongcun funu pingdeng xiangyou tudi quanyi], Farmers' Daily, 14 March 18.

⁷⁰Tian Shanlei, "Protecting Women's Land Rights While Intensifying Rural Reform" [Zai shenhua nongcun gaige zhong wei hu funu tudi quanyi], China Women's News, 5 March 18.

⁷¹Wu Xu, "Recommendations for Protecting Women's Rural Land Rights" [Guanyu baozhang nongcun funu tudi quanyi de jianyi], People's Court Daily, 28 April 18; "ACWF Gives Proposal to CPPCC's 13th Meeting: Protecting Women's Rights While Intensifying Rural Land Reforms" [Quanguo fulian xiang quanguo zhengxie shisan jie yi ci huiyi tijiao: zai shenhua nongcun

gaige zhong weihu funu tudi quanyi], China Women's News, reprinted in All-China Women's Federation, 5 March 18.

⁷² PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fan jiating baoli fa], passed 27 December 15, effective 1 March 16, chap. 4.

⁷³ Fu Danni et al., "Two Years Under Anti-Domestic Violence Law, Effectiveness of Protection Orders Awaits Reinforcement" [Fan jiabao fa shishi liang zhou nian, renshen anquan baohu ling shishi xiaoli rendai jiaqiang], The Paper, 1 March 18. See also CECC, 2016 Annual Report, 6 October 16, 180.

⁷⁴ Equality, "Monitoring Report on Implementation of the 'PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law'" ["Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fandui jiating baoli fa" shishi jiance baogao], 15 December 17.

⁷⁵ Ibid.