

## STATUS OF WOMEN

### *Findings*

- Women in China face severe discrimination throughout their careers, from job recruitment and hiring to wages and promotions. Such disparities have increased over the current period of economic reform that began in 1978, accelerating during the 2000s with the intensification of market liberalization. Gender biases and sexual harassment in the workplace are major factors contributing to the employment gender gap, as well as national laws mandating parental leave and other entitlements for women and not men. These laws enforce the role of women as caregivers and have led employers to avoid hiring women without children in order to avoid the cost of these legal entitlements.
- Following widely publicized grassroots campaigns highlighting challenges faced by women in the workplace, Chinese officials initiated policies to address gender discrimination in employment, including creating a cause of action for disputes over employment discrimination and sexual harassment and a series of policies aimed primarily at punishing employers for discriminatory job recruitment practices. Nonetheless, inadequate enforcement and discriminatory laws persist; local bureaus responsible for enforcement seldom take punitive action in response to complaints, and some laws themselves continue to discriminate against women by barring them from performing certain jobs.
- Thirty percent of women have experienced some form of domestic violence, yet nearly three years after the passage of the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law in March 2016, Chinese courts had only issued a total of 3,718 protective orders by December 2018. News media and expert analysis noted that cultural norms that do not recognize domestic violence as a crime contributed to the low number of reported incidents, with family members and police commonly discouraging victims from going forward with requesting protective orders or divorce.
- Despite official repression, independent public advocacy for women's rights continues to influence public discourse and policy. Public advocacy in recent years has highlighted gender inequities in recruitment and sexual harassment, while news media and civil society actors have noted a connection to the issues publicly addressed by national officials this year as a sign that independent advocacy is having an impact even as it has been severely suppressed.
- Chinese officials continued censoring online discussion of topics related to feminism and harassing and threatening individual citizens engaging in advocacy. These restrictions were a continuation of the official repression of women's rights advocacy beginning in 2015.

### *Recommendations*

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

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- Publicly and privately urge the Chinese government to respect the freedom of expression and assembly of all rights advocates, and in particular to refrain from harassing and intimidating the independent rights advocates seeking to increase awareness about sexual harassment in public areas.
- Urge the Chinese government to publicly expand its commitment to gender equality through measures such as increasing the number of women in the highest levels of political leadership, instituting gender equality and anti-harassment trainings in government workplaces, and challenging discriminatory attitudes based on gender through public education.
- Commend the Chinese government for recent legal developments aimed at promoting the welfare of women and gender equality. These include the inclusion of a gender discrimination case among the Supreme People's Court's guiding cases and the creation of causes of action allowing plaintiffs to sue for sexual harassment and gender discrimination in employment. Encourage the government to strengthen formal support services for implementation—for example, by increasing funding for health services or shelters for women experiencing violence, providing funding and support for lawyers for legal services, and allowing independent lawyers and advocates to assist with the promotion and implementation of laws related to gender equality through lawsuits and public campaigns.
- Support international exchanges among academics, legal advocates, non-governmental organizations, and others that focus on the implementation and enforcement of recently adopted laws promoting gender equity. In particular, facilitate and support technical assistance programs that would help all those working in law enforcement and the judiciary to implement the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law effectively and challenge discriminatory attitudes. As the first point of contact, law enforcement in particular should be trained in addressing reports of violence in a way that does not undermine victims' concerns or safety. Urge provincial level officials to implement provincial regulations according to the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law.
- Facilitate and support technical assistance programs that would help the development of gender equality education in schools and communities.
- Encourage the collection and analysis of data on disparities in economic and social life based on gender so as to monitor changes.

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### *Discrimination in Employment*

Although international human rights standards prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender,<sup>1</sup> women in China continued to face serious obstacles to equal treatment in employment.

- **Women in China face severe discrimination throughout their careers, from job recruitment and hiring to wages and promotions.** Surveys have found that recruitment listings frequently indicate a preference or requirement for men,<sup>2</sup> with 35 percent of civil servant job listings for 2019 containing gender specifications despite national laws prohibiting gender discrimination in hiring.<sup>3</sup> Women continued to be represented in the top leadership of only 20.1 percent of Chinese firms and political institutions while earning on average 64.3 percent of what men earned, according to the World Economic Forum's 2018 Global Gender Gap Report.<sup>4</sup> An International Labour Organization (ILO) study conducted in 2015 noted that such disparities have increased over the current period of economic reform that began in 1978,<sup>5</sup> accelerating during the 2000s with the intensification of market liberalization.<sup>6</sup> A survey by Chinese online recruiter Boss Zhipin Major found that three major reasons for the gender disparity in workplace advancement were the comparatively greater share of domestic obligations shouldered by women, their lack of outside connections and social support, and underdeveloped management skills.<sup>7</sup>

- **National laws mandating parental leave and other entitlements for women and not men are a major reason for discriminatory hiring and dismissal.** Male employees are not legally entitled to parental leave, but employers are required to grant female employees 98 days of parental leave by the Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests in addition to other parental benefits required only for women, such as allowances and termination restrictions.<sup>8</sup> One scholar notes that these laws enforce the role of women as caregivers and have led employers to avoid hiring women without children in order to avoid the cost of these legal entitlements.<sup>9</sup> One expert reported that women perceive such discrimination against them to have increased since the implementation of the "universal two-child policy" in January 2016, which generally allows couples to have two children, somewhat loosening the restrictions under the former "one-child policy."<sup>10</sup> [For more information on the "universal two-child policy," see Section II—Population Control.]

- **The national parental leave policy is also a major factor in pregnancy discrimination.** Gender inequality in parental leave has led to a rise in the number of labor disputes filed by female employees against their employers for dismissing them or treating them negatively as a result of reporting their pregnancies.<sup>11</sup> Some employers require female employees to submit applications to have children or assign them to a "queue," dismissing or otherwise pressuring those who

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have children out of turn.<sup>12</sup> Such negative treatment is prohibited by national laws,<sup>13</sup> but employers also retaliated against those who attempted to vindicate their legal rights. For example, in December 2018, an employer in Changchun municipality, Jilin province, assigned one employee to work alone at a site without toilet facilities after she obtained a judgment declaring that her employer should continue her employment contract when she sued over pressure to leave her position upon reporting that she was pregnant.<sup>14</sup>

• **Gender biases and sexual harassment in the workplace also contribute to the employment gender gap.**

Legal entitlements associated with reproduction and parenthood do not fully explain the gender gap in employment: A 2018 study by Renmin University in Beijing municipality found that employers were actually less likely to hire women for important positions if they already had two children—and thus were ineligible for parental benefits.<sup>15</sup> A 2015 ILO study attributed most of the wage differential to discrimination,<sup>16</sup> and Chinese officials have also acknowledged the negative effect of gender discrimination on female workforce participation.<sup>17</sup> A 2018 study found discriminatory and sexualized views of women were common in job recruitment advertisements, reflecting assumptions that women are less qualified for work requiring strength, intelligence, or mental fitness<sup>18</sup> and that employers may use the physical attractiveness of female employees as a condition of employment or as an inducement for recruiting male employees.<sup>19</sup> Such assumptions continue to affect women's well-being and careers once they are in the workplace: A 2018 survey of social media posts and interactions of female civil servants found consistent accounts of sexualized and demeaning behavior from supervisors that included requiring female civil servants to provide companionship in settings (e.g., restaurants, karaoke bars) where they would be sexually harassed.<sup>20</sup>

• **After a year of social media campaigns highlighting sexual harassment cases garnering significant public attention,<sup>21</sup> national-level officials announced policies to address sexual harassment and gender discrimination in employment.**

The Supreme People's Court issued a circular in December 2018 amending the Rules for Civil Causes of Action to allow disputes over sexual harassment and employment discrimination.<sup>22</sup> This was followed in February 2019 by a joint circular outlining measures to promote gender equality in employment, citing the need to increase women's participation in the economy.<sup>23</sup> The measures primarily targeted gender discrimination in job recruitment, outlining plans to develop procedures for notification and mediation and to investigate and penalize employers and recruitment agencies that fail to comply.<sup>24</sup> The circular also included legal assistance for those bringing claims of gender-based employment discrimination, job counseling and training for women, and development of support for childcare.<sup>25</sup> In March 2019, Premier Li Keqiang also announced support for addressing gender discrimination in employment in his government work report.<sup>26</sup> Assessments

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from rights advocates were mixed, from critiquing the policy announcements for “lack[ing] detailed measures” to seeing them as signs that “gender discrimination is something that the government can and is willing to manage.”<sup>27</sup>

- **Local-level officials also took actions related to gender discrimination.** For example, officials in Dezhou municipality, Shandong province, established a reporting hotline,<sup>28</sup> and Beijing municipality officials published anti-sexual harassment advertisements on all subway lines.<sup>29</sup>

- **Discriminatory laws and inadequate enforcement persist.** International observers<sup>30</sup> reported that gender-based employment discrimination in China has not been checked by prohibitions against gender discrimination in existing laws<sup>31</sup> or by China’s international commitments.<sup>32</sup> Chinese laws do not give a clear definition of gender discrimination,<sup>33</sup> leading to the refusal of courts and arbitration committees to accept such cases.<sup>34</sup> In addition, some laws themselves continue to discriminate against women by barring them from performing certain jobs—in some cases based on whether they are menstruating, pregnant, or breastfeeding.<sup>35</sup>

### *Domestic and Gender-Based Violence*

Domestic violence continued to affect large numbers of women in China. Based on a large-scale study published by the People’s Daily in November 2018, 30 percent of married women in China have experienced some form of domestic violence.<sup>36</sup> Nearly three years after the passage of the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law<sup>37</sup> in March 2016,<sup>38</sup> Chinese courts had issued a total of 3,718 protection orders by December 2018, approving 63 percent out of a total of 5,860 applications.<sup>39</sup> News media identified cultural norms that do not recognize domestic violence as a crime as contributing to the low numbers of reported incidents, with family members and police commonly discouraging victims from going forward with requesting protective orders or divorce—women who do report do so only after experiencing an average of 35 incidents.<sup>40</sup> As of August 2019, Yunnan province is the only province to have implemented measures in accordance with the 2016 law, which includes a mandatory reporting provision that makes government bodies responsible for gathering evidence related to domestic violence.<sup>41</sup>

### *Public Participation*

- **Low levels of women’s representation in political leadership persisted.** Although Chinese domestic law contains pronouncements stressing the importance of women’s political participation,<sup>42</sup> the proportion of female representatives continued to fall short of the 30 percent target recommended by the UN Commission on the Status of Women.<sup>43</sup> The Chinese government is obligated under its international commitments to ensure gender equality in political participation.<sup>44</sup>

- **Blacklisting advocacy organizations and activists working on gender equality issues.** On January 8, 2019, the Guangzhou Municipal Department of Civil Affairs in Guangdong province issued a list of suspected “illegal social or-

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ganizations” that included the Guangzhou Gender and Sexuality Education Center (*Guangzhou Xingbie Jiaoyu Zhongxin*), which worked on both gender and LGBTQ issues, primarily focusing on combating sexual harassment and violence.<sup>45</sup> Founded by prominent women’s rights advocate Wei Tingting,<sup>46</sup> the organization had encountered censorship restrictions for a campaign raising funds to conduct a survey on the prevalence of sexual harassment and assault on Chinese college campuses, which it nonetheless conducted and published in April 2018.<sup>47</sup> The organization announced on the social media platform WeChat in December 2018 that it would temporarily cease operations.<sup>48</sup> This followed a wave of crackdowns on independent women’s rights advocacy in previous years that shut down leading voices such as the social media accounts of prominent independent media outlet Feminist Voices in March 2018<sup>49</sup> and the Beijing Zhongze Women’s Legal Counseling and Service Center in January 2016.<sup>50</sup>

• **Heavy censorship of content and symbols related to feminist issues.** As activists moved much of their advocacy online in the face of growing pressure,<sup>51</sup> different social media campaigns in support of victims of sexual assault engaged millions before themselves being censored.<sup>52</sup> According to Hong Kong University researchers, reports of sexual misconduct were “one of the most heavily censored topics on WeChat in 2018.”<sup>53</sup> A wide range of WeChat public accounts that had circulated a petition in support of a survivor of an alleged sexual assault were shut down in April 2019.<sup>54</sup>

• **Despite official repression, independent public advocacy for women’s rights continued to influence public discourse and policy.** Public advocacy in recent years has highlighted gender inequities in recruitment<sup>55</sup> and sexual harassment.<sup>56</sup> In addition, news media and civil society actors have noted a connection to the issues publicly addressed by national officials this year as a sign that independent advocacy is having an impact even as it has been severely suppressed.<sup>57</sup>

## Notes to Section II—Status of Women

<sup>1</sup>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of December 18, 1979, entry into force September 3, 1981, art. 11; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, accessed May 13, 2019. China signed the convention on July 17, 1980, and ratified it on November 4, 1980.

<sup>2</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 2018, 16; FreeChineseFeminists (@FeministChina), “Taifeng, a young woman, visited abt 20 job fairs . . .,” Twitter, February 16, 2019, 5:05 a.m.

<sup>3</sup>Wang Ziye, “Sheng er wei nu, shu zai xingbie: 2019 nian guojia gongwuyuan zhaolu xingbie qishi diaocha baogao” [To be born a woman is to have already lost: report on gender discrimination in 2019 national civil service recruitment listings], reprinted in *China Digital Times*, January 26, 2019; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Laodong Fa* [PRC Labor Law], passed July 5, 1994, effective January 1, 1995, arts. 12–13; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Funu Quanyi Baozhang Fa* [PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests], passed April 3, 1992, amended August 28, 2005, effective December 1, 2005, arts. 12, 21, 25; Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, *Jiuye Fuwu Yu Jiuye Guanli Guiding* [Provisions on Employment Services and Employment Management], issued November 5, 2007, amended December 23, 2014, effective February 1, 2015, arts. 20, 58(2); *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Jiuye Cujin Fa* [PRC Employment Promotion Law], passed August 30, 2007, effective January 1, 2008, art. 27. See also Human Rights Watch, “China: Female Civil Servants Face Discrimination, Harassment,” November 8, 2018.

<sup>4</sup>World Economic Forum, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2018,” December 17, 2018, 63–4.

<sup>5</sup>Sukti Dasgupta, Makiko Matsumoto, and Cuntao Xia, International Labour Organization Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, “Women in the Labour Market in China,” ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series, May 2015, 2.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>7</sup>Boss Zhipin, “BOSS zhipin: 2019 Zhongguo zhichang xingbie chayi baogao” [Boss Zhipin: 2019 report on gender differences in China’s job market], March 12, 2019.

<sup>8</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Funu Quanyi Baozhang Fa* [PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests], passed April 3, 1992, amended August 28, 2005, effective December 1, 2005, art. 27. See also Dezan Shira & Associates, “Expecting in China: Employee Maternity Leave and Allowances,” China Briefing, April 6, 2017; Dezan Shira & Associates, “Paternity Leave in China: Regional Policies and Differences,” China Briefing, October 27, 2015.

<sup>9</sup>Yun Zhou, “The Dual Demands: Gender Equity and Fertility Intentions after the One-Child Policy,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 117 (November 5, 2018): 11, 14–16.

<sup>10</sup>Yun Zhou, “The Dual Demands: Gender Equity and Fertility Intentions after the One-Child Policy,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 117 (November 5, 2018): 15. See also Noelle Mateer, Charlotte Tang, and Teng Jing Xuan, “Lining Up to Get Pregnant: The Unintended Victims of the Two-Child Rule,” *Caixin Global*, December 29, 2018.

<sup>11</sup>“28 sui nu yuangong shiyongqi faxian huaiyun zao citui, lushi: yongren danwei shexian weifa” [28-year-old female worker dismissed after discovering pregnancy during hiring trial period, lawyer: employer suspected of violating law], *Bandao Morning News*, reprinted in *The Paper*, April 19, 2019; Yanan Wang and Shanshan Wang, “China’s new policy against gender bias meets fans, sceptics,” *Associated Press*, February 22, 2019.

<sup>12</sup>Yun Zhou, “The Dual Demands: Gender Equity and Fertility Intentions after the One-Child Policy,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 117 (November 5, 2018): 11; Shi Youxing, “‘Chadui’ huaiyun bei citui, nengfou huopei?” [Compensation for dismissal for “cutting colleagues in line” to get pregnant?], *Procuratorial Daily*, October 24, 2018; Chen Yuqian, “Huaiyun nu yuangong zao citui; zhichang qishi weifa, yulun qishi hanxin” [Pregnant female employee dismissed; employment discrimination is illegal, yet popular opinion is indifferent], *The Paper*, April 19, 2019; Noelle Mateer, Charlotte Tang, and Teng Jing Xuan, “Lining Up to Get Pregnant: The Unintended Victims of the Two-Child Rule,” *Caixin Global*, December 29, 2018.

<sup>13</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Laodong Fa* [PRC Labor Law], passed July 5, 1994, effective January 1, 1995, arts. 12–29(3); *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Funu Quanyi Baozhang Fa* [PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests], passed April 3, 1992, amended August 28, 2005, effective December 1, 2005, art. 27; “28 sui nu yuangong shiyongqi faxian huaiyun zao citui, lushi: yongren danwei shexian weifa” [28-year-old female worker dismissed after discovering pregnancy during hiring trial period, lawyer: employer suspected of violating law], *The Paper*, April 19, 2019.

<sup>14</sup>Chen Yuqian, “Huaiyun nu yuangong zao citui; zhichang qishi weifa, yulun qishi hanxin” [Pregnant female employee dismissed; employment discrimination is illegal, yet popular opinion is indifferent], *The Paper*, April 19, 2019.

<sup>15</sup>Dorcas Wong, Dezan Shira & Associates, “China Bans Questions on Marital, Childbearing Status during Hiring,” China Briefing, March 7, 2019.

<sup>16</sup>Sukti Dasgupta, Makiko Matsumoto, and Cuntao Xia, International Labour Organization Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, “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,” November 2, 2017, 120–21.

<sup>17</sup>Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security et al., *Renli Ziyuan Shehui Baozhang Bu, Jiaoyu Bu, Deng Jiu Bumen Guanyu Jin Yibu Guifan Zhaopin Xingwei Cujin Funu Jiuye De Tongzhi* [Circular Regarding Furthering the Regulation of Recruitment Activity to Increase Female Employment], issued February 21, 2019.

<sup>18</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 2018, 2.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 30, 33.

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<sup>20</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China: Female Civil Servants Face Discrimination, Harassment,” November 8, 2018.

<sup>21</sup>Simina Mistreanu, “China’s #MeToo Activists Have Transformed a Generation,” *Foreign Policy*, January 10, 2019.

<sup>22</sup>Supreme People’s Court, *Zuigao Renmin Fayuan Guanyu Zengjia Minshi Anjian Anyou De Tongzhi* [Circular Regarding the Addition of Civil Causes of Action], issued December 12, 2018, effective January 1, 2019.

<sup>23</sup>Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security et al., *Renli Ziyuan Shehui Baozhang Bu, Jiaoyu Bu, Deng Jiu Bumen Guanyu Jinyibu Guifan Zhaopin Xingwei Cujin Funu Jiuye De Tongzhi* [Circular Regarding Furthering the Regulation of Recruitment Activity to Increase Female Employment], issued February 21, 2019.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>State Council, “Zhengfu gongzuo baogao” [Government work report], reprinted in *Xinhua*, March 16, 2019.

<sup>27</sup>Li You, “China Imposes Hefty Fines for Sexist Hiring Practices,” *Sixth Tone*, February 22, 2019; Amy Qin, “Stop Asking Women about Childbearing Status, China Tells Employers,” *New York Times*, February 21, 2019.

<sup>28</sup>FreeChineseFeminists (@FeministChina), “Dezhou, Shandong’s new regulation for gender equality in recruitment . . .,” Twitter, January 28, 2019, 7:59 p.m.

<sup>29</sup>Laurie Chen, “Speak Up to Prevent Sexual Harassment: Chinese Feminists Hail Beijing Subway Ads as Sign of Progress,” *South China Morning Post*, September 18, 2018.

<sup>30</sup>China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” accessed April 29, 2019; Human Rights Watch, “China: Female Civil Servants Face Discrimination, Harassment,” November 8, 2018.

<sup>31</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Laodong Fa* [PRC Labor Law], passed 5 July 94, effective 1 January 95, amended December 29, 2018, arts. 12–13. Gender-based discrimination against employees or applicants for employment is prohibited in most circumstances under Articles 12 and 13 of the PRC Labor Law. See also Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, *Jiuye Fuwu Yu Jiuye Guanli Guiding* [Provisions on Employment Services and Employment Management], issued November 5, 2007, amended December 23, 2014, effective February 1, 2015, arts. 20, 58(2); *PRC Constitution*, passed and effective December 4, 1982 (amended March 11, 2018), art. 48.

<sup>32</sup>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of December 18, 1979, entry into force September 3, 1981, art. 11.1; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, accessed July 15, 2019. 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 December 16, 1966, entry into force January 3, 1976, art. 7; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, accessed July 15, 2019. China signed the ICESCR on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001.

<sup>33</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 2018, 3–4.

<sup>34</sup>China Labour Bulletin, “Workplace Discrimination,” accessed April 29, 2019; Human Rights Watch, “Only Men Need Apply: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 2018, 3–4.

<sup>35</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Laodong Fa* [PRC Labor Law], passed July 5, 1994, effective January 1, 1995, amended December 29, 2018, arts. 59–61, 63; State Council, *Nu Zhigong Laodong Baohu Tebie Guiding* [Special Provisions for the Protection of Female Employees’ Labor], issued and effective April 28, 2012, 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).

<sup>36</sup>Renmin Ribao (@renminribao), “Jintian, zhuanfa weibo: xiang baoli . . .” [Today, from Weibo: violence . . .], Weibo post, November 25, 2018, 4:15 p.m.

<sup>37</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Fan Jiating Baoli Fa* [PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law], passed December 27, 2015, effective March 1, 2016, chap. 4.

<sup>38</sup>Fu Danni et al., “Fan Jiabao Fa shishi liang zhou nian, renshen anquan baohu ling shishi xiaoli reng dai jiaqiang” [Two years under Anti-Domestic Violence Law, effectiveness of protection orders awaits reinforcement], *The Paper*, March 1, 2018. See also CECC, *2016 Annual Report*, October 6, 2016, 180.

<sup>39</sup>Zhang Qing and Feng Yuan, “Jiyu dui 560 fen caidingshu de fenxi, ‘Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Fan Jiating Baoli Fa’ shishi san zhounian jiance baogao” [Report monitoring three years of “PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law” implementation: Analysis of 560 judgments], China Development Brief, March 8, 2019.

<sup>40</sup>Hannah Feldshuh, “Domestic Violence in China and the Limitations of Law,” *SupChina*, October 10, 2018; Renmin Ribao (@renminribao), “Jintian, zhuanfa weibo: xiang baoli . . .” [Today, from Weibo: violence . . .], Weibo post, November 25, 2018, 4:15 p.m.

<sup>41</sup>Xia Fanghai, “Xiang jiabao shuo bu! Yunnan chutai jiating baoli qiangzhi baogao zhidu shishi banfa” [“Say no to domestic violence! Yunnan releases enforcing measures for compulsory reporting mechanism for domestic violence], Yunnan Net, January 3, 2019.

<sup>42</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Funu Quanyi Baozhang Fa* [PRC Law on the Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests], passed April 3, 1992, amended August 28, 2005, effective December 1, 2005, art. 11; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Quanguo Renmin Daibiao Dahui He Difang Geji Renmin Daibiao Dahui Xuanju Fa* [PRC Electoral Law of the National People’s Congress and Local People’s Congresses], passed July 1, 1979, amended August 29, 2015, art. 6. Both of these laws stipulate that an “appropriate number” of female deputies should serve at all levels of people’s congresses.



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<sup>43</sup>“Target: 30 Percent of Leadership Positions to Women by 1995—United Nations Commission on the Status of Women,” UN Chronicle 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*, accessed April 13, 2018; “China’s National Legislature Starts Annual Session in Beijing,” *Xinhua*, March 5, 2018; “Reality Check: Does China’s Communist Party Have a Woman Problem?,” *BBC*, October 25, 2017; “China Focus: New Era for China’s Female Deputies,” *Xinhua*, March 7, 2018. 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. 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—compare with 2 out of 31 in the previous government.

<sup>44</sup>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 34/180 of December 18, 1979, entry into force September 3, 1981, 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, accessed July 15, 2019. 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.

<sup>45</sup>Guangzhou Municipal Civil Affairs Department, “Guangzhou Shi Minzheng Ju gongbu shexian feifa shehui zuzhi mingdan (di liu pi)” [Guangzhou Municipal Civil Affairs Department issues list of suspected illegal social organizations (sixth batch)], January 8, 2019; Grace Tsoi, “Chinese Anti-Sexual Violence Center Shuts Down,” *Inkstone*, December 7, 2018; Jiayun Feng, “Guangzhou Gender and Sexuality Education Center Shuts Down,” *SupChina*, December 6, 2018.

<sup>46</sup>Wei Tingting is one of the Feminist Five rights advocates detained in March 2015 for organizing an anti-sexual harassment campaign. For more information on Wei Tingting, see Lü Pin, “Four Years On: The Whereabouts of the ‘Feminist Five’ and the Sustainability of Feminist Activism in China,” *China Change*, March 11, 2019; CECC, *2015 Annual Report*, October 8, 2015, 173. See also the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00114.

<sup>47</sup>Erweima Hen Nan Fuzhi (@GSEC123), “Gong hao ting geng shuoming” [Account closure and explanation], WeChat, December 6, 2018; Jiayun Feng, “Guangzhou Gender and Sexuality Education Center Shuts Down,” *SupChina*, December 6, 2018.

<sup>48</sup>Erweima Hen Nan Fuzhi (@GSEC123), “Gong hao ting geng shuoming” [Account closure and explanation], WeChat post, December 6, 2018; Jiayun Feng, “Guangzhou Gender and Sexuality Education Center Shuts Down,” *SupChina*, December 6, 2018.

<sup>49</sup>Jiayun Feng, “Chinese Social Media Censors Feminist Voices,” *SupChina*, March 9, 2018.

<sup>50</sup>Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “China Is Said to Force Closing of Women’s Legal Aid Center,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2016.

<sup>51</sup>Siodhbhra Parkin and Jiayun Feng, “The Government Is Powerful, but It Can’t Shut Us Down: Lü Pin on China’s #MeToo Movement,” *SupChina*, July 12, 2019.

<sup>52</sup>Simina Mistreanu, “China’s #MeToo Activists Have Transformed a Generation,” *Foreign Policy*, January 10, 2019; Viola Zhou, “Chinese Social Media Site Blocks Petition Backing Woman Accusing Tech Billionaire of Rape,” *Inkstone*, May 1, 2019.

<sup>53</sup>King-wa Fu, “Censored on WeChat: #MeToo in China,” *Global Voices*, March 25, 2019.

<sup>54</sup>Simina Mistreanu, “China’s #MeToo Activists Have Transformed a Generation,” *Foreign Policy*, January 10, 2019.

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