

CECC Annual Report 2021

KEY FINDINGS

STATUS OF WOMEN

- Despite numerous policies, laws, and regulations aimed at promoting gender equality and eliminating gender-based discrimination, women in China continue to face forced abortion, sterilization, and serious discrimination in many domains, including employment, wages, education, and through the non-enforcement of laws and regulations intended to protect women’s rights and interests. Some commentators expected that the already widespread problem of pregnancy-based workplace discrimination was poised to worsen after the government’s announcement of its new three-child policy in May 2021.
- According to the List of Issues the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women sent to the Chinese government in March 2021 in advance of its upcoming review, women in China “remain seriously underrepresented in legislative bodies, decision-making positions and public institutions at both the central and local levels.”
- The Chinese Communist Party and government tightened control over feminists and others advocating for women’s rights to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly and association. Little physical space remained for feminists to organize and protest during the reporting year, so their online presence and community became increasingly important. Many prominent feminists, however, were attacked online during the spring of 2021, and several popular social media platforms shut down their accounts. The Party and government likely played a role, either directly or indirectly, in this move to silence feminists’ voices online.
- Although the Chinese government continues to take measures aimed at improving the implementation of the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law—such as the Supreme People’s Court’s release of 10 new “typical cases” warranting personal safety protection orders—protection orders are rarely issued and domestic violence remains a severe problem. Several high-profile cases highlighted the severity of the problem of domestic violence, and new research published in early 2021 relating to divorce courts’ handling of domestic violence claims underscored the failure of the legal system and law enforcement authorities to protect women’s rights and interests. Some observers in China have expressed concern that the new PRC Civil Code’s provision that requires couples seeking a divorce to first go through a 30-day “cooling-off period” could make the situation for women in abusive marriages even more precarious.
- Sexual harassment is widespread in China, and it was only with the recent adoption of the PRC Civil Code (effective January 1, 2021) that a specific definition of sexual harassment was codified, detailing the kinds of conduct that could be considered sexual harassment, creating liability for perpetrators, and obligating employers to institute measures to prevent and stop workplace sexual harassment. The challenges facing victims of

sexual harassment who seek redress through the legal system were highlighted in the landmark #MeToo case brought by Zhou Xiaoxuan (also known as Xianzi), a former college intern at CCTV, against a popular CCTV host, Zhu Jun.

- Reports of gender-based violence against ethnic minority women in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) continued to emerge during the reporting year. Uyghur and other Turkic Muslim women who were formerly detained in mass internment camps in the XUAR have reported being subjected to coercive birth control measures, including forced implantation of intrauterine devices (IUDs), forced sterilization, and forced abortion. The former detainees also described beatings, systematic rape, and other forms of abuse and torture.

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Recommendations

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

- Urge the Chinese government to provide the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) with accurate and comprehensive information in response to the questions raised by the Committee in advance of its upcoming periodic review of China's compliance with the CEDAW treaty. Encourage the Chinese government to effectively implement the CEDAW Committee's recommendations from its 2014 review, and engage in good faith with the Committee during the upcoming review.
- Urge the Chinese government to cease the harassment, intimidation, and other forms of mistreatment, offline and online, of women's rights activists. In conjunction with the CEDAW Committee's next review of China, organize a conference and/or UN side event that features Chinese women's rights activists now based outside of China, and provide support, and a platform, for diaspora groups working to improve the human rights situation for women in mainland China and Hong Kong.
- Noting the recent legal developments aimed at promoting women's rights and interests, such as the inclusion of an anti-sexual harassment provision (Article 1010) in the PRC Civil Code that took effect on January 1, 2021, and local government initiatives to address sexual harassment in the workplace, and urge the Chinese government to ratify International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 190, the Convention Concerning the Elimination of Violence and Harassment in the World of Work (2019).

STATUS OF WOMEN

Introduction

Chinese government and Communist Party authorities—through policy, law, and action—continued to violate women’s human rights, including women’s rights to freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, privacy, and rights relating to familial relations and participation in political and public life. Moreover, by not adequately implementing laws and regulations aimed at protecting women from discrimination, domestic violence, and other practices harmful to women, the government failed to fulfill its obligations under China’s domestic laws and policies and its commitments under the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which it ratified in 1980.¹

Political Participation and the Right to Participate in Public Life

As in previous years, women held few positions in the top levels of influence and power in the Chinese government and Communist Party structure.² For example, only 25 percent of the delegates appointed to the 13th National People’s Congress in 2018 were women.³ There is only one woman among the 25 members of the Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau (Politburo), and no women serve on the Standing Committee of the Politburo.⁴ Research conducted in late 2020 by ChinaFile found that “[l]ess than 9 percent of Party secretaries and heads of local governments at the provincial, municipal, and county levels are women.”⁵ Moreover, based on 2018 figures, of the 90 million members of the Chinese Communist Party, only 27 percent were women.⁶

In March 2021, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee), the treaty body of 23 independent experts mandated to monitor compliance of States Parties with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Convention), sent the Chinese government a List of Issues including “major areas of concern” that will serve as a focus for China’s upcoming review.⁷ With respect to political participation, the CEDAW Committee stated that the data the Chinese government provided in its most recent State Party report demonstrate that women “remain seriously underrepresented in legislative bodies, decision-making positions and public institutions at both the central and local levels,”⁸ and asked what measures the Chinese government had taken to “accelerate women’s full and equal participation in elected and appointed bodies.”⁹

The Chinese government and Communist Party continued to violate women’s rights to freedom of expression, and freedom of peaceful assembly and association.¹⁰ Since 2015, the government and Party have directly or indirectly (through intimidation and harassment) forced the closure of most grassroots women’s rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs), thereby depriving women’s rights advocates of the space and platforms to organize, engage in advocacy, and participate in public life.¹¹ A rare gathering of at least 100 supporters outside a Beijing municipality courthouse in December 2020 to support Zhou Xiaoxuan (also known as Xianzi),

a plaintiff in a high-profile sexual harassment case, lasted for hours, but not without police harassment and intimidation.¹² [See Landmark #MeToo Case Highlights Challenges in Seeking Redress for Sexual Harassment in this section.]

Women’s rights advocacy suffered another blow during the reporting year as intimidation and harassment of those engaged in discussion and advocacy of issues affecting women increased. As a result of shrinking civic space in China over the past several years, social media online platforms such as Weibo have come to play an even more significant role in feminist activism, particularly as the movement has reached across borders to Chinese feminist activists and allies located abroad.¹³ In late March 2021, nationalist influencers on Weibo with massive followings targeted a prominent feminist activist, which led to Weibo closing her account and then the accounts of 10 other feminist activists in China and abroad after they defended the original victim.¹⁴ By April 29, Weibo had shut down a total of at least 20 Chinese feminist activists’ accounts.¹⁵ Weibo said it closed the accounts after receiving complaints about posts that allegedly included “illegal and harmful information.”¹⁶ The Party and government likely played a role, directly or indirectly, in this move to silence feminists’ voices online.¹⁷ A Fudan University sociology professor told the Guardian, “it is clear there are no social platforms in China that are friendly to women and women’s rights issues.”¹⁸ Several of the feminists whose accounts were shut down have filed lawsuits against Weibo.¹⁹

Discrimination

The Chinese Communist Party and government continued to discriminate against women in multiple domains during this reporting year, including employment,²⁰ wages,²¹ education,²² and by the nonenforcement of laws and regulations intended to protect women’s rights and interests.²³ In addition, rural women continued to face discrimination with respect to their land-use rights and land tenure security.²⁴ Following the government’s announcement of its new three-child policy in May 2021, and its ongoing propaganda effort encouraging women to stay home and raise (more) children, some commentators expected that the already widespread problem of pregnancy-based workplace discrimination would only get worse.²⁵

Contrary to its international human rights commitments, the Chinese government still has not defined specifically in legislation the meaning of “discrimination against women.”²⁶ Nor has the government adopted comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation, despite repeated calls by UN treaty bodies and experts for it to do so.²⁷

Gender-Based Violence

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND DIVORCE

Two of the most pressing problems facing women in China—domestic violence and the difficulty in obtaining a divorce—garnered substantial attention during this reporting year.²⁸ Several high-profile cases highlighted the severity of the problem of domes-

tic violence and the failure of the legal system and law enforcement authorities to protect women's rights and interests, despite the PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law (ADV L), which took effect in 2016.²⁹

Judges handling contested divorces often fail to adequately implement laws and regulations that were created to protect women's rights, including the ADV L.³⁰ Chinese courts handle more than 1.5 million contested divorce cases annually, and approximately 70 percent of those cases are initiated by women.³¹ According to research recently published by Xin He, a law professor at the University of Hong Kong, claims of domestic violence are often asserted in divorce petitions, but are frequently dismissed or trivialized by judges.³² Xin He found that institutional concerns and incentives that prioritize efficiency and social stability play a significant role in judicial decision-making, which has resulted in detrimental judgments for female plaintiffs.³³

Similar institutional incentives, including the perpetuation of cultural biases as a means to efficiently close cases, explain why judges rarely issue personal safety protection orders.³⁴ During the period from when the ADV L (and its protection order mechanism) took effect on March 1, 2016 until the end of December 2019, judges nationwide had issued only 5,749 protective orders.³⁵ The Chinese government has not made public data showing how many protective orders were sought during that time period, but Xin He described earlier figures for petitions and approved protective orders as "ludicrously low."³⁶ Nevertheless, the Chinese government continues efforts to promote the implementation of protection orders.³⁷ In November 2020, the Supreme People's Court, along with the Chinese Association of Women Judges and the All-China Women's Federation, issued 10 new "typical cases" warranting personal safety protection orders to further clarify and expand its application in certain situations.³⁸

Domestic violence is widespread in China.³⁹ According to an official media report published in 2017, one-quarter of married Chinese women have suffered domestic violence at some point in their marriages.⁴⁰ While experts said domestic violence rose substantially during the COVID-19 epidemic due to lockdown orders and rising tensions in households, there is no current official nationwide data available on domestic violence, either before the COVID-19 outbreak and lockdowns, or after.⁴¹

A particularly shocking case that received widespread attention in 2020 was the killing of Lhamo, a 30-year-old Tibetan farmer and social media personality with hundreds of thousands of followers, who live-streamed short video clips of her daily life on Douyin (the Chinese version of TikTok).⁴² One evening in September 2020, while she was live-streaming from her kitchen, her ex-husband—who had abused her for years—appeared, and the screen went black.⁴³ He then poured gas on her and set her on fire.⁴⁴ Lhamo died several weeks later, and a storm of public outrage ensued on Weibo, with internet users calling for better law enforcement and more accountability for domestic violence perpetrators.⁴⁵ Lhamo had sought assistance from the local branch of the All-China Women's Federation and the police, but they failed to protect her.⁴⁶

Some observers in China have expressed concern that provisions of the new PRC Civil Code that require couples seeking a divorce to first go through a 30-day “cooling-off period” threaten to make the situation for women in abusive marriages even more precarious.⁴⁷ Concerned about declining marriage and birth rates, and a rising divorce rate, the Chinese government included a mandated “cooling-off period” in the new Civil Code, which took effect on January 1, 2021, with the aim of discouraging divorce, keeping more couples together, and ultimately increasing the (Han Chinese) birth rate.⁴⁸ Based on the limited data from the first quarter of 2021, it appears to have had some effect: 72 percent fewer divorces were granted from January through March than in the final quarter of 2020.⁴⁹ The new “cooling-off period” may lead to the unintended consequence of more young people deciding to forgo marriage entirely.⁵⁰

STATE-SPONSORED GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AGAINST ETHNIC MINORITY WOMEN

Reports of gender-based violence against ethnic minority women in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) continued to emerge during this reporting year.⁵¹ Uyghur, Kazakh, and other Turkic Muslim women who were formerly detained in mass internment camps in the XUAR have reported being subjected to coercive birth control measures, including forced implantation of intra-uterine devices (IUDs), forced sterilization, and forced abortion.⁵² The former detainees also described beatings, systematic rape, and other forms of abuse and torture.⁵³ In its List of Issues submitted to the Chinese government, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women asked the Chinese government to provide information about “measures taken to reduce the number of women in detention, including in extralegal detention facilities and so-called ‘re-education’ camps, and to address gender-based violence and torture against those women.”⁵⁴ [For more information on forcible population control measures used against ethnic minority women in the XUAR, see Section II—Population Control and Section IV—Xinjiang.]

SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND ASSAULT

Sexual harassment is widespread in the workplace⁵⁵ and elsewhere⁵⁶ in China. The Chinese #MeToo movement brought greater attention to the issue with several high-profile cases that went viral and prompted widespread discussion of the problem.⁵⁷ While Chinese law generally prohibits sexual harassment against women, it was only with the adoption of the PRC Civil Code in May 2020 (effective January 1, 2021),⁵⁸ that a specific definition of sexual harassment was codified, detailing the kinds of conduct that could be considered sexual harassment, creating liability for perpetrators, and obligating employers to institute measures to prevent and stop workplace sexual harassment.⁵⁹

Experts and advocates have noted that while the new anti-sexual harassment legislation is an important development, it lacks clarity and specificity with respect to remedies for victims and penalties for offenders.⁶⁰ In March 2021, nine government departments in Shenzhen municipality, Guangdong province, jointly took action to

address some of the gaps in the national legislation by releasing an official guidebook that provides “a unified standard for sexual harassment policy at schools and workplaces,”⁶¹ and addresses sexual harassment prevention as well as recommended punishments for offenders.⁶²

**Landmark #MeToo Case Highlights Challenges
in Seeking Redress for Sexual Harassment**

The high-profile #MeToo case involving Zhou Xiaoxuan, also known by her online alias, Xianzi, highlights the many challenges facing victims of sexual harassment who seek redress through the Chinese legal system.⁶³ Sexual harassment cases in China rarely make it to court, and this case is particularly challenging because the defendant in Zhou’s case is a high-profile, popular TV celebrity, Zhu Jun.⁶⁴ Zhu, “a household name”⁶⁵ in China, is a host on China’s state-run CCTV, where Zhou Xiaoxuan, then a 21-year-old college student, interned in 2014.⁶⁶ Many #MeToo supporters have observed that while many women have been inspired by Zhou’s pursuit of justice and view her as a role model,⁶⁷ the difficulties and delays Zhou has faced since 2018 when she first shared her account of what happened may lead to fewer sexual harassment victims deciding to come forward.⁶⁸

In 2018, Zhou wrote an essay that went viral after a friend posted it on Weibo, in which she accused Zhu of sexually harassing her in 2014.⁶⁹ Afterwards, Weibo and other platforms began to censor her story and related posts per government directive,⁷⁰ and Zhu sued Zhou for defamation.⁷¹

Zhou then sued Zhu, claiming an “infringement on personal dignity” rather than sexual harassment, because it wasn’t until January 2019 that a sexual harassment cause of action was recognized by the Supreme People’s Court.⁷² Zhou and her lawyers sought to have her case reclassified under this new cause of action.⁷³

During a hearing that lasted more than 10 hours at the Haidian District People’s Court in Beijing municipality on December 2, 2020, the court denied Zhou’s motion to reclassify her case and made several other evidentiary rulings that disadvantaged Zhou, and adjourned without a verdict.⁷⁴ Despite repeated requests that the defendant Zhu appear in court for pre-trial and trial hearings, he never did.⁷⁵ The court ruled that his appearance was “not necessary.”⁷⁶ At least 100 of Zhou’s supporters showed up outside the court building holding signs with messages such as “#GoXianzi,” “Together we ask history for an answer,” and “#MeToo.”⁷⁷ Many other supporters gathered online, as censors deleted posts with hashtags related to the case and #MeToo.⁷⁸

The court abruptly postponed a second trial hearing in Zhou’s case scheduled for May 21, 2021, without explanation and without announcing a new hearing date.⁷⁹ Afterwards, Zhou wrote: “When I filed my case in 2018, I was hopeful I would win. Now, in 2021, I still believe in myself when I walk into the court, but I can only hope for some due process and the basic decency that any human being deserves.”⁸⁰

Notes to Section II—Status of Women

¹ 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, art. 11.1; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, accessed June 30, 2021. China signed CEDAW on July 17, 1980, and ratified it on November 4, 1980.

² Shen Lu, “Pretty Lady Cadres: New Data Shows the Limits of Women’s Advancement in China’s Leadership,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, December 21, 2020; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2020—China (Includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau),” March 30, 2021, 52; World Economic Forum, “Global Gender Gap Report 2021,” March 30, 2021, 36. For earlier CECC reports noting low levels of women’s participation at higher levels of political leadership in China, see CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 166; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 152; CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 169.

³ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2020—China (Includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau),” March 30, 2021, 52.

⁴ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2020—China (Includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau),” March 30, 2021, 52.

⁵ Shen Lu, “Pretty Lady Cadres: New Data Shows the Limits of Women’s Advancement in China’s Leadership,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, December 21, 2020.

⁶ Shen Lu, “Pretty Lady Cadres: New Data Shows the Limits of Women’s Advancement in China’s Leadership,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, December 21, 2020.

⁷ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021. The list of issues was adopted by the pre-sessional working group (PSWG) on March 5, 2021, according to a note on page 1. A description of the “List of Issues (LOI)” procedure is contained in the “Working Methods” section of the CEDAW Committee’s website, Part III (A). UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “Consideration of Reports of State Parties by the Committee, Pre-Sessional working Group,” accessed June 14, 2021.

⁸ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021, para. 11. The Committee cited paragraphs 60, 61, 63, and 65 of China’s ninth periodic report to the Committee in its List of Issues concerning “Participation in political and public life” (para. 11). See also UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “Ninth Periodic Report Submitted by China under Article 18 of the Convention, Due in 2018,” (Date Received: 26 March 2020), CEDAW/C/CHN/9, December 16, 2020, paras. 60, 61, 63, 65.

⁹ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021, para. 11.

¹⁰ The rights to freedom of expression and freedom of peaceful assembly and association are guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, arts. 19–20, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, arts. 19, 21, 22. The Chinese government signed the ICCPR on October 5, 1998, but has yet to ratify the covenant.

¹¹ Shen Lu and Mengwen Cao, “Thwarted at Home, Can China’s Feminists Rebuild a Movement Abroad?,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, August 28, 2019; Zoe Low, “China Gender and Sexuality Centre Shuts Down as Censorship Chill Spreads,” *South China Morning Post*, December 8, 2018; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “China Is Said to Force Closing of Women’s Legal Aid Center,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2016; CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 166.

¹² Caiwei Chen, “12 Hours outside Haidian People’s Court: China’s Landmark #MeToo Case,” *SupChina*, December 10, 2020.

¹³ Shen Lu, “Thwarted at Home, Can China’s Feminists Rebuild a Movement Abroad?,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, August 28, 2019; CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 166; CECC *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 152–53.

¹⁴ Shen Lu, “Weibo Is ‘Treating the Incels Like the Royal Family,’” *Protocol*, April 15, 2021; Helen Davidson, “China’s Feminists Protest against Wave of Online Abuse with ‘Internet Violence Museum,’” *Guardian*, May 13, 2021.

¹⁵ Helen Davidson, “China’s Feminists Protest against Wave of Online Abuse with ‘Internet Violence Museum,’” *Guardian*, May 13, 2021; Leta Hong Fincher, “Feminists Thwarting China’s Population Goals,” *Politico*, April 29, 2021.

¹⁶ William Yang, “China Feminists Face Clampdown, Closure of Online Accounts,” *Deutsche Welle*, April 21, 2021; Helen Davidson, “China’s Feminists Protest against Wave of Online Abuse with ‘Internet Violence Museum,’” *Guardian*, May 13, 2021.

¹⁷ Zixu Wang, “How Chinese Nationalists Weaponized ‘Anti-China’ Accusations to Silence Feminists,” *NBC News*, May 12, 2021; William Yang, “China Feminists Face Clampdown, Closure of Online Accounts,” *Deutsche Welle*, April 21, 2021. In a public statement, one of the victims of the Weibo account closures described receiving hundreds of messages from Weibo users that “contain[ed] personal ‘vicious and anti-women’ attacks.”

¹⁸ Helen Davidson, “China’s Feminists Protest against Wave of Online Abuse with ‘Internet Violence Museum,’” *Guardian*, May 13, 2021; William Yang, “China Feminists Face Clampdown, Closure of Online Accounts,” *Deutsche Welle*, April 21, 2021.

¹⁹ Shen Lu, “Weibo Is ‘Treating the Incels Like the Royal Family,’” *Protocol*, April 15, 2021; William Yang, “China Feminists Face Clampdown, Closure of Online Accounts,” *Deutsche Welle*,

April 21, 2021; “Translation: ‘We’re Scared, We’re Brave, We’ll Keep On Trying’ by Zheng Churan.” *China Digital Times*, May 13, 2021.

²⁰Human Rights Watch, “‘Take Maternity Leave and You’ll Be Replaced’: China’s Two-Child Policy and Workplace Gender Discrimination,” June 1, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “China: Gender Discrimination in Hiring Persists,” April 29, 2020.

²¹World Economic Forum, “Global Gender Gap Report 2021,” March 30, 2021, 36. The Global Gender Gap Report 2021 noted the existence of wage and income gaps between men and women in China but also reported on a reduction in that gap compared with 2020. Large gender gaps remain in labor force participation and senior roles in companies. CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 164.

²²Zhang Wanqing, “China Limits Schools, Majors That Can Refuse Women,” *Sixth Tone*, February 25, 2021.

²³See, e.g., Xin He, “Why Don’t Chinese Divorce Courts Better Protect Women?,” *USALI Perspectives* 1, no. 22, May 13, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “‘Take Maternity Leave and You’ll Be Replaced’: China’s Two-Child Policy and Workplace Gender Discrimination,” June 1, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “‘Only Men Need Apply’: Gender Discrimination in Job Advertisements in China,” April 23, 2018. See also UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, “Concluding Observations on the Second Periodic Report of China, Including Hong Kong, China, and Macao, China,” E/C.12/CHN/CO/2, June 13, 2014, para. 16.

²⁴UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021, paras. 19, 21; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “CHRD Submission to Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women for Consideration for the List of Issues on the Ninth Periodic Report of the People’s Republic of China,” January 21, 2021, 2; Han Wenjing, “The Role of Land Tenure Security in Promoting Rural Women’s Empowerment: Empirical Evidence from Rural China,” *Land Use Policy* 86 (July 1, 2019): 280–89; Land Portal, “A Journey into Land Issues in China,” December 16, 2020.

²⁵Vivian Wang, “Have Three Children? No Way, Many Chinese Say,” *New York Times*, June 1, 2021. See also Human Rights Watch, “‘Take Maternity Leave and You’ll Be Replaced’: China’s Two-Child Policy and Workplace Gender Discrimination,” June 1, 2021, 1, 3, 10; Alexandra Stevenson and Elsie Chen, “In China, Working Mothers Say They Are Fired or Sidelined,” *New York Times*, November 1, 2019; CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 164–65.

²⁶UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021, para. 2; Equality Rights Project, Media Monitor for Women Network, and Lanxin Sisters Mutual Aid, “A Parallel Report to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women for Consideration of the List of Issues on the Ninth Periodic Report of the People’s Republic of China,” February 1, 2021.

²⁷See, e.g., UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, “List of Issues in Relation to the Third Periodic Report of China,” E/C.12/CHN/Q/3, April 7, 2021, para. 12; UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, “Concluding Observations on the Second Periodic Report of China, Including Hong Kong, China, and Macao, China,” E/C.12/CHN/CO/2, June 13, 2014, para. 14. See also UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, “Concluding Observations on the Initial Report of China, Adopted by the Committee at Its Eighth Session (17–28 September 2012),” October 15, 2012, para. III.B.11; UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, “List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of China,” CEDAW/C/CHN/Q/9, March 10, 2021, para. 2.

²⁸Sui-Lee Wee, “Her Husband Abused Her. But Getting a Divorce Was an Ordeal,” *New York Times*, September 16, 2020; Elsie Chen, “Her Abuse Was a ‘Family Matter,’ Until It Went Live,” *New York Times*, November 15, 2020; “Shocking Cases Highlight China’s Domestic Abuse Crisis,” *China Digital Times*, November 19, 2020; Zhang Wanqing, “A Woman Was Beaten to Death by Her In-Laws. They Got Three Years,” *Sixth Tone*, November 19, 2020.

²⁹*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Fan Jiating Baoli Fa* [PRC Anti-Domestic Violence Law], passed December 27, 2015, effective March 1, 2016; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2020—China (Includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau),” March 30, 2021, 56.

³⁰Xin He, “Why Don’t Chinese Divorce Courts Better Protect Women?,” *USALI Perspectives* 1, no. 22, May 13, 2021. See also Xin He, *Divorce in China: Institutional Constraints and Gendered Outcomes* (New York: NYU Press, 2021), 11–13, 111.

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³²Xin He, *Divorce in China: Institutional Constraints and Gendered Outcomes* (New York: NYU Press, 2021), 4–5, 108–9.

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