

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN CHINA

BY

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## ABSTRACT

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### WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN CHINA

Thesis under the direction of Michael Pisapia, Ph.D., Professor of Politics

In the last two decades, one of the most remarkable phenomena worldwide is the rise of women in politics. However, the development of women's political participation in China lags behind women's political participation in Western countries. In the Chinese political field, public positions tend to be gendered, and the authority of female officials is marginalized. In this paper, I examine the factors that have shaped the political development of Chinese women's movement towards equality with men, and I explain why the political participation of Chinese women continues to lag behind men's. After assessing the lack of women's political participation, I consider ways to improve Chinese women's political participation, including developing women's access to jobs in tertiary industries and decreasing the time women spend on unpaid domestic work; strengthening the institutional guarantee of Chinese women's political participation; strengthening the cooperation between the government and NGO; strengthening teacher training, downplaying the gender bias in textbooks, and raising women's consciousness of political participation. These

findings will be useful to public policy analysts in China who are concerned about the enduring obstacles to women's political empowerment, and who are considering policy measures they might adopt to further increase women's political participation.

## INTRODUCTION

Female political participation reflects the progress of human political civilization. Moreover, it is an important element for national political democratization. Women long to enter politics in order to pursue their equality and seek better conditions for themselves in society.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, there has been great progress for Chinese women's political participation. There are 652,872,280 women<sup>1</sup> who account for nearly half of the national population of China; however, women still do not enjoy the exercise of equal rights with men in Chinese politics. In order to find a solution to this disparity, there have been a number of studies on women's political participation in China since the 1980s. After the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, this topic became the focus of academics and women's activists.

In recent years, researchers have started to study Chinese women's political participation from multiple angles. In the beginning, researchers interested in gender studies and political science focused primarily on patterns of women's growth as a official in government and the ways women officials were selected and trained. Hence, there have been influential treatises on the opportunities for and constraints of Chinese women's political participation. However, in China, research on women's political participation is still in its infancy, so such research lags behind western developed countries.

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<sup>1</sup> “2010nian diliuci quanguo renkoupucha zhuyao shuju gongbao” 2010 年第六次全国人口普查主要数据公报 [The Bulletin of the Sixth National Population Census] National Bureau of Statistics of China, accessed June 26, 2013, [http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20110428\\_402722232.htm](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20110428_402722232.htm)  
“Woguo renkou pingjun yuqi shouming dadao 74.83sui” 我国人口平均预期寿命达到 74.83 岁 [The Average Life Expectancy in China Reached 74.83 Years Old], National Bureau of Statistics of China, accessed May 03, 2013, [http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20120921\\_402838652.htm](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20120921_402838652.htm)

In this paper, I reveal the complex development of women's political participation, with a focus on China, and brief comparisons to the feminist movement in the West. In addition, I analyze the opportunities and problems that Chinese women currently face if they want to enter politics. By comparing the policies and reality of women's political participation in China, I will offer solutions toward raising the level of Chinese women's political participation.

In Part 1 of the paper, I define the concept of female political participation. I argue that women's political participation is an important way for women to realize their own interests by making use of their political rights. The basic requirement of female political participation is women's interests in political life and positive attitudes toward political participation. Furthermore, women who are in politics consciously affect public affairs on behalf of women as a whole.

In Part 2, I document the history of Chinese and Western women's political participation to show how, despite different historical developments, nowadays, both Chinese and Western women have achieved formal legal equality with respect to political participation. However, as I document in the rest of the paper, many non-legal obstacles remain as barriers to women's participation in China.

Part 3 analyzes the modes and problems of Chinese women's political participation. Chinese traditional values, gendered cultural and institutional environments, and Chinese women's own limitations all influence their political participation.

In Part 4, I address the current mechanisms pushing Chinese women into politics.

Due to the boost of globalization, the positive effect of institutional environment, and the recovery of female individual consciousness, Chinese women's political participation may be increased. On this basis, I put forward measures to improve Chinese women's political participation.

The conclusion summarizes this thesis. I argue that women need to exercise their rights to political participation for the sake of liberty and self-development. And, I suggest what lies ahead in the future of women's political participation in China.

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## 1. *The Definition of Women's Political Participation*

What is political participation? Currently, there are a number of definitions of political participation and no one definition is universally accepted.<sup>2</sup> Huntington and Nelson define political participation to be an “activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making.”<sup>3</sup> Verba, Schlozman, and Brady declare that political participation is an “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.”<sup>4</sup> Wang Puqu, the deputy director of the Political Development and Government Management Institute of Beijing University, indicates in his work that political participation means that ordinary citizens participate in political life through a variety of legal means and affect the political system as well as mode of operation.<sup>5</sup> Clearly, different scholars hold different definitions of political participation, but their understanding of the nature of political participation is the same: political participation is an important way for citizens to exercise their political rights. Moreover, it reflects citizens' status and their effects on politics.<sup>6</sup>

Political participation is an important term of modern Western political theory as well as an important concept of modern democratic theory. It can be used to measure

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<sup>2</sup> Carol J. Uhlaner, “Political Participation,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Smelser and P. B. Baltes, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001)

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Huntington and J. M. Nelson, *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38.

<sup>5</sup> Puqu Wang 王浦劬, *Zhengzhi xue jichu 政治学基础 [The Basis of Political Science]*, (Beijing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 2005), 152.

<sup>6</sup> Wang, *Basis of Political Science*, 152.

a country's democratic development, and it is also an important part of politics.

Women's political participation refers to women's involvement in national politics and public affairs. In practice, women's political participation has four levels: the first, basic level relates to women's consciousness. It manifests as women's interests in political life and positive attitudes toward political participation. The second level is women's public-oriented role from her position in the family, and civil society. So, women who support their sons in the military for example, are playing a "political role". Or women who organize to pressure local officials to keep the city clean, as another example are also being political, even though they are not voting, or holding public office. The third, intermediate level is democratic participation, which means that women have the right to vote and be elected. The fourth level is power participation. Power participation mainly refers to female government officials who are directly involved in state and social affairs and have decision-making power. This is the highest level of female political participation. Moreover, women who are in government consciously affect decisions of governments on behalf of women as a whole. In this paper, I focus on democratic and power participation.

Democratic participation means that women have an impact on their countries indirectly. Women exert influences by exercising their right to vote and offering suggestions for public affairs.<sup>7</sup> Women know about politics and feel interested in it. It refers to women's concern for international affairs, national policies, social fairness and their own rights. Moreover, in this broader sense, women may also participate

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<sup>7</sup> Peter M. Wiedemann and Susanne Femers, "Public Participation in waste management decision making: analysis and management of conflicts," *Journal of Hazardous Materials* 33 (1993): 355–368.

outside of government in civic activities that relate to policy making or to political and social reforms.

Through power participation, women directly influence the national regime. They have the right of decision-making and managing national politics, the economy, education, and culture. Women hold political offices, and act as the staff and the officials in all levels of government, as well as in political parties, public institutions, and NGOs. Hence, they can have direct influence on national and local development as well as on social affairs. While knowing politics and being interested in politics are the prerequisites and basis of women's political participation, being in office is the highest form of women's political participation.<sup>8</sup> The measurement standard of women's power participation includes the number of women in government, quality of women's political participation, and women's positions in government.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, there are many ways for women to participate in politics, such as political voting, political elections, political association, political expression, and political contact. The essence of women's political participation is women's attitude for political participation and whether the women in politics can consciously act on behalf of the interests of women and represent women.

In this paper, the definition of women's political participation is that women consciously use their political rights to participate in national and public affairs in order to maximize their own interests.

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<sup>8</sup> Shuqin Zhao 赵树勤, *Nvxing wenhua xue* 女性文化学 [The Study of Women's Culture], (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press 广西师范大学出版社, 2006), 268

<sup>9</sup> Robert Alan Dahl and Bruce Stinebrickner, *Modern Political Analysis*, (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002)

### *1. The History of Chinese Women's Political Participation*

Social discrimination against women has been consistent throughout history. However, over the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, along with extensive development of the feminist movement as well as comprehensive improvement in women's education, women gradually became involved in governments. Since 1893 when the world's first female parliamentarian was elected in New Zealand, there have been not only an increasing number of women parliamentarians, but also a multitude of female speakers, ministers, presidents, prime ministers and other politicians who stand on the pinnacle of state power.

As I discuss below, women in China have also struggled for equality in politics, and more and more Chinese women have also entered the political field. After the Revolution of 1911, Qiu Jin, Song Qingling, and He Xiangning took part in politics as the political advocates for the interests of Chinese women. Chinese women finally stood up after years of humiliation. Within just two centuries, women had achieved fruitful progress. They get the right of vote and participate in politics. Moreover, Chinese women also enjoy the support of government for political participation.

In China today, as a result of years of revolution, women have the basic power to promote social development and maintain family stability; their status is in relation to social stability and harmony. If women have equal rights with men, the society will be harmonious.

The majority of Chinese women in feudal society were excluded from politics.

They did not have the chance to participate in the management of state and social affairs. The Chinese clan system established basic social hierarchies, which were a combination of theocracy, patriarchy, and clan authority, emerged in a slave society, which started in 21<sup>st</sup> century BC and which was strengthened in feudal society which began in 475 BC. China has the world's longest feudal period. Since the beginning of the Qin dynasty in 221 BC, men in politics were part of the political mainstream of feudal society. In 134 BC, the emperor of the Han Dynasty designated Confucianism as the official ideology. After that, the basic gendered idea of Confucianism that women are inferior to men also became the public value for all of China.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, China had thousands of years of patriarchal society. In the patriarchal society, women had no personal right or property. Confucian culture, which emerged in this social context, ruled that men enjoyed higher status than women by the ideology that "male and female are naturally different; men are superior to women".<sup>11</sup> In this traditional mode of thinking, males were superior to females. During that time, Chinese women simply bore responsibilities of parenthood, and they had strong dependences on their husbands. In turn, women's dependence also strengthened men's dictatorship over them.

So the majority of Chinese women were at the lowest level of society because they were dependent and submissive in the long term. In that time, Chinese women did not control over the means of production or rights to education. Thus, they were not qualified for political participation. What was more, women had no inheritance

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<sup>10</sup> Zhao, *The Study of Women's Culture*, 54

<sup>11</sup> Zhao, *The Study of Women's Culture*, 57

rights.

In 1840, Western capitalist countries launched the Opium War and opened China to foreign markets with artillery. Chinese emerging bourgeois intellectuals sought solutions in Western countries in order to save their nation. In the mean time, they also introduced Western feminist thought to China. Bourgeois ideologies such as freedom, equality, and natural rights were introduced to China. Thus, Chinese bourgeois intellectuals put forward concepts of gender equality and female political rights.<sup>12</sup>

Kang Youwei, one of the leaders of the Hundred Days' Reform, put forward the idea that men and women were all human beings who should enjoy equal natural rights; and, the oppression of women should be prohibited. Moreover, he came up with six guiding principles for liberating women, including setting up female schools, giving women the opportunity to be educated, allowing women to participate in elections and to serve as officials, giving women the freedom of marriage, and abolishing foot binding. Therefore, in Kang's mind, there would be an ideal world where women and men could enjoy the same education, reputation and political power. In the mean time, the famous reformist thinker and translator Yan Fu pointed out that the differences between men and women were not biological; instead, these differences were artificial. Women's self-reliance was the foundation of a nation. In order to make women self-reliant, they needed to be liberated and given respect and rights.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Zhao, *The Study of Women's Culture*, 142

<sup>13</sup> Luke S. K. Kwong, *a Mosaic of the Hundred Days: Personalities, Politics, and Ideas of 1898*, (Cambridge:

Under the influence of these ideas, some Chinese women who were in close contact with the reformers awakened and began to fight for women's equal rights. In 1897, Li Run, the wife of Tan Sitong who was one of the Hundred Days' Reform leaders, and Huang Jinyu, the wife of Kang Guangren who was also a reformer founded the first Chinese women's organization "Women's Education Society". Then in 1898, this organization published the first Chinese female press, the *Woman's Education Newspaper*, whose main goal was to fight for women's rights. The press criticized feudal ethics and exposed dangers of feudal autocracy. Simultaneously, the organization also advocated gender equality, ran girls schools, and strived for female political rights.<sup>14</sup>

During the Revolution of 1911, under the influence of Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries who were led by San Yat-sen, some Chinese women such as He Xiangning, Tang qunying and Qiu Jin awakened and broke through traditional bounds. They joined the Chinese Revolutionary League and engaged in the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution. Participating in revolutions to overthrow the Qing Dynasty, these women also asked for gender equality.

Before the revolution, in 1907, the famous female revolutionist Qiu Jin published an article in the *Chinese Women*. In the article, she made five proposals for women's liberation: first, gender equality should be realized; second, women should be given the freedom of marriage; third, the tradition of foot-binding should be abandoned; fourth, female schools should be promoted and the women's economic autonomy

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Harvard University Press, 1984)

<sup>14</sup> Xiaoling Zhang 张晓玲, *Funv yu renquan* 妇女与人权 [the Books of Human Rights—Women and Human Rights], (Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House 新华出版社, 1998), 98

should be advocated; fifth, women should be encourage to participate in national affairs.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, in May 1907, this Chinese feminist, who was only 32 years old and who was also one of the most famous women who actively fought for equal rights in modern China, was killed by the Qing government.<sup>16</sup>

But Qiu Jin's death awakened many Chinese people who latently supported women's rights and inspired more Chinese to strive for democratic revolution and women's liberation. After that, the self-awareness of Chinese women gradually grew. They not only spontaneously established women's organizations, ran female schools, and propagandized revolution. In addition, they devoted themselves to armed struggles and participated in politics. In 1911, when the Revolution broke out, there were a number of Chinese female figures in the ranks of the armed uprising.<sup>17</sup>

In 1912, when the Provisional Government of the Republic of China drafted the Provisional Constitution, the representatives of Chinese women requested that women's rights for political participation should be recognized in the constitution. However, in the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, the Nanjing Provisional Government did not make any provision for gender equality or women's political interests. This result caused strong dissatisfaction among feminists. However, due to the strong traditional patriarchal ideology, their appeals were suppressed by the

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<sup>15</sup> Jin Qiu 秋瑾, *Qiu jin xuanji* 秋瑾选集 [the Anthology of Qiu Jin], (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House 人民文学出版社, 2004), 138

<sup>16</sup> Xiaonan Deng 邓小南, *Zhongguo funv shi yanjiu duben* 中国妇女史研究读本 [the Chinese Women's History Reader], (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2011), 68

<sup>17</sup> Deng, *the Chinese Women's History Reader*, 72

male-dominated government.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, Chinese women did not give up their desire for political participation. After the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, under the influence of the Western feminist movement and the fact that the women in Sweden, Finland, Norway, United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and other Western countries were given the right to vote and stand for election, Chinese women developed a more intense sense of political participation. They began to associate the struggle for their political rights with the national liberation movement against imperialism and feudalism.

In 1922, the students of Beijing universities set up The Women's Association for Political Participation and The League of Feminist Movement. It was the first time that the fight for women's suffrage was linked with the national anti-feudal and anti-imperial democratic revolution. However, due to various reasons, including the opposition of the society and suppression of the government of the day, this struggle did not ultimately achieve victory.<sup>19</sup>

After 1949, the Chinese Communist Party established power in the People's Republic of China. Building upon communist ideology, which included gender egalitarian thinking, and in order to strengthen the party and gain legitimacy with half the population, the male communist party extended rights to women. The slogan that "Man and Woman are all equal" was put forward by Chairman Mao. Since then, because of this official party ideology and also because of changes in the economy,

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<sup>18</sup> Deng, *the Chinese Women's History Reader*, 125

<sup>19</sup> Tse-tsung Chow, *the May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press), 1967

the social status of Chinese women has gradually improved.

The Communist Party of China attached great importance to gender equality. Giving women increased opportunities for political participation, the government also safeguarded women's rights to participate in national politics and social affairs by law. Therefore, after the founding of New China, the extent of women's political participation progressed. Chinese females easily gained the political rights for which the women in the Western countries had fought for more than half a century.

In September 1949, 69 women representatives attended the first Political Consultative Conference which was held in Zhongnanhai. They sat together with male representatives to discuss and develop the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In the first session of the Central People's Government, seventeen women served as Deputy Minister or in a higher position.<sup>20</sup>

In conclusion, Chinese women's social development and political participation have gradually improved. The knowledge of this history is important because it makes it clear to current policy makers that already a lot has changed, and that there is already a century of support behind the idea of women's equality, despite the many centuries of patriarchy. Nowadays, Chinese women have been given legitimate political equality. They have the right of vote and running for office. In order to encourage women to participate in politics, Chinese government provides institutional guarantees for Chinese women and publicity of political equality. Due to the publicity, Chinese women's awareness of political participation increases. However, the

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<sup>20</sup> “Diyijie quanguo Renda lici huiyi” 第一次全国人大历次会议 [The First National People's Congress], last accessed on September 1, 2013, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-02/20/content\\_283395.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-02/20/content_283395.htm)

awareness is still weak though it has improved. Also there are still a number of other problems need to be solved for the promotion of Chinese women's political participation, such as the impact of the bias of public opinions and traditional culture, the issue of education and legislation, .

## *2. The Modes and Problem of Chinese Women's Political Participation*

### *3.1. The Modes of Chinese Women's Political Participation*

Western women's suffrage was mainly secured after a period of grassroots feminist movements led by women who pressured male political officials to extend rights. In part because of the historical memory of that struggle, Western women cherish their publicity of political equality hard-won political rights. By contrast In China, women gained suffrage largely due to the encouragement and support of a male-dominated central government. Women's basic access to political rights is more the result of top-down political mobilization of the party, though the women's rights movement discussed above did signal to party leaders that public support for extending rights to women existed.. In the communist system, the national government controls tremendous power and absolute authority. Relying on the support of the government, Chinese women smoothly and rapidly achieved suffrage.

### *3.2. The Status of Chinese Women's Political Participation*

After the political reforms imposed by the Communist party and reform of the

economic structure, many different kinds of industries have flourished in China. Correspondingly, the diversity of political interests has also emerged. Accompanied by market competition and bargains between various economic actors, all the disparate stakeholders have strived for the political interests and political resources. Along with the reform of the economic system, the Western culture and advanced political ideas were also introduced to China. However, China's political system did not achieve the simultaneous development, and Chinese women's political participation was still weaker than men.

### *3.2.1 Democratic Participation*

After the reform and opening in 1979, the socialist market economic system was established. It provided a broader space for Chinese women's promotion. However, in reality, the development of Chinese female political participation was not synchronized with the fast political and economic development.

In 2000, a survey report about the political status of Chinese women was released. It reveals that Chinese women's democratic participation is weak mainly in five aspects: firstly, Chinese female turnout is lower than male turnout. For example, in the National People's Congress<sup>21</sup> of 2013, there were 699 female members, which only

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<sup>21</sup> The National People's Congress is the highest state body and the unicameral legislative house in the People's Republic of China. The National People's Congress is held in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing; with 2,987 members, it is the largest parliament in the world. The NPC gathers each year along with the People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) whose members represent various defined groups of society. NPC and CPPCC together are often called the Lianghui (Two Meetings), making important national level political decisions. In theory, the NPC is the highest organ of state power in China, and all four PRC constitutions have vested it with great lawmaking powers. Since the 1990s, the NPC has become a forum for mediating policy differences between different parts of the Party, the government, and groups of society.

accounted for 23.4 percent of the total number of deputies. However, it was still the highest percentage of women representatives since the establishment of the People's Congress system.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, Chinese women vote more carelessly than men. In China, the ratio that women inquire carefully about the candidates and vote seriously is 73.9 percent, which is 2.7 percent lower than men. Moreover, 26.1 percent of women regard voting as completing a task while 20.3 percent of men hold similar idea. Thirdly, Chinese women have lower interest in politics than men. Fourthly, Chinese women are less likely to participate in various social organizations than men. In trade organizations and industry associations, only 36.6 percent of participants are women while the rest, 63.4 percent, are all men. Fifthly, the Chinese women's social participation is also much less than men. Among the people who initiatively provide suggestions for their communities or working units, only 31.3 percent of them are women, while men account for 68.7 percent<sup>23</sup>.

### 3.2.2 *Power Participation*

The weakness of Chinese women's power participation is mainly reflected by two aspects: the low quantity and less importance.

Nowadays, the number and proportion of women parliamentarians are important indicators to measure women's political participation. From a global perspective,

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<sup>22</sup> Lianjuan Hu 胡连娟, "Zhongguo zuigao guojia quanli jiguan nvxing daibiao bili dadao lishi zuigao shuiping" 中国最高国家权力机关女性代表比例达到历史最高水平 [The Female Members' Proportion of the Organ of Supreme Power in China Reaches the Highest Level], accessed September 6, 2013, [http://politics.gmw.cn/2013-03/08/content\\_6941518.htm](http://politics.gmw.cn/2013-03/08/content_6941518.htm)

<sup>23</sup> Lin Tan, 谭琳 eds., *Zhongguo funv fazhan yu xingbie pingdeng* 中国妇女发展与性别平等 [Report on Gender Equality and Woman Development in China(1995-2000)] (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press), 432

since the beginning of the last century when women first entered national parliaments, the proportion of women members has risen in the vast majority of countries.

Also, the number of Chinese women who participate in politics has been greatly improved compared to the past. Nevertheless, the number of male politicians is out of all proportion to the number of female politicians. The female politicians' proportion is significantly lower than the male politicians'. For example, in the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress<sup>24</sup>, the highest proportion of committee women was just 25.1 percent.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the highest proportion of the female member of the National People's Congress was also only 23.4 percent<sup>26</sup>.

In Chinese government, as in many other countries, a number of official positions are gendered. Some positions are considered masculine while some positions are considered feminine. The jobs are given gender labels. Whereas the economy and international affairs are men's business, women are mostly placed in the fields of culture, education, health, and welfare. As a result, women politicians in China usually occupy the positions which are less powerful and are less likely to lead to promotions. Most of the female officials work for the departments focused on education, culture and public health. Few of women officials are arranged in the economic department or other core development of the party.

According to a survey of the National Women's Federation, at present, there are

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<sup>24</sup> The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is a committee of about 150 members of the National People's Congress (NPC) of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which is convened between plenary sessions of the NPC. It has the constitutional authority to modify legislation within limits set by the NPC, and thus acts as a de facto legislative body. It is led by a Chairman, China's top legislator, who is conventionally ranked third in China's political ranking system, after the General Secretary and President, which is usually one person.

<sup>25</sup> Tan, *Report on Gender Equality and Woman Development in China(1995-2000)*, 352

<sup>26</sup> Hu, "The Female Members' Proportion of the Organ of Supreme Power in China Reaches the Highest Level "

317 women city leaders in China. However, more than 50percent of these female leaders are in charge of culture, education, and health. Only 15percent of the whole run the economy<sup>27</sup>.

Also, the majority of female leaders serve as deputies instead of chiefs, and some of them even just serve as honorary protagonists who have no real power. In the party and government organs of the 40 districts governed by Chongqing Municipality, there is no female official who serves as principal. Moreover, these are just a few chief female leaders in the municipal departments of Chongqing<sup>28</sup>.

In addition, when selecting the leaders, nearly all the government departments will lay particular stress on men. Even in the election for party leader, the government is still partial to men as well. Therefore, most women officials work as grass-roots government officials, while a few of them have the opportunity to be in upper offices.

### *3.3. The Obstacles to Chinese Women's Political Participation*

#### *3.3.1. The Impact of Traditional Culture*

Feudal ideas which defined women as subordinate also influence a large number of contemporary Chinese women. In the feudal society, Chinese women had no freedom and were controlled by their fathers or husbands. Therefore, they had no consciousness of self-reliance. In that time, the Chinese women lacked self-awareness; they had no clear understanding of their social rights and responsibilities. Influenced

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<sup>27</sup> Chenguang Wu 吴晨光, "Zhongguo nv gaoguan saomiao" 中国女高官扫描 [Exploring Chinese Women Officials], *Southern Weekly*, January 28, 2005, <http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/zhuanti/funv/771485.htm>

<sup>28</sup> Tan, *Report on Gender Equality and Woman Development in China(1995-2000)*, 229

by the feudal ideas, even today, Chinese women still psychologically depend on men more or less. This fact inevitably leads to two results: first, Chinese women were completely subservient to men, because in their minds, only men had political authority. Second, Chinese women had no interest in political issues. The vast majority of Chinese women lack awareness of politics even today.<sup>29</sup>

The traditional thinking that “male is superior to female” causes women’s inferiority complexes. Chinese women’s inferiority complexes are mainly manifested as follows. First, inferiority on wisdom: they consider themselves less intelligent than men. Second, inferiority on career: although some women have outstanding talents and superior abilities, they are still willing to do supporting works and ask men to make decisions. Third, inferiority on volition: when facing obstacles and difficulties, Chinese women lack initiatives and ambitions. These psychological inferiorities impede Chinese women’s political participation.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.3.2. *The Issues of Chinese School Education*

School education is an important part of people’s social life. It plays an irreplaceable role for individual growth and development. Moreover, because education has a great effect on the formation of gender concepts, it also plays an important role in eliminating gender inequality.<sup>31</sup> Although Chinese girls today have access to the same education as boys, Chinese educational institutions still reproduce

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<sup>29</sup> Deng, *the Chinese Women’s History Reader*, 295

<sup>30</sup> Zhang, *the Books of Human Rights—Women and Human Rights*, 164

<sup>31</sup> Kim Thomas, *Gender and Subject in Higher Education*(Philadelphia : The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 1990),2

gender stereotypes. Girls do not enjoy gender equality in schools. The equal opportunity for boys and girls to enter schools is an important part of achieving gender equality; however, it is not the only target. The more important indicators are equal educational environment, educational resources, and the development of conditions and opportunities for the two sexes.

Majors and subjects are the basis for students' future careers. Students should make choices by judging whether the majors can meet their social needs and whether they can give full play to their strengths and talents. At present, there are still gender biases in choosing majors and professions for boys and girls. Some majors and professional fields are divided into two categories by teachers in China and are regarded as "male subjects", while some are judged as "female subjects".

The so-called "male subjects" refer to the majors that are generally considered suitable for men. Most of the science majors, such as physics, math, finance, chemistry, biology, agriculture, engineering, and computer science are regarded as "male subjects". On the other hand, "female subjects" are the majors that are widely believed suitable for women, such as nursing, social work, literature, art, and language. Though a number of programs in social science are regarded as "female subjects", such as human geography, history and education, some subjects such as political science are also regarded as "male subjects".

On the surface, it seems like a self-selection process guides young men and women in choosing different majors and then professions, leading them to receive specialized training, and to seek different positions in society. But if we link the

subjects of two genders with the income of these subjects, we can find that the people in “female subjects” generally earn less than the people in “male subjects”. Therefore, a Chinese scholar Chen suggested that “the gender segregation of school majors is a great obstacle for gender equality.”<sup>32</sup> The distinction between “male subjects” and “female subjects” is not because of men and women’s innate differences. Instead, it is caused by biased social ideology. It contains the prejudice that men are superior to women. It reflects the male-centered mentality of the public and strengthens the biased idea that men and women are born different. Also, girls and boys internalize these differences. So even if girls believes that men and women are equals, they still end up choosing to go into female-subject fields. Therefore, the gender bias in educational field is still an obstacle on the road to gender equality.<sup>33</sup>

In contemporary society, women’s career fields constantly expand. They have more and more opportunities and choices for work. Therefore, it is necessary for women to get in-depth and wide knowledge. However, the teachers’ gender bias for school majors restricts women to the limited social spheres and career fields.

Moreover, in the middle and high schools of China, women figures in the textbooks are generally pale and dull. It is detrimental to the students’ understanding of women and the important role they have in fact played in Chinese history. From a gendered perspective, the main problems with current Chinese textbooks include the following.

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<sup>32</sup> Jinghuan Shi 史静寰, *Funv jiaoyu* 妇女教育 [Female Education], (Changchun: Jilin Education Press 吉林教育出版社, 2000), 324

<sup>33</sup> Jun Wang 王珺, “Lun gaodeng jiaoyu zhong xueke zhuanye de xingbie geli” 论高等教育中学科专业的性别隔离 [The Gender Segregation in Higher Education], *Researches on the Studies of Women* 妇女研究论丛 7 (2005), 68

First, the numbers of male and female figures are imbalanced; moreover, textbooks prefer the women figures that are portrayed by male authors. Throughout the textbooks of middle and high schools, there are just a few works that focus on and describe women figures. Therefore, these textbooks cannot enable students to fully and correctly understand women. Moreover, in the textbooks, most of the women characters are described in male perspective. The portrayal of these women figures is based on men's imagination. However, in fact, female authors are more familiar with women and tend to know more about women than male authors. In general, female authors have a more profound understanding of women's expectations, dreams, and requirements than men have. They also know more about women's ability, wisdom, independence, and dignity.<sup>34</sup>

A good example is the inclusion of Lu Xun, one of the most famous writers in China, and her article called "The Blessing," which is featured in the textbooks of Chinese middle schools. In the article, the leading role is a lady called Mistress Xiao Lin. Mistress Xiao Lin is regarded as a typical image of the Chinese rural women. She is hard-working, kind, simple, and tenacious. However, in the cruel society, she is not able to get the minimum rights that should be accorded to human beings. Furthermore, she is despised, trampled, and persecuted without any resistance till death. In the end, she is ruined by the feudal society, ethics, and superstition. As a typical female figure in male authors' works, Mistress Xiao Lin, as well as most women figures depicted by men, swallow insults and resign them to adversity. However, in most Chinese female

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<sup>34</sup> Jinghuan Shi 史静寰, *Zoujin jiaocai yu jiaoxue de xingbie shijie* 走进教材与教学的性别世界 [Going into the Gender World of Textbooks], (Beijing: Science and Education Press, 2004), 131

authors' articles, women figures call for liberation and self-awareness. In the works of Bing Xin, a famous female writer, she emphasizes the values of female and praises the independent women who fight against oppressions and stand on one's own feet.

Second, too many female figures in textbooks are the underprivileged women who are under social oppression. Though these women figures in low social status can arouse students' sympathy, these figures are not good examples for girls to follow. Moreover, these figures may mislead students that women are weaker and inferior than men. In this way, some girls may develop an inferiority complex.<sup>35</sup>

Third, there is a lack of female models in the textbooks of middle and high schools. Students learn knowledge and set up values as well as gender concepts by studying textbooks. Therefore, as the carrier of knowledge, textbooks need to provide young people with positive and exemplary gender figures. However, unfortunately, there are just a few women characters in current school textbooks. What is more, the positive and exemplary women figures are much less. There are hardly any women politicians or leader in textbooks. In the current textbooks, women are described as either subordinate or stern and lack personality. Therefore, the women figures in textbooks cannot impress or teach youngsters. It is even harder for these figures to guide students.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Shi, *Going into the Gender World of Textbooks*, 132

<sup>36</sup> Shi, *Going into the Gender World of Textbooks*, 132

### 3.3.3. *The Bias of Public Opinion*

Since the 1990s, the socialist market economic system has been gradually established in China. There were an increasing number of problems and contradictions in the period of social transition. Along with the influx of Western cultures and ideas, Chinese dominant culture and traditions were strongly impacted. However, due to the influence of thousands years of feudal society, the ideology of gender equality is still a difficult idea for all of the public to accept. Therefore, Chinese women still face difficulties and challenges for political participation.

First, the public ignores the fact that Chinese women's education degrees and quality have greatly improved. Thus, these women still suffer discrimination when they participate in politics. Nowadays, most Chinese women in politics are as wise as male officers, and some of them are better than men in the same positions. According to statistics of Zhejiang and Shandong provinces, in government offices, female officials have higher education background, on average, than male government officials.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the society refuses to recognize this fact, while highly educated women tend to be regarded as clever but incapable. Hence, the government does not trust female officials absolutely and only lets them engage in cultural, educational, medical works. Women are faced with sex discrimination in politics.

Second, the public regards individual shortcomings of some women as the weakness of all women. Currently, many Chinese people believe that women are emotional, narrow minded, conservative, short-sighted and indecisive.<sup>38</sup> In fact, some

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<sup>37</sup> Wang, "The Gender Segregation in Higher Education"

<sup>38</sup> Tan, eds., *Report on Gender Equality and Woman Development in China(1995-2000)*, 26

men may also have these defects, but these characteristics are simply considered as features of the whole female group. Theoretically, this understanding is defective; moreover, it is unjust and discriminatory. What is more, some people assess and define women as merely good wives and mothers and refuse to accept them as leaders. Once women become authorities, these people may even disparage them. These views largely affect women's enthusiasm and ambition of political participation.

Third, Chinese public media pays little attention to women's political participation. According to a survey of *The China Women's News* on eight major Chinese newspapers, 83.2 percent of news figures are men, while only 16.8 percent are women. As to news of politicians, male officials' reports account for 87.3 percent while only 12.7 percent for women.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, sometimes misleading propaganda strengthens gender-role stereotypes. These reports reveal social prejudices against women and induce women to approve traditional female definition that women are subordinate. Sometimes, for the sake of pandering to traditional patriarchal culture, the mass media simply advocate women's gentle, patient, and submissive personalities. Therefore, it is difficult for women in politics to get positive publicity. All these factors greatly weaken women's self-confidence for political participation.

#### 3.3.4. *The Weak Awareness of Political Participation*

The awareness of political participation is the foundation and prerequisite for

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<sup>39</sup> Ting Luo 罗婷, Fenghua Wang 王凤华 and Jiangping He 贺江平, *Shehui xingbie wenhua de lishi yu weilai* 社会性别文化的历史与未来[The History and Future of Social Gender Culture], (Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House, 2007), 41.

women to effectively exercise their political rights. Participation consciousness directly affects participation behavior and participation rate. Moreover, the participation rate determines the women's actual effects on the state and society.<sup>40</sup>

Two factors might shape this enduring lack of awareness: the historical legacy of the suffrage movement, and the cultural norms of the Chinese woman as good housewife.

Compared with the Western women, the Chinese women's awareness of political participation is much weaker. This disparity could be due to the alternative histories of the women's rights movements in China and the West. In the Western countries, women's political rights was achieved by bottom-up feminist movements. As women paid great efforts to get it, the equal political power looks precious for the majority of women. Hence, they cherish and want to make good use of it. On the other hand, in China, women's equal political right is the result of top-down political mobilization. The Chinese central government directly gives women the equal power so that they do not need to fight for it. Therefore, Chinese women's enthusiasm and consciousness for political participation are relatively weak.

What is more, due to the influence of Chinese traditional labor division in which women tend to work inside home while men tend to work outside it, nowadays, most of the society still thinks that women should devote more attention to their family issues instead of social or national affairs. Under the traditional idea "making a good wife and a devoted mother," in China, women are judged by the standard of whether she is an understanding wife and loving mother. Chinese women are required to serve

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<sup>40</sup> Dahl and Stinebrickner, *Modern Political Analysis*,

their families dutifully. If a Chinese woman always flings herself upon her work with little regard for her family, there will be fierce quarrels between her and her husband. Moreover, it may result in family discord and even divorce. In the mean time, the woman will also be criticized for her neglect of the family.

Accordingly, a large majority of Chinese women choose to or are willing to stay at home and be housewives. They focus on household and the education of their children, while they have little or no interest in politics. Even if there are numerous outstanding women who have ambitions and political ideals in China, most of them keep aloof from politics. The majority of the capable females would like to be engaged in business rather than in political careers. There are still a number of women participate in government and political affairs in China. However, faced with the conflict between being a mother and being an official, some women feel guilty because they have less time with their families. In order to take care of their families, some women officials restrain their ambitions. Therefore, they are content with the status quo and willing to serve in supporting roles.

In China, generally, wives manage the household affairs. Therefore, Chinese women have to spend about three to four hours per day on housework. The burden of household chores often makes women feel tired. Their studies and work sometimes are seriously affected. Furthermore, their enthusiasm of political participation also reduces.

As a result, few contemporary Chinese women go into politics on their own initiative. Most of Chinese women officials hold negative attitudes toward their

political careers and think their work is unimportant. Therefore, they do not value the results of their political participation. Nor do they take the initiative to improve the level of their political participation. Having no idea about their importance, these women officials cannot represent Chinese women's interests consciously. Thus, Chinese women's overall political strength is relatively weak. Moreover, owing to these hesitant female officials, the public feel doubtful about Chinese women's political abilities.

#### *3.3.5. The Lack of Self-Confidence of Women*

Overall the social environment is not conducive to women's political participation and public opinion has adverse impacts on women. Hence, a number of Chinese women lack confidence in their abilities. Some women fear politics and believe that they are unqualified for handling political affairs; some women not only lack confidence in their own abilities, but also distrust the abilities of other women in politics; some women think that women can only act in supporting roles in politics; and, even some women in politics, once they face difficulties or resistance, feel overburdened and may give up. Accordingly, even though a competition mechanism for selecting women officials was introduced by the Party, many Chinese women lack enthusiasm or the courage to become government officials. Hence, they missed a great number of precious opportunities to prove their abilities.

In fact, women are not so weak. Women have many advantages over men in

politics. Numerous studies show that in general, women have good observation abilities and good memories.<sup>41</sup> It is easier for them than it is for men to deal with intellectual work. Women's creative thinking and language ability are also better, on average, than men's.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, women are more adaptable and compassionate, which can produce more altruistic behavior.<sup>43</sup> Although, most women are not as decisive as men, they are more persistent.<sup>44</sup> However, a number of women are not aware of these advantages; fewer make use of them. Therefore, Chinese women lack desire and confidence for political life.

### 3.3.6. *The Psychological Dependence and Jealousy*

Chinese women are still psychologically dependent on men. The dependence of Chinese women can be found in various realms, especially in political fields. Numerous Chinese female officials consider their husbands as their patrons. They are usually content with the status quo. Some of them even label themselves as weak, and do not want to go in politics relying on their own strength. Faced with difficulties, some Chinese political women refuse to solve the problems by their own efforts. Instead, they hope for men's sympathy and care. Furthermore, Chinese women prefer to be group members who work cooperatively, without rocking the boat. Compared to men, they are less inclined to set themselves apart from the group, and to seek out leadership positions.

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<sup>41</sup> Wang, "The Gender Segregation in Higher Education"

<sup>42</sup> Wang, "The Gender Segregation in Higher Education"

<sup>43</sup> Jinghuan Chen, *Female Education*, 374

<sup>44</sup> Jinghuan Chen, *Female Education*, 374

Many Chinese women also have a tendency to be jealous of other women. For the issue of women's political participation, due to psychological factors, some Chinese women often support the position of the male politicians and hold the same social prejudices for political women. For example, women voters tend to be much tougher on other women candidates than they are on many male candidates.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, it will be more difficult for women candidates to earn the support of the masses and get a high position. Nowadays, we can often see that some women can work under the incompetent leadership of men, but cannot tolerate the high-level leadership of women. This same-sex jealousy not only undermines the solidarity between women, but also damages the overall image of Chinese women. Furthermore, it brings about the fact that political women in office have trouble establishing good connections with the mass of Chinese women and cannot help these women on political issues. When average women envy women officials they might also be less likely to view the women officials to be as competent as men in politics. This result will strengthen the social prejudices and doubts that men and women have about political women.

### *3.3.7. The Lag of Legislation*

China has introduced gender equality policies since the establishment of the country in 1949. However, there is not a political situation that is beneficial to Chinese women's political participation. Instead, Chinese women's political

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<sup>45</sup> Anne Kornblut, *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling: Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and What It Will Take for a Woman to Win* (Crown Publishing Group, 2009),

participation falls further behind the Western countries. One of the core reasons is the lag of relevant policies and regulations.

In China, a number of policies and regulations are enacted to protect women's rights and promote women's political participation. The provision of promoting gender equality and protecting women's rights is included in the Chinese Constitution, the Women's Rights Protection Act, the Women's Development Compendium, and the Female Employee Protection Regulations.

In 1995, the Fourth United Nations' World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. At the conference, the Chinese government solemnly made a commitment that the party would take gender equality as a basic national policy to promote China's social development.<sup>46</sup>

However, there are still some gender biases in a number of policies and regulations. In October 1993, the National Provisional Regulations of Civil Servants was introduced. It regulates that the Chinese national mandatory retirement age for women is 55 years-old while men can work until they are 60 years-old.<sup>47</sup> Obviously, it is unfair that the women's time to work for social and national affairs is shortened. According to the data of the Sixth Nationwide Population Census, in 2010, the average life expectancy of the male population in China is 72.38 years, while women's average life is 77.37 years.<sup>48</sup> Lacking the investigation of women's abilities,

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<sup>46</sup> "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action," Fourth World Conference on Women, accessed May 03, 2013, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> "Guojia Gongwuyuan zanxing tiaoli" 国家公务员暂行条例 [National Provisional Regulations of Civil Servants], State Council of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国国务院, accessed May 03, 2013, <http://www.gjgwy.org/zhaolu/jianzhan/2009/0429/8885.html>

<sup>48</sup> "The Average Life Expectancy in China Reached 74.83 Years Old," National Bureau of Statistics of China, accessed May 03, 2013, [http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20120921\\_402838652.htm](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/t20120921_402838652.htm)

the government does not realize that women can also work over 60 years old and contribute to the country as much as men do.

Meanwhile, other countries adjusted their policies one after another. The original provisions which rule that women's working time should be shorter than men were revised. The women in these countries can enjoy the same retirement age as men. In the US, there is no mandatory retirement at all. Therefore, civilians' working time is not limited. Both women and men can work as old as they like. The federal government regulates the age of both men and women who can access social security retirement pensions, at 65 years old. This means that individuals, whether men or women, can decide their own retirement age, but they are not allowed to collect pension's benefits and other benefits until they are 65. In Russia, the law provides that the retirement age for both men and women is 65 years of age. In Canada, Japan and South Korea, women's retirement age is also identical to men's. Among 172 countries and regions around the world, 98 of them provide the same retirement age for men and women, accounting for 59.4%.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, some policies and regulations on women's political participation are ambiguous. These provisions do not formulate exact number and proportion of women participants. Moreover, there is a lack of clear penalties for the acts that encroach on women's political rights. For instance, the Women's Rights Protection Act only requires that there should be an "appropriate number" of women members in the People's Congresses and government agencies at all levels. However, it does not

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<sup>49</sup> V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium: Third Edition*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009)

specify the standards of quantity and proportion. Hence, in the implementation process, female participants are likely to be ignored. Their political momentum and ability may be discriminated. It is detrimental to the development of Chinese women's political participation.

### *3.3.8. The Lack of a Fair Competition System for Political Offices*

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the selection mechanism of government officials has been the top-down appointment system. The vast majority of Chinese party members are selected and nominated by their upstream authorities.

Few of the male leaders in Chinese governments realize the significance of training and selecting women officials whose perspectives and ideas can help build a more democratic politics for China. Although these male leaders nominate female officials, these men do not realize that these female officials can provide the perspectives of Chinese women who account for nearly half of the Chinese population. Ignoring the significance of women's political participation, the leaders of some departments select women as political officials for one reason only – to complete the required quota. It is just a signal that shows the government's respect for women.

Therefore, selections of female political officials tend to be mere formalities. In practice, most male leaders of departments are not confident in female officers and refuse to appoint women to important positions. This fact leads to the women's subordinate status in the political field. Hence, there is a “few” phenomenon in the

Chinese regime. That is, few women are in leading groups; few women are in high leadership agencies of the government; and, few women serve as chiefs. To sum up, there are few women in the Chinese political field who have the authority of decision-making. Moreover, the political impact of these women is relatively slight.

#### *4. Paths toward Chinese Women's Political Participation*

In most Western countries, equal political rights of women and minorities are of great concern to the governments. In China, women still face plenty of difficulties and challenges when they run for office. However, as the Chinese society is transforming into a modern industrial society from a traditional farming society, western lifestyles, philosophies, and values also spread to China. Traditional Chinese culture is violently shaken. Meanwhile, Chinese women's political participation is also promoted.

In this section, I point to several structure factors that make it more likely that women's political participation will increase in the future, and I put forward several policy measures the Chinese government might take to facilitate women's entrance into government.

#### *4.1. Factors Supporting Chinese Women's Political Participation*

##### *4.1.1. International Norms*

Today, globalization reshapes the economy, politics, culture, technology, environment, etc. of different countries on the world stage. Due to the influence of

globalization, Chinese traditional ideas, which judges women as inferior, are challenged on a daily basis.

Generally speaking, democracy has become a common political pursuit of countries all over the world. Respect for human beings and yearning for equality have become universal values as well. As the political trend in today's world, the increase of female officials worldwide undoubtedly provides a powerful impetus for Chinese women's political participation.

Women's political participation is an important criterion to measure women's development in a country. More and more countries now pay greater attention to this issue.

A good example of these international pressures is The Fourth United Nations' World Conference on Women was held in Beijing in 1995. "The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action" was issued at the conference. It requires "a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organizations and institutions at all levels... to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy-making processes; and the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels for accountability to the world's women."<sup>50</sup>

Under the guidance of "the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action", many countries not only protect women's suffrage by legislation, but even introduce preferential policies to encourage women to take part in politics.

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<sup>50</sup> "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.", accessed December 10, 2013  
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>

The main strategies include:

First, those governments should formulate a gender ratio. In 1997, the Inter-Parliamentary Union met in India. During the meeting, the “New Delhi Declaration” was released. It calls on political parties and parliaments to reserve seats for women. Also, the declaration claims that “proportional representation system” is the best method to insure that women can get into decision-making offices.

Second, the governments develop special policies for women’s political participation. For instance, before regional elections, the Norway government encourages voters and political parties to support women candidates. Voters can vote more than once, while political parties can vote two times, so that the proportion of women officials increases significantly.

In cases where the electoral system cannot guarantee a certain percentage of women into decision-making bodies, such as China, some countries have appointive systems as supplementary policies in order to ensure that women can directly get into decision-making organs. To sum up, many countries have already enacted particular laws, policies or measures to improve women's political participation.

In April 2000, the Inter-Parliamentary Union reported statistics on women parliamentarians in 160 countries. The statistics show that after the World Women Conference in 1995, the proportion of women parliamentarians has improved to varying degrees in 66.5 percent of countries. In South Africa and Mozambique, female members accounted for 33 percent of the total members. In the Norwegian parliament, there are 165 members among which 60 are female. Moreover, the

Norwegian speaker is also a woman. In Norway, 8 members of the cabinet are women while there are 19 members in total. In Danish government, there are 9 female cabinet members while the total members are 20. These countries which improve the proportion of women in politics through legislation become a driving force in pressuring Chinese officials to make reforms. Although, China continues to lag behind in the supportive quota policies it has adopted, the example of women in power in other countries continues to exert pressure on Chinese officials to take further steps to increase women's power in government.

#### *4.1.2. The Support of Institutional Guarantees from the Chinese Government*

Chinese women's developments, especially in the political field, are inseparable from the government's support. After the reform and opening up, competition mechanisms were introduced to the personnel administration of Chinese government. However, some people started to doubt about the provisions that reserved places for women party members. Since the talk of gender equality, some people thought that the government should not give political priority to women by the requirement of proportion. Since the traditional Chinese concept "women are inferior to men" is still deeply rooted, a great number of women lost in mixed-sex elections, which in effect, annulled the gender ration provision. Even some talented women were also eliminated. Thus, in the 1980s, there was a shocking drop of Chinese women's political participation, while feminism boomed in Western countries.

After that, the Chinese government attached great importance to Chinese women's political participation again to collect women's strength and build a fair competition system. Since 1988, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the need for training and selecting women party members.

In 1989, when meeting with the representatives of the Executive Committee of the All-China Women's Federation, the central leaders emphasized that party committees at all levels should take active measures to solve the issue that the proportion of women officials was too low.

In 1990, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee and the All-China Women's Federation held the forum focused on training and selecting women officials in Changchun. In that forum, the idea that establishes a special system for training and selecting women officials was developed.

In 1990, the Organizing Department of CCCPC and the National Women's Federation issued a joint notice, which requires that the problem that there are no women officials in county, town and village governments should be solved within five years.

In 2000, the Organizing Department of CCCPC clearly ruled that within five years, in every provincial and municipal government, People's Congress, and People's Political Consultative Conference, there must be at least one female official. All governments and parties of Chinese counties should have at least one female official. Moreover, there should be more female officials in party and government offices.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> “Xinzhongguo zhichule sige nv shengzhang” 新中国只出了 4 个女省长 [There Have Been Only Four Female Provincial Governors in the New China], PhoenixNet, accessed July 12, 2013,

After the enactment of these provisions in the reforms of personnel system, the personnel departments of some government agencies established mechanisms for training and selecting women officials and introduced regulations that favor women. These actions provided a powerful supporting measure for Chinese women's political participation. Therefore, the number and proportion of women officials has increased. In the same way, the decision-making ability and self-confidence of women officials were also improved.

In recent years, the number of Chinese women officials has gradually risen. In 2008, there were eight women inside the central collective leadership, including the CPC Central Committee, the NPC, the CPPCC National Committee, and the State Council. Moreover, 230 provincial officials were female. In 668 cities, there were 670 women mayors, which were nearly double the figure of 1995. The amount of women officials at all levels was close to 40percent of entire Chinese government officials.<sup>52</sup>

Obviously, the institutional environment effectively promoted Chinese women's political participation.

#### *4.1.3. The Enhanced Political Awareness of Chinese Women*

Political awareness is an important psychological factor that affects people's enthusiasm and goals for political participation. It is a powerful impetus for individuals' political participation. The boost of globalization and supportive policies

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[http://news.ifeng.com/gundong/detail\\_2012\\_03/09/13072082\\_1.shtml](http://news.ifeng.com/gundong/detail_2012_03/09/13072082_1.shtml).

<sup>52</sup> "There Have Been Only Four Female Provincial Governors in the New China."

from the Government have also helped to enhance Chinese women's awareness of political participation, and as their own awareness expands, it becomes in turn a key factor supporting further increases in women's participation in politics. Moreover, the enhancement also corrects the biases of public opinions.

The followings are three key elements of the enhancement of Chinese women's awareness of political participation.

First, the "interest concept" of women strengthens. After the economic reforms and opening up of the Chinese economic system, the focal point of new development strategy was economic development. Therefore, the public diverted their attention from class struggle to economic development. Along with the further development of the socialist market economy, Western social thoughts and values came to China. Thus, Chinese people's minds were sorely shocked: "Not only Chinese people's individual consciousness gradually recovered and continuously strengthened, but also people's subject consciousness, rights consciousness, legal concepts, and sense of equality all significantly enhanced."<sup>53</sup> Chinese citizens achieved self-repositioning. As "they realized that they were separate entities above all, and in the second place, they were parts of a group".<sup>54</sup>

Due to the change of people's attitudes, accordingly, their behaviors have also changed. Chinese people were no longer willing to be the "object of conduct" but "subject of political behaviors."<sup>55</sup> For the formulation and implementation of national

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<sup>53</sup> Yinhe Li 李银河, *Feminism 女性主义* (Jinan: Shandong People's Press 山东人民出版社, 2005)

<sup>54</sup> "Political Participation: Witnessing the Process of Chinese Democratic Politics", accessed September 7, 2013, [http://www.china-woman.com/rp/main?fid=open&fun=show\\_news&from=view&nid=37126](http://www.china-woman.com/rp/main?fid=open&fun=show_news&from=view&nid=37126)

<sup>55</sup> Jisheng Yang 杨继绳, *Zhongguo dangdai shehui jieceng fenxi 中国当代社会阶层分析*[The Analysis of the Chinese Contemporary Social Classes] (Nanchang: Jiangxi University Press,2011)

policies, they came up with their own understanding. “From unconditional obedience to appropriate level of challenge, one of the key reasons for people’s change was that their interest concept gradually developed.”<sup>56</sup> People started to measure the feasibility of their political behaviors basing on their gains and losses. Influenced by this concept, Chinese women began to actively participate in politics. They took practical action to express their wishes and participate in public affairs. In turn, the initiative behaviors also promoted women's awareness of political participation. Thus, a virtuous circle was formed.<sup>57</sup>

As second aspect is women’s economic independence. As Marx pointed out, the economic foundation determines superstructure, and economic independence is the base of female political participation. Accompanied by Chinese economic development, more and more women get jobs and climb up the career ladder. Economic independence is important prerequisite for women's liberation.

In ancient Chinese society, one of the reasons why women's participation in politics was considered outrageous was that women were economically dependent. Therefore, women did not have economic base for political participation.

In contemporary society, the economy and productivity increases rapidly. This is especially true of Chinese tertiary industries, such as tourist industry, resident service, education industry, culture industry, and entertainment industry, which is more suitable for women developed rapidly. Moreover, due to economic globalization, a

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<sup>56</sup> Yang, *The Analysis of the Chinese Contemporary Social Classes*

<sup>57</sup> Fenghua Wang 王凤华, “Zhongguo funv canzheng de liulieshi fenxi” 中国妇女参政的优劣势分析 [the Advantages and Disadvantages for Chinese Women’s Political Participation], *Journal of Jiangsu Institute of Education: Social Science Edition* (2003): 03.

large number of foreign corporations enter China and build companies there. Thus, Chinese women are given more and more opportunities to display their talents. Chinese women increasingly enjoy economic autonomy, so that they have the economic base of political participation.

Third, women get increased opportunities for education, and thus their cultural literacy develops. Women's economic independence also allows them to get higher education, which contributes to improving the quality of women groups and enhancing their ability and consciousness in politics. In the process of modernization, the knowledge economy profoundly changed the way people lived and produced. Science and technology became one of the most important factors that affected national economy and labor efficiency. Economic and social development more depended on human resources rather than natural resources and financial resources in recent years.

At present, many countries develop new education development strategies which accord priority status to education and implement universal education and lifelong education. In some western developed countries, the governments invest in human resources through a variety of channels which apparently includes the investment in female human resources. What cannot be denied is that if there is not the participation of women who accounts for nearly half of the population, the advances in knowledge and technology will be greatly reduced.

Indeed, China does not have a strong education system, and the investment in education and educational resources is still far from being able to meet all the needs

of the educated. However, with the economic development, the educational investment of Chinese government increases annually. Thus Chinese women get more and more educational opportunities.

Furthermore, in the 1980s, family planning policy was introduced by Chinese government. This policy regulates that every Chinese spouse can only have one child. So that more and more parents of girls no longer just expect their daughters to find a good husband. Instead, these parents send their girls to schools for better development. It raises Chinese women's literacy as well as inspires their political enthusiasm and desire.

In 2001, a survey on women's political participation shows that 49.9 percent of the Chinese women who took the survey said they would "certainly" participate in politics by voting, advising online, or even running for offices if given opportunities, while only 6.9 percent of women chose "definitely not". 58.2 percent of the women who chose to participate said they believed participating in politics could help them realize their own values. Moreover, the study also shows that there are 64.5 percent of metropolitan career women who are willing to participate in politics in various ways.<sup>58</sup> We can find that metropolitan career women have stronger political enthusiasm and greater social responsibilities than other women. Therefore, from above research, we could get a conclusion as what Samuel Huntington and Joan Nelson indicated that in general, political participation is determined by income and

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<sup>58</sup> "Guanyu nvxing canzheng yizheng de diaocha" 关于女性参政议政的调查 [the Survey on Chinese Women's Political Participation], accessed July 26, 2013, <http://women.sohu.com/08/65/article212196508.shtml>

education to a great extent<sup>59</sup>. A Chinese scholar Yang Ming also put forward the similar theory that under the contemporary political and economic conditions of Chinese society, only those who have certain educational backgrounds will be interested in politics<sup>60</sup>.

## 4.2. *Policies to Increase Chinese Women's Political Participation*

### 4.2.1. *Developing Tertiary Industry<sup>61</sup> to Increase Job Opportunities and Decrease Housework*

Studying the affairs of the Western countries, we can find that the more developed the national economy is, the more advanced the national politics is. Moreover, in the Western countries where the economy is more developed, women's average education and interests in politics are higher as well. Hence, in such Western countries, there are more women in political leadership. This phenomenon suggests that the female political participation of a country is related to the national and regional economy more or less.<sup>62</sup>

There were a number of causes that led to the unsatisfactory current situation of Chinese women's political participation. Among them, the low productivity and the

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<sup>59</sup> Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 40.

<sup>60</sup> Ming Yang 杨明, "Sixian nongmin zhengzhi canyu yanjiu" 四县农民政治参与研究 [A Study on the Political Participation of Peasants in Four Counties], *Sociological Research* 2 (2000).

<sup>61</sup> Economic sectors are classified into three categories: primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary sector of the economy is the sector of an economy making direct use of natural resources. This includes agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining, and extraction of oil and gas. The secondary sector includes those economic sectors that create a finished, tangible product: production and construction, such as manufacturing, construction, Shipbuilding, textile industry and steel industry. The tertiary sector is also known as service sector, includes tourism, hospitals, media, financial services, real estate, and education. Now, the tertiary sector is the largest sector of the economy in the Western world, and is also the fastest-growing sector.

<sup>62</sup> Huntington and Nelson, *No Easy Choice*, 42.

backward economy were two main factors. Since the reform and opening up in 1979, Chinese economy has made great achievements. However, due to the large Chinese population and the weak economic foundation, regional economic development is very uneven. Also, comparing with developed countries, Chinese national economy still lags behind.

Hence, the most basic measure to improve Chinese women's political participation is to increase economic growth. Currently, for the sustainable, rapid, and healthy economic growth, the best way is to develop tertiary industry. The development of tertiary industry will not only improve the national economy but also comprehensive national strength. It will provide more work opportunities to ease the employment pressure in China. Moreover, it is also conducive to raising people's living standards.

The development of tertiary industry is particularly important to women. This is not only because the development of tertiary industry can create more operating posts for women. In addition, tertiary industry provides a good platform for women to show their talent and display their strengths. In general, women are patient, meticulous and ingenious; also, they have good language competence and memory. These female characteristics have great benefit for women working in tertiary industry.

Entering the workforce, women can not only get rid of the economic dependence on men and become financially independent, but also get better understanding of politics. Hence, women's consciousness of political participation will be raised. Moreover, women can be more confident of themselves when they achieve economic independence.

However, in contemporary Chinese society, most employers favor male employees. A survey made by the Shanghai Women's Federation in 2003 shows that the women in Shanghai face serious impediments to self-development. In terms of employment, more than a third of the women who take the survey claim that they have encountered gender discrimination when looking for jobs. 12.6percent of women have gotten gender discrimination over "remuneration" issue, while 12.3percent of women have been discriminated over "promotion" issue due to their gender. Also, there is 6.7percent of women have experienced gender discrimination for "starting a business."<sup>63</sup>

Therefore, efficiently developing tertiary industry and actively providing work opportunities, governments at all levels should also take effective measures to insure the equal employment opportunities for women and men. For some positions that are suitable for both women and men, employers should be encouraged to give priority to women under the same conditions.

In addition, housework also has an important impact on women's development. Currently, Chinese women bear double the burden of social labor and household labor. This fact causes Chinese women to lack energy and time to participate in politics. Therefore, Chinese couples should move toward a more equal share of domestic duties as well as outside-the-home work. The traditional attitude and stereotype that men work outside, and women work inside should be changed. In the issue of women in politics, men also have the responsibility to coordinate the relationship between

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<sup>63</sup> Lan Chen 陈兰, "Zhengzhi wenming shijiao xia nannv pingdeng jiben guoce de shixian" 政治文明视角下男女平等基本国策的实现[the Implement the Basic National Policy of Gender Equality], *Chinese Public Administration* 1 (2007)

family and career. Therefore, the state should gradually develop supporting measures and adopt diversified approaches. The government needs to accelerate the pace of the socialization of housework. The socialization of housework can not only provide working opportunities for the women without good education background, but also further free the career women from housework labor. Hence, it will be possible for women to have time and effort to consider the issues about social life.

#### *4.2.2. Strengthening the Institutional Guarantee of Chinese women's political participation*

It will be an extremely long process to promote women's political participation. During different periods of time, we can establish different goals. Some scholars believe that there are two alternative choices that can be the targets of the Chinese women's political participation proportion. The first one, which is practiced in Nordic countries, rules that there should be at least 40percent of officials are women. The second one, which is put forward by the United Nations, requires that female officials account for 30percent of the total.<sup>64</sup>

However, we should take into account the fact that the extent of Chinese women's political participation is still relatively low. Thus the government should make realistic goals according to the national situation in order to enhance feasibility and operability. Then, the governments at all levels should make great efforts to achieve

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<sup>64</sup> Xie Tao 谢陶, "Woguo nvxing canzheng de wenti yu duice sikao" 我国女性参政的问题与对策思考[The Analysis and Thinking for the Problems of Chinese Women's Political Participation], *Leadership Science* 5 (2005)

this goal which should then be treated as a rigid target of political development.<sup>65</sup>

Deepening the political reforms, the government should establish a fair competition system for selecting and appointing officials. A great number of regulations for selecting and appointing officials are designed according to male physiological characteristics and growth patterns.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, these criteria do not take fully into account women's physiological characteristics or growth patterns. Such rules have significantly negative impacts on women's development. Thus, in view of women's special natures in some respects, the government should have special selection and appointment mechanisms for them. Not only should the governments in all levels assign higher proportions of female officials, but also the highest authority needs to reserve seats for women representatives.

Finally, the Chinese government can adopt three more legal remedies. First of all, the government should create a good environment for the administration of law. The law-enforcing environment is the base. Second, the government has to improve legislation. Concretely, the government should found supervisory organizations to examine the implementation of women's rights. Also, the minimum proportion of women in politics should be formulated in the form of legislation. Finally, the government should strengthen the inclination of policies and the justiciability of "The Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests."

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<sup>65</sup> Tao, "The Analysis and Thinking for the Problems of Chinese Women's Political Participation"

<sup>66</sup> Shi, *Female Education*, 324

#### *4.2.3. Strengthening the Cooperation between the Government and NGO*

The cooperation between the government and non-governmental organizations, especially female organizations, is significant for women's political participation. The consolidation between the government and female organizations can boost the formation of effective mechanisms for women's political participation. In addition to the coalition between the government and women's organizations, the connection between the women who have already gotten the decision-making power and female masses is also necessary.

On one hand, for the sake of a good environment and mechanism for women in politics, the government should establish the specialized agencies in charge of developing relevant policies and encouraging women to participate in politics.

On the other hand, non-governmental women's organizations, which work on behalf of women's interests, should convey women's voices and demands to the government. Actively carrying out publicity and education about women's political participation, these organizations will play irreplaceable roles to promote women in politics.

Since the Third World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985, women NGOs have made great efforts to help women realize their rights. Worldwide, the impacts of non-governmental organizations have been gradually expanding. They take positive actions and exert great pressures in order to influence policies and solve the neglected women's issues.

NGOs provide opportunities for women to take part in politics. A number of

women gain power and influence by participating in NGOs. Moreover, their political capabilities and skills are also strengthened. Some leaders of non-governmental women's organizations even enter the traditional political system and continue fighting for women's equal rights in governmental agencies.

#### *4.2.4. Strengthening Teacher Training and Downplaying the Gender Bias in Textbooks*

The Government should require teachers in schools to receive gender-sensitivity training and be asked not to classify students by gender when they are teaching. When criticizing students, teachers need to avoid using the words that are involved with gender, such as “boys should do something” or “girls should do something.” When guiding students to choose their subjects, majors or even careers, teachers need to give student advice based on students' interests and talents instead of gender. Moreover, teachers also need to encourage students to devote to the majors and professions that are regarded as the careers of the opposite gender. For instance, teachers can encourage girls to study engineering and math, while encourage boys to study health care, nursery education, and journalism.

In textbooks, there should be more female roles; and their social contribution and influence should be emphasized. Women's social status and images should be improved, in order to correct students' gender concept.

First, more women figures should be introduced; and the concept of gender equality should also be included in textbooks. Some authors of the current Chinese

textbooks subconsciously or unconsciously show neglect in their texts. However, textbooks, as a leading contributor to cultural values, should emphasize gender equality. There should be more texts that are basing on women's experiences and perspectives. The works in textbooks need to fair present the activities and contributions of both genders, and emphasize gender respect.

Second, there should be more positive and exemplary women figures. In the textbooks, there should be more career women who have made great contributions through their works to the nation. It can strengthen the confidence and responsibility of female students. Moreover, these female examples can guide girls to establish a sense of innovation and help them develop a healthy personality. The female figures in textbooks should not play into the stereotype of women as always being at the bottom of a society. There should be more female figures who have equal access to social resources and same contribution to social wealth. Especially, more outstanding women politicians and leaders should be introduced and set as examples for girls.

#### *4.2.5. Raising Women's Consciousness of Political Participation*

Ultimately, policies should be aimed at eliminating patriarchal ideology from the political field. It is not only women's rights but also the obligations of the Chinese government if it wants more women to participate in politics.

The traditional ideas that "men are superior to women" and "men are dominant while women are subordinate" are still deeply rooted in some Chinese people's minds

and shape their actions. Affected by this traditional thinking, the laws and regulations for protecting women's political rights often become a mere formality which can not be effectively implemented.

Therefore, patriarchal ideology should be eradicated from Chinese people's mind, and the policy measures suggested above are important steps in the right direction which the Chinese government should take. The Chinese public's gender perceptions have to be updated; and Chinese women should be introduced to political life. On this basis, the traditional gender stereotypes also need to be broken; and the basic national policy of gender equality should be advocated and propagandized. The positive significance of female political participation and the excellent performance of female officials should be vigorously publicized. So that the men who hold obvious discrimination against women in politics will aware that there are only gender differences but no personality differences between men and women.

For the sake of an advanced gender culture, women should be respected and trained; they should be given more opportunities and confidences for political participation. It can not only ensure women's legitimate rights, but also improve women's status and promote women's development. Therefore, there will be a good social and cultural environment for women's political participation.

To bring this about, the political participation awareness of female individuals can be enhanced through multiple channels.

Nowadays, the leaders and managers of social and public affairs should be outstanding individuals who should have the good capabilities of management

communication, decision-making, and planning. All these capabilities are related to educational levels. Women's educational background is one of the most important elements to measure their overall qualities; moreover, it more or less determines the extent of women's political participation. Hence, having protective legislation, women should also improve their own educational levels. It is also an important part to boost women's political participation.

In this highly competitive era, women should foster a strong sense of political participation. They need to actively and consciously attend the training about the sense of competition, civic awareness, and public policy to enhance their understanding of political life and raise their awareness of political participation. Women should also constantly update their knowledge in daily life and try to learn new skills and accept new things in order to promote their educational levels as well as overall qualities.

In addition, women need to overcome psychological paralysis and get rid of the effects of traditional thinking that women are dependent. They should focus on the cultivation of a spirit of self-reliance spirit and self-confidence as well as competitive consciousness so as to improve their overall qualities. Only by this way, can women have keen insight, wise decision-making ability, and strong adaptive capacity when they are involved in public affairs. Therefore, women can remove the social prejudice and discrimination for women in politics by their efforts and achievements in political life. Ultimately, the goal of female political participation will be realized.

## CONCLUSION

With the advent of globalization, Chinese politics are also democratized. Nowadays, it is necessary for China to pay more attention to female political participation. Promoting Chinese women's political participation is an important strategic step for socialist democracy. It is not only the common aspiration of the international community, but also the key element to realize Chinese women's liberation and development.

In China, where there has been a two thousand-year history of feudalism, women's political participation is not only affected by social development and gender conception, but also restricted by the degree of women's liberation and their own qualities. Therefore, there will be many twists and turns and challenges along the development of Chinese women's political participation.

Deng Yingchao, the former Chairwoman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and also the wife of the first Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, once indicated that the issues of Chinese women were social problems. These issues were not simple and isolated. Instead, they related to the society and politics. Therefore, there is close connection between Chinese women's issues and Chinese political issues. These two kinds of issues reinforce and complement each other. If the politics of a country are progressive, the domestic women's issues will be solved easily. On the other hand, the extent of women's liberation can be used to measure the degree of political progress. Accordingly, women's rights and opportunities for political participation can also provide an indication of the country's democracy.

And the government can take, and should take ,proactive steps in making public policy that overcomes the enduring historical, cultural and psychological obstacles to women's empowerment.

A system which can't reflect women's interests is flawed. This paper has analyzed the opportunities and realistic problems that Chinese women will meet when they participate in the politics, and suggested plausible policy approaches to improve the extent of Chinese women's political participation. Based on the reality of women's situation, the Chinese government should provide feasible laws and economic guarantees for promoting women's political participation. On the other hand, Chinese women also need to improve self-cultivation. More importantly, they need to fight for their political status and social status actively with their practical actions.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

### **Personal Information**

Name: Xiaoheng Guo

Major: Master of Arts in Liberal Studies

### **Education Background**

Sep. 2008 ~ Jun. 2012 **Communication University of China**

Major: English (International News)

Degree: B.A

Jan.2013 ~ Dec. 2013 **Wake Forest University**

Major: Liberal Studies

Degree: M.A

### **Social Activities**

- Oct. 2011~ Nov. 2011  
**Position:** Coordinator of 2011 Annual Meeting of the Competitiveness of Chinese Enterprises  
**Activities:** Assisted in connection with attending guests and meeting arrangement;  
Responsible for the materials distribution and security check
- Jul. 2011~ Aug. 2011  
**Position:** Volunteer of One Foundation  
**Activities:** In charge of website (www.onefamily.org.cn) maintenance and donation data collection
- Sep. 2010~ Jun. 2011  
**Position:** Excellent Student Representative  
**Activities:** Selected as one of the exchange student representatives to participated in a study exchange with Swansea University, Wales
- Jan. 2010~ Mar. 2010  
**Position:** Alxa Society of Entrepreneurs and Ecology  
**Activities:** Assisted in data collection and information entry
- Jan. 2009~ May 2010  
**Position:** Volunteer of Communist Youth League  
**Activities:** Organized all kinds of donation for the children from throughout China
- Oct. 2009~ Dec. 2009

**Position:** Coordinator of 2009 Annual Meeting of the Competitiveness of Chinese Enterprises

**Activities:** Assisted in connection with attending guests and arranging meetings;  
Responsible for the course materials distribution and security

➤ Sep. 2008~ Jul. 2011

**Position:** Director of Public Relations Department, Student Union of CUC

**Activities:** Organized the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Star of Outlook College Students Arts Competition, in charge of the sponsor contact, performance guest invitation and the whole process;  
Organized the 4<sup>th</sup> Capital Universities Cultural Weekend, Photography Competition, in charge of the works collection and selection;  
Organized 26<sup>th</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> CUC Cup Soccer Game, in charge of the guests invitation, including famous emcees Huang Jianxiang, Bai Yansong and Bi Fujian  
Organized Sculpting Time Lectures, in charge of the arranging sponsors and invitation

➤ Oct. 2008~ Nov. 2008

**Position:** Coordinator of 2008 Annual Meeting of the Competitiveness of Chinese Enterprises

**Activities:** Assisted in connection with attending guests and meeting arrangement;  
Responsible for the materials distribution and security

### **Working Experiences**

➤ Oct. 2011~ Dec. 2011

#### **China Economist, Magazine Office**

Participated in selecting subjects and organizing collection of submissions

➤ Jul. 2011~ Aug. 2011

#### **Business College, Magazine Office**

Participated in selecting subjects and organizing collection of submissions

➤ Jun. 2011~ Jul. 2011

#### **Taiwan Industry and Commerce Times**

Assisted in documents collection and subjects selection

➤ Jun. 2010~ Jul. 2010

#### **China Daily**

Assisted in documents collection and daily editorial work

➤ Jul. 2009~ Aug. 2009

#### **China Business**

Assisted in documents collection and daily editorial work

➤ Jan. 2009~ Feb. 2009

#### **Life Style Newspaper Office**

Participated in selecting submissions for publication

## **Publications**

- Jul. 29, 2011 Rereading on The Faber Report: Capital Lies
- Jul. 31, 2011 Ma Still Game For Challenge of Sports
- Aug. 12, 2011 Who is killing Hai Di Lao Hot Pot with Flattery?
- Aug. 13, 2011 Harry Potter: Magic Expiration with One Billion Box-office Receipts
- Aug. 19, 2011 The Piano in a Factory: Literary Marketing Samples among Business Attack
- Aug. 27, 2011 Desert of Song Troops