

Susan Ho
Independent Project
5/16/06
Final Draft

Women in China: Interpreting the Influences

The proper role of Chinese women in society has changed dramatically throughout the course of history. In Imperial China, women stayed at the bottom of society, following the prevailing Confucian ideals of the time. Practices such as footbinding, which objectified women as mysterious beings and objects of sexual desire for men, were prevalent during this time, but shifted toward the end of the Qing dynasty as Chinese intellectuals called for reforms that were echoed by the Christian missionaries who were present in China during the turn of the 19th century.¹ The 1898 Reform Movement allowed women of elite classes to experience some, if limited, liberation.² During the years after the collapse of the Qing dynasty, formation of the Republic of China, and the war between the Nationalists and Communists, women took on increasingly important roles in revolution. When the Communist Party took power in 1949, the leaders stressed the equality of men and women.³ After the reforms in the 1980s, women's role in society continued to change as Western influence once again played a role in shaping gender roles, more than ever before. Yet women in China today are still in some ways bound to 'traditional' views. Despite changes in rhetoric from China's leaders throughout history, traditional Confucian ideals which had been in place for thousands of years still govern much of social relations and the social laws promoted by Chairman Mao did not always reflect a realistic picture of what women's roles actually were. Thus, the prevailing impressions of Chinese

¹ Heng-che Chen, "Influences of Foreign Cultures on the Chinese Woman," in *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, ed. Yu-ning Li (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 64.

² Jinghao, Zhou, "Keys to Women's Liberation in Communist China: An Historical Overview," *Journal of International Women's Studies* (November 1, 2003).

³ Laurel Bossen, "Women and Development," in *Understanding Contemporary China*, ed. Robert E. Gamer (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 293.

women from the dynastic days to the modern era are not an entirely accurate depiction, especially given the diversity of Chinese women in different classes and regions. Focusing on women in elite urban classes, I seek to show the multiple sources of influence that shape women's role in China today.

For thousands of years, Chinese women were governed by the laws of a Confucian society, which set up a hierarchy for obedience based on age and gender. The oldest men would have the most power while the youngest women would have the least. From the moment of birth, a woman would have to obey her father. Once she married, she had to obey her husband, and if her husband died she had to obey her son. In this sense, women had little power.⁴ Their parents arranged marriages for them, sold them off to strangers without their consent, bound their daughters' feet to conform to an oppressive standard of female beauty and improve their daughters' chances of marrying, and sometimes, in poor families, practiced female infanticide. Even women subscribed to the belief that men were worth more than they were.⁵ One woman named Xu Ma, who was born in the outskirts of Shanghai in the early 1900s, pushed her daughters "down the outhouse hole to drown...since they were females...and [she] did not have time for girls."⁶ Other traditional ethical codes include the four virtues, which are proper speech, modest manner, diligent work, and filial piety. All these kept Chinese women out of social activities and required them to be good daughters, wives, and mothers-in-law instead.⁷ These traditional norms were to be obeyed without question and created a situation in which women were easily oppressed.

⁴ Xiaowei, Zang, "Family, Kinship, Marriage, and Sexuality," in *Understanding Contemporary China*, ed. Robert E. Gamer (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 282.

⁵ Bossen, 295.

⁶ Pang-Mei Natasha Chang, *Bound Feet and Western Dress*, (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 26.

⁷ Zhou.

Few women held positions of value or power compared to those of men, who possessed all the rights of property, divorce, education, and politics.⁸ In contrast, a woman faced concubinage, a tradition in China that allowed a man to take additional wives who would be incorporated into the family, was forbidden to remarry after her husband died, and was even encouraged to commit suicide not only in defense of her chastity but “so that male relatives can wallow in the glory of having a chaste woman in the family and be exempt from conscript labor.”⁹ Such social roles were encouraged by the state. Women were also bound by traditional ethical codes such as the four virtues, which included proper speech, modest manner, diligent work, and filial piety, all of which prohibited Chinese women from social activities and required them to be good daughters, wives, and mothers-in-law.¹⁰ This in turn brought on a doctrine invented toward the end of the Ming dynasty that states, “In a woman, stupidity is a virtue.”¹¹ During these times, only women of the literati class received an education – one that is extremely limited. Women learned the “Culture of Four Arts,” which included music, chess, calligraphy, and painting. Once a woman mastered these four arts and received a basic education in literature and poetry, she would be given “the honorable title of ‘ts’ ai-nu,” which means a talented and accomplished lady.”¹² Society considered women to be inferior to men and did not give them a chance to prove that they were not.

In spite of being denied almost all rights in traditional society, despite historic oppression, women in traditional China proved almost impossible to suppress entirely.¹³ Many women, even in traditional China, have been able to succeed politically through their role in the

⁸ Bossen, 295 and Zhou.

⁹ Yutang Lin, “Feminist Thought in Ancient China” in *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, ed. Yu-ning Li (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 36. 37.

¹⁰ Zhou.

¹¹ Lin, 37.

¹² Chen, 65.

¹³ Shih Hu, “Women’s Place in Chinese History,” in *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, ed. Yu-ning Li (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 3.

home. Only after a passage of many years could a woman get authority in her own right. A woman's position was weakest when she was sonless and improved after bearing a son, and grew stronger still when a daughter-in-law came under her direction. By the time she entered into old age, her authority began to equal that of her husband's. If he died early, "full power with the family might sometimes then be in her hands."¹⁴ If the woman came from a powerful family, then she could also use her status within the family to gain power in the outside world. During the Tang dynasty, a woman ruled as empress for 45 years. She was a concubine who bore a son when the first wife could not. To gain power, she killed her son and framed the first wife who was then executed. When the emperor died, she assumed power.¹⁵ At the turn of the 19th century, a series of 'puppet' emperors sat at the throne of the Qing dynasty. All were controlled by a previous emperor's mother who refused to give up power and crowned her nephew, and later an adopted son, emperor so that she could maintain her position as Empress Dowager. Laws, treaties with foreigners, and the management of the dynasty were under her control.¹⁶ Even when the emperor wanted to pursue reforms to prevent the downfall of the dynasty, the Empress Dowager overpowered him and had him locked in a room in the Summer Palace.¹⁷ Thus, only through gaining control of a man could a woman hope to exercise any kind of real power.

Between the 19th and 20th centuries, the Qing dynasty proved incapable of defending China from foreign invaders, who had a profound influence on the role of Chinese women. China faced pressures for change from foreign trade, political intervention from Western nations, urbanization, internal unrest, and cultural contact with Western missionaries who arrived during

¹⁴ Zang, 283.

¹⁵ Hu, 6.

¹⁶ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1990), 217.

¹⁷ Spence, 230.

the mid 1800s, a time when Western imperialism took over many parts of China and all things Western were looked upon favorably.¹⁸ The missionaries, along with Chinese reformers, were convinced that one factor contributing to China's backwardness was the low status of women, symbolized by their bound feet and lack of education.¹⁹ They aroused the idea in Chinese minds that the practice of footbinding was "absurd and wrong."²⁰ Although Chinese scholars had criticized it before, no effort was to abolish the tradition until the end of the last century when Chinese minds allowed themselves to be convinced after seeing the unbound feet of Western and Manchu women.²¹ Western culture also taught Chinese young men and women that there was nothing wrong with choosing their own life partners. While China's youth had long held such ideas beneath the surface, evidenced by the less prominent writers and poets who described their frustrations, the West gave them confidence to stand up and create "revolutionary institutions of 'small families'" composed of only the man, wife, and children rather than the Confucian ideal of several generations living under one roof.²² Seeing the Western examples of monogamy, the absence of concubinage, and acceptance of a woman who had married a second husband was a "revolution and revelation to Chinese women of the educated class" who had always believed that death seemed easier to bear than the disgrace and dishonor of being labeled a "twice-married woman."²³ Chinese women no longer accepted concubinage and were supported by the new custom of choosing their own mate which forced a man to work to gain a woman's favor.²⁴ While concubinage changed from the rule to the exception, the idea of a "twice-married woman"

¹⁸ Bossen, 297.

¹⁹ Bossen, 298.

²⁰ Chen, 64.

²¹ Chen, 64.

²² Chen, 68.

²³ Chen, 65.

²⁴ Chen, 69.

did not become a rule, but did become more accepted.²⁵ Westerners in China played a major part in enlarging the field of women's education throughout the mid 1800s and early 1900s, establishing girls' schools and pushing the ideas of modernization and sexual equality that came from the May 4th Movement, which not only attacked traditional culture and Confucian ethical codes, but saw women's equality as important for national development.²⁶ Schools for girls began to become more widespread, and the urban elite had access to formal education for women. Before the Industrial Revolution and Western influence, equal education was only a dream for women who were stuck as "ts'ai-nu" (accomplished and talented ladies). Such women were nothing more than a cultural decoration. The influence of Western culture helped transform "ts'ai-nu" into international scholars, medical doctors, musicians, educators, and social reformers and generally broadened the role of women in Chinese society.²⁷

The years between the 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by chaos, civil war, and change with regard to the status of women in society, but when Communism took power in 1949, a new doctrine emphasizing equality between the sexes to began to take hold across China.²⁸ Women had played major roles during previous years as generals, leaders, and revolutionaries, and helped Communism take root amongst Chinese people. Under Mao Zedong, female infanticide was stopped for the most part as the rural economy improved and women received the rights they were denied during previous years, the Marriage Law of 1950 and propaganda promoted social equality and placed women on par with men.²⁹ The Marriage Law and Agrarian Reform Law, which was supposed to give peasants, including women, equal land ownership,

²⁵ Chen, 65.

²⁶ Stacey Peck. *Halls of Jade, Walls of Stone: Women in the 1980s*. (New York: F. Watts, 1985), 8; Bossen, 301; Zhou.

²⁷ Chen, 67.

²⁸ Bossen, 302.

²⁹ Zang, 283; Bossen, 302,303.

together gave “unmarried, divorced, or widowed women the right to hold land in their own names” and become independent farmers.³⁰ The Marriage Law also formally abolished arranged marriage, child marriage, and polygamy, and stressed that marriage was a voluntary contract between two equal adults who could both divorce. Such laws, along with the CCP belief that women must work in the public sphere to achieve equality and contribute to socialist construction, gave women a chance to break from patriarchal control.³¹

Although the Marriage Law and Agrarian Reform Law seemed to provide women with property rights and real property, in reality the lofty theories of gender equality the party proclaimed failed to change the attitudes and conditions that held women in their inferior position. The measures set up to promote equality between men and women were not thoroughly implemented, especially because the cadres in charge of carrying out the reforms that were designed to benefit women were, in fact, men who didn’t want to give up their control of family property or relinquish their authority over the other half of society.³² Hundreds of thousands of women sought to exercise their new rights under the Marriage Law, but few found the support they needed.³³ Women seeking divorce often faced strong opposition from her husband’s family as well as the cadres and such conflicts led to turmoil and violence against women. The revolution was used in favor of men as women were killed when their husbands refused to accept divorce, or turned over to the village militia for opposing the revolution when they were reluctant to grant their husbands a divorce.³⁴ During the two to three years after the Marriage Law’s enactment, an estimated 70,000-80,000 people were killed each year over marriage-related issues

³⁰ Bossen, 302.

³¹ Bossen, 303.

³² Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 19; Bossen, 302.

³³ Wolf, 19, 20.

³⁴ Bossen, 303.

throughout the country. The figure shows the difficulties of revolution and the ability of tradition to endure.³⁵

While it seems that the Agrarian Reform Law was enacted soon after the Marriage Law in order to redistribute power and authority in not just the family, but in the community as well, the two laws were not intended to be mutually supporting. When the land reform law was introduced, cadres interpreted “the barrage of material on land reform coming to them as meaning that marriage reform was to be mentioned and forgotten while the land work proceeded.”³⁶ Despite this focus on land reform, the movement was unsuccessful redistributing property to women. Rural men often refused to surrender control of family property, which would have made enforcement of the law costly and time consuming.³⁷ The party then settled for a system in which women were counted as members of households to whom the land was distributed and if a woman were to receive a land deed made out in her name, it was quickly handed over to the male head of the household.³⁸ Men saw the land and marriage reforms as threats to their control over property and family and successfully prevented the ideologies of the laws from taking root. Rather than become equal members of society and equal promulgators of the revolution, women were encouraged to help the revolution through helping with production and creating the conditions for a happy and more productive husband.³⁹ Women who acted otherwise and attempted to speak out in public on issues of equality were accused of being selfish and individualistic, and had to prove their worth by contributing to production equally with men to change men’s attitudes.⁴⁰

³⁵ Kazuko Ono, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 181.

³⁶ Wolf, 18.

³⁷ Bossen, 303.

³⁸ Wolf, 19.

³⁹ Wolf, 21,22.

⁴⁰ Wolf, 17.

Although the party argued that focusing on production was the only way to further women's liberation, women's ability to receive equal recognition for their efforts in production were hindered by discrimination in awarding work points and the dual stresses on women to continue domestic work in addition to working on the collective farms. Massive construction projects and collective labor during the Great Leap Forward, a campaign to help China achieve dramatically higher levels of production that targeted women and required them to participate in farming, pulled women out of the household into nondomestic labor.⁴¹ Though production became the only way for women to prove their equality to men as feminist struggles took a backseat and became absorbed into the larger context of class struggle and revolution, women were discriminated against in working environments, which prevented them from changing men's attitudes about their capabilities in any meaningful way. Women were often awarded only a fraction of the work points men were awarded for doing similar types and quantities of work. Moreover, the leaders who tallied the work points were often men who paid the value to the head of the household, making women unable to exercise any direct control over the income they earned. Not only did women receive unequal pay for work they did outside the home, but were expected to continue doing domestic work without the help of their husbands. Communist theory overlooked the intensity of domestic work, which included tasks such as hauling water, tending wood fires, laundry, home-based semicommercial activities, and caring for the children. While women were expected to share in the work outside the home, men were not expected to share in the work inside the home, a double standard that made it increasingly difficult for women to gain further liberation the only way they knew how.⁴² In many ways, the Communist party's policies that were supposedly designed with women's liberation in mind were actually

⁴¹ Wolf, 22.

⁴² Bossen, 304.

ways in which the party could mobilize women to perform in ways that would support and gain more rights for the community as a whole rather than give more rights to women.

The few policies that affected women were poorly implemented and enforced, and did not take root in many places until after more than a decade, but after the party enacted movements such as the Cultural Revolution and programs to increase education and literacy, no one could deny that the traditional gender structure had been completely questioned and upturned. Although the government's education programs stopped during the Cultural Revolution, a movement Chairman Mao launched to attempt to regain ideological control of his revolution, the revolution, "more than previous periods, placed emphasis on the need to mobilize women to participation in politics as well as production."⁴³ Barriers to women's rights of participation in the public sphere were attacked while students serving as Red Guards and the mass media were mobilized to stress that women "had an obligation to devote themselves more fully to social and political responsibilities outside the home."⁴⁴ As the party continued revolutionary campaigns that made official assaults on the remnants of traditional patriarchal attitudes, throughout the era, the Communist Party improved the status of women most effectively through its policy of equal education for girls.⁴⁵ Before the revolution, China had extremely low literacy rates with large disparities between the sexes. Only 28% of girls attended primary school in 1951, which increased to 38% in 1958, and 45% by the end of the Maoist period in 1976. Secondary school participation also increased from 26% in 1951 to 40% in 1998. Though women still form a disproportionate number of China's illiterates, the proportion

⁴³ Wolf, 24.

⁴⁴ Wolf, 25.

⁴⁵ Beverley Hooper, "China's Modernization: Are Young Women Going to Lose Out?" *Modern China* Vol. 10, No. 3 (July, 1984).

is continuing to decline and women experienced more freedom as the Communist Party's campaigns dispelled people's beliefs about a woman's proper role in society.⁴⁶

Under Chairman Mao, the condition of women generally improved, but the party's campaigns for gender equality had an unequal effect across China. By the 1980s, there were communities in which Communist ideologies successfully changed people's attitudes on gender and women did not believe they were less capable than men as they received the same education and the same pay upon graduating from school. At the same time, there were also communities in which change was only superficial and temporary and women were unable to get equal access to education and jobs because of a continuing belief in women's mental and social inferiority. At this time, women made up only a quarter of those to get into college and 60-70% of all unemployed young people.⁴⁷ As women entered the modern period and China re-opened to the Western world through a series of reform movements in the late 1970s, the Communist ideology that had called for women's equality subsided. The portrait of the proper role of Chinese women no longer came from the state, which had always painted a clear picture of gender roles, but from Chinese people who were free to decide which influences would have the strongest impact on what a woman's proper role should be.

In modern China, and particularly in Shanghai, the picture of women is complicated by the presence of traditional values that never completely disappeared during the Maoist era, assertions of gender equality from the Maoist era, and Western influence. These multiple layers of influence may be difficult to see when considering the common image of Shanghainese women across China, which is one that has embraced the Communist Party values of gender equality and Western influence in a way that plays to women's advantage. Shanghainese women

⁴⁶ Bossen, 305.

⁴⁷ Hooper.

have adopted Mao Zedong's famous comment that "women will hold up half the sky" to say that "women will hold up the entire sky" and are known to be independent and individualistic, earning and spending their own money. Women in Shanghai are also known to have the most control in the family and refuse to do housework, leaving it to the men. Moreover, according to the Women's Federation, women initiate most of the divorce cases in Shanghai, which is a testament to the economic and social power of the women in the city.⁴⁸ In addition to Western and Communist Party influence, the status of women in Shanghai is also due to Shanghai's historical role as a place of trade with a highly-developed light industry that provided many work opportunities for women who were able to gain economic power and thereby gain power in society and the household. These factors make the role of women in Shanghai one that is extremely modern, but at the same time traditional.

While the influence of the Communist Party rhetoric on women in Shanghai is clear, the specific ways in which Western and traditional influence manifest in Shanghai are more difficult to pinpoint as they have blended to create a gender dynamic that is unique to Shanghai. The confluence of Western and traditional values in Shanghai can be seen through Shanghainese women's view on housework. "I won't do housework," is a typical mantra of women in Shanghai, and one that sounds as if it comes from the West where women can expect men to share in the work at home. The reasoning behind their refusal to do housework, however, is one that seems to be characterized by the traditional role of men as the bread-winner. Women in Shanghai believe that if the household has money, then someone else can be hired to do the housework. If the household doesn't have money, then it is because the man of the house is unable to earn it, and can therefore do the housework to make up for the fact that he can't earn

⁴⁸ Kun Zhang, "When the Third Party Comes" (19 April 2001) <http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2001/0419/fo6-1.html> (accessed 10 May 2006).

enough money to hire someone else to do it. In many ways, the complexities of traditional and Western influence on gender roles in Shanghai have allowed Shanghainese women to mold and shape the values to work in their favor. Some women, for example, who face the criticisms of those who believe in a traditional woman who stays at home, take the Western model of a career woman to justify their own pursuit of a career and choice of putting their career ahead of their role as a wife and mother. Others, in the face of a Communist ideal of women working alongside men, use the Western model of a wealthy woman who sits at home to justify their refusal to work to contribute to the family income, claiming that in a truly wealthy family, the woman is able to stay home while her husband works. In this way, women in Shanghai interpreted the many values present in the city to their benefit.

Shanghainese women were not always able to skew influences to work in their favor. Traditional values proved particularly difficult to overcome as job discrimination and double standards for behavior are still prevalent. When female university graduates in Shanghai seek employment, many of them face gender discrimination in various forms. About 56% of female graduates said they were discriminated against while searching for jobs and come across companies that require job applicants to be able to play football, which would rule out most female graduates. Moreover, male and female graduates receive unequal pay with men receiving an average income of 2,706 yuan (\$330) and women receiving 2,441 yuan (\$300).⁴⁹ In research institutions in Shanghai, only 32.7% of employees are women, and only 15% hold senior titles.⁵⁰ Though the specific reasons for the number discrepancies may be varied, it is nevertheless true that women in China still face traditional ideas of female inferiority. Traditional values also

⁴⁹ "Gender Bias Exists in Shanghai Job Market" *China Daily* (9 August 2004)
<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2004/Aug/103330.htm> (accessed 10 May 2006).

⁵⁰ Tianle Chang, "Gender Stereotypes Hamper Female Professionals," *China Daily* (5 April 2004)
http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-12/27/content_403524.htm (accessed 10 May 2006).

seem to hold power over behavioral patterns for men and women. One example is the fact that it is considered a worse sin for a wife to betray her husband than a husband to betray his wife, shown through the existence of a higher number of divorces due to infidelity by wives than husbands. Xu Anqi, a sociologist at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, explains that few men would accept an unfaithful wife while “some women, because of a lack of economic independence, would not file for divorce even when they found their husband engaged in extramarital affairs.”⁵¹ Xu’s statement shows that Shanghainese women do not have as much power and freedom as others in China believe, and despite being able to use many of the multiple influences present in Shanghai to their favor, are still subject to traditional values that undermine their positions in society and the family.

Chinese women today face a huge challenge in terms of defining their proper role in society, especially given China’s turbulent history of following Confucian ideals, receiving a strong message from the state during the Maoist era that sought to overturn a value system that existed for thousands of years, and coming into contact with the Western world, which brought an entirely new set of ideas on gender. These three factors (traditional, Maoist, and Western) are further complicated by the rapid modernization that is going on in Chinese cities that has forced Chinese people to redefine the meaning of wealth and allowed them to experiment with different gender systems. Oftentimes, the messages coming from the three main are contradictory and complex, and force women to define for themselves what it means to be a woman in China. Unlike during the dynastic and Maoist eras, in China today, there is no authority telling Chinese women how to behave and how to be a good woman, and women for the first time, have a choice and a means to stand up to traditional values that kept women at the bottom of society. Simply

⁵¹ “Urban Mysteries,” *Shanghai Star*. (5 December 2002) <http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2002/1205/cu18-1.html> (accessed 10 May 2006).

understanding that these multiple influences exist sheds light on the diverse situations of urban elite women in China.

Bibliography

- Bossen, Lauren. "Women and Development." In *Understanding Contemporary China*, edited by Robert E. Gamer, 293-320. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.
- Chang, Pang-Mei Natasha. *Bound Feet and Western Dress*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
- Chang, Tianle. "Gender Stereotypes Hamper Female Professionals." *China Daily*. 5 April 2004. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-12/27/content_403524.htm. (Accessed 10 May 2006).
- Chen, Heng-che. "Influences of Foreign Cultures on the Chinese Woman." In *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, edited by Yu-ning Li, 59-71. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.
- "Gender Bias Exists in Shanghai Job Market" *China Daily*. 9 August 2004. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2004/Aug/103330.htm>. (Accessed 10 May 2006).
- Hooper, Beverley. "China's Modernization: Are Young Women Going to Lose Out?" *Modern China* Vol. 10, No. 3 (July, 1984).
- Hu, Shih. "Women's Place in History." In *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, edited by Yu-ning Li, 3-15. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.
- Lin, Yutang. "Feminist Thought in Ancient China." In *Chinese Women Through Chinese Eyes*, edited by Yu-ning Li, 34-58. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.
- Ono, Kazuko. *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Peck, Stacey. *Halls of Jade, Walls of Stone: Women in the 1980s*. New York: F. Watts, 1985.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1990.
- Wolf, Margery. *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- "Urban Mysteries." *Shanghai Star*. 5 December 2002. <http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2002/1205/cu18-1.html>. (Accessed 10 May 2006).
- Zang, Xiaowei. "Family, Kinship, Marriage, and Sexuality." In *Understanding Contemporary China*, edited by Robert E. Gamer, 267-292. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.
- Zhang, Kun. "When the Third Party Comes" 19 April 2001. <http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2001/0419/fo6-1.html>. (Accessed 10 May 2006).

Zhou, Jinghao. "Keys to Women's Liberation in Communist China: An Historical Overview"
Journal of International Women's Studies. (November 1, 2003).