Women Hold Up More Than Half the Sky

Analyzing the wife abuse in Shanghai

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Abstract

Cultural change and modernization should directly undermine traditional patriarchal norms and, by stimulating industrialization, should indirectly set off a series of socioeconomic changes favorable to women, and together these changes should give women more autonomy, resources, and a sense of self-sufficiency, thereby resulting in a marked improvement in the status of women. (Lee&Clark 2000: 5) Hence, what I wanted to study was to investigate the cases of women victims by calling the hotline, who had completely criticized the traditional legitimacy of wife abuse in Confucian or that indeed they still live in the dominating Confucian life regardless of how much they criticize on it. My main research question is: to what extent do women realize to criticize the Confucian norms by means of calling the hotline to resist the wife abuse? And, what views do they have for staying in the abusive marriages?

Key words:
Wife abuse; patriarchal hierarchy

Content

Foreword

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of wife abuse

To redefine the role and status of women in China it started from the wider revolutionary movement, which began with the reform and republican movements in the 1911, and which continued with the development of a nationalist revolutionary movement, led initially by Sun Yat-sen. (Croll 1978:2) The first feminist stirrings were clearly recognized as a serious threat to traditional social relationships within the domestic sphere, but women's rights mainly referred solely to reforms in education and anti-foot binding in the early women's movement. (Croll 1978:55) Since the establishment of the Communist Party in 1949, the period of social reconstruction, the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), the Cultural Revolution and the women movements to criticize Confucius (Croll 1978:2), the movement broadened to include a redefinition of the role and status of its members in the public spheres, so that the emancipation of women was the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry. (Croll 1978:239) However, women's movements raised the consciousness of women as members of their sex suffering a particular form of cultural suppression and referred as the relevance of class struggle to their further emancipation and the applicability of the political and economic goals of the government to the feminist goals of the women's movement. (Croll 1978:306) After the opening policy from the 1980s, this period marked the height of Western influence on re-defining the social and political consciousness into the women's movement and the women's movement was no longer considered as the relevance of class struggle, moreover, the ideology of individualism brought in from the West stressed the status, rights and obligations of the individual. (Croll 1978:82) The Confucian ideology was firmly attacked as the single most important factor hindering the modernization of social customs. (Croll 1978:82) Although many individual women had acquired the new ideals of feminism or economic independence, or both, they found it difficult to actually take the unfilial step and actively disobey or ignore parental opposition. (Croll 1978:109) However,

the women's movement in the past only referred to change the traditional social relationships and redefine the role and status of women in the public and domestic spheres. But wife abuse as legitimated discipline by Confucius was still considered as the privacy, hardly relative to the gender equality issue, which could not be involved in the women's movement. Therefore, the wife abuse attracted no public attention in China until the beginning of the 1990s, when there was more room for alternative views to be aired. (Liu&Chan 1999:1470) Since the 4th world conference on women in 1995 the Chinese government and civil society have begun to recognize the adverse impacts of gender violence and have become ready to engage in open discussions on countermeasures. (Rong&Song 2002:4) Recent studies have shown that Chinese women's experiences of violence are often linked to the persistence of rigid gender norms and patriarchal values in Chinese societies. (Tang&Tam 2003:246) Accordingly, to demand women's rights the central and local government has changed the social system and prorogated the legal laws.[1] In such a global city, the success of women liberation and the economic changes have obviously accelerated the growth of women status in terms of economy, politics and education much better than other cities, which effects the public attitude on Confucian doctrine as the core of the patriarchal system in Shanghai and what I feel about that young Shanghainese's behaviors are hardly related to culturally represented assumptions, my own experiences as a tourist in Shanghai apparently influence how I react to them on women's status in the society. As I saw a middle aged woman harshly criticizing her husband on the street and the husband just shirked aside with silence, so such an image was quite popular now to describe the huge changed roles between Shanghai women and men, compared with the traditional norm that women should be submissive to their husbands, which made me doubt if men are usually centre-stage and women are confined to the margins?

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[1] Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women:
http://www1001.unescap.org/esid/psis/population/database/poplaws/law_china/ch_record002.htm
Wang Ju Fen, Fang Li Qiang (2006) "The Broken Silence, the Research Study on Domestic Violence of Shanghai".   Shanghai Woman, vol. 7
China Reports, "Shanghai anti-domestic violence hotline center":
http://gb.cri.cn/41/2004/03/18/302@101678.htm

However, we could not deny that the wife abuse does not exist, when only see the phenomenon that women seem to bravely criticize their husbands publicly, so mainstream feminists broadly discuss the reasons why women victims bravely break with their silence against the violence, which is relatively connected to feminism and socialism in China and the influence of the openness and Westernization versus cultural-specific factors. There should be interrelationship between the role of culture and patriarchal structure, because the traditional doctrine induces people to act what the rule of patriarchal structure has regulated their roles they should practice and accept from generations to generations. Therefore, as mentioned that wife battering is not culture (Sokoloff&Dupont 2005:47), but culture only legitimates the act of wife battering as the correct discipline for women, which decides on the imbalance of gender relationship and men should have power to control over women. As Rydström mentioned "inside lineage" and "outside lineage"[2] (Rydström 2003:4), in China Confucian moral doctrine asserted the patrilineal clan system as the core of Chinese traditional culture, which essentially led to the imbalance of the gender relationships in the social and family contexts. The "Three Bonds"[3] (Rydström 2003:40) define cultural legitimacy of wife abuse; men thus are entitled to deal with their women as they please. Accordingly, the idea that men have a natural right to discipline women violently has been transmitted from one generation to another and has remained largely unchanged even after the founding of the PRC. (Liu&Chan 1999:1488) Elisabeth Croll in her book, *Feminism and Socialism in China*, illustrated that the image of the history of Chinese women's struggles for liberation through education and labor participation to redefine the role and status of women since the nineteenth century. Apparently the rise of women's labor force participation and familial roles in the society support them to be available independent economic role in the society to struggle for the gender equality. (Lee&Clark 2000:162) Li Xiaojiang argued that

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[2] "Inside lineage" and "outside lineage": sons belong to the "inside lineage", holding the inborn corporeal honor, reputation and morality of their entire patrilineage, while daughters are "outside lineage" without honor, reputation and morality of their fathers' lineage.
[3] Three Bonds: define social relationships at both the micro and macro levels of society: a subject's loyalty to the emperor, children's piety toward their parents, and a wife's obedience to her husband.

women liberation was viewed as the prerequisite (Li 1994:375), and it had enlightened Chinese women, whetting their appetite for realizing individual development through male-female equality. (Li 1994:381) Lee and Clark state that Western democracy's impact on the status of women should be for one thing, the emancipation and empowerment of women have long presented a vexing challenge---Confucianism, that have historically relegated women to an extremely subordinate position; on the other hand, the social and economic changes associated with modernization should help women overcome many of the barriers to more equitable treatment. (Lee&Clark 2000:2)

1.2. Aim and research question

To reply the question why women victims question the traditional patriarchal norms and resist the violence have been broadly studied and discussed by the scholars. For instance, Chinese feminism and socialism, discussed by Elisabeth Croll and the correlation between economic reform and Chinese Women's collective consciousness argued by Li xiaojiang argued, we may say, has improved women's opportunities to gain the personal resources as mainstay to resist the violence. The emergence of nongovernmental and popular activism against domestic violence such as hotline center or refuge, discussed by Cecilia Milwertz gave the victims supports and helps. Meanwhile, Cecilia Milwertz, Liu Meng and Chan Cecilia respectively discussed about the revised governmental policies and laws such as media and marriage law, which gave women certain freedom to reveal the violence and protect themselves. And, Western democracy discussed by Lee Rose J and Clark Cal influenced feminism in China and broadened the women's studies, introduced by Min Dongchao (Min 2005:274) There is, however, relatively little discussion of the study in what respects women victims have the self-consciousness and the study on the coping strategies of anti- wife abuse and the activities of anti-wife abuse. Therefore, on the basis of the hotline center where I have had the fieldwork, no doubt that by means of calling the hotline is the way that women victims deny the cultural legitimacy of wife abuse.

Since Confucianism had been dominating in China over three thousand years, from generation to generation, Chinese women have been indoctrinated Confucian morals. However, owing to the semi-colonized city in the history, Shanghai was strived for multi-cultural vibrancy and Shanghai women initially were influenced to oppose the rooted traditional culture. After the women liberation and reform policies in the economy Shanghai women in the new era actively play independent role in the finance and self-value judgment, which promotes some women to question the conventional concepts and protest the violence from the husbands in effect. And can we suppose that women have got rid of the subordinate role and self-conscious on the resistance of wife abuse when it happens. Or whether women victims are struggling to obtain the personal resources to transform the adverse housing environment. Or what if in Shanghai men were no longer centre-staged and women were not confined to the margins, accordingly, the idea of the husband-to-wife abuse would be transmitted to the other polar, the wife-to-husband abuse---henpecked husbands and abusive wives in Shanghai, which has been much better known than the traditional wife abuse in China. However, what I want to study is that women victims by calling the hotline have completely criticized the traditional legitimacy of wife abuse in Confucian or that indeed they still live in the dominating Confucian life regardless of how much they criticize on it.

My main research question is: Is it an act of defiance to Confucian norms for the victims to call the hotline? Do victims criticize that the violence as cultural legitimacy is wrong? And what are reasons for staying in an abusive marriage for victims?

2. Methodology

2.1. Methods and respondents

When I contacted to Prof. Wang and requested whether she could offer me the contacts of the victims, so I could call the victims and ask for face-to-face interviews. Prof. Wang mentioned that my personal study was not organized by any formal organization or study group from the university, as a student I hardly could get through the victims' acceptance to do so, because the victims unlikely would like to talk, after all the violence was tremendous hurt in the life. Since I did not have any experience to deal with this sensitive topic, Prof. Wang suggested me to collect the data indirectly. At last, I got the assistance from her who introduced me to the anti-domestic violence hotline center in Shanghai, so as to finish my field work. On the basis of the qualitative research study I mainly had communications with five scholars who periodically work in the hotline center and helped them to sort the victims' phone notes. I basically had four times individual interviews with three professors, professor Wang jufen, Peng xizhe and Shu hua. The interviews consisted of the questions were abusers' violent measures, victims' attitude towards the violence, what the family environment and community environment would be when the violence happens, and whether some women victims go for the assistance and the results, and their suggestions for victims. And, they talked about that wife abuse as a phenomenon of domestic violence had been aroused to give more attention to women, but most people used to think logically that domestic violence was only the husband-to-wife abuse and ignored the acts of abuses to the elders and children, including the domestic violence. They thought that Chinese realized this limited domestic violence about wife abuse was the initial progress of society developing, when it had been possible for Chinese media to have the subtle changes in how they presented the real life, compared with the days before the open up policy was implemented, the traditional media such as TV and radio had been the mouthpiece of CCP. For example, the TV series called "don't talk with the strangers" were the

modern typical story to reveal the wife abuse as the domestic violence in China. Prof. Wang and Fang did the research study of domestic violence of Shanghai in 2004. In their research they mainly used the quantitative research study to collect the data and found out the interrelationship between the domestic violence and the local social context and practical factors. Therefore, their research study found that the happening rates of violence and the age of women victims have the reverse relationship. First, the age of the women victims is younger, the shorter safe marital period they are going to have; second, with the comparison of the marriage year, the marriage year of re-married couples, who have the wife abuse, is the shortest; third, the incidental happening rates of the wife abuse is higher in the group of the cohabitants. Moreover, the main reasons resulting in the wife abuse are the problems of the finance, employment, emotion, ill habits and unfulfilled supporting obligation of the household. After suffering from the violence, 36% of women victims intend to keep the marriage, yet the rest would like to choose to temporarily maintain the marriage and divorce. (Wang&Fang2006, Vol.7) With the conversation of Prof. Peng, we initially talked about the data collection in my study, and gave me the general background of social science in China and especially the study of wife abuse was still a sensitive topic, relating the government's governance and the social harmony. I do not think that doing a research study in China is as convenient as abroad. And, the local government mostly restrains the researcher's study in order to intentionally mislead the public consciousness on the specific topics, which Prof. Peng emphasized a lot. As a researcher it is crucial to retain good relationship with the authorities and properly comply with the official requests, otherwise the researcher hardly accomplishes the fieldwork or exposures some social problems. With the interview of Prof. Shu she talked about how the traditional norm influenced women's attitude to concern the violence and how gender discrimination related to the violence in the family. Especially she mentioned that the external existence of gender discrimination reflected from the biological difference of children, who were respectively divided into congenitally endowed social engendered place, including the family hierarchy. When children were known the sex in mothers' belly during mothers' pregnancy,

mothers' status in the family possibly had subtle changes and even in the extreme situation the sex of children decided on whether they would have the rights to be alive.

The primary data of this thesis is consisted of the conversation notes between five women victims and five consulters. The age of five women victims are ranging from 20 to 50: Wang li, 28 years old; Yi an, 46 years old; Xu fang, 30 years old; Li xiaoyun, 26 years old; Wang ling, 30 years old. Wang li, Li xiaoyun and Wang ling gained the vocational school education; Yi an gained the college education and Xu fang gained postgraduate education. Li xiaoyun is unemployed; Wang li is worker; Yi an is edition; Xu fang is student and Wang ling is clerk. Besides by calling the hotline Yi an and Xu fang prosecuted for divorce from the courts; Wang li asked for help from her parents; Li xiaoyun called the police and Wang ling asked for mediation from the working unit. Yi an and Xu fang stopped the violence by divorce and other three victim still stayed in their marital relations. The secondary data of the thesis is mainly based on the qualitative studies of other scholars on wife abuse and resistance in China.

2.2. The selection of respondents

In the book, *Interview*, Kvale narrated that when interview subjects were not selected at random but by other criteria, such as typicality or extremeness or simply by accessibility. For example, an interview sample of women who had turned to a help center for victims of violence was a self-selected and not a random sample from the population. Their strong motivation for help may lead to valuable knowledge on the nature of being subjected to violence. The findings of the self-selected sample could not, however, be statistically generalized to the population at large. (Kvale 1996:233) That is, when I can not select the victims at random from a large population, so I need to access the efficient method to obtain the samples. And, these samples are from those by calling the hotline, who consist of a prominent victim group from a large population. But the samples of this group can not be generalized to the population at

large. So the qualitative generalization in relation to the case study in this thesis can only represent the samples of women victims in the hotline center. Schofield referred to the targets of generalization (Kvale 1996:234), especially the third target of generalization was what could be—locating situations that we believed were ideal and exceptional and studying them to see what went on there. (Kvale 1996:235) On the basis of this target I want to let the readers see the situations that women by calling the hotline have.

During my fieldwork period, five professors received phone calls, relevant to husband-to-wife abuse, whose age of women victims mostly ranged from 20 to 50. So my motivation on selecting the age was on my own purpose from each segment of the age (20-30, 30-40, and 40-50). Furthermore, it was my intention to choose the call records of respondents who had different backgrounds in terms of age, education, employment situation, self-value judgment, coping strategies and abused experience within the families. Therefore the selection of respondents was based on the combination of my wishes and the contacts of the scholars. However, I know it quite different from talking with the women victims directly and the most important is that I learn the substantive scholars' opinions and attitude, not merely the women victims' opinions and attitude. Yet on the victims' opinions and attitude I probably lost the firsthand statement from the women victims and I did not experience their emotional feelings and resonance. But this kind of materials I collected from the professors, in the same way, helps me to save a great deal of time to access to the women victims and interview them according to my limited fieldwork time.

2.3.　Reliability, validity and ethical consideration

During counseling time every two scholars mainly took down the general information of victims, such as age, marriage status, education and employment, and violence's process, frequency, assistance and views on maintaining or releasing the marriage. Prof. Wang mentioned that each phone call she kept 20-30 minutes so the notes were

short and scattered, which could affect the outcome of the case study in regard to bias and validity, so the biases may have affected the validity of the study. To protect the victims' individual safety, it is very important and necessary. Thus I will choose the pseudonymous ways to protect the victims' privacy. With the permission of five professors I guarantee that I will choose some relative parts of stories for the use of my thesis writing so as to avoid any troubles involved into the reverse effect on the professors' work in the hotline center. For instance I briefly took down five victims' age, education, employment and violence's reasons and victims' views on their marriage.

2.4. Disposition

The following thesis is divided into four sections. In the first section I will briefly introduce the background of the hotline center and relative studies of other scholars on hotline center. In the second section the main theoretical concepts of the thesis in which gender and power discourses will be discussed with the departure of the empirical materials of other scholars. To start with gender discourse I mainly discuss about the status of women in the family; second, the division of home by gender ideology as a private place for personal relations leads to both tolerance from the state and women to reluctantly accept forms of male power over women; third, to control and discipline are forms of power. Thus the power is not privileged by men to display their dominating identities and masculinity and to use violence to control women, but also actually the power invests women and is transmitted by them to effects in terms of status and interests, so as to be perceived as threats to women's traditional identities and femininities and they realize to discipline the cultural legitimacy of violence at home. In the third section the thesis moves on to discuss the question what views some victims have on enduring their unhappy marriage. To answer this question several views have been identified from the data, which depict the situation of the battered women. Finally the thesis ends with the conclusion.

3.   Background of the hotline center

Violence against women, and particularly domestic violence, is one of the issues being addressed by many of the new groups and organizations that have developed in China since the early 1990s. (Milwertz 2003:630) It has become apparent expecially in the past decade, in the period leading up to and since the UN Women's conference in Beijing in 1995. New Chinese legislation regarding the protection of Women's Rights and Interests was enacted in 1992, and the new Marriage Law in 2001 explicitly mentioned domestic violence for the first time as grounds for divorce and for compensation." (Hester 2005:450). In Milwertz' article of *Activism against Domestic Violence in the People's Republic of China*, she argued that during 1990s the nongovernmental organization in Beijing such as Jinglun Family center had to be closed down due to lack of financial founds and activist resources. Though Shanghai anti-domestic violence hotline center was set up lately in 2003, it would not encounter the difficulties in relation to the financial resources in operating the hotline center. Among the volunteer group for assisting the anti-domestic violence hotline center, there are mainly socialists and psychologists from Fudan University and Huadong Normal College. The counseling time of the center is from 16:00 to 21:00 Monday to Thursday, during which two scholars receive the hotline as the counselors. Because the center was organized by Women's Federation, which is a top-down party-state institution and has the role of representing women in a bottom-up fashion, has both obstructed and supported popular activism (Milwertz 2003:650). Chinese authorities have sometimes obstructed popular activism against domestic violence, for instance the early set up shelter by the Jinglun Family Center. In terms of the Federation's close connection to the state any issue for jepordizing the governance is perceived as private and disruptive of family harmony, as unimportant, and as politically sensitive due to the potential and actual interest of foreign media.

The local government in Shanghai established legal assistance and service organizations sponsored jointly by women's federations and judicial departments. For

instance, Xuhui district in Shanghai set up the anti-domestic violence in 1992, which received over 480 phone calls.[4] The department of protecting Women's Rights of Shanghai Women Federation has helped set up legal services for women to help them to win the lawsuits. From Jan-Aug of 2006 the cases of victims who called the hotline was consisted of 11.78%, which decreased compared with 14% of year 2000 and 30% of year 1995.[5] In Shanghai to establish the anti-violence community, the resident committees of Minhang and Pudong districts have successively built the temporary shelters for women battered by their husbands. (Wang&Fang 2006) And, the police station in Minhang district has set up 24 police offices to deal with the cases of domestic violence. (Wang&Fang 2006)

4. Theoretical concepts

4.1. "outside lineage" Chinese women

"Due to a widespread tradition of patrilineal ancestor worship that emphasizes male progeny. Morality is construed in accordance with a daughter's or son's biological attributes and the symbolic and social investments that give meaning to those attributes." (Rydström 2003: 3) 'Sons belong to the "inside lineage", holding the inborn corporeal honor, reputation and morality of their entire patrilineage, while daughters are "outside lineage" without honor, reputation and morality of their fathers' lineage.' (Rydström 2003: 4) Then the body as a map, as a surface for social inscription (Mcdowell 1999:51) can reflect the rules and hierarchies, when men and women learn and practice their perspective male or female morality. For instance, girls should learn and act according to The *Classic for Girls* catalogued 'the three kinds of obedience' and 'the four virtues'[6], when they were young. In *Nü Jie*[7] the

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[4] Zhong guo fu nu bao,http://www.stopdv.org.cn/cn/article.asp?id=442

[5] Shanghai: the complain of domestic violence decreased and psychic violence, http://www.china-woman.com/rp/main?fid=open&fun=show_news&from=view&nid=10400

[6] The four virtues comprised, first, a 'general virtue' meaning that a woman should know her place in the universe and behave in every way in compliance with the time-honored ethical codes; second, she

author exhorted women to be obedient, unassuming, yielding, timid, respectful, reticent and unselfish in character. (Croll 1978:13) In *the Chinese concept of face and violence against women*, Chan argues that the face assumes a particular importance in Chinese culture for the development of masculine identity in spousal relationships, and extends to the feminine identity. He mentioned: "There are two kinds of face, or mien: a moral type and a social type. According to the social mien, to have mien-tzu (face) means that the individual has achieved a position of honor in the society. This type of face can be increased or decreased. But moral mien or face is a fixed quantity that can be acquired or lost. Face can act as a guideline for social behavior as well as be the product of social processes. Losing, maintaining and gaining face occurs through a dynamic process and interaction with people. (Chan 2006:66)

4.2. Family fortress

Mcdowell brings forward that in all societies, however, the home is much more than a physical structure. The house is the site of lived relationships, especially those of kinship and sexuality, and is a key link in the relationship between material culture and sociality: a concrete marker of social position and status. (Mcdowell 1999:92) The social construction of gender combines both material social relations and symbolic representations of difference in ways that distinguish the masculine from the feminine. (Mcdowell 1999:71) For women, who were encouraged (and forced in some circumstances) to identify with and restrict themselves to the home, the home 'is alternatively a stite of disenfranchisement, abuse and fulfillment. Just as men have traditionally been encouraged to "earn a good living", women are still expected to "keep house". (Mcdowell 1999:73) Home could be as a cage or a trap, a prison and, for some women, a site of fear and abuse. (Mcdowell 1999:88) And, such a home is in

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should be reticent in words taking care not to chatter too much and bore others' third, she must be clean of person and habits and adorn herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex; and fourth, she should not shirk her household duties. (Croll 1978:13)

[7] Nü Jie was written by the famous woman scholar, Pan Chao, in the first century AD. (Croll 1978:13)

combination with the idea as a private place for personal relations led to official tolerance by the state of unacceptable forms of male power over women. (Mcdowell 1999:88) As we see, wife abuse is bodily harm of interpersonal violence, and police were reluctant to intervene in what they saw as private disputes between 'man and wife'. Women are also reluctant to complain as they are often financially dependent on their male partners, as well as often not being joint owners or tenants of the home. (Mcdowell 1999:89)

4.3. Power and discipline

Power is in principle everywhere. It is expressed in various micro contexts, and can not be restricted to any particular unit or size, such as the nation-state, management of corporations, capitalism, and the like. (Alvesson&Sköldberg 2000: 226) Practically all social relations and institutions must in some way be regarded as involving power. (Barbalet 1985:532) For instance, Confucian moral asserted the patrilineal clan system as the core of the "Three Bonds", which define social relationships at both the micro and macro levels of society: a subject's loyalty to the emperor, children's piety toward their parents, and a wife's obedience to her husband. (Rydström 2003: 40). As we see, gender relations are seen as problematic since they are associated with conditions of dominance, inequality, stress and conflict, and also regarded as socially constructed. (Alvesson&Sköldberg 2000:210) Then domination broadens considerably to include not only 'domination by virture of authority' but also 'domination by virtue of a constellation of interests' in which possession of goods, say, confers influence over others who nevertheless remain formally free and are motivated by pursuit of their own interests. (Barbalet 1985:535) Take the senior women as example, the fate of a woman generally depended on her luck in bearing a son, on the position of the man to whom she was attached in the hierarchical family structure and the class or position of her own and her husband's family. (Croll 1978:31) Daughter-in-law is concerned 'The husband's mother ruled the roost'. In the daily household routine the daughter-in-law is under the constant surveillance and

discipline of her mother-in-law. (Croll 1978:27) So the structure of the Chinese family was based on a hierarchy of the generations and the sexes with well-defined patterns of authority. (Croll 1978:22)

As regards domestic violence, this particular kind of male-to-female violence, in addition, is characterized by being a genderized difference, which is manifested as a difference both in corporeal and symbolic power. (Rydström 2003:677) Entering the horizon of another person by the means of power and violence means that the limits of the abused person's body are ignored. (Rydström 2003:677) There are old Chinese sayings that depict wife beating as reasonable and even necessary, for example, "I bought my horse and married my wife. I can ride them and beat them as I like"; "If you go three days without beating your wife, she will climb up on the roof and move away all the tiles." (Liu&Chan 1999:1472) Wife beating is an enduring fact and an institutionalized form of male domination in many Chinese societies (Milwertz 2003:637) The cultural legitimate discipline on women and contrarily criticized by women can be identified as discipline, a type of power, according to Foucault's definition. That is, "discipline" may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a "physics" or an "anatomy" of power, a technology.   (Foucault 1984:206) However power is not privileged by men to display their dominating identities and masculinity, but also it is not exercised as a prohibition on women who 'do not have it'. So actually the power invests women and is transmitted by them to effects in terms of status and interests, so as to be perceived as threats to women's traditional identities and femininities.

5. Women, never passive victims

5.1. Strengthening financial resources

After China adopted the policy of reform and opening-up, the planned economic system has been giving way to market economic system. With the forming of a market-oriented employment system, women's concepts about employment have undergone great changes. Statistics from the Second Sampling Survey on Chinese Women's Social Status indicates that in 2000, 43.3 percent of urban women obtained employment through the arrangements of local labour and personnel departments, 15.1 percent less than in 1990. 14.3 percent of urban women secured employment through job application and interview, three percent higher than the figure for men. Some 21.4 percent of urban women started their own business, 17.1 percent higher than in 1990, and very close to the 21.7 percent of men. The number of women engaged in the non-State owned economy has also been growing fast. Since 1995, the number of women involved in private economy has risen by 60 percent, reaching nearly 10 million.[8] However many women workers in the state sector have found themselves in the category of 'surplus labor.' (Wang 2003:160) Because the goal of socialism, reformers asserted is to increase productivity. To contribute to this goal, women should return home. This 'outpacing theory' (*chaoqian lun*) openly blamed women for the low productivity of the socialist planned economy. (Wang 2003:163) Unable to stem the tide of layoffs in the late 1990s, the Women's Federation and the Women Workers Department of the Trade Union have devoted much effort to retraining, referral and reemployment. (Wang 2003:166) For instance, a report in 2002 by the Women Workers Department of the Shanghai Trade Union indicates that since 1995 the Shanghai Trade Union has helped 250,000 laid-off workers to find new jobs, of who over 60 percent are women. (Wang 2003:166)

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[8] Women of China, http://www.womenofchina.cn/database/GeneralIntroduction/9316.jsp

As Mcdowell has noted, most women have their own occupations, to some extent, they are not completely restrained into the domestic space of the traditional ideology that for women, who were encouraged (and forced in some circumstances) to identify with and restrict themselves to the home, the home 'is alternatively a site of disenfranchisement, abuse and fulfillment. Just as men have traditionally been encouraged to "earn a good living", women are still expected to "keep house"'. (McDowell 1999: 73) Three of five victims have stable employment and financial source, such as worker, senior editor, and clerk, and other two are student and unemployed. The participation in the social relations of waged work alters their inferior position in the family and becomes more independent. In *The Broken Silence, the Research Study on Domestic Violence of Shanghai* Wang and Fang argued the question about the victims' employment and the duration of wife abuse that the situation of employment or unemployment victims are staying directly effects how long they will endure the violence from their husbands. (Wang&Fang2006, Vol.7) The victim who was senior editor had divorced and the other victim who was unemployed still stayed in her unhappy marriage. Since the structure of the Chinese family was based on a hierarchy of the generations and the sexes with well-defined patterns of authority (Croll 1978:22), the inferiority and submission of women's status completely support the patriarchal ideology, and it decides that women are lack of the rights of owning and distributing the productive resources in the family. Therefore, to decrease the male centralized ideology and to reduce the male domination, women should realize that initially when they have the stabilized employment and finance.

5.2. The equal consciousness in the family

Data obtained in the 2000 survey on women's status[9] showed that following the

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[9] See appendix of Table1: Men mainly working outside, women mainly doing housework (%)--Attitude to traditional role of women and men; Table2: View that men's ability is inherently stronger than that of women (%)--Understanding of the ability of women and men; Table3: Success in work is not as good as success in marriage (%)—Understanding of the social role of women and Table4: Man should do half the house work (%)--Understanding of family role of men

progress of society and changing thought modes, the equality of men and women is increasingly accepted by people and it has become the mainstream ideology of the public and entire society. 82% of women surveyed were "confident in them selves", and 66% disagreed with the saying that "men are born to be more capable than women." The view point that "It is better for women to marry successfully than to work successfully" had previously been popular in the public, but 57.2% of the women interviewed in 2000 disagreed with such sayings. 82.3% of the interviewees expressed agreement or strong agreement with the view that "men should undertake half the household chores." 10.6% more women than men agreed with this view.

Yi an: "my father is a responsible man, who not only takes on the whole family's expense, also willingly helps do the household chores. Definitely it decided me to marry a man like my father, who has his own views and considerateness. "

The common criteria for a good husband used in marital mediation in China include being a good father, participating in household chores, exercising frugality, and showing responsibility to the family. (Liu&Chan 1999:1482) So from Yi an's statement she would set her father as the example to look for the future husband, who could keep ideal family relations in spousal and parental relationships, such as a caring father and a considerate husband.

As regards domestic violence, this particular kind of male-to-female violence, in addition, is characterized by being a genderized difference, which is manifested as a difference both in corporeal and symbolic power. (Rydström 2003:677) Then the asymmetrical structure of power relations results from an imbalance between agents who differ only in how much power they each have. (Barbalet 1985:541) However power is not privileged by men to display their dominating identities and masculinity, but also it is not exercised as a prohibition on women who 'do not have it'. So actually the power invests women and is transmitted by them to effects in terms of status and interests, so as to be perceived as threats to women's traditional identities and femininities.

Yi an: "he continually violated me again and again even though every time he confessed his faults. My dignity and self-esteem have been hurt severely. I would rather live alone with my son than live like a slave under his control. I divorced for being a mother, wife and daughter's dignity. If I have to accept my husband's violence, how can I educate my son? To be honest, divorce is not the throwback in my life, yet it is a kind of escape to gain my freedom, and to some sense divorce is a sort of success."

From the statements of Yi an, we can understand women's consciousness, such as self-respect, independence and gender equality has been extraordinarily enhanced in the new generations and, at the same time, stimulates the hierarchy within the family that Chinese society emphases (Liu&Chan 1999:1471). Five victims used their respective ways to resist the violence, to the most extent; their behaviors disciplined the culturally legitimate violence in their life. For instance, by calling the hotline, Yi an and Xu fang prosecuted for divorce from the courts; Wang li asked for help from her parents; Li xiaoyun called the police and Wang ling asked for mediation from the working unit. But we can not ignore that the life situation factors are usually viewed as making women vulnerable to the violence, such as having children, personal resources and positive life conceptions, which hold them to be paradox subjectivity, living between the dilemma of the tradition and modern life. Then the traditional ideology continues to affect women and men, while modern ideology of gender equality to some sense has threatened men's dominant status, which makes the victims criticize the violence, and at the same time continue enduring the violence in the unhappy marriage.

Xu fang: "My husband regretted a lot and cried in front of me. But I can not trust him any more. While he was battering me, I tried to fight with him and to protect myself. As you know, he is stronger than me; I do not have so much strength to resist him. As a result, it is still me to be battered and to accept this. The court asked me to tolerate for my husband because they insisted to conciliate the conflict but not to persuade to divorce. They do not care about my security at all."

It is remarkable that when Xu fang described her husbands' beating, she mentioned the word 'fight'. This delicate difference in expression forms part of the women's perceptions of their present lives, and this semantic implication encourages them to resist their husbands' violence. Xu fang has tried to resist her husband's violence when he beat her. Battering and fighting in Chinese language are quite different practically and semantically, the same as they are in English. In *Enduring Violence and Staying in Marriage Stories of Battered Women in Rural China* the authors clearly explains: "First of all, there is a sense of participation in the word 'fight.' 'Battering' is a one-way act, whereas 'fight' is interactive, involving two parties. Second, a sense of equality is implied in fighting. Yet battering often refers to one side (usually the stronger) being aggressive and offending the other one (usually the weaker). Third, fighting has the meaning of autonomy and control. The word fighting hints that one of the sides involved is not always the winner or the loser. However, for battering there is always one side in the position of being attacked and victimized." (Liu&Chan 1999:1480)

6. Enduring the unhappy marriage

6.1. Deficiency of personal resources

In *Enduring Violence and Staying in Marriage Stories of Battered Women in Rural China* the authors brings forward that it is obvious that the availability of personal resources plays an important role in decision making for battered women. Socialist feminism begins with Frederick Engle's classic work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, in which he argues that the rise of private property relations, monopolized by men, reduced women's status to one of dependency within the conjugal family. (Lee&Clark 2000: 143) As Barbalet argues, the exercise of power over others draws upon social resources not available to subordinate agents. (Barbalet 1985:531) Western studies indicate that economically independent women may choose to leave their abusive partners, whereas those who are economically dependent

tend to stay. (Liu&Chan 1999:1476)

Li xiaoyun: "At beginning I did room-service work in a hotel, I was introduced to a man, working in the financing department in the same hotel. Then I married to this man in 2000. Because of the regulation in the hotel, the couple was prohibited working in the same hotel; I quit my job and became unemployed so far. After two years, I gave birth to a daughter, for which I have been discriminated by my husband and husband's families. Therefore, the relationship started to be deteriorated, and I had been battered frequently by my husband."

From Li xiaoyun's unemployed background, it indicates that her husband is the main wage earner in the family, since she quit her job. From the power relations to see, however subordinate an actor may be in that relationship gives him or her a certain amount of power over the other. Those in subordinate positions are frequently adept at converting whatever resources they possess into some degree of control over the conditions of the other. (Barbalet 1985:542) So, we have the reason to believe that Li xiaoyun would confront with the problem in the finance, and she has to be financially dependent on her husband, which deteriorates her inferior status in the family. Then, she lacks of insufficient resources as the fundament of the empowerment, and she has not alternative choice to change the subordinate position and continue her unhappy marriage.

6.2. Passive acceptance of wife abuse

The structure of the family and male power put forward about the home as a cage or a trap, a prison and, for some women, a site of fear and abuse. (Mcdowell 1999:88) And, such a home is in combination with the idea as a private place for personal relations led to official tolerance by the state of unacceptable forms of male power over women. (Mcdowell 1999:88)

Wang li: "I am always beaten by him black and blue. Actually I have been considering divorcing. Apart from the reason of my child and my parents I have had made the decision (to divorce with my husband). Unfortunately I work in the same working unit

as my parents and they are quite cautious of their reputations. So do I. I even think my reputation much more than my happiness."

Counselor: "Do your parents know what you have suffered at home?"
Wang li: "Yes. I always go back my parents' home to escape my husband. But my parents disagree that I go to divorce, and they think if I divorce once, I would be laughed in the public and impressed badly. So I have to consider about their suggestion and could not bring any troubles for them."

Li xiaoyun: "Probably it is easy to talk about my story in front of the strangers, better than those who are my friends and families. I do not need to consider a lot. And, you know, this is not so proud thing in the family. Some times it gives me lots of pressure and makes me lost. I need someone to help me and to give me some advice."

From the statements of Wang li and Li xiaoyun it reflects that their responses to abuse are influenced by Confucian values of honor and shame. In *the Chinese concept of face and violence against women*, Chan argues that the face assumes a particular importance in Chinese culture for the development of masculine identity in spousal relationships, and extends to the feminine identity. In his article he mentioned: "There are two kinds of face, or mien: a moral type and a social type. According to the social mien, to have mien-tzu (face) means that the individual has achieved a position of honor in the society. This type of face can be increased or decreased. But moral mien or face is a fixed quantity that can be acquired or lost. Face can act as a guideline for social behavior as well as be the product of social processes. Losing, maintaining and gaining face occurs through a dynamic process and interaction with people." (Chan 2006:66) Saving face is the guideline for social behavior and is relationship-specific, varying according to social and family relationships. (Chan 2006:68) Like Wang li and Li xiaoyun women victims individually are sensitive to the positions of honor in the society, and to maintain the social face Wang li and Li xiaoyun are conscious of their performance in society and appraisals from other people or friends. So they would not like to lose the face to influence on their social images. In order to avoid disgracing the honor of themselves and families, they try to give in the violence. As Wang li mentioned she could not bear the guilt of disrespecting her parents, if she is not able to maintain the filial piety.

Yi an: "this thing gives me a huge shock. Because we have come to an agreement that he will not beat me, even hurt one toe before we got married. Unfortunately, he was born in the family, in which he had witnessed his father violated his mother in the childhood. He usually drinks too much alcohol, resulting in his bad temper. That's why he easily wants to use his fist to control me. And, I think battering a person is to disregard his personal dignity. Later my husband knew his violence became bigger, and through my parents' help, he confessed his fault. I understand either to divorce with him or to forgive him once. At that moment I do not think the thing develops worse so as to divorce with him, meanwhile, I do not want my son to have a destroyed family."

From the last statement of Yi an describing her husband, He grew up in a violent family, so that he wanted to use the same way to control his wife. But he could regret and confess his fault later. As regards to the family roles of filial piety and moral face, this kind of face can be acquired or lost. So from the filial piety Yi an's husband should be respectful towards Yi an's parents and he could try to speak of how he felt regret or confess his fault when dealing with this in-law conflict that Yi an might prosecuted for divorce. In order to avoid in-law conflict, he could try to give in to and please his wife.

Wang ling: "my mother-in-law always says that after marriage it is quite common that the husband abuses his wife. She forever stands for her son's side and criticizes me wrong all the time. If my sister-in-law heard that I wanted to divorce, she would throw my stuffs outside. For this I have been to my husband's company several times to ask for help from his leading cadres. But they would not like to take charge of it and they said our quarrels belonged to the private sphere; no body could prove it; we could not make sure; so you had better resolve by yourself."

From the statement of Wang ling, her mother-in-law still agreed that battering is an acceptable act in marital life. When Wang ling's mother-in-law urged her to accept the husband's violence as a common treat, she has been influnced by the ideology of the expected social role of a woman, and marriage is her life-long career. In *Feminism and Socialism in China*, Croll described "within the patriarchal family institution women played a subservient role until they became the sole representative of the senior generation." (Croll 1978:22) The fate of a woman generally depended on her luck in bearing a son, on the position of the man to whom she was attached in the

hierarchical family structure and the class or position of her own and her husband's family. (Croll 1978:31) Due to the luck in bearing a son, Wang ling's mother-in-law depended on the position of the man to whom she was attached, her class in the family structure would be superior to Wang ling, so Wang ling's mother-in-law wanted to use her authority to compensate for her own former suffering and force Wang ling as an outsider by repeating the very process of domination that she had suffered before.

6.3. Positive perceptions of family life

"Women in Shanghai spend an average of two hours and fifty-four minutes doing household chores everyday, thirty-six minutes less than five years ago, a survey released by the Shanghai Municipal Women and Children Committee revealed. 'Apart from the improvement in living conditions and the growth of the house-keeping service industry, the fact that Shanghai men are increasingly sharing the housework is also an important factor behind the change,' said by Shi Qiuqin, vice-director of the Shanghai Women's Federation.[10]"

From the last statement we may believe that husbands' participation in household chores can be the factor that influences victims not to leave their unhappy life. In *Enduring Violence and Staying in Marriage Stories of Battered Women in Rural China*, the authors argued: The husband's participation in household chores is seen as an important advantage in favor of the man in the eyes of the abused woman, family members, and even the mediation officials. This advantage restricts the battered woman greatly in her decision-making process and inclines her toward staying in the abusive relationship. The husband's participation in household chores is also considered a way of showing love or a sign of reconciliation. For those who seldom or infrequently participate in household chores, doing some household chores can function as a gesture of caring and conciliation after a violent incident. (Liu&Chan

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[10]People's daily online, "Shanghai women hold more than half the sky": http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200509/12/eng20050912_208008.html

1999:1482)

Li xiaoyun: "…We need to think of our daughter's future…from my emotion I might not decide to divorce—as long as he becomes reconciled and amicable, I will for sure change my mind. For my daughter I do not want to hurt her, since she is so young, she cannot have father's love."

From Li xiaoyun's statement, since she is constrained by the conception of face honor, she considers the wife abuse as the private disputes in the family, and as long as her husbands apologizes for the violent behaviors, she will feel good enough and will not mention the violence at all. The perception of the husband as a good father is one of the factors that act as a protective mechanism to keep the family from breaking-up in the face of domestic violence. (Liu&Chan 1999:1481) Piispa noted that divorce may be seen as a failure in victims' commitment to marriage and to the roles of wife and mother, and battered women have to rethink what love and marriage should be. They also have to consider which is the better option and more culturally acceptable, violence or living alone, often as a single mother. (Piispa 2002:896) For her child Li xiaoyun still looks on her husband as a good father and she does not want to give up her hopes on the day that her husband will change the violence behavior. And the change in life circumstances, especially with children growing up brings new hope for her. Such positive outlooks encourage her to stay in her marriage, despite the beatings.

Therefore, it is worth noting that although young women are generally better equipped to respond to men's violence due to their improved opportunities for education and participation in the workforce, this does not prevent them from becoming targets of violence and enduring the unhappy marriage. Even when there is no financial necessity to stay in a relationship, there are ties linked to emotions and responsibilities, and these may prevent women from freely deciding to detach themselves from violent relationships. (Piispa 2002:896) And, these ties to the ideas about the cultural rules women have learned about marriage, family and woman's role as traditionally defined. It is common cultural knowledge that women have been

charged with, and have largely accepted, the emotional and social task of holding families together in domestic tranquility. (Piispa 2002:896) Women victims are usually compassionate and loving with their husbands; they are sensitive about exposing them; they excuse and cover for them; at least, they still believe their mates will change some day.

7. Conclusion

Just like the victims Yi'an and Xu fang, they are representing the modern women, who understand their individual demand and rights, and self-autonomy without the influence of the traditional ideology to constrain their roles in the family and the public. Their changes make us ascertained that nowadays that women's consciousness, such as self-respect, independence and gender equality has been extraordinarily enhanced in the new generations and, at the same time, stimulates the hierarchy within the family that Chinese society emphases (Liu&Chan 1999:1471). Then the traditional ideology continues to affect women and men, while modern ideology of gender equality to some sense has threatened men's dominant status in the society and in the family. In terms of other three victims, we have to bestow more hopes on the change of social system and legal protection of women's rights. By calling the hotline firstly victims have been understandable that since feminism and socialism in China to the most extent have liberated women's consciousness and participation in employment to redefine the role and status of women in the society, it means that consciousness and employment are the fundamental prerequisite to support them to be available independent and struggle for the gender equality. Thus, on such a prerequisite, women may completely criticize the traditional ideology, which discriminates the balance between the gender differentiations, for instance, they disagree that men can use violence on women, as culturally justified. The overall higher level of economic development in Shanghai has abundantly increased women's participation in the society, which led women to embrace the positive consciousness

and perceptions on understanding the traditional ideology. Meanwhile, the government's reform policies in the laws and regulations in the new era actively play the important role in promoting women to question the conventional concepts and protest the violence from the husbands in effect.

From these five victims, we can see that it is an amazing progress that women victims completely criticize the violence and discipline the traditional division of the gender differentiations and traditionally body performances and femininities. To empower victims' themselves, the participation in the economy and equal consciousness are the fundamental resources they should hold to favorably improve their status in the family and undermine the false consciousness on the traditional legitimacy of the violence. Thus, we have the reasons to believe that the refined moral level of Shanghai women restrains the violence of wife abuse, and they do not subordinate the dominating role of Confucianism as the rule in their life, subordinating to consider the wife abuse as the "correct way" to discipline them from men with the comparison with the past. Even though the victims have criticized the cultural legitimacy of the violence, they can not deviate from living in the well structured patriarchal society, which defines them somehow comply the imbalance of the gender and behave their deserved roles. For instance, the honor and reputation as to save face assumes particularly important to victims to achieve a higher position, to some extent, they may span out of the family fortress to narrate their violence story, which means that they probably will disgrace herself and her families. At the same time women victims find it difficult to actually take the unfilial step and actively disobey or ignore parental opposition. Then actually the victims are ambivalent subjectivities, who are restricted to some segments of Confucian norms in the relations, even though the perception on gender relationship in the family is not only restricted in the domination of the Confucian norms, which has been concerned as one part of the Chinese history. As far as we know, the rule in the society is still structured by the patriarchal ideology, and it is not surprising that not only does the private sector evade the laws with impunity; even government branches sometimes ignore them. Moreover, the life situation factors that

are usually viewed as making women vulnerable to the violence, such as having children, low educational level, financial dependency and positive life conceptions, which hold them to endure the unhappy marriage, rather than involving in the embarrassment if there is no a special law or regulations against violence of if they can completely discipline all the traditional ideology. So the degree to which individual women could successfully stop the violence is primarily determined by the level of a woman's consciousness of the problems involved and how they can reasonably deal with the paradox between the traditional ideology and the demand of equality.

After all, women victims have stepped forward on the issues of resisting the violence, but they need more supports from the whole society to help them step further. The social network and its support play an important role in a woman's response to violence and in help-seeking. (Piispa 2002:898) When the social network condemns the violence and is supportive of the women, they have better opportunities for responding to it. Meanwhile, we can believe that there are more and more victims who have the similar situations like Wang li, Li xiaoyuan ans Wang ling, still wandering in the middle of the traditional and modern ideologies. Therefore, making the issue of wife abuse public and raising the awareness of the issue in the Shanghai community become a crucial task. It is more important to enhance the jural consciousness in the public, in which there is the expansion aimed at the diversified educations according to the harmony in the domestic sphere and the harmonious relationship between the families and the society. On the other hand, for a long term of witnessing wife-abuse violence in childhood, Shanghai children's physical and emotional health would be enormously negative influenced and unhealed, so as to increase the violent tendency later on and the juvenile delinquency as a new social problem that the whole society need face and resolve.

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Prof. Peng xizhe, institute of social science, Fudan University, individual interview on 05.09.06

Prof. Shu hua, institute of psychology, Huadong normal college, individual interview on 26.09.06

Appendix

Table1: Men mainly working outside, women mainly doing housework (%)---Attitude to traditional role of women and men[11]

item	Total		Urban		Rural	
	F	M	F	M	W	M
Agreed fully	18.6	20.7	12.4	14.5	20.6	22.7
Basically agreed	31.8	33.2	23.3	28.7	34.6	34.6
Basically disagreed	30.3	30.0	36.7	37.0	28.2	27.8
Did not agree at all	16.8	13.5	25.8	17.8	13.9	12.1
Not clear	2.5	2.6	1.8	2.1	2.7	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2000 Survey on the Social Status of Chinese Women.

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[11] Source from: National Bureau of Statistics of China, Women and men in China facts and figures, P107
http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/otherdata/men&women_en.pdf

Table2: View that men's ability is inherently stronger than that of women (%)
---Understanding of the ability of women and men[12]

item	Total		Urban		Rural	
	F	M	F	M	W	M
Agreed fully	10.4	9.8	7.2	8.0	11.5	10.3
Basically agreed	19.8	21.8	16.2	21.8	21.0	21.8
Basically disagreed	40.3	43.9	43.2	45.9	39.4	43.3
Did not agree at all	26.3	21.2	31.4	21.8	24.6	21.0
Not clear	3.2	3.3	2.0	2.4	3.6	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2000 Survey on the Social Status of Chinese Women.

Table3: Success in work is not as good as success in marriage (%)---Understanding of the
social role of women[13]

item	Total		Urban		Rural	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Agreed fully	11.8	9.1	10.8	10.1	12.1	8.8
Basically agreed	25.5	21.1	22.9	21.3	26.3	21.0
Basically disagreed	34.2	38.2	36.8	40.4	33.3	37.6
Did not agree at all	23.0	25.2	25.7	22.5	22.1	26.0
Not clear	5.5	6.4	3.7	5.7	6.1	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2000 Survey on the Social Status of Chinese Women.

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[12] Source from: National Bureau of Statistics of China, Women and men in China facts and figures, P107
[13] Source from: National Bureau of Statistics of China, Women and men in China facts and figures, P108

Table4: Man should do half the house work (%)---Understanding of family role of men[14]

item	Total		Urban		Rural	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Agreed fully	46.4	32.3	49.5	33.0	45.3	32.0
Basically agreed	41.4	44.9	39.6	46.8	42.0	44.3
Basically disagreed	7.5	16.1	6.7	14.3	7.8	16.7
Did not agree at all	1.6	3.4	1.4	2.5	1.7	3.7
Not clear	3.0	3.3	2.8	3.4	3.0	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2000 Survey on the Social Status of Chinese Women.

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[14] Source from: National Bureau of Statistics of China, Women and men in China facts and figures, P109