

Women as victims of domestic violence in China

Author: Jehan Kartas
Supervisor: Annika Pissin



Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to get an overview of how the Chinese legislation defines and understands violence in close relationships, to show which legal and political measurements the Chinese government takes in order to help women who are victims of domestic violence. Analysis is made on the basis of a legal perspective and radical feminist perspective. The legal perspective is based on individual rights of women, and from a legal perspective China has not satisfied the women's rights and the laws of domestic violence have been ignored by the legal system. Further, based on a radical feminist standpoint I argue that China has not satisfied the women's right because the Chinese communist party that is in power consists mostly of men. Namely, the Chinese society is patriarchal and the state uses the religion and culture for restriction of women's rights. However, the cultural dicta are set by men that presenting only the men view. The method of the thesis consists of a qualitative content analysis, WPR- approach and feminist approach. These three methods have helped to explain the Chinese women's situation on the legal theory and theories of radical feminism.

Key words: China, domestic violence, politics, religion, culture, radical feminism

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	5
1.1 Background.....	5
1.2 Research questions.....	6
1.3 Definition of domestic violence.....	7
1.6 Theory.....	9
1.5 Feminist activists in China	11
1.6 Disposition	13
2. Method.....	14
2.1 Qualitative content analysis.....	14
2.2 Chinese laws that forbid domestic violence.....	16
2.3 The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.....	18
2.3.1 The committee on the elimination of discrimination against women.....	19
2.4 What is the problem (WPR) approach?.....	19
2.5 Validity and reliability.....	21
3. Literature review.....	22
3.1 Women's situation in China.....	22
3.2 Intimate partner violence in China.....	24
3.3 Grades of poverty that leads to domestic violence.....	25
3.4 Differences between rural and urban victims of domestic violence.....	27
3.5 Internal Chinese migrant women as victims of domestic violence.....	28
3.6 Ethic minority.....	29
4. Analyze.....	31

4.1 If the Chinese women's situation match with laws of domestic violence.....	31
4.2 What is the problem?.....	33
4.3 Radical feminists view of the situation of women in China.....	36
5. Conclusion.....	40
Bibliography.....	42

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Violence against women in China is a hotly debated topic in the current Chinese media landscape and in the international media. According to some resources like All-China Women's Federation, a big part of Chinese women suffer from violation. Namely, they are abused, raped, and forced to marriage. Furthermore, many of them suffer from domestic violence in their marriages (Yang 2015). A few cases of domestic violence in China have been posted in East Asia Forum- news- paper. One of the cases has been about a 25 year- old women who two months before her death had posted on social media that she felt her life in danger because of husband. There was no possibility for her to divorce. Hence, her family and friends discouraged her from seeking a divorce. As a result she became murdered by her husband at the hospital, just a few days after she had been hospitalized after another abusive attack (Tingting 2016).

It has been considered that it is hard for woman to divorce. Namely, the family court gives more right to men than women (Xin & Kwai 2013: 299). According Tingting, each year registered over 40000 complaints by women's federations and 90 percent of reported cases involve abuse of women by their husbands. It is considered that many of the domestic violence occur because of inequality in the partner's relationship that men have more power than women, and taking control in a relationship is easy for men because of certain Chinese traditional customs (Tingting 2016).

Duara argues that the Chinese traditions carry great disadvantages for women and limits women's freedom. The Chinese version of, Buddhism, describes women as rich in the spirit of self-sacrifice who can take care of the household without anyone's help. With other words women are not considered as strong persons that have the ability to participate in issues outside the home. They only have the right to be housewives and obey their husbands or fathers and brothers (Duara 1998: 298). According to Tingting, a lot of Chinese people do not take domestic violence as a serious issue. Before 2006, judicial organs could not get involved because of the lack of an anti-domestic violence law. In 2006 China made its first law against domestic violence. The law forbids domestic violence as physical and psychological abuse of family members and cohabitating non-family members (Tingting 2016). Moreover, the law prohibits all forms of domestic violence that is inflicted by family members, including

beating, restraint, injury or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, recurring verbal threats and abuse. Yet, according to some media sources the legislation still does not go far enough, because it has been failed to outlaw marital rape and does not place enough emphasis on health and social services (Aljazeera Staff 2016). Today, a lot of Chinese nongovernmental organizations as well as foreign organizations fight for women's rights and support the abused women and girls in China. They offer programs that treat rural women and girls as victims of patriarchal culture who require care and support (Greenhalgh 2013: 140).

My aim with this thesis is to discuss and analyzes the discourse about domestic violence against women in contemporary China. For this, I employ an extended literature review and base myself on legal documents like Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China, from 2015, Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China from 1981 and UN:s Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). I scrutinize the sources with the help of radical feminist theory as analytical tool. Why I apply a radical feminist framework as this theory and standpoint is because it has distinct ideas about violence against women and its views are often shunned from being taken in consideration in debates that are dominated by especially liberal feminism. Furthermore, in order to gain a different understanding about domestic violence in China as has hitherto been done. My focus will be on reports and regulations about the violence against women that occur at home, I want to understand why women as wives, daughters, and other female relatives become violated in Chinese family. Further, I want to look at why women in China are victims of domestic violence, or the Chinese government takes responsibility for reducing or eradicating domestic violence, or the men's state power has something to do with violence against women in China.

1.2 Research questions

My research purpose is to get an overview of how the Chinese legislation understands violence in close relationships. In this connection, I want to show which legal and political measurements the Chinese government takes in order to help women who are victims of domestic violence and who seek help in this regard. Further, I critically analyze these documents in order to show what the Chinese government actually wants to achieve with the regulations concerning domestic violence. Thus, after showing "what is the problem

represented to be" (Bacchi 1999: 13). I provide an analysis about the problem that lies behind the policies.

Accordingly, my research is guided by the following questions:

1. What are the main factors that are presented to be behind violence against women in China?
2. How Chinese government has taken responsibility for the domestic violence?

-How the Chinese government is working to prevent domestic violence?

- What is the underlying problem of domestic violence that the Chinese government strengthens?

In light of feminist research, I apply a feminist standpoint in this thesis. As feminist standpoint analysis is closely related to activism. Feminist activisms are embedded in organizations and institutions with multiple goals. Radical feminist activists' goal is to abolish patriarchy by challenging existing social norms and institutions, rather than through a purely political process (Ferree & Tripp 2006: 8-9).

3. What can a radical feminist perspective add to an understanding of domestic violence in China?

1.3 Definition of domestic violence

In this thesis I focus on violence against women that occur at home, namely family members' violence against their wives, daughters, and other female relatives. Therefore, the definition of domestic violence in this thesis is based on violence against women's psychological, physical and other harm inflicted by family members through restraint, beating, injury or limited freedom. The women who are vulnerable to these types of violence are victims to domestic violence.

Yuhong describe domestic violence by pointing out five elements; 1) a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviors, including physical, sexual, and psychological attacks as well as economic coercion. 2) Conduct perpetrated by adults or adolescents against their intimate partners in current or former dating, married, or cohabitating relationships of heterosexuals, and lesbians. 3) A pattern of behaviors including a variety of tactics some physically injurious

and some not, some criminal and some not carried out in multiple, sometimes daily, episodes. 4) A pattern of purposeful behavior, directed at achieving compliance from or control over the victim. 5) A combination of physical attacks, and controlling tactics used by perpetrators that result in fear as well as physical and psychological harm to victims (Yuhong 2012 : 214) . According to Yuhong the women who become physically, mentally and sexually abused by men in an intimate relationship are trapped in a cycle of violence often believe they are helpless to change their situation and either feel they are afraid to leave their partner because of the fear that they cannot, if they do it would cost them their lives (Yuhong 2012: 213).

Chan has divided intimate partner violence into five concepts; physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, economic abuse and spiritual abuse. Physical abuse is defined as the common injury mod that includes, slapping, pushing, kicking, punching, beating and throwing objects that resulting pain and harm (Chan 2012: 240). Sexual abuse is when the partners are forced to have unwanted sex with their partners. Emotional abuse is inflicted in combination with physical abuse and the victims are isolated from the society and in need of help. Economic abuse is when women's money is taking away by their partners, or brothers, fathers. Hence, the women become poor as victim because their money that has been taken from them by other family members has been for the victims emergency use or their earing capacity. Spiritual abuse is defined as the destruction of one's cultural or religious belief system (Chan 2012: 241). In addition, Chan argues that violence against women is a serious social problem, that because the family violence against women not only influences their physical and mental health, but it also has profound effects on theirs social functioning, welfare, and legal status (Chan 2012: 7).

Finally, what I will focus on in this thesis is intimate partner violence and family violence. Intimate partner violence is a kind of domestic violence that often causes by a partner and it not always stopes when the relationship ends. Further, Family violence occurs when a member of the family tries or controls his partner or other family member like daughter, mother and female relatives (Chan 2012: 240-241). Thus, based on secondary literature concerning domestic violence, I will sketch a picture about the forms of such violence as they occur in China, and then proceed to the research purpose, which is finding out how the government deals with this. Here, I will look at how intimate partner violence and family violence occurs in the Chinese family and which factors are contributed to the violence.

1.4 Theory

In this thesis I use a radical feminist perspective for the analyses of women's situation in China. I chose this perspective above other feminist theories because in a radical feminism perspective the division between nature and culture, public and private is the source of women's subordination, and radical feminists state clearly that in male-dominated societies men feel the need to exert control over women's bodies (Chancer & Watkins 2006: 32- 33).

A stronger motivation for choosing to analyze violence against women with the help of radical feminism is, moreover, that for radical feminists sexualized violence is the core of the gender order and control of sexuality is considered to be the male power of expression. Radical feminism believes that women will only become free through transformation in the private and intimate spheres of human relationship. Further, they state that gender is more than just a question of individual identity, or sexuality, and the structure of gender relations in any given society has been determined in a large part by prevailing social institutions and practices, for example the institution of marriage, or the family, or the education system which served to reinforce relations of inequality and subordination (Steans and Pettiford 2005: 163).

Radical feminism makes it clear that issues like domestic violence, rape be it in or outside the marriage and sexual harassment are instance of sexual politics, which means that sex has a neglected political aspect and that patriarchy plays in sexual relations. For example, they explain that if the police are called in a domestic violence case to break up a situation involving battering, they might refuse to intervene on the ground that this is a private family matter and that it the problem can only be solved of the family member. Namely, the police do not want to see the violence as a crime, but a family matter that the authority cannot intervene in (Chancer & Watkins 2006: 35).

According to Denise politics is concerned with social relations of power, and the relations of power that feminism has identified are those of male domination. Hence, feminism's aims are to make visible the reality of male domination, while struggling for a world where women are recognized as human beings in their own right. Further, the concept of male domination does not mean men's absolute power and women's absolute powerlessness (Denise 2001). Therefore, radical feminists do not like to use gender because they claim that gender is not a function of our biology. It is a social construct that is created to maintain unequal power

hierarchies. Furthermore, radical feminists want to free both men and women from the rigid gender roles that society has imposed upon them (Steans and Pettiford 2005: 163).

Radical feminists claim that a patriarchal society is bad for women because there women become victims of patriarchy. A patriarchy society is a society that is characterized by current and historic unequal power relations between women and men. Whereby, women are systematically disadvantaged and oppressed both in private and public spheres. Further, male violence against women is a key feature of patriarchy, and women in minority groups face multiple oppressions in this society, for instance, as race, class and sexuality intersect with sexism (London Feminist Network 2017). Clearly, in a patriarchal society women's human rights are limited, for instance, they force to marriage, sexual abused and forced to have or do not have children. Moreover, life becomes meaningless for them because they cannot exert full control over their live and get the feeling that they are worthless as human (Chancer & Watkins 2006: 34).

In addition, for radical feminism gender is only from of dominance and subordination relationship that involve the more powerless person regularly, for instance sleeping and having sexual relations with the less powerful one. Further, the sexual subordination is the most difficult form of consciousness-raising to undertake. Gender-based organizations are necessary and have to take place across different race, ethnicities and classes regions (Chancer & Watkins 2006: 37).

There are many different feminist perspectives, for instance, liberal feminism, Marxism-feminism and postcolonial feminism. In order to explain why I chose this perspective, I provide a brief overview of those feminist standpoints about domestic violence. Radical feminism focuses on women's liberation from men, and claims that patriarchy hurt only women and men benefit from patriarchy. In contrast liberal feminism, which focuses on equality between women and men, says that patriarchy hurts both men and women (Rae 2016).

Marxist feminists focus on gender as a social relationship of inequality and argue that male superiority is rooted in class society. And the gender inequality is because of two sets of social forces, patriarchy and capitalism (Steans and Pettiford 2005: 15). They see the family as a site of social class reproduction. Yet, this theory does not fit for analyzing of domestic violence in China, because it talks about nuclear family and ignoring family diversity. Further, Marxist feminists argue that women are a tool or instrument of capitalist oppression,

but radical feminists see patriarchy as the instrument of oppression in the home (Thompson 2013).

Postcolonial feminism speaks to the experiences of women in societies that have been subjected to forms of imperialist and colonial domination and it alert to the new forms of colonialism that pervade the contemporary world (Stearns and Pettiford 2005: 18). Postcolonial feminists argue that by using the term of woman as a universal group, women are then only defined by their gender and not by social class, ethnicity, race or sexual preference (Stearns and Pettiford 2005: 18). However, this thesis is not about the effect of colonialism on domestic violence, but about patriarchy and men's power over women.

1.5 Feminist activists in China

According to Hu, the Chinese Communist Revolution is known among another thing for having initiated the modern Chinese women's rights movement. When the Chinese communist party (CCP) came to power the first official act was the Marriage Reform Law. Hence, the CCP believed the family to be the key institution in society, and that to strengthen the family meant emancipating women. The reforming of the marriage law was symbolic of the CCP's stated prioritization of women's rights, and it abolished forced marriage, concubinage, and child betrothal (in which a young girl is raised by another family to become a designated bride), and brideprice (money given by the groom's family for a bride). Further, the law also made larger the representation of women by guaranteeing them equal rights in petition for divorce, as well as the equal right to the ownership and management of family property (Hu 2016).

Additionally, women worked as political authorities in local governments and served in high-ranking offices. Many organizations championing women's representation also established, such as the National Women's Federation. Most importantly, the women's rights movement permanently altered the national psyche in regard to the role of women, and its legacy remains entrenched in society to this day.

However, the most of women's organization such as National Women's Federation were dependent upon the government and have little actual authority. Additionally, any trend that in any way jeopardized the central government's power was immediately quashed. Consequently, since then Chinse feminist activist groups have been cautious about not

appearing to be too “radical” and alienate the larger population. With other words, if the women require more than what the Chines government does then they will get in trouble. Chinese feminist activists themselves may not be able to speak freely in China, but their voices can now be heard around the world. That is because Chinese feminists had been in contact with other feminist activists from different countries since the 1980s and they have worked on developing independent nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) for women’s human rights (Hu 2016).

The growth of the Chinese feminist activist started after the Beijing conference in 1995. Since then the Chinese activism have fight for women’s rights through solidarity pact and their growth and fighting has played a crucial role in development of women’s human rights in China (Hu 2016). Today, they claim that the Marriage Reform Law is only words on paper that has been convenient for the Chinese government and insufficient for the Chinese people. Therefore, today they require that anti -domestic law be practiced as it is promised (Hu 2016).

According to Coonan the Chinese feminists are tough, committed and unafraid to be detained for their rights. However, their movement is lumped in with other areas of activism that are seen as a threat to the Chinese government, and women are involved in activism are worried about their families, their partners and their futures. That because, they have not the right to freedom of speech and expression (Coonan 2016).

The Chinses feminist activists have shown their dissatisfaction about domestic violence by protests. For instance, in 2015 five Chinese women’s rights activists became arrested ahead of the International Women's Day on 8 March. That because they had planned to distribute leaflets against sexual harassment. These five Chinese women became international figures after their arrest for their social advocacy. Many protests took place in different places, both national and international. People said that “Feminism is not a crime,” and that they would not give up. According to Coonan who had interviewed a few Chines feminist activists during the protests, women in the protests said that that “It’s more like a part of our body; it’s in our heart, in our mind. It’s a lifestyle for us, to be a radical feminist. The most important thing is that what I do is right” (Coonan 2016). It was a broad discussion on social media especially on Twitter, which is banned in China. In this regard, “free the five” became a trending hashtag. Thousands of groups and individuals also spoke out against the government detention, including the UN Samantha Power, US Ambassador, and even US Secretary of State John Kerry. John Kerry had said “We strongly support the efforts of these activists to

make progress on these challenging issues, and we believe that Chinese authorities should also support them, not silence them” (Hu 2016).

In the end, the five feminist activists get out of the jail free and it surprised the world. However, they still limited and they have not been given complete freedom yet, and their release has not been confirmed as victory, because they are released on jail and are still suspicious (Rättvisepartiet Socialisterna 2015). According to Hu to give both the national and international pressure at stake, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has not been able to afford to silence the country’s feminist protest movement. It must treat women’s rights as a priority in itself and not simply a prerequisite for its own economic advancement (Hu 2016).

1.6 Disposition

In Chapter two I explain the different methods that I will use in this thesis, a qualitative content analysis, Bacchi’s “What is the problem represented to be (WPR) approach?”, and the feminist standpoint. I furthermore provide summaries of the laws that are under scrutiny here. I conclude the section by discussing the validity and reliability method in research.

Chapter three is an extensive literature review. In this thesis I treat the literature review as part of my cases. I have selected the articles based on the criteria whether they discusses women’s situation in China, and I scrutinize them for the main factors that are presented to be behind the violence against women.

In Chapter four I analyze the Chinese women’s situation based on the findings from the literature review and the scrutinization of and the evaluation of the laws against domestic violence. By juxtaposing previous research findings and especially the interpretation of the findings with the existing laws I can provide a better insight into the background of domestic violence. Lastly, I present an analysis of domestic violence in China from a radical feminist perspective.

In the conclusion I will draw together the different strands in this thesis and provide the answer to my research question

2. Method

In this section I am discussing the methods that I will use for answering of my research questions. The methods that I will use are three different methods, qualitative content analysis, what is the problem (WPR) approach? and feminist approach. First, I provide an explanation what a qualitative content analysis is and how I will use it. Then after, I present a summary of the primary sources that I will use. After, I discuss what is the problem represented to be (WPR) approach? and the feminist standpoint. In the end conclude the sanction by discuss the validity and reliability in research.

2.1 Qualitative content analysis

In this thesis I will use a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis assumes that it is possible to expose the meanings, motives, and purposes embedded within the text and to infer valid hidden or underlying meanings of interest to the researcher". Namely, a qualitative content analysis gives the meaning of norms, values, motives and purposes (Halperin & Heath 2012: 319). Hence, with the help of a qualitative content analysis I will analyze the data that is relevant to domestic violence and women in China.

According to Bryman, qualitative data can be the focus of secondary analysis and the possible grounds for conducting a secondary analysis are more or less the same as those associated with quantitative data. Further, a qualitative method makes it possible to analyse secondary data and it allows the researcher to mine data that have not been examined by the primary investigators and give possibility to a new interoperation (Bryman 2008: 587).

By using qualitative content analyses I will answer my first research question that is about the main factors that are presented to be behind violence against women in China. The most of the sources that I will use for answer this question will come from secondary sources such as books and newspaper articles. Namely, it has been considered that domestic abuse against women in China is irrevocably linked with societal inequality, and social conditions that devalue women perpetuate the cycle of oppression and gender-based violence (The Lancet Kidney Campaign 2016). I have chosen articles that discuss women's situation in different groups like women who belong to poor families, rural-urban families, ethnic minority and migrants' families. These material help me to access information that is difficult or impossible to get through direct personal contact, for instance interviews.

Next to the secondary sources, this thesis makes use of reports from human rights committee, and the legal documents like United Nations conventions about human rights that China has ratified the Chinese law about women's rights, and Chinese marriage law and domestic law.

This table shows my primary sources.

	Date	Nature of document
CEDAW	1979	Made by UN General Assembly with the aim to prevent discrimination against women.
Marriage law	1981	Made by the Chinese government with the aim to give lawful rights and interests of women, children, and the aged.
Chinese law about women's rights	1992	Made by the Chinese government with the aim to prevent all form of discrimination against women.
Reports from Human Rights Committee	2014	Made by United Nations with the aim to give recommendations to the Chinese government for improving of women's rights.
Domestic violence law	2015	Made by the Chinese government with the aim to prevent domestic violence.

2.2 Chinese laws that forbid domestic violence

Domestic violence is forbidden according to the Chinese legislation. China legislate its first anti-domestic law, Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China, in 2015 and it took effect on March 1, 2016. The law consists of 38 articles and it prohibits any form of domestic abuse, including psychological, and provides a process for obtaining restraining orders. The law gives no legal protections for same-sex couples, but covers unmarried people cohabiting. Domestic violence is also forbidden in the Chinese marriage law, Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, from 1981, and in the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights.

Article 1 in Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China says that the law is formulated to stop and prevent domestic violence, to protect the lawful right and interests of the Chinese family members. Further, to preserve equal, peace and civilized family relationships, and even to promote family harmony and social stability. Article 2 explain the domestic violence and says that the law refers to psychological, physical and other infractions between family members effected through the use of methods such as restraints, maiming, beating, restrictions on physical liberty as well as intimidation or recurrent verbal abuse. Article 3 requires that the family members shall love each other, help each other and live in harmony and perform familial obligations. Article 3 forbids domestic violence and it gives responsibility to the state, society and families to prevent domestic violence (Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China 2015: articles 1, 2 and 3). Article 4 and 5 states that all levels of peoples government shall ensure necessary funding for effort to counter domestic violence, and it gives obligation to all relevant Chinese departments like judicial organs, people's organizations, social organizations, villagers committee, residents' committees and enterprises and public institutions to follow the law and work on the best way to prevent domestic violence, and to protect the victims of domestic violence. Article 7 and 9 requires a joint work for preventing of domestic violence and guarantees the victims of domestic violence medical right (Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China 2015: articles 4,5, 7 and 9). More about victims of domestic violence is in article 13, which says that the victims legal representatives and close family may make a complaint, give feedback or seek aid form the perpetrator's or victim's unit, villager's committee, residents' committee, women's federation and other relevant unit, and all of them have the duty to help the victims. The article gives also the duty to victims' relatives to report cases to the public

security organs. Article 22 requires giving information about the damage of the domestic violence and that it is possible through education. Article 36 says the state personal that have anti-domestic violence, must follow the law and if they abuse their authority will be punished in accordance with law, that because it is a crime (Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China 2015: articles 13, 22 and 36).

The Chinese marriage law lays the basic principles for marriage and family relations. According to article 2 of the marriage law a marriage system based on freedom, monogamy and equality between man and woman have to be implemented. Article 4 says that the family members have to respect each other, specially wife and husband and they shall be truthful and help each other so as to maintain an equal, harmonious and cultured matrimonial and familial relationship. Article 43 is specially about domestic violence and says that in the case of family violence or maltreatment of any family member, the victim there of shall be entitled to make petitions, and, the relevant urban residents' committee, the villagers' committees, or the entity where the victim is a staff member shall make dissuasions or mediations. Further, the victims shall be entitled to make petitions concerning the family violence that is happening, and the relevant urban residents' committee or villagers' committee shall make dissuasions, and the public security organs shall stop such acts. In addition, the public security organ concerned shall give administrative punishment to the actor according to the provisions on the administration of public security, when the victim of family violence or maltreatment makes a petition (Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China 1981: articles 2, 4 and 43).

Another relevant article is article 45, which says that “those who has committed family violence or maltreated or deserted any family member so seriously as to have constituted a crime. The victim may file a private prosecution at the people's court according to the provisions of the criminal procedure law, the relevant public security organ shall make investigations and the people's procurator ate concerned shall make a public prosecution according to the provisions of law”. Article 46 says if domestic violence has led to the divorce of husband and wife, the innocent party shall be entitled to claim damages (Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China 1981: articles 45 and 46).

The Chinese law about women's rights is from 1992 and it consists of 61 articles. The law is based on CEDAW and requires all the rights that CEDAW requires for protecting of women's rights. Article 46 of The Chinese law about women's rights is just about domestic violence. It says that “*Domestic violence against woman is prohibited*” and the state has to take measures

to prevent and stop domestic violence. The articles requires that the Chinese public security organs, civil affairs, judicial and executive organs, autonomous organizations, social organizations at the grass-root in the township and rural areas have to take measures to prevent and stop domestic violence within their responsibilities, provide the women victims with remedies (Chinese law about women's rights 1992: article 46).

2.3 The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women

Women's rights and the prohibition of discrimination against women is a recurring theme in many of the United Nation's conventions. The core UN human rights conventions such as the convention on civil and political rights and the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights require that all rights of conventions have to be applied equally to women and men. Examples of these rights are the right to education, right to work, the right to political opinion and freedom of association (Smith 2012: 105-107). With other words, the international human rights conventions include rights for women in a large number of area covering women's lives both as individuals and as family members, for instance the rights that are related to childbirth, education, marriage, access to justice, political participation, etc. (Smith 2012: 107). China ratified the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) 1980, with the aim to promote women's human rights including gender equality, and forbid all forms of racial discrimination that is based on race, descent, national, color and religion (Peerenboom et al. 2006: 413). The CEDAW forbids all discriminations against women, and this has been emphasized in the first article of the CEDAW that says "*For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field* (CEDAW 1979: article 1). Namely, this article forbids all forms of discrimination against women's human rights, whether this is done with the intention or the effects of an act causing this. Article 2 of the CEDAW gives obligation to the state to abolish all discrimination against women and to take appropriate measures to promote gender equality. Further, the principle of equality shall be included in the national legislation (CEDAW 1979: article 2). Article 3 of the CDEAW is about women's development and

progress, it arguing that the state in all spheres shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the full development and advancement of women. Women and men should have the same right to exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms (CDEAW 1980: article 3). Article 16 of the CDEAW argue that women and men should have equal right to marry of their own free will, and during their marriage they shall have the same rights and responsibilities, in case of parents and divorce. In addition, states party shall ensure that women and men have equal right to decide on family planning and equal rights in terms of ownership and management of property (CDWAW 1980: article 16).

2.3.1 The committee on the elimination of discrimination against women

When China ratified CEDAW, 1980, then it became obligated to hand in regular reports every four years to the human rights committee. The Committee examined each report and addressed its concerns and recommendations to China in form of concluding observations (United Nation 2016). In a concluding observation from 2014, the committee on the elimination of discrimination against women gives several recommendations for improvement of women's rights. According to the committee, China has not followed the CEDAWs rules. Therefore, the committee requires improvement of gender equality and that China has, among another thing, to take concrete steps to eliminate the persistent disparities between men and women and promote full access to higher education and employment (United Nations 2014: 7-8). Further, China has to change its national laws and apply them after the convention rules. According to the committee, China has failed with the law. In this regard, the committee has been concerned about the lack of effective measures to prevent instances of domestic violence, as well as the lack of support services to protect victims (United Nations 2014: 7-8)

2.4 What is the problem (WPR) approach?

The WPR approach is an approach to policy analysis that focuses on the way policies represent policy problems, and the effects of these problematizations. WPR as an analytical strategy is used to critically scrutinize problematizations that means in which way the problem is produced and how it can be solved (Bacchi 1999: 13). Bacchi claims that the questions that WPR brings to practical texts make it possible to identify and interrogate governmental problematization via these understanding of practices, relations and events (Bacchi 1999: 34).

In order to answer especially my second research questions I will use a WPR approach. Bacchi argues that the WPR approach is a tool that has the purpose to facilitate critical

interrogation of public policies. In this thesis I will write about the Chinese politics and the reason behind the discrimination of women. Two of my three research questions are about politics. The first question is about whether the Chinese government take responsibility for the domestic violence, and for answer this quotation I will analyze the Chinese legal documents and see if there is any law that protects women against violence, and how important it is for the Chinese government to implement these laws. Therefore WPR approach will help me to understand what the Chinse politic lack of when it comes to women's human rights and what is needed to be changed in the Chinse political system for improving of women's human rights.

WPR approach consists of six questions that apply to policy analyses. The first one is; what is the problem, and I will use the question by look at what is the problem that is presented to be in the Chinese policy in regard to domestic violence. The second and third questions are about deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions that underline the representation of the problem, and about how the representation of the problem comes about. Question four asks if the problem can be conceptualized differently, and question five asks about the effects that the problem produces. The last question is about the date and place of the producing of the problem and asks how it can be disrupted and replaced (Bacchi 1999: 20). In this thesis I will apply this list of question to my own problem representation.

I will use WPR approach even when I want to answer my third research question that is about the perspective of Radical-feminism on the violence against women in China. I will analyze how dominant or marginal representations of gender and gender inequality appear in key policy documents and programs. Further, if there is gender inequality in the Chinese politics that has prevented women to get their human rights (Bacchi 2012: 29).

Feminism can be used as both theory and method; therefore for understanding of domestic violence as a social problem I will use a feminist approach. Feminists analyze violence against women as power dynamics operating between men and women in a sexist society. According to Bacchi feminists are concerned about male domination become transformed, through engagement with the state, into discrete social problems that are then handed over to different branches of governmental administration (Bacchi 2012: 165). Hence, for answering of my third research question I need to use both a feminist approach and WPR- approach. In this regard I will juxtapose the Chinese policy about women's rights and domestic violence

with what have been said in the social media about women's' situation and domestic violence in China.

2.5 Validity and reliability

According to Halperin & Heath, it is important that the collected data in a research is both valid and reliable. Further, the validity of a measure depends upon how we define the concept. Content validity examines the extent to which the question covers the full range of the concept. With other words, validity means that the question measures what we think it does and reflects the concept that we trying to address (Halperin & Heath 2012 : 233). The main concept in my thesis is domestic violence and my second research question is about it, "*What are the main factors that are presented to be behind violence against women in China?*" The definition of domestic violence is broad but I will focus only on women as victims of domestic violence and the definition will be about the violence that occurs against women at home.

Halperin & Heath claim that reliability refers to the repeatability or consistency of our findings. A study is reliable if anyone following the same procedures and gives the same results (Halperin & Heath 2012: 328). According to Golafshani, reliability is a concept that is used for testing or evaluating quantitative research. Thus, the issue of reliability is an irrelevant matter in the judgement of quality of qualitative research. Further, there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former, validity, is sufficient to establish the latter reliability with regards to the researcher's ability and skill in any qualitative research also states that reliability is a consequence of the validity in a study (Golafshani 2003: 601-602).

3. Literature review

In this section I am discussing the literature review that my research is based on. This literature review does not summarize the prior research but it reviews the research related to my thesis topic, domestic violence, and it present my own perspective on the research in my field as a means for establishing my credibility as a researcher. Further, I analyses these literatures as secondary sources by using qualitative content analyses method. This in order to, answer my first research question that is about the main factors behind violence against women in China.

The United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995, was an open door for many activists and scholars in China to fight violence against women and take steps to prevent domestic violence in the Chinese society by support the victims. That because the aim of The United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing was to achieve greater equality and opportunity for women and develop their live conditions and creating peace in the community (Runge 2015). Some research have drawn attention to potential associations between the rise of individualism in China because of capitalism, the one-child policy and changes in the Chinse domestic violence laws with the increased perpetration of cold violence by some men towards their wives. Cold violence in the research refers to an emotional form of domestic violence that is characterized by a complete withdrawal of all verbal and physical communication by one member of an intimate relationship towards the other. The result of the research has been that some Chinese men use communication withdrawal as a hidden form of abuse to ensure women's subservience and to circumvent laws. Yet that cold violence towards women in China is a structural concern that has been made possible by rapid socioeconomic change, individual participation of Chinese men in a growing capitalist market, and a legal system that is ambiguous and has lacking regard for women (McLaren 2016).

3.1 Women's situation in China

China is a united government with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as the only authorized party. The Communist Party controls the country and there is no real opposition. China's highest political body is National People's Congress, which there the president and the prime minister become elected. The Chinese national Congress performer committee, which

works as the legislature is controlled by the Communist Party. Respect for human rights is small, and the country's opposition thwarted (Globalis 2017).

Su states that after CCP came to power the progress in the Chinese women's social and economic lives increased, but they have not been able to make headway in the Chinese politics. Female leaders of the party-state are drawn from nonparty members and occupied less prestigious positions than male leaders. With other words women have not power in the politic even if few of them are active in the politic and they are controlled by the men party members. However there have been single successful women in the Chinese politics, for instance Wu Yi. She was highest ranking female politician and was called for "Iron lady" by Chinese media and the "Goddess of Transparency" by Time magazine. She was the only woman in the 24- member Politburo Central Committee when she served. She was even the vice premier until 2008, but when she retired became replaced of a man with the name of Li Keqiang (Regional Business News 2012). Su claims that what promoting hinder women from their political careers are political institutions, social conditions and culture (Su 2006: 143).

According to Su the Chinese state is aware of the big gap between gender equality in the Chinese politics. Further with the aim to do not show the inequality it has start to full control over the amount of information in this regard and has released flattering statistics, such as women's representation in NPC (The National People's Congress), that to say the information that is not true is published (Su 2006: 144). Su argues that "Chinese women suffer from two forms of gender inequalities: selection of female leaders mainly from discriminated categories and appointment of these leaders into less powerful positions. Neither is apparent, but each is crucial for understanding gender equality in China" (Su 2006: 149). However the Chinese government has promised to bring equality between men and women and give more places in the Chinese politics. Yet the Chinese women are still frustrated by the lack of progress in the political participation. Some research on gender equality in Chinese politics has found that female leaders are disproportionately selected from non-CCP members, and their chances of reaching a chief leadership position are extremely low. Further the Chinese communist party has pointed to women's representation in the NPC to demonstrate its success in promoting gender equality, that 20% of all representatives are female. However this information is considered to be impressive, especially when it is compared to other countries at the same level of economic development. Yet in the Chinese political context, this comparison can be misleading (Su 2006: 161). According to Regional Business News women are more tolerant and compassionate than men, so when more women come on the political stage, they can

better play the role of 'glue' that holds the society together and reduce conflicts (Regional Business News 2012).

Today in the most of the Chinese families, women and girls experience violence such as sexual violence, trafficking, harmful traditional practices and other forms of violence against their bodies, minds and human dignity. According to Rauhala, domestic violence in China is a hidden epidemic and the problem is enormous and multifaceted (Rauhala 2016). Despite the fact that there is law for supporting women's rights including in marriage and divorce, there is still huge violence against women in the Chinese society (McLaren 2016). Domestic violence and abuse against women in China is considered to be irrevocably linked with societal inequality, and social conditions that devalue women perpetuate the cycle of oppression and gender-based violence (The lancet 2016).

3.2 Intimate partner violence in China

According to some quantitative researches the intimate partner violence (IPV) is the common form of violence against women in China. Intimate partner violence includes sexual, emotional, physical and controlling behaviors by an intimate partner. Some reasons behind IPV are religion, culture, and socioeconomic problems (World health organization 2016). The official data on the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women is unknown in China. According to Parish who had made a quantitative study 34% of women aged 20-64 and 18% of men have ever been hit during their relationship, and injuries for women have always been more than for men. Moreover, the risk factors for violence includes patriarchal beliefs, sexual jealousy, low male socioeconomic status, low female contribution to household income, alcohol consumption and residence in regions other than South and Southeast of China (Parish et al. 2004).

Tang had reviewed empirical literature on intimate partner violence in China within the past 20 years to understand the magnitude and nature of the problem. Data was brought from 19 empirical studies and a total of 49,201 adult respondents. The study had showed that "the average lifetime and year prevalence of male-on-female IPV was respectively 19.7% and 16.8% for any type, 42.6% and 37.3% for psychological, 14.2% and 6.7% for physical, and 9.8% and 5.4% for sexual violence". Further the risk factors were the same as the other studies result that I mentioned above (Tang 2007).

In 2011 the All China Women's Federation that made a national survey found that 25% of the Chinese women have experienced violence at home, violence like physical and verbal abuse, limitation of freedom and force to sex. According to Runge a part of the All China Women's Federation in Shenzhen had collected statistics in Shenzhen 2011, regarding domestic violence. The result showed that more than 85% of the violence had occurred in married relationships and that nearly 94% was committed by husbands against their wives (Runge 2015 33).

According to World health organization (WHO) IPV gives very serious health problems for the survivors and their family members, and it lead to high social and economic costs. Hence IPV leads to unintended pregnancies such as abortions, gynaecological problems, and sexually transmitted infections like HIV and AIDS. Moreover IPV in pregnancy lead also till increasing the likelihood of miscarriage, stillbirth, preterm delivery and low birth weight babies. Some studies have showed that women who are victims of IPV are almost twice as likely to the women who suffer from depression and drinking problem.

The WHO's analyses from 2013 have found that women who have been sexually or physically abused are 1.5 times more likely to have a sexually transmitted infection like HIV/ AIDS, compared to women who have not experienced partner violence. Broadly health effects also include back pain, headaches, abdominal pain, gastrointestinal disorders, fibromyalgia, limited mobility and poor overall health. Generally violence against women is harmful and has fatal consequences like homicide and suicide. For preventing of IPV, WHO recommends end of discrimination against women, promotion of gender equality, support women and help to move towards more peaceful cultural norms (World health organization 2016).

3.3 Grades of poverty that leads to domestic violence

According to Kanbur, Rhee & Zhaung China as the world's largest country has undergone profound economic transformation without substantially changing the political institutional structure, which remains dominated by the Chinese Communist Party. Despite the fact that there is various programs to reduce poverty in China, 128 million Chinese still live in poverty as measured by the latest updated poverty line (Kanbur, Rhee & Zhaung 2014: 348). Kanbur, Rhee & Zhaung argue that some reasons to poverty in Chine is inequality in the personal income tax, inequality in public services such as education and healthcare, discrimination of

minority groups and women in the labor market, and lack of urban jobs in the agriculture sector (Kanbur, Rhee & Zhaung 2014: 348).

According to Sung & Pascall, in China, women's ability to support themselves independently of partners is less than men's and several factors keep women's earnings well below men's. The gender pay gap is high and the working hours are long, which make it difficult for women to sustain their labour market position, especially when they become mothers (Sung & Pascall 2014: 12). Sung & Pascall argue that in China a gender perspective on ageing and disability welfare policies is still missing. In order to protect disability rights effectively, China needs to reconsider the interests of women, particularly in rural communities. The communist era had the potential to address the legacy of the gender gap reflected in Confucian culture (Sung & Pascall 2014: 111). According to Kulacki cultural change is virtually impossible in China because its culture lingers, insidiously, even in the minds of the vanguard intelligentsia that has mastered and applied Western science and technology (Kulacki 2000: 14).

Lanyan argues that today in China women have access to education, and there are high educated women who work in administration and have high wages. These women support their family economically (Lanyan 2014: 80). The most of these high educated women living in big cities and their live is different from the women who living in the villages or rural areas. Lanyan claims that in China women are the poorest residents and after the Chinese economic reforms, the gap between rural and urban areas increased. Today more than 60 percent of the women who live in rural areas are agricultural workers. They are very poor and they have not sufficient resources to cover the costs of reproduction, including food, education and healthcare (Lanyan 2014: 74). These women are "unable to cope with rising debts given declining agricultural prices, rising production costs and the unrelenting pressures of women's everyday household labour" (Lanyan 2014: 76). Lee emphasizes that women in China have low job aspirations, and low motivation to learn skills. The social construction of the women who work at factories is not purely ideational. Lee says that "It facilitated kin control over women's discipline inside the factories and legitimized management's relegation of women to low-ranked unskilled job positions on other family members' incomes to support themselves and their children "(Lee 1995: 385).

According to Verfaillie the cost of domestic violence is often the continuation of poverty, or economic deprivation or exploitation, or the hindrance of economic rights, namely poverty

brings economic stress, which leads to violence. With other words poverty and violence are two synonymous with human suffering and function to dehumanize individuals in a similar fashion through similar mechanisms. Further Verfaillie argues that when vulnerable women become effort to leave their violent relationships is like to force them as victim to incur numerous costs, and the effects of violent abuse inundate the legal and health systems creating even further need for intervention and social services. In addition there are many risks that threat them like losing their job, their home, health care, or access to income and financial support. Consequently trying to leave an unhealthy and abusive relationship can cause further poverty and further threats of abuse (Verfaillie 2013).

3.4 Differences between rural and urban victims of domestic violence

Domestic violence is prevalent both in rural and urban areas, but some studies have shown that it is more in the rural area, especially in young families and in households with lower educational levels. Why it more in the rural area is because of the Chinese traditional manner and custom that they still following. They believe that men have more power and women should be in subordinate positions to men, which is a primary contributor to abuse. At the same time it is difficult for the vulnerable women to seek help in distress, because there domestic violence is considered a private matter (Moxley 2010).

Moxley argues that each year about 157,000 Chinese women kill themselves and the rate of suicide is three to five times higher in rural areas than urban centers. Further one survey based on 260 cases of suicide among rural women has showed that, 66 percent of the rural women have been victims of domestic violence and the violence have been because of the traditional belief that boys are more valuable than girls, the subordinate position of women in the countryside and the lack of assistance available to abused women (Moxley 2010). According to Moxley violence against women is also high in the rich or high-income families as well. A survey by Chinese Women's Federation has showed that of 548 cases of household abuse, 111 had members with college diplomas, 72 were public servant households and 88 of the households had incomes above 298 U.S. dollars (2,000 yuan) per month (Moxley 2010).

In contrast to rural areas victims of domestic violence in the urban areas are most in the middle aged families (there the parents are middle aged). The most type of violence against women in urban families are mentally and sexually violence. According to Xinguan there are four basic factors underlying men's abuse of their views in the Chinese cities; jealousy, sexuality, money and excessive drinking and drug abuse. The other problems are conflicts

between mother-in –law and daughter-in-law that lead to women became beaten of their men (Xinguan 1999: 1500).

Further in urban areas many men cheating on their wives and because they are rich and have power that lead to do what they want. Namely, domestic violence in the urban areas mainly is due to the abusive husbands drinking excessively, visiting prostitutes, and gambling. There has been even cases that there old aged women became forced to sex of their old aged men. For instance, Xinguan takes an example and states that a 74-year-old woman complained tearfully that her husband always forced her to have sex with him because of his sexual desire (Xinguan 1999: 1500). The end of the domestic violence in urban areas is often divorce, because the urban women are more independent than the rural women. With other words, the urban women are well educated and have jobs that help them to support themselves and their children financially. In contrast the most of the rural women are illiterate and they are dependent on their men, therefore they accept the violence from their men (Xinguan 1999: 1496). Xinguan claims that domestic violence in China is a very serious social problem and he states that for the solution of the problem the Chinese men have to be educated about the women's rights and the problem that domestic violence leaving behind (Xinguan 1999: 1503).

3.5 Internal Chinese migrant women as victims of domestic violence

Domestic violence against female migrant can be more than other female groups in the Chinese society. That because they are the poorest family in the Chinese society after the economic reform in 1978 (Kanbur, Rhee & Zhaung 2014: 334). Because of the poverty and low income per capita many Chinese people from urban areas have migrated to the country's big cities like Beijing to get the opportunity to live a better life, get a job and higher wages (Scheineson 2009). The reason behind their immigration is hukou system that has landed migrants families in poverty.

Hukou system means that every Chinese has to be registered as a resident of his or her usual place of residence. It has caused inequality and classified the Chinese people into two groups; non-agricultural hukou holders and agricultural hukou holders. According to Liu et al, before the hukou system in urban areas the daily necessities like jobs, food, and housing controlled and assigned by the government. Then, only non-agricultural citizens had access to these resources and services. During this time, migration from rural to urban areas was strictly constrained (Liu et al 2014: 50).

Female migrant workers have been vulnerable to sexual assaults, and have been forced to sell their bodies (Chan 2013). According to Scheineson, the female migrant workers are immensely “overrepresented in unskilled, low-paying, and labor-intensive factories” (Scheineson 2009). Chan states that many of them became killed without to know who has killed them and why. Year 2013, happened protests in Beijing, because a 22 years old female migrant worker had been murdered in a shop center. The police insisted that her death was a suicide, but then it turned out that she had been murdered. Her body was reduced to ashes without her family’s permission (Chan 2013).

Teng et al. emphasize the violation against female Chinese migrants and argue that the Chinese female rural-to-urban migrants experience greater depression following exposure to IPV due to lack of social support and integration within their receiving communities. Further the effect of violence on depression symptoms for migrant women is moderated by social integration. Women who experience violence and have greater integration in their community is reported less depression than women who experience violence but reported less social integration. Consequently Teng et al. claim that social integration is the key risk factor for migrant mental health. Social services aimed to reduce IPV and integrate migrants in their new communities are needed (Teng et al. 2014).

3.6 Ethic minority

China is an ethnically diverse country and in almost all ethical families domestic violence is prevented. For instance, Islam is one of cultures that its culture plays a major role in many Chinese Muslim families. The Chinese Muslims follow Chinese traditions and live within modern economic reforms, and on the other hand, subscribe to the Islamic gender roles and religious beliefs and practices (Niu & Laidler 2014: 93). Niu & Laidler argue that violence against women in Muslim families is high but the violence is unknown because of the acceptance and privatization of it. Many Muslims women see the violence as normal and a part of the family living. The social historical structure of Muslim cultures makes it difficult for Muslim women to recognize the practice of violence as legally and morally wrong, and in turn they accept violence as simply part of domestic affairs (Niu & Laidler 2014: 97).

In some religious traditions, such as the Muslim tradition, the man has the duty to provide for his family and some men do not accept that their wife will have its own job and do not allow those to work, which caused that the women are isolated in the home. Children's education at home is generally the woman's mission, and to decide who the daughters of the families

should marry with is something that the men of the families, like father, brother and male relatives, determine (Stenberg1999: 98 and 104). According to Okin the more there are differences between the sexes, the more opportunities for men to determine and formulate the group's beliefs, practices and interests (Okin 2002: 18- 19).

The domestic violence is among other things linked to economic inequality between husbands and wives, marriage crisis and job pressures. In this regards, in the Chinese Muslims families the men do not let their wives work out the hem and it has lead that their wives have no income and are independent of their men. Further the men act their frustrations with their wives income that is nothing and that leads that their see their wives as slave and do what they want with them, for instance beat them, abuse them sexually and dominate and control them. In addition the men could not view their violence as a violation against their wives, but instead they consider their violence as necessary to maintaining order within the household (Niu & Laidler 2014: 107).

In the Chinese religious families men have as much power as the Muslims men have in their families. According to Xie the attitude to have boys in the Chinse cultural traditions have been existed in China for a long time, which coming from traditional Confucian conceptions of the family. People prefer boys because they believe that men pass down family names, society regards male children as vital to preserving ancestral traditions. In contrast, female children are given away to their husband's families. Furthermore, men are those who have the right inherit and they are supposed to perform ancestral rituals, while females are often not allowed to. For instance, Chinese tradition views men, who are heads of family, as necessary to pay respects to deceased family members (Xie 2014).

Therefore the practicing of domestic law is very important in regard to protect all Chinese women, regardless color, religion, culture and class. However, the Chinese legal system holds traditional views including that domestic violence is a private matter rooted in the patriarchal influence of male dominance within these systems. According to Niu & Laidler judges on the courts who are male, hesitate to get involved in domestic violence cases unless such a specific form of abuse as maltreating, serious injuries, and beating to death is proved to be crime. Further, the abused women do not trust male judges; therefore they avoid seeking help (Niu & Laidler 2014: 107).

4. Analyze

4.1 If the situation of Chinese women does match with the laws of domestic violence

The situation of women in China does not match with the requirement of the CEDAW and other Chinese laws that forbid domestic violence or violation against women. According to mass media and human rights activists many Chinese women are victims of domestic violence despite the fact there are laws that forbid violation against women. For instance, the CEDAW and the domestic violence law, marriage law and the Chinese law about women's rights forbids all discrimination against women and give China the duty to abolish all discrimination against women and to take appropriate measures to promote gender equality. The laws against domestic violence exist because the Chinese government knows that domestic violence is a social problem. According to Bacchi when a problem discovered then the laws are the start points that are taken for asking questions about how governing in a broad sense occurs on a daily basis (Bacchi 1999: X).

In China domestic violence cases increasingly enter the court system, and consequences of aggressive accidents threaten the functioning, well-being and health of victims, in family or outside systems. It is important to describe extent and nature of this phenomenon (Falser 2014). The laws that forbid domestic violence and violation against women in China require justice and equality between women and men, but it has not been practiced in reality. That to say, the laws are only words on paper. According to all the Chinese laws that forbids domestic violence women and families are saved through legal intervention against batterers, but the Chinese patriarchal culture has caused that women present themselves as unstable, because of the power the Chinese culture and tradition customs gives to men, which is a primary contributor to abuse. At the same time it is difficult for the battered women to seek help in distress, because there domestic violence is considered a private matter and sometime they accept because of the economic reasons (Moxley 2010).

According to Bacchi a psychosocial formulation sees the problem as a part of a larger system or context of family dynamics, cultural norms, and societal values that make allowances for violence in a variety of forms. It is needed to do something about the culture of violence.

Violence against women has become subset of general societal violence, it is presumed, and will be reduced when the general level of violence is reduced (Bacchi 1999: 169).

According to Freeman, when women become abused in the household, then they become incapable both in the private and public sphere. In addition, the differences between the public domain of the state and the private domain of the family are fallacious. That because, in China the family is regulated by state and its law. There women suffer more than men from justifications of the violations of all their human rights by appeals to culture (Freeman 2011: 149).

The Chinese laws about domestic violence say that “those who has committed family violence or maltreated or deserted any family member so seriously as to have constituted a crime. The victim may file a private prosecution at the people’s court according to the provisions of the criminal procedure law, the relevant public security organ shall make investigations and the people’s procurator ate concerned shall make a public prosecution according to the provisions of law”. Further, if domestic violence has led to the divorce of husband and wife, the innocent party shall be entitled to claim damages (Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China 1981: articles 45 and 46). If these laws could have been practiced domestic violence would be seen as a serious crime and it would be reduced. In contrast, China has failed with the law because of lack of effective measures to prevent instances of domestic violence, as well as the lack of support services to protect victims (United Nations 2014: 7-8). In China the domestic family violation is a private matter and it is not seen as a general crime against society. Bacchi argues that when the violation is a private matter, then the judges fails to take suitable action, and treat spouse abuse as a crime against society (Bacchi 1999: 174).

The domestic violence law refers to psychological, physical and other infractions between family members that are affected through the use of methods such as restraints, maiming, and beating, restrictions on physical liberty as well as intimidation or recurrent verbal abuse. The law states that the state, society and families have the responsibility to prevent domestic violence (Domestic Violence Law 2015: articles 1, 2 and 3). But it does not take seriously about how to prevent domestic violence or how to help the battered women to leave their relationship. The domestic violence will not be reduced when women cannot leave their relationship because of they among another things, are economically dependent on their men.

Bacchi argues that often the battered women cannot leave their unhealthy partner relationship and the only choice that they have is to stay. Women tolerate the abuse for various reasons.

They may feel shame, embarrassment or helplessness. They are afraid to confide the problem to others or seek help outside of the home for fear of retaliatory acts by the abuser. Hence, women have not the resources to act independently and they become so traumatized that they were incapable of choice (Bacchi 1999: 171). In addition, the battered women are not responsible to qualify as battered or victim women. Otherwise, they may well lose the important things in their life such as custody of their child or children because of the categorization which implies an utterly dysfunctional woman (Bacchi 1999: 170). Furthermore, this kind of the women's behavior is presented to be the problem; the costs are important in terms of women's unwillingness to admit to strike and damage, and in the practical consequence of being branded dysfunctional (Bacchi 1999: 170). In China, the battered women not only lose their children but even their lives because of their behavior that have made them to accept the violence against them (Rauhala 2016).

4.2 What is the problem?

The problem of domestic violence in China is that Chinese government does not take the violence against women as a very serious issue. In China there is no equality between women and men. According to Bacchi, the society's rules are generally functioning fairly, but a particular attitude produces an unfair behavior or discrimination that requires intervention (Bacchi 1999: 94). Further, the discriminatory decisions are often based on politics and practices that form the structures and patterns of organizations in particular and society as a whole (Bacchi 1999: 95). Furthermore, antidiscrimination law that forbids violence against women within is limited in what it can achieve because it is complaint based and respondents. Women who wish to press a charge of sexual harassment have to face the possibility to lose their family members, despite the protections against victimization (Bacchi 1999: 183).

The domestic violence in China is a result of sex discrimination. Hence, the Chinese government does not take responsibility to reduce domestic violence. Bacchi argues that family violence against women is a part of the power dynamics operating between men and women in a sexist based society (Bacchi 1999: 165). She argues further that a society can promote the protection of women at the risk of domestic violence through beneficial changes to law, policy and practice, and hold violent men accountable for their abusive behavior (Bacchi 1999: 180).

The Chinese society is a male-dominated society that prevented women to participate in politics and legislation. According to Guo, despite the fact that law has always been important

in Chinese political theory, Chinese political rulers have never practiced the true of law (Guo 2014: 273). In the Chinese government the men are dominated and they have power over women. In the name of social stability the Chines states authority impressive ideological and bureaucratic controls on the court systems, which has caused that the judges fail take suitable action, and treat spouse abuse as a crime against women and society (Minzner 2011: 934).

The problem of domestic violence should see differently if the Chinese government allowed women to interfere in the legislative, and did not allowed the old traditional or religious thinking prevent women to participate in the political issues (Bacchi 1999: 178). Women became easily abused in China, because they are seen as powerless housewives that only have the right to be housewives and obey their husbands or fathers and brothers, and they have to devote themselves to their family rather than career development (Duara 1998:298).

Bacchi argues that domestic violence is a reflection of unequal power relations both in personal relationship and society. Domestic violence is symptom of the more general male power and domination over women. The problem of domestic violence is a consequence of the Chinese political system that excludes women because it is explicitly masculine (Bacchi 1999: 50). The primary objective of domestic violence policy at government level must be to reduce the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence (Itzin & Hanmer 2002: 377).

According to Bacchi, when in a society domestic violence offenses less seriously than other violent crimes, then as a consequence women show their dissatisfaction. In China because of gender inequality and domestic violence women have become more interested in feminism and politics than ever. Hence, they engaged in political struggle to alter existing power relationship between the sexes (Bacchi 1999: 173). However, the Chinese government has limited their rule in politics, that to say, female leaders of the Chinese party-state are drawn from nonparty members and occupied less prestigious positions than male leaders. With other words women have not power in the politic even if few of them are active in the politic and they are controlled by the men party members. In addition, what promoting hinder women from their political careers are political institutions, social conditions and culture (Su 2006: 143).

The emergence of the Chinese human rights organizations has served to be challenge existing boundaries of political discourse. It also establish women as political actors who are engaged in the process of changing law and state practices, also engaging in empowering other women to determine their own future. However, in the name of social stability the Chines states

authority impressive ideological and bureaucratic controls on the court system. The courts work together with political parties and government entities to check risks of instability. This because, to them state's survival is more important than the individual rights (Minzner 2011: 934). The Chinese leaders had failed with the meaningful institutional reform and it has led to the growth of social unrest as a regularized form of political expression (Bondes & Heep 2013: 344). That is to say, the Chinese people have been dissatisfied. The lack of enforceable legal solutions has led to many mass political protests. If China does not allow women to participate in the Chinese politics, there is almost impossible to reduce domestic violence. That because only women can advocate women's human rights (Guo 2014: 281).

According to Bacchi politics are involved in shaping what is possible for people to become, which illustrates how power is a productive force. With other words, it is the governments that determine the kinds of subjects the individual become (Bacchi 1999: 50). Bacchi argues that while government's practices might seek to create specific types of subjects, it does not mean that they necessarily or completely succeed in doing so. Individual can and do negotiate the processes to which they are subjected. In contrast, in China individuals have not the power to affect the policy. People use the public services to identify themselves as consumers or customers of public services support this view (Bacchi 1999: 50).

The Chinese government, instead for law promote mediation as the key to resolving all disputes (Minzner 2011: 943). According to Zeng for solving of domestic violence problem it is significant that the Chinese government give the Chinese women more participation in politics it is necessary to increase the proportion of women's capital, further economic equality between men and women are very important in conjunction with problem solving. Moreover, women have to get more spare time and improvement of their educational qualification (Zeng 2014: 146).

For solving of the problem China needs a good government that goes beyond the ratification of women's human rights, to integrate women's rights effectively in legislation, and establish the promotion of justice as the aim of the rule of law (United Nations 2006: 10). Although, women's human rights empower people, they cannot be respected and protected in a sustainable manner without good governance. According to United Nations, a good government is based on core principles of participation, accountability, transparency and state responsibility'. In addition, relevant laws, political, managerial and administrative processes

and institutions are needed to respond to the women's rights and needs of populations (United Nations 2006: 10).

In contrast, the Chinese government is ruled by the Chinese communist party (CCP) that consists only of men is relying more on political than legal, therefore it has failed to promote women's human rights. According to Smith women have the right to enjoy adequate living conditions, therefore they have to access and participate equally in the creation of development strategies for the country, and participate in all community activities (Smith 2012: 200). Moreover, for promoting of women's human rights and reducing of domestic violence China needs a new political system that is closer to democracy. China can build a one-party democracy by oligarchic elite rule such as the collective leadership at the top (Guo 2014: 285).

According to Brodie, for promoting of human rights a party state as China has to follow the Paris Principles, which means that they have to establish independent human rights national institution with a broad human rights mandate. that membership of the institution is composed of pluralist representation and secured by official appointment, that the independent national institution shall work closely and appropriately with civil society, that the natural resources of the country shall be used for promoting of human rights, and to grantee a range of monitoring and advisory functions to see if the rights are promoted as they should (Brodie 2016: 19).

4.3 Radical feminists view of the situation of women in China

According to radical feminism issues like domestic violence, rape or rape in marriage and sexual harassment are instance of sexual politics, which means that sex has a neglected political aspect and that patriarchy plays in sexual relations. For instance, if the police are called in a domestic violence case to break up a situation involving battering, they might refuse to intervene on the ground that this is a private family matter and that it the problem can only be solved of the family member. Namely the police do not want to see the violence as a crime, but a family matter that the authority cannot intervene in (Chancer & Watkins 2006: 35). This statement is very relevant to the situation of women in China. For instance, when Kim Lee had sought help at a police station in Beijing after she had become beaten of her husband, the police had refused to help her, and said to her "You and your husband are both good people, just calm down a little, go home and everything will be fine" (Kim Lee 2014).

Radical feminists see society as patriarchal. According to Millett, what is creating patriarchy in the Chinese society is religion and culture that give the men right to domination (Millett 1969). Yuhong emphasizes that in China the historical root of gender inequality is inextricably linked to traditional Chinese culture Chinese patriarchy, embedded in Confucian tenets; emphasize women's subservience to father, son, and husband and her virtuous domestic role. Today, gendered norms, beliefs and practices of traditional Chinese culture in families and the larger society remain significant co-factors in violence against Chinese women, although it is noted that violence runs counter to the cultural emphasis placed on family harmony and support (Yuhong 2000). Moreover, the cultural notion of face has specific gendered meaning, and for a man, it is connected to his masculine roles in the family and social networks. The more a man feels stressed from having lost face, the more likely he is to resort to violence against his wife (Yuhong 2000).

According to Firestone the cultural dicta are set by men that presenting only the men view. Therefore, a cultural revolution needs in China that there women suffer from injustice (Fireston 1970: 158 and 190). The Chinese women have the right to be identical under the law with men, and when women are beaten by men they have to be granted instant legal redress (Fireston 1970: 234). Further, the economic independence and self-determination is important for the Chinese women. It leads that they resist the male violation against them, and they can choose their life style as they want. Women need freedom and love and they should not be forced to marriage, sex, and other harmful action that hurt them both physically and mentally (Fireston 1970: 239-240). Firestone claims that the total integration of women is necessary in a large society like China. Women have the right to build organizations and protest against religious and cultural injustice that has facilitates men's control over women in various degrees. In China Women's and girls' capacities and opportunities should not be limited, and their right to live a dignified and free life should not be violated (Fireston 1970: 40). In addition, Firestone claims that in China women should not live in poverty, and they might receive a guaranteed annual income from the state to take care of their basic physical needs such as , food, clothing and shelter (Fireston 1970: 35).

For radical feminists the Chinese culture is patriarchal, and the state uses the religion and culture as an excuse for violence against women. For instance, when the Chinese culture says that that men are more valuable and powerful than women or women should be in subordinate positions to men, and the Chinese men kill women because they do not follow the statement that men are more valuable than women is nothing more than an expression of "male violence

against women". With other words, the traditional customs that say women need to listen to their father and brothers and male relatives are symptoms of patriarchal projects, which have the aim to provide female submissiveness increasingly socially and politically acceptable (Okin 2002: 40-41). To question women's ability and re-evaluate their traditional gender roles is vigorously pruned when their civil rights formally protected in the public spheres. In addition, China must accept external protection which promotes justice in the private sphere and reject restrictions that reduce freedom for women (Okin 2002: 42-43).

Subsequently, radical feminists argues that the violence against women like rape and domestic abuse are crimes that are viewed as forms of specific and generalized control, and therefore exploit the women individually and collectively. Any society that is committed to equality between the sexes must then be particularly responsive to crimes that are based on sex or gender. However, violence against women in China is the ultimate expression of male dominance over women, and therefore domestic violence and sexual assault are manifestations of such dominance and exploitation. In addition, radical feminists claim that violence against women in China is normalized through the lack of public resistance to the crime such as domestic violence, rape and sexual abuse. Hence, the Chinse women themselves have begun to see domestic violence as typical and acceptable because no contrary opinion is noted, especially in the lives of women and girls that are living in traditional and religious families (Criminal Justice 2017).

It is very important to abolish patriarchal families in China. That because family is the first community one comes in, which there women are the key to sustainable development and quality of life in the family. Further, in the Chinese families and other minority's families such as Muslim families should equality exist between the sexes, and it is unacceptable that their girls are raised to just take care of home and children. It is through familial interactions that children learn about justice and society.

The family learns not only the future of female citizens but also future of male citizens, and everyone can benefit from the lessons of both sexes. Namely, family is important and women should not be beaten and kept in the domestic sphere. Keeping women in the private sphere and forcing them to be objects create a society that is held in a lower level of development than what it could achieve. Family is the smallest building block and the women are the most important people in a child's life. A family should be built on love, security and respect without difference between the sexes and violation against women (Okin 1999).

There is no central authority that is mandated to interpret religion to those faithful. Hence, women and men have the same right to participate in interpreting the holder of the religious laws. That because when only men have the ability to interpret it then they interpret in a way that they will have power over women as today in the Chinese society. Men governing the country and determines and interprets laws, but the Chinese women have no opportunity to participate in religious, legal and political issues (Okin 2002: 54).

Domestic violence in China needs to be taken very seriously. As long as give men the right to violate women they will never see women as full human beings who deserve the same rights and dignity as they do. Men should be taken very seriously by the women's movement. That because, the same men who beat and harm women are the ones who go on to becomes politicians, judges, media professionals, and policy makers (Dines 2012: 19). They become the economic and cultural elite that shape the material and ideological world that determines how women and their children will live. Most of them become partners and fathers to assume that women are objects who are deserving of male control and abuse (Dines 2012: 20). In a society like China women will never have true gender justice when there motherhood no longer takes place in the traditional heterosexual nuclear family, and marriages ending in divorce. If society had to pay for all the labor that women perform within the home; housework, cooking, and laundry, especially child care, it would cost the wealthiest people in society (Dines 2012: 20).

5. Conclusion

The purpose of my research has been to get an overview of how the Chinese legislation understands violence in close relationships, and to show which legal and political measurements the Chinese government takes in order to help women who are victims of domestic violence. I have critically analyzed the legal documents in order to show what the Chinese government actually wants to achieve with the regulations concerning domestic violence. Thus, I have provided an analysis about the problem that lies behind the policies.

My first research question was about that the main factors that are presented to be behind domestic violence in China. The answer is that the main factors behind domestic violence are culture, religion and socioeconomic problems. It includes patriarchal beliefs, sexual jealousy, low male socioeconomic status, poverty, low female contribution to household income, and alcohol consumption.

The problem of domestic violence is a consequence of the Chinese political system that excludes women because it is explicitly masculine. The Chinese government does not take the violence against women as a very serious issue. In China, since 1980 there have been laws that forbid violations against women in domestic sphere. The laws require justice and equality between women and men, but it has not been practiced in reality.

Accordingly, for solving of the problem of domestic violence China needs a good government that goes beyond the ratification of women's human rights, to integrate women's rights effectively in legislation, and establish the promotion of justice as the aim of the rule of law. Further, Chinese government has to give the Chinese women more participation in politics, and create economic equality between men and women.

The answer of my third quotation is that the Chinese society is patriarchal and the state uses religion and culture for restriction of women's rights. Namely, the cultural dicta are set by men that presenting only the men view. In China, men governing the country and determines and interprets laws, but women have no opportunity to participate in religious, legal and political issues. The Chinese women have the right to be identical under the law with men, and when women become battered by their men they have to be granted instant legal redress. It is very important to abolish patriarchal families in China. That because, family is the first community one comes in, which there women are the key to sustainable development and

quality of life in the family. Women need freedom and love and they should not be forced to marriage, sex, and other harmful action that hurt them both physically and mentally.

Finally, my research has taught me that the Chinese society is patriarchy, which is harmful for women. That because, the Chinese society is a male- dominated society that there women's human rights are limited. Women cannot participate in politics and decision making, they are violated and sexual abused. Further, I have also learnt that men cannot assist women in the struggle for liberation, and that the social class and ethnicity is important sources of inequality in the Chinese society. Men can follow, assist or support women in their struggle for liberation, but they cannot take the responsibility for the struggle to freedom.

Bibliography

- Aljazeera Staff (2016) “China makes domestic abuse a crime” Aljazeera: Asia Pacific. Viewed 13 September 2016 <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/03/china-outlaws-domestic-abuse-160301053424903.html>.
- Australian Government (2017) ” Definition of family violence”. Australian law reform commission. Viewed 24 April 2017 <http://www.alrc.gov.au/publications/family-violence-and-commonwealth-laws%E2%80%94social-security-law/definition-family-violence>
- Baylis, John, Smith, Steve & Patricia Owens (2013) ‘The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations’. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (6th. ed.).
- Brodie, Meg (2016)’Not Something Our Nation Can Ignore Addressing Systemic Human Rights Violations: The Impact of National Inquiries Conducted by National Human Rights Institutions in the Asia Pacific’.
- Bondes, Maria & Heep, Sandra (2013) “Conceptualizing the Relationship Between Persuasion and Legitimacy: Official Framing in the Case of the Chinese Communist Party”. Journal of Chinese Political Science.
- Bryman, Alan (2008) “Social research methods”. Oxford University Press.
- Chancer S Lynn & Watkins Xaviera Beverly (2006) “Gender, Race and Class- An overview”. USA.
- Coonan, Clifford (2016) “Women in China: Feminists battle to reach the mainstream”. Viewed 1 January 2017; <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/asia-pacific/women-in-china-feminists-battle-to-reach-the-mainstream-1.2920499>.
- Criminal Justice (2017)”Feminist Theory and Domestic Violence”. Viewed 1 Mars 2017 <http://criminal-justice.iresearchnet.com/crime/domestic-violence/feminist-theory/5/>.
- Denyer Simon (2015)“Battered women in China could finally get a measure of legal protection”. Asia & Pacific . Viewed 8 Mars 2017 https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/battered-women-in-china-could-finally-get-a-measure-of-legal-protection/2015/03/05/31e542c4-c1a8-11e4-a188-8e4971d37a8d_story.html?utm_term=.033cf8138ecb
- Dines Gail (2012) “Porn and the misogyny emergency” Viewed 12 May 2017 <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=5&sid=7ed4aad4-5926-4982-956c-8595816af181%40sessionmgr103&hid=122>.

- Denise Thompson (2001) “Radical feminism today”. Viewed 15 February 2017
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=4&sid=d53563f7-fec9-4af6-956e-bf2f80a3306f%40sessionmgr4006&hid=4102&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUm c2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#AN=atoz.ebs1077444e&db=cat02271a>.
- Domestic Violence Law of the People's Republic of China (2015). Viewed 1 February 2017
<http://www.chinalawtranslate.com/%E5%8F%8D%E5%AE%B6%E5%BA%AD%E6%9A%B4%E5%8A%9B%E6%B3%95-2015/?lang=en>.
- Fireston, Shulamith (1970) “The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution”. Viewed 18 Mars 2017 <https://teoriaevolutiva.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/firestone-shulamith-dialectic-sex-case-feminist-revolution.pdf>.
- Felser Rakovec, Zlatka(2014) “Domestic Violence and Abuse in Intimate Relationship from Public Health Perspective”. Viewed 1 May 2017
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4768593/>.
- Ferree, Marx Marya & Tripp Mari Aili (2006) “Global Feminism Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights. University of Wisconsin Political Science.
- Globalis (2017)”Kina”. Viewed 1 February 2017
<http://www.globalis.se/Laender/Kina>.
- Golafshani, Nahid (2003) “Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research”. University of Toronto. Viewed 16 May 2017
<http://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1870&context=tqr>
- Greenhalgh, Susan (2012)’Patriarchal demographics? China’s sex ratio reconsidered’. Population and Development Review.
- Guo, Baogang (2014) “Virtue, Law and Chinese Political Tradition: Can the Past Predict the Future?”. Journal of Chinese Political Science.
- Halperin, Sandra & Heath, Oliver (2012)”Political research – Methods and practical skills”. Oxford university.
- Hu, Alice C (2016) “Half the Sky, But Not Yet Equal: China’s Feminist Movement” (August 22, 2016). Viewed 31 January 2017; <http://hir.harvard.edu/china-womens-rights/>.
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979).

- Itzin Catherine& Hanmer, Jalna (2002) "Home Truths about Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice : a Reader". Routledge.
- Kulacki, Gergor (2000) "Area Studies and Studies Abroad: The China Experience" . Pitzer College.
- Lanyan, Chen (2014) "Rural China's invisible women: a feminist political economy approach to food security". Socialist Studies.
- Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights (1992).
- Lee, Ching Kwan (1995) "Engendering the worlds of labor: Women workers, labor markets and production politics in the South China economic miracle". American Sociological Review.
- Lee Kim (2014) "Abuse, Fear and Shame in China". The New YOurk Time. Viewed 8 Mars 2017 https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/30/opinion/abuse-fear-and-shame-in-china.html?_r=0.
- Li, Minqi & Zhu, Andong (2004)" China's Public Services privatization and poverty reduction: Health care and education reform (privatization) in China and the impact on poverty". Beijing, China.
- Liebman , L. Benjamin (2014)" Legal Reform: China's Law-Stability Paradox". *Dædalus*, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.
- London Feminist Network (2017) "What is patriarchy". Viewed 16 May 2017 <http://londonfeministnetwork.org.uk/home/patriarchy>.
- Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China (1981). Viewed 1 February 2017 <http://jafbase.fr/docAsie/Chine/MarriageLaw.pdf>.
- Minzner, Carl. F (2011) "China's Turn Against Law". Fordham University School of Law.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (1988) "under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse". Duke University Press.
- Moxley Mitch (2010) "RIGHTS-CHINA:For Too Many, Domestic Violence Part of Family Life". Viewed 13 Janury 2017 <http://www.ipsnews.net/2010/10/rights-china-for-too-many-domestic-violence-part-of-family-life/>.
- Okin, Susan Moller (2002) "*Mångkulturalism - Kvinnor i kläm*". Sverige. Daidlos.
- Pascall, Gillian & Sung Shirin (2014) "Gender and Welfare States in East Asia: Confucianism or Gender Equality?". Palgrave Macmillan.

- Percy. R & Luney. JR (1989)"Traditions and Foreign Influences: Systems of Law in China and Japan". Duke Law School. China
- Parish, William L. Wang, Tianfu, Laumann, Edward O, Pan Suiming and Luo Ye (2004) "Intimate Partner Violence in China: National Prevalence, Risk Factors and Associated Health Problems". *International Family Planning Perspectives*. Viewed 4 February 2017 http://www.jstor.org/stable/1566491?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Peerenboom, Randall, Carole J. Petersen, and Albert H. Y. Chen (2006)' Human Rights in Asia: A Comparative Legal Study of Twelve Asian Jurisdictions'. London and New York.
- Rae Charles (2016) "The differences between Liberal and Radical Feminism". Viewed 23 Mars 2017
<http://thefifthcolumnnews.com/2016/01/liberal-v-radical-feminism/>.
 - Rauhala, Emily (2016) "Domestic abuse is thriving in China's culture of silence". The Washington Post. Viewed 15 September 2016
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/world/2016/05/02/china-domestic/>.
 - Regional Business News (2012)"Chinese Communist Party Female Delegates Hit Record". International Business Times. Viewed 7 February 2017
<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=7&sid=b46af251-3aae-4d44-8991-3b6b5283b639%40sessionmgr104&hid=121&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#AN=403390.20121109&db=bwh>.
 - Rättvisepartiet Socialisterna (2015)"Feminister frisläppta i Kina" . Viewed 31 January 2017. Brought from; <http://offensiv.socialisterna.org/sv/1147/internationellt/11461/>
 - Smith, K.M, Rhona (2012) 'Textbook on international human rights'. Fith edition. Oxford: New York.
 - Steans, Jill and Pettiford, Lloyd (2005) 'Introduction to international relarions-perspectives and Themse'.London. Longman
 - Stenberg, Leif (1999) "*Muslim i Sverige- Lära och liv*". Stockholm. Bilda förlag.
 - Su Fubing (2006) "Gender Inequality in Chinese Politics: An Empirical Analysis of Provincial Elites". Viewed 16 April 2017 <https://www-cambridge-org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/64DD00FEC31C3E9F3B68108329CC7F5D/S1743923X06060077a.pdf/div-class-title-gender-inequality-in-chinese-politics-an-empirical-analysis-of-provincial-elites-div.pdf>

- Tang, Catherine So-Kum (2007) “A review of empirical literature on the prevalence and risk markers of male-on-female intimate partner violence in contemporary China, 1987–2006”. Viewed 4 February 2017
<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1359178907000596>.
- Teng Pan, Hall j. Brian & Li Ling (2014) “The association between social resources and depression among female migrants affected by domestic violence”. Viewed 9 February 2017
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=8&sid=2af07adf-5f42-4849-9920-5075c2fd1483@sessionmgr4006&hid=4102>.
- The Lancet Kidney Campaign (2016) “Campaigning for kidney health”. Viewed 8 January 2017 [http://thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736\(16\)00688-7.pdf](http://thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736(16)00688-7.pdf).
- Thompson, C H (2013) “Feminist perspective of the family”. Viewed 23 Mars 2017
<https://sociologytwynham.com/2013/06/21/feminist-perspective-of-the-family-radical/>
- Tingting, Chen (2016) ‘Battling domestic violence in China’. East Asia Forum. Viewed 20 October 2016 <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/06/28/battling-domestic-violence-in-china/>.
- Tingting, Chen (2016) ‘China’s First Law Against Domestic Violence: It’s No Longer a Private Matter’. Viewed 20 October 2016 <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2016/01/20/chinas-first-law-against-domestic-violence-its-no-longer-a-private-matter/>
- United Nations (2006) “Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Frequently asked questions on a human rights-based approach to development cooperation”. New York and Geneva. available at:
<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf>.
- United Nations (2014) Report of the Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice .Viewed 6 October 2016
<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/048/36/PDF/G1404836.pdf?OpenElement> .

- Verfaillie, *Nina* (2013) “The Connection Between Poverty and Domestic Violence”. Viewed 8 February 2017
<http://www.borgenmagazine.com/connection-poverty-domestic-violence/>.>
- World health organization (2016)” Intimate partner violence”. Viewed 3 February 2017
http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77432/1/WHO_RHR_12.36_eng.pdf.
- World health organization (2016) “Violence against women- Intimate partner and sexual violence against women”. Viewed 4 February 2017
<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs239/en/>.>
- Xie, Kevin (2014) ‘The Missing Girls From China Reforms Are Too Little’. Viewed 3 January 2017
<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=5&sid=575fd637-cd35-48ff-afee-9324965bacdf%40sessionmgr106&hid=111.>
- Xingjuan Wang (1999) “ Why are Beijing women beaten by their husbands? A case analysis of family violence in Beijing”. Maple women’s counseling center, Beijing. Viewed 8 February 2017
<http://journals.sagepub.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/doi/pdf/10.1177/10778019922183480.>
- Yang, Yu (2015) ‘Chinese Legislators Stepping Up Efforts in Law against Domestic Violence’. All-China Women’s Federation. Viewed 20 October 2017
http://www.womenofchina.cn/womenofchina/html1/special/Beijing_world_conference_on_women/1509/1561-1.htm.
- Yu, Mei-Yu and Sarri Rosemary (1997)” Women's health status and gender inequality in China”. University of Michigan. Room.
- Zeng, Benxiang (2014) “Women 's Political Participation in China: Improved or Not?”. Journal of International Women's Studies. Viewed 8 Mars 2017
<http://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1739&context=jiws.>
- Zhao, Jun (2015) “China and the Uneasy Case for Universal Human Rights”. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

