

“Hunnao” : a glimpse into Chinese patriarchy

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Abstract

"Hunnao"(婚闹) emerged in China during the pre-Qin period (221 B.C.) and has evolved ever since as a distinctive Chinese wedding tradition. It is a form of wedding entertainment retained by Chinese folk since ancient times. Patriarchy has happened over many centuries, which has a great influence on the "hunnao". The main goal of this paper is a theory of Chinese patriarchy to analyze whether there is a relationship between male violence against women in "hunnao" and Chinese patriarchy. The paper's sources are reports about "hunnao" on two Chinese media platforms CHINANEWS.COM and Weibo. Furthermore, interview data were collected to analyze the change in women's status in patriarchy. The method used for the material is qualitative data analysis. This paper mainly takes Santos and Harrell's exposition of Chinese patriarchy as the theoretical framework. The study found that the increase in male violence against women in "hunnao" was due to the profound influence of Chinese patriarchy. The reason why various social subjects are more and more sensitive to this issue is the change of gender status in China's patriarchy and the improvement of women's self-consciousness. This trend is conducive to China's efforts to achieve gender equality.

Keywords: "hunnao"(婚闹); patriarchy; women's rights; CHINANEWS.COM(中国新闻网); Weibo;

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1. Introduction

"Hunnao"(婚闹) is a traditional Chinese marriage custom. It has been found in texts dating as far back as the pre-Qin dynasty(221 B.C.) and has been adopted by young Chinese marriage partners. The following will discuss what other traditional Chinese culture is causing harm to women; the basic content of "hunnao"; the definition of violence and sexual violence and a brief introduction to the connection between violence, sexual violence, and "hunnao".

There are many typical cases of "hunnao" on CHINANEWS.COM and Weibo, two websites that specialize in reporting on relevant social phenomena. These cases are often written by professional journalists and news reporters or by people who have witnessed "hunnao" and posted their eyewitness account on the website. The typical "hunnao" case often takes the form of a woman(mostly the bridesmaids) being injured to varying degrees.

With the emergence of these cases, "hunnao" is attracting more and more attention and comment in society (Li, 2018). Meanwhile, through my interviews with six female interviewees, I found that Chinese women are aware that more and more women are vulnerable to being hurt by "hunnao", and this phenomenon is a kind of violence by men against women. This awareness is conducive to accelerating the promotion of Chinese women's status under the patriarchy system and promoting the development of gender equality in China. This paper will use the theory of Chinese patriarchy to analyze the reasons for the increase of male-female violence and sexual violence in "hunnao". And the increasing sensitivity of various sectors of society to the phenomenon of violence against women in "hunnao".

1.1 Research questions

The main research question of this paper is whether there is a relationship between male violence against women in "hunnao" and Chinese patriarchy. It consists of three sub-questions:

1. Is male violence against women and sexual violence on the increase in "hunnao"?

2. Why is male violence against women and sexual violence on the rise in "hunnao"?
3. Why are various sectors of society more and more sensitive to "hunnao" cases?

If the answer to the main research question is yes. Therefore, the change of gender status of Chinese men and women and women's self-awareness of the patriarchy system reflected by "hunnao" in the sub-questions are important. Therefore, patriarchy and relevant data collected will be used to analyze the two sub-problems in this paper.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

After having introduced "hunnao" and presented the research questions in chapter one, the second chapter is the literature review that discusses research gaps in existing fields, the topics to explain the background for "hunnao" and the definition of violence and sexual violence, and a brief introduction to the connection between violence, sexual violence, and "hunnao". The third chapter introduces the methods of data collection, limitations, and ethical considerations. Especially the latter, because of the sensitive data collection method of interview. The fourth chapter introduces the theory that used in this paper, namely Chinese patriarchy. The fifth chapter will analyze the male violence against women in the "hunnao" relationship with Chinese patriarchy and the collected data(cases and interview data). The sixth chapter is the conclusion.

2. Literature review

2.1 Other traditional customs in China are harmful to women

Through browsing the English academic website(Google Academic and Lund University Library) and the Chinese academic website Knowledge(知网) (cnki.net), there are many articles on academic websites that study the violation of other traditional Chinese customs against Chinese women. This custom may be reflected in the violation of women's marriage(child brides --童养媳), women's body(foot binding -- 缠足) and women's consciousness(female durban --女德班). But there has been less research on male aggression toward women in "hunnao".

Li wrote about the phenomenon of child brides in China in an article titled "A Study on the Names of Child brides in Modern China" (Li, 2016). The term "child bride" refers to a woman who adopts a baby girl, or a young girl by the parents of the boy and gets married formally after reaching adulthood, legal age, or normal marriage age (Li, 2016). Hu believes that this marriage system is a very abnormal form of marriage, full of a backward and barbaric atmosphere, in which women are a kind of commodity and slave (Hu, 2008). This system greatly infringes upon women's right to freedom of marriage.

Hou and Zhao wrote about the phenomenon of 'foot binding' in China in an article titled 'Provincial Transformation of Foot Binding Women and Analysis of Marriage and Family Life' (Hou & Zhao, 2015). "Footbinding" is a phenomenon in ancient China in which women bind their feet tightly with cloth since infancy, and the bones become smaller to satisfy the aesthetic taste of men (Hou & Zhao, 2015). In other articles, Ding points out that "foot binding" is out of fashion, but mothers still do it to their daughters in some areas. Because some people still cling to the traditional thinking, believe that small feet(小脚) are worth pursuing (Ding, 2020). Such behavior does great harm to women's bodies and their right to health.

Zhang wrote about the emergence of a 'female Durban' in China in an article titled 'Good or Bad for a Female Durban' (Zhang, 2016). In the past decade, with the

emphasis on the return, revival, and promotion of traditional culture, the 'female Durban' began to appear (Zhang, 2016). In other articles, Lin argues that 'Female Durban' is a curriculum that promotes male superiority, promotes male chauvinism, and believes that female characteristics should be attached to men (Lin, 2020). Such courses greatly infringe upon women's self-consciousness and subjectivity and denigrate women's self-worth in social space.

In the meantime, I found that some of the academic articles on the English academic website were devoted to the study of traditional Chinese customs, but few were devoted to the Chinese "hunnao" custom. At the same time, in the Chinese academic website for the "hunnao" research is basically focused on two aspects, respectively, "hunnao" introduction and criticism.

The first type of article is the introductory article. For example, in 2018, China Toponym Journal published two articles titled Wedding Custom across China and Wedding Custom with Chinese Characteristics (*Chinese place names*, 2018)(*Chinese place names*, 2008). And an article titled Research on Chinese Traditional Marriage Custom was published by Gao at Drama House (Gao, 2017).

The second kind of article is the critical article. For example, Zhang published an article in the Democracy and Legal Times entitled "hunnao" as a disguise for indecent means should not be punished by the law (Zhang, 2017). And Zhu published an article in the Journal of Family Happiness entitled "hunnao" that cannot be separated from the legal framework (Zhu, 2018).

The theoretical results of the first kind of articles are mainly some basic introductions of Chinese "hunnao". The theoretical results of the second kind of article are mainly that the behavior of "hunnao" in China should be regulated by law rather than allowed to develop. As "hunnao" gets more and more attention, it is important to study the causes and what influences this phenomenon of male violence against women in "hunnao". At the same time, with the increase of the exposure of "hunnao" events, all kinds of social subjects are more and more sensitive to "hunnao" events. It is also important to study this reason.

2.2 The definition of "hunnao", how it evolved and why it appeared

"Hunnao" is unique to Chinese marriage tradition, as one of the main research objects of this paper, it needs to be defined, the causes, the process of change to explain it to facilitate readers to have some cognition of it.

Chinese traditional culture is long-standing, profound and is traditional Chinese wedding customs are one of them (Gao, 2017). "Hunnao" usually refers to the marriage of both parties(the bride and groom) and marriage stakeholders(the bride and groom's relatives and friends) on the wedding day to take a form of celebration of the wedding (Xu, 2018). "Hunnao" was originally formed to help the bride and groom harmonize and express the best wishes of their guests. At the same time to increase the wedding festival elements, but also let the bride and groom retain good memories, is a good thing into a pair of happy things(好事成双) (Li, 2017). This traditional marriage custom is characterized by the importance of etiquette and disdainful love (重礼轻爱), noblemen, and humble women values(男尊女卑) (Bao, 2006).

The custom of "hunnao" is seemingly simple, but it has a long history and strong influence. In terms of influence, it can be said that it is throughout all regions and ethnic groups in the country, and in terms of time, it runs through the process of social development in China (Xu, 2018).

"Hunnao" in the pre-Qin period(221 B.C.) was a traditional wedding custom used to promote the feelings of shy newlyweds due to the lack of premarital contact in feudal times. There was a saying that "no Musical Instruments for three days"(三日不举乐) (Li, 2017)(Jiang, 2009). In the Han Dynasty(202 B.C.-220 A.D.), due to the improvement of people's living standards, people began to conduct the "hunnao" custom to make the wedding happier (Xu, 2018). In the Ming Dynasty(1368 -- 1644), the custom of "hunnao" was called "Xueqin"(谑亲) (Xu, 2018). In the Northern Dynasty(1386-1618), as well as the Sui and Tang Dynasties, it was popular to "da"(打) the groom with a wooden stick after the groom returned to the bride's home (Xu, 2018). In the Tang Dynasty(1618-1907), not only the husband's family members, relatives and friends had the right to tease the bride in the custom of "hunnao", but

also many strangers could participate in it (Xu, 2018). During the Qing Dynasties (1636-1912), "hunnao" became more popular, and people had the habit of looking at the bride when holding a wedding. During the wedding, relatives, friends, men, women, and children come to see the bride for days on end (Zhu, 1999). Since modern times(after the middle of the 19th century), the main object of "hunnao" has gradually changed from the past "nao"(闹) brides to "nao" bridesmaids, and now the vast majority of men's violence against women in "hunnao" bridesmaids also comes from "nao" bridesmaids. The "hunnao" was even more severe than usual because the bridesmaids were far from or did not know the men involved (Xu, 2018).

In traditional China, the typical "hunnao" has about three main reasons: (1). To drive away evil spirits(驱灾辟邪): On the wedding day, there will be ghosts(鬼怪) to stop the couple, which can be understood as "people do not interfere but ghosts will interfere", so people use the form of "hunnao" to drive away from the ghosts (Xu, 2018). For example, the custom of 'relatives and friends eavesdropping outside the wedding room(听房)', which still exists in modern "hunnao", is one way (Li & Yu, 2000). (2). Eliminate the embarrassment(消除尴尬): In the past, the "hunnao" custom was designed to take away the awkwardness of a bride and groom meet for the first time with little games (Xu, 2018). At the same time, in traditional societies, sexual culture is shunned because "sexual desire is shameful"(万恶淫为首) (Wang, 1998). In "hunnao", participants use suggestive songs, games, and telling friends and family secrets about relationships (Ruo, 1986)(Yang, 2007). Help the bride and groom feel free of shame when it comes to sex. (3). Let the future flourish(越闹越兴旺): The process of "hunnao" can make the relatives and friends of the bride and groom get familiar with each other quickly and promote the harmony of the whole "big family"(大家庭) (Xu, 2018). By "hunnao", the wedding becomes more lively, implying that the future days will be as energetic as the wedding day, and the future will be more prosperous (Xu, 2018).

2.3 The definition of violence and sexual violence

Different definitions of violence against women make sense. The use of different definitions may have different effects on the attitudes of professionals, on the handling of women-related violence, and both victims and perpetrators. Meanwhile, one of the research objects of this paper is the male-female violence in "hunnao". Therefore, it is important to choose an appropriate definition, which can facilitate the definition of whether the victimization of women in "hunnao" is a violent act.

The United Nations General Assembly issued a definition of violence against women in 1993. Violence against women can be defined as any gender-based act that may cause physical, sexual, psychological, or painful harm to women (Derdar, 2017). Such behavior includes threats, coercion, or any deprivation of liberty, and occurs in the public sphere or private life (Derdar, 2017). There are two main forms, the first is associated with physical abuse, and the second may be associated with humiliation and other types that may affect a women's psychological integrity (Derdar, 2017). This is the universally accepted definition of violence against women in the world.

There are specific definitions of violence against women in Chinese academic studies. Chinese can express a broader definition of violence against women by using local idioms and terms, such as abuse of women, assault on women, and violence against women (Tang et al. 2002). So professionals in different Chinese societies define violence against women differently, because these societies while sharing a common cultural heritage, have undergone different social, economic, and political changes (Tang et al. 2002). Such as Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong violence against women have a wider range of definitions, this definition is more likely to use mental damage, mental damage, and infringement of women as criteria to judge acts of violence against women, and the Chinese from mainland China for word definitions and more narrow, more inclined to use physical harm to as decision criteria (Tang et al. 2002: 675). This is because Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong have a more liberal view of the role of women in society than Chinese from mainland China, where they have stereotyped views of women (Tang et al. 2002). At the same time, men differ

from women when considering how to define violence against women, with women more likely than men to cite both psychological harm and physical aggression as important criteria for this definition (Tang et al. 2002). The comparison shows that the UN definition of violence against women overlaps with the Chinese definition from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Both agreed that women's mental state and physical health were important criteria for judging violence against women. Therefore, this paper will use this broad definition to simply define whether some specific forms of "hunnao" conform to violence against women.

In "hunnao", male sexual violence against females is a typical form of expression, so the definition of sexual violence needs to be elaborated separately. At the same time, the status quo and influencing factors of the development of sexual violence in China are briefly introduced.

According to the World Health Organization(WHO), sexual violence refers to any sexual act, attempted sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or sexual assault, or coercion to a sexual act through selling, transporting, or otherwise targeting a person (Chan, 2009). Sexual violence is both a human rights violation and a public health problem that occurs in a variety of cultures and many Settings (Chan, 2009). Sexual violence is a health-related problem that not only increases the risk factor for various sexual health problems, but also affects the mental health of victims (Nasrin, et al., 2020). This behavior may occur in any situation, including but not limited to family and workplace (Chan, 2009). This means that anyone, regardless of their relationship with the victim, can use psychological intimidation, physical violence, or threats of harm against the victim (Chan, 2009). The types of acts considered sexual violence vary from country to country, but generally include rape and involuntary sexual contact(regardless of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim) (Chan, 2009). The terms "rape", "sexual assault", "sexual abuse" and "sexual violence" have overlapping meanings and are often used interchangeably in reports and documents (Chan, 2009).

Sexual violence exists all over the world, and the overall pattern of sexual violence is that women are subjected to more sexual violence than men (Nasrin, et al., 2020). At

the same time, China has a fast growth rate in the world, with an average of 196 women victims of male sexual violence for every 100,000 types of people (Nasrin, et al., 2020). It is reported that about 25% of women have experienced some form of sexual harassment (Tang et al., 1996). In a large online survey conducted by Sina.com on sexual harassment in mainland China, 60 percent of the 8,282 respondents said they had been sexually harassed (Chan, 2009). A recent study conducted by the All-China Women's Federation(中华全国妇女联合会) showed that about 70% of the women surveyed reported having been sexually harassed (Peng, 2005). The nature of sexual violence depends on cultural norms (Nasrin, et al., 2020). Influenced by cultural factors and values, violence against women is often the result of the rise of unequal power between men and women (Nasrin, et al., 2020). Can be described as a form of power-based abuse of vulnerable victims (Chan, 2009). Traditional beliefs and gender attitudes about women and their appropriate gender roles encourage violence against women (Brownmiller,1975)(Pollard,1992)(Sanday,1981).Thus, women, children, and employees are the most likely potential victims, while men, parents or caregivers, and employers are the most likely potential abusers (Chan, 2009). For China, sexual stigmatization reflects the patriarchal worship of female chastity in the cultural construction of sexual abuse in China (Luo, 1998)(Luo, 2000). One of the cultural norms that influence the nature of sexual violence in China is patriarchy in China, which will be explained as an important theoretical basis for this paper in the following sections.

2.4 Brief introduction to the connection between violence, sexual violence and "hunnao"

In the ancient "hunnao", there were some sexual behaviors. For example, sometimes after playing the game set in "hunnao", the bride is asked to remove the silk scarf on her head and show her face to the public to satisfy the guests' curiosity about the bride (Yang, 2007). Similar situations also exist in some ethnic minorities. In the Bai nationality, "hunnao", guests pinch the bride's body in the chaos of the scene and are

not allowed to yell, even if she is in great pain (Xu, 2018). And the groom will be driven out of the door or voluntarily leave the room, leaving only the bride and the guests to participate in the "hunnao", and the guests will be free to flirt with the bride through words and actions, so indecent acts against brides are also common (Xu, 2018). In the Tujia ethnic group(土家族), the head(土司) of the Tujia ethnic group enjoys the right of virginity(初夜权) over all the girls under his rule (Xu, 2018). After the bride and groom complete the wedding ceremony, the head of the Tujia ethnic group will drive the groom out of the house that night and sleep with the bride (Xu, 2018). Although this phenomenon has disappeared in the "hunnao" of the Tujia ethnic group, it once existed. This is a very special custom for a certain type of community that is usually ruled by an authoritarian ruler with absolute power; and it has been done all over the world, for example, in Scotland. But this article focuses only on the Chinese phenomenon.

The "hunnao" phenomenon is more serious today, and it takes two forms (Yang, 2019). The first is to humiliate the bridesmaids, make a fool of themselves in some way to make the atmosphere of the scene more lively (Zhang, 2018). The other is the sexual shaming of the male against the female in "hunnao", by forcing her to perform certain sexually interesting acts or by touching the bridesmaid's private body parts (Zhang, 2018)(Luan, 2018).

Through the elaboration of violence and sexual violence, it can be seen that in ancient times, women were physically assaulted by men in "hunnao". The hand device(用手掐) was a violent way to physically abuse women, while the leader's right to virginity for newly married women was a kind of sexual violence against women. In modern times, women in "hunnao" are not only physically attacked by men, but they are also subjected to abusive behaviors by men that violate the psychological integrity of women in a violent manner. Specific cases and their manifestations will be presented as analytical materials in the last chapter.

3. Method

In this paper, the collection method of relevant cases and the recording method of interview content are open coding (Bryman, 2016: 576-577). When collecting data and organizing interview materials, I coded relevant materials with keywords, including "hunnao", man's violence against women, and women's status. Then the case and interview data related to the keywords are recorded and analyzed. The material was then filtered and extracted using open coding, the interview data were summarized and coded while selecting appropriate cases, and the coded material was finally used for analysis.

3.1 Data collection

There are two main types of data used in this paper. The first type of data is the raw data collected from 6 interviews I conducted online in the period from March to April. The second type of data is five cases I collected from CHINANNEWS.COM and five cases I collected from Weibo. The last type of auxiliary data is the laws and regulations related to the protection of women's rights in China mentioned by interviewees. The reliability analysis of the two electronic platforms selected in this paper and the websites selected for laws and regulations will be described in the following part.

Type of data collection

Interview data:

I interviewed six respondents who were interested in researching "hunnao" as a traditional practice, and I found them through the Internet. Initially, I tried to find some interviewees on some "hunnao" related forums. Ask web users who have posted "hunnao" related content on forums if they would like to be interviewed about this thesis research. In consideration of moral requirements, I first fully explained to them the purpose and significance of this thesis research and informed them that I would pay full attention to their privacy. But most of them are refused. Finally, I switched to

an electronic platform to find interviewees. Users who have published content related to "hunnao" can also be found on Weibo. In the same way, as in the forum, ask them if they'd like a short interview after detailing the situation. I started to find 15 suitable interviewees through Weibo, and finally, 8 of them agreed to the interview through inquiry, and then 2 of them stopped the interview because they have their own issues to deal with(they didn't have enough time for an interview). Therefore, the interview contents of 6 people were used as the analysis data in this thesis. With the global spread of corona-virus, it is not appropriate to conduct on-the-spot interviews in China, so all interviews are conducted via WeChat phone calls and video. Through the first part of the interview questions practice, it is feasible to use a WeChat voice phone and video call for the interview, so still, use these two methods in the second part and the follow-up interview. By asking the interviewees for their opinions, they agreed to tape and record the interview. Therefore, the interview content is finally taped and recorded in real-time, which is anonymous. Their real names will not be recorded in the interviews, and because they are not at Lund university, all interview contents will be deleted immediately after this research is completed. Each interview lasts about half an hour. Because the English literature on the subject of "hunnao" is very few. However, in Chinese literature, most of the literature focuses on the origin of "hunnao" rather than studying the reasons why women are vulnerable to male violence in the custom of "hunnao" and why there are more and more sensitive cases. Therefore, the purpose of this interview is mainly to collect first-hand information about female urban residents' views on "hunnao" and their views on the change of women's status in China. The format of the interviews was semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews were used because they require a fairly clear focus at the time of the survey and can generate new questions based on the interviewees' responses (Bryman, 2016). I used this interview method because I wanted to study the subject of the "hunnao" from the beginning and became aware of the close relationship between the "hunnao" and patriarchy during the interview.

Part I: General questions.

1. personal data: age, gender, educational background, whether you are married or not.

2. "hunnao": Have you ever been to a wedding? Is there a "hunnao" part in the wedding you attended?

Part 2: Questions related to "hunnao".

1. Do you know about the traditional Chinese custom of "hunnao"? Have you ever seen the live situation of "hunnao"?

2. What was your first impression of "hunnao"?

3. Do you know the role of bridesmaids in "hunnao"? What kind of role do you think they have?

Part 3: Follow-up interview questions.

1. Do you think bridesmaids are becoming more and more vulnerable to male violence and sexual violence in "hunnao"?

2. What do you think of the boundaries of gender? What do you think about the gender boundaries in "hunnao"? Do you think "hunnao" has crossed the gender line to some extent now?

3. Do you think parents, men, and society have higher requirements for women and women before marriage than men in terms of sex?

4. Do you think the status of women in China has changed? If so, do you think the status of women has improved in the process of change? If so, what do you think is driving the rise in women's status?

The cases from CHINANEWS.COM and Weibo

The case platforms selected in this paper are respectively CHINANEWS.COM and Weibo. Through the search of the keyword "hunnao", all the events are screened preliminary, and then some related events that are too long in time are excluded by chronological sorting. Finally, five events on two platforms are selected as the analysis materials of this paper. The final selection of the sample shall be made according to the following requirements when screening the sample:

1. In this case, the target of injury is female(bridesmaids);

2. In the case, there are cases where the male has obviously infringed on the female. For example, in the case of a man touching a women's body too intimately. There are also cases in which women's rights have been infringed indirectly by man's actions. The reliability of platforms selected and cases will be explained below.

Auxiliary data

In addition, auxiliary data will be used along with relevant case and interview data. These supplementary laws and regulations have been formulated and implemented in China to protect the rights of Chinese women. They are the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Women(中华人民共和国妇女权益保障法), the crime of rape and the crime of forced indecency(强奸罪), insult and indecency against children in the Criminal Law(强制猥亵、侮辱罪、猥亵儿童罪) (The National People's Congress, n.d.). In addition, there are many laws and regulations protecting women's rights in China, but this paper only selects the laws and regulations mentioned by the two interviewees for a brief analysis.

3.2 Reliability

The interviewees sought this article. First of all, they are women who have participated in "hunnao" in different parts of China, but not have been assaulted by men in "hunnao". Women who have participated in "hunnao" have more authentic and credible understandings and feelings about this traditional Chinese custom. Secondly, these six interviewees are all women with bachelor's degrees or above. Those who have received higher education can maintain an objective attitude to explain their views on interview questions. All the interviewees were women with a strong interest in "hunnao" and had a rich understanding of "hunnao" and women's issues in all aspects before the interview. This means that their views are not fabricated out of thin air, but based on certain "hunnao" phenomena and the knowledge of women's status and thinking. During the interview, when the six interviewees expressed their answers

that might be ambiguous, they were asked to verify them at the right time or asked the same question from another Angle to obtain verification information.

CHINANEWS.COM, referred to as "China News Net", is sponsored by China News Service (CHINANEWS.COM, n.d.). China News Service(CNS) is a national news agency in China with foreign reports as its main news business. It is an international news agency mainly serving overseas Chinese, compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan as well as foreigners with ties to China (CHINANEWS.COM, n.d.). The site's page describes the business in four words: authoritative, objective, plain and quick (CHINANEWS.COM, n.d.). The type of enterprise is a state-owned economic unit(non-legal person) (AIQICHA, n.d.). It can be seen that the website is a state-owned enterprise, which means that all the news reports on the website need to be verified by the central government of China and can be published for Internet users to browse after the authenticity of the case is determined. At the same time, due to the nature of state-owned enterprises, journalists who report on this website are professional and qualified for news reporting. They can avoid adding personal feelings in news reporting, which will lead to strong subjectivity in case reporting, which can guarantee the objectivity of the case. Therefore, it is reliable to select cases related to "hunnao" on the website as the analysis materials of this paper.

The number of followers of the Weibo accounts that published the "hunnao" event selected in this article is in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands, which means that the authenticity of the "hunnao" event published by these accounts is supervised and censored by a large number of fans. Therefore, publishers will maintain an objective attitude and pay attention to the authenticity of the case when releasing the "hunnao" incident, in case fans find the false content and report it to the authorities. At the same time, these accounts are all marked with yellow V(黄 v), which means that the accounts have been officially authenticated, proving that these accounts and the published ones are officially recognized. Finally, the "hunnao" cases I chose to post on Weibo are all cases with text descriptions, scene pictures, or videos at the same time. When selecting such cases, I fully paid attention to the fact that the

pictures or videos were not modified by professional software to ensure the authenticity of the materials and enhance the reliability of the selected case materials. The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China(中华人民共和国全国人民代表大会) is the highest organ of state power in China. The laws and regulations used in this paper are found on the official website set up by this institution, which has strong authority and reliability.

3.3 Limitations and ethical considerations

The data in this paper are limited. Although WeChat voice and video interviews can save the cost, the number of people interviewed and the number of case samples are very limited, and data analysis is not done through a large number of data and cases. Therefore, on this basis, I carefully analyzed the collected interview data and case samples to ensure the true meaning expressed by the interviewees and the authenticity and representative of the cases.

This paper used the semi-structured interview to collect interview data, this involves ethical and moral issues. Ethical principles include four points, which are whether harm is caused to the participants (respondents) of the study, whether there is a lack of informed consent from the respondents, whether there is a violation of the respondents' privacy, and whether there is deception involved in the respondents (Bryman, 2016).

During the interview, I considered the first moral principle. I tried to avoid talking about topics that were too sensitive and too stressful. For example, avoid asking questions that may cause psychological harm to interviewees, so that interviewers can conduct interviews in a completely relaxed situation. The interview questions stayed general and I only talked to people who were not victims of "hunnao". Then I took into consideration the second moral principle, which was to fully explain the content, purpose, and significance of the research to the interviewees before the interview. Also, ask for their permission before the interview. I did not use covert methods to induce the interviewee to behave in a way that might be condemned or hurtful during

the sub-recording. Also, I asked for the interviewee's consent before recording. Then I considered the third ethical principle, which is to always protect the privacy of the interviewee during the interview, not to involve the interviewee's name or ID number, and to delete the interview after the paper is completed - nice.

The anonymity of the interviewees is protected at all times, and it is not advisable to ask any questions that involve personal privacy. Finally, I considered a fourth ethical principle, not to deceive the interviewees during the interview process, and to truthfully inform the interviewees of the use of the interview content collected from them. During the interview, the interviewees should be told truthfully about the questions they will be interviewed, and they should not change any interview questions after the interview.

All the cases used in this article are public and can be found on CHINANNEWS.COM and Weibo, two public electronic platforms.

4. Theory framework

The main research questions and two sub-research questions of this paper are related to the development process of patriarchy in China. Patriarchy has existed in China for many centuries. Patriarchy still exists in the development of Chinese society, but in the process of development, the gender roles of men and women are also changing. Patriarchy began to form in ancient China. The following will analyze the definition and basic content of patriarchy from a historical perspective. Then it explains how women in the patriarchal system view premarital sexual behavior and their own sexual experience. Finally, it explains the status quo and reasons for the improvement of women's social status and self-awareness, and autonomy in the patriarchal system.

4.1 Definition and form of expression in Chinese patriarchy

Santos and Harrell believe that the definition of patriarchy can be understood as two inequalities, namely the inequality between generations and the inequality between genders (Santos & Harrell, 2017: 4) . Kandiyot specifically explained that patriarchy is a system in which the young are dominated by the old in generation terms and the female is dominated by the male in gender terms (Santos & Harrell, 2017). They believe that this system is a kind of social organization, in which the father or the elderly male is the head of the family, the blood relationship and kinship are calculated by the male family, and the male occupies the dominant position of power and influence in the society, and the cultural values and norms are favorable to the male (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This method of counting by male family blood and kinship results in the exclusion of women from hereditary and property inheritance (Santos & Harrell, 2017). The male-dominated gender system is also a system of prestige, discourse, and practice (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Construct the status of men and women in society according to their different roles and meanings and prestige (Santos & Harrell, 2017). In terms of gender, men's prestige is higher than women's. This phenomenon stems from the power endowed to men by the economic

distribution, system formulation, and ideological basis in the patriarchy (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This prestige is reflected in the family as young males can inherit the position of head of the family and the family property (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Outside the family, the patriarchal kinship relationship and men's monopoly in public power positions are reflected (Santos & Harrell, 2017). As a result, men form a superior ideology in society, and their status surpasses that of women (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This means that the patriarchal society is a state of male domination, in which men have more power in almost all areas of the society (Santos & Harrell, 2017). For example, in the division of labor between the sexes, men are generally responsible for inside, heavy, and skilled works in the society, while women are responsible for outside, light, and unskilled work (Santos & Harrell, 2017: 13). This leaves young women with limited economic autonomy, little recognition for their work, and a low social status both within and outside the family (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

Thus, the male prestige system in the patriarchal society dominated by men originates from gender inequality (men's status is higher than that of women), which deeply influences the daily life affairs and social division of labor of men and women.

4.2 Sexual requirements for women before marriage in patriarchy in China

Zavoretti summarized the attitudes of women toward sexual behavior and problems related to sex before marriage, with women avoiding or hiding sexual problems related to themselves before marriage. This attitude is based on Zavoretti's generalization of being the best woman until you find the best man as a marriage partner, and the best woman should avoid sex. This is the embodiment of women adapting to patriarchal practices and values for pragmatic, ideological, and ethical reasons (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Here are five reasons why women choose to avoid or hide:

- (1). Parents level: Most parents want their daughters to avoid sex until they get married (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Because if sex can be avoided or hidden before

marriage, then daughters are desirable in their eyes and their parents are respectable in the eyes of other social subjects (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

(2). women's dimensions: women's subjectivity and self-worth seem to be closely linked to their reproductive roles as wives and mothers in the patriarchal system (Santos & Harrell, 2017). The woman herself believes that as a woman, her position in the marriage market will decline over time (Santos & Harrell, 2017). So if you want to be the best wife and find the best husband or not decline in the marriage market, you need to avoid sex before marriage in order to satisfy the following male view of women before marriage.

(3). Male mindset: Many young people want to marry someone who hasn't had a sexual partner before or hasn't had a sexual life, and they believe that sex is only allowed after engagement (Santos & Harrell, 2017). There is a proper term for this in China called "virgin complex"(处女情结).

(4). Social aspects: the society for the pre-marriage women's sexual problems and sexual behavior requirements are quite strict. In the workplace, professional women need to maintain a decent image, so many women choose to avoid nightclubs because they are generally considered to be chaotic places where promiscuous people seek one-night stands (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Among socially acceptable, socially acceptable intimate relationships are those in which women are mostly expected to marry and have sex when they reach legal age (Santos & Harrell, 2017). But society has different requirements for men and women to engage in premarital sex. While it is widely believed that young men should try to talk about their sexuality, young, unmarried women are more cautious about their sex lives (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

(5). Country aspects: The state still considers marriage to be the only legal venue for sexual activity (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Although reform-era publications targeted young people and promoted "sexual gratification as a big bonus of the reform program," they reminded the same young readers that they should exercise restraint (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Because being a wife and mother is often considered a women's destiny, premarital sex is irresponsible behavior that is potentially dangerous

to young women's physical and mental health (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

Under such multi-faceted demands, while some women do exhibit a more provocative image, this is largely seen as a challenge to tradition, and such excesses may only be acceptable in other, more open societies (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

4.3 The changing process of women's status in Chinese patriarchy

After the reform and opening up, sex has become more and more open in China. At the same time, with the international attention on women's rights and Chinese women's rights, the reason for the gradual strengthening of Chinese individualization is that women's self-awareness and autonomy have been gradually improved. The improvement of this awareness makes the status of Chinese women rise in the patriarchal system, and improves the gender status difference between men and women in China to some extent.

(1). The openness of "sex": After the reform and opening up, China's ideas about dating and sex have undergone fundamental changes and become more open (Santos & Harrell, 2017). There are still some reservations about discussing sex openly, but these reservations are no longer as strong as they used to be (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This shows that after China's reform and opening up, women are no longer unable to discuss "sex" as before.

(2). Promotion by international organizations: incorporation of women's human rights concerns into the international human rights framework at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). It was re-emphasized by the United Nations in 1995 (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). It has contributed to the development of global gender equality and the focus of relevant institutions on women's rights (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). In the same year, the women's Conference was held in China, and the influence of the United Nations became an integral part of the Chinese women's movement, leading some Chinese activists to redefine gender inequality as a human rights issue (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). The dissemination of global and local human rights norms is essentially a process of education, and also a social

movement for "cognitive practice" (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). The construction of such knowledge is not a top-down education process but is shaped by activists themselves in the context of international interaction (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). This involves a network of local civil society actors and supportive politicians (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). Such networks have enabled popular women's organizations in China to address a wide range of gender inequality issues and to organize activities for different social classes and groups by providing networks (Cecilia & Bu, 2007). Thus, the UN's definition of women's rights as human rights reinforces the understanding of the discriminatory practices of Chinese activists challenging the mainstream gender order. At the same time, the United Nations' emphasis on women's rights led to the emergence of various women's organizations in China to protect women's rights, such as All-China women's Federation.

(3). Enhancement of individuation: The concept of individuation describes a structural shift in social institutions and the relationships between individuals and society (Li, 2014). Great changes have taken place in Chinese society since the reform and opening up. Two of the most profound changes are the rise of individuals in both the public and private spheres, and the resulting individualization of Chinese society itself (Yan, 2009). The transformation of Chinese cities from a socially isolated and restrictive world to a more open and mobile society is reflected in many ways (Santos & Harrell, 2017). For example, greater tolerance of privacy and individuality, encouraging the only-child generation to develop themselves (develop self-esteem, protect dignity), and greater emphasis on the expression of interpersonal subjectivity (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This emerging value of personal expression helps to weaken women's attachment to men in patriarchal systems, i.e. women need to satisfy men's interests (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

These three points have brought about some changes in the gender roles and status of men and women in China's patriarchy system. Nowadays, women have begun to accept more and more individualism and the protection of their rights from infringement, from the desire to obtain material and social resources to the realization of social expectations, to the proof of self-worth (Santos & Harrell, 2017). In the case

of marriage, for example, women realize that married life is no longer centered around the husband's willingness to provide financial support and the wife's willingness to obey the husband's relationship pattern, but is based on mutual respect and appreciation (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Women began to gain more and more power in marital relationships by effectively using intimacy as bargaining power, for example through "divorce" (Santos & Harrell, 2017). They become aware of their rights and demand that men achieve emotional equality and do not accept complete control or domination by one partner over the other (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Outside of marital values, they are not helpless and silently victimized (Santos & Harrell, 2017). They develop strategies to improve their lot and gain some autonomy for themselves (Santos & Harrell, 2017). These forces and women's voices may be suppressed and behaviors may be deprived in a conservative, patriarchal society (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This has resulted in men feeling more conflicted and less secure in the family and society than before (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Some men are beginning to disbelieve that men as a social category are the "intellectually superior sex" (Santos & Harrell, 2017).

Generally speaking, although China is still in a male-dominated patriarchal society, the distribution of power in the family and community is changing, and evidence of women's creativity, efforts, and independence has improved their gender status in the feudal oppressive system (Santos & Harrell, 2017). The emergence of women's awareness and the change of gender status in patriarchy is due to China's openness to "sex", the promotion of Chinese women's rights by international organizations, and the enhancement of Chinese individuality.

5. Analysis

5.1 Is male violence against women on the rise in "hunnao"?

In recent years, "hunnao" incidents have occurred frequently, among which "nao" bridesmaids have become more and more frequent, and more and more women have been assaulted by men (Li, 2018). These behaviors will cause a psychological shadow to bridesmaids, so they have aroused strong reactions from society (Li, 2018).

This section will analyze the selected ten typical specific cases through qualitative analysis and content analysis to verify whether they conform to the definition of male-female violence and sexual violence mentioned in the literature review. If the answer is yes, it would represent an increase in male violence against women in "hunnao".

The ten cases in this article were collected in March, and published online between 2013 and 2021, which means that the cases occurred in recent years rather than in older China. In Chinanews.com, these cases are published in the cultural features on the home page, while in Weibo, these cases are published in hot spots and pages related to "hunnao". In these cases, the bridesmaids are close friends or relatives of the bride or groom. The cases can be classified into two types:

The first category of cases is male sexual violence directly against bridesmaids, which is mainly based on male sexual purpose towards female. The number of such cases is four out of ten. The first case happened in Tai'an City, Shandong Province in 2013. Xiao Li(pseudonym) was stripped of her clothes by more than a dozen men in "hunnao" and many private parts were touched by men (Cheng, 2013). In the second case, in Bali Island in 2016, Liu(pseudonym) was nearly pushed into the water by her groomsmen during "hunnao", because she was wearing a gauze dress that would have made her breasts appear in the water, and the groomsmen had done so for that purpose (Song, 2016). A third case occurred in Xi 'an, Shanxi province, in 2017, in which a bridesmaid was forced to remove her top and skirt by two men in a car on the way to a wedding (Xie, 2017). During the incident, the two men tried to remove her

underwear and touch her breasts, eventually causing her leg injuries when she resisted the gesture (Xie, 2017). The fourth case, dated 2021, involved a bridesmaid being forced into a corner of the room by several men who stuck their hands up her skirts (A Lang's Storybook, 2021).

The second category of cases is male violence against bridesmaids for non-sexual purposes. This kind of behavior is mainly based on the purpose of male humiliation to the female, which makes the bridesmaids embarrassed and sensationalistic. The number of such cases is 6 out of 10 cases. The first case, from Jiangmen village in Guangdong province in 2017, involved bridesmaids who used a dry fire extinguisher to spray their faces after the door was pulled open for them to ask for a red envelope (a local feature of "hunnao") (Liu, 2018). The second case occurred in 2017 in Shunde, Foshan province, where a bridesmaid fell from the fourth floor to her death after being "laughed and punched" by her best man (Chen, 2017). The third case, which took place in Wenzhou, Zhejiang province, in 2021, was similar to the first one, in which bridesmaids were sprayed all over their bodies by their groomsmen with a flammable material called colored streamers(a kind of decoration) during "hunnao" (Sohu Video, 2021). The fourth case, in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, in 2021, saw a bridesmaid's embarrassment sparked laughter when she was pinned to tree trunks and telegraph poles around a road by several men with sticky objects (Teahouse Zero, 2021). The fifth case occurred in Zhaoqing City, Guangdong Province in 2020, in which several bridesmaids were left in a state of confusion when their groomsmen drenched them with flour and water prepared in advance (A little video, 2020). The final case occurred in 2021 in Zhangjiajie, Hunan province, where bridesmaids were thrown into the icy water(a river) by a number of men during a "hunnao" in February during cold weather (Jun Fen Jun, 2021).

In the review of the literature, sexual violence is defined as any sexual act directed against a person and any coercing attempt to obtain a sexual act. After classifying the cases, this paper believes that the first category of cases conforms to the definition of sexual violence. First of all, in these cases, the injuries suffered by the bridesmaids were based on involuntary female or consensual male physical contact. Secondly, men

always touch the private parts of bridesmaids. For example, in the first and third cases, bridesmaids' breasts, thighs, and the most private genital parts of women are all forcibly touched by men. And in a fourth case, the bridesmaid was forcibly kissed by the man. Finally, the purpose of these men's consensual sexual behavior is to satisfy their sexual desire to some extent. The actions in the first, second, and fourth cases are clearly of this nature. In the third case, although the men did not touch the private parts of the female body, what they did was to indirectly realize their purpose of viewing the private parts of the female body.

The definition of violence used in this article is a broad definition that includes actions that cause psychological harm to a woman and actions that cause pain to a woman. This paper argues that the second category of cases fits the definition of male violence against women. In this kind of case, first of all, in the process of the "hunnao", the men used different degrees of insults, humiliations, or other ways to cause different degrees of psychological damage to the bridesmaids. Secondly, similar to the first type of cases, these cases are all in the case of involuntary bridesmaids. It is the male participating in the "hunnao"(bystanders or groomsmen) to make the bridesmaids make a "show of oneself" in the process to satisfy their vulgar behavior. In the end, these cases were forced rather than requested by the bridesmaid. In the fourth and sixth cases, the men even restricted and deprived the bridesmaids in ways that caused harm to the women.

Through the analysis of the above ten typical and socially concerned cases, this paper finds that male aggression against females in "hunnao" can be defined as violence and sexual violence behavior. And from the increasing number of "nao" bridesmaids in the "hunnao" incident mentioned in the first paragraph, it can be concluded that the number of male-directed violence against women in the "hunnao" is on the rise. At the same time, in the interview data, six interviewees also believe that bridesmaids in "hunnao" are more and more vulnerable to male violence and sexual violence.

5.2 Analysis of the reasons for the increase of male violence against women in "hunnao"

The following will analyze the causes of male-female violence and sexual violence in "hunnao". This paper holds that it is a reflection of patriarchy in China and also can be said to be the far-reaching influence of Chinese patriarchy in China.

In the theoretical framework, this paper mentions that patriarchy is a system in which men and women have higher or lower status and more or fewer rights. Therefore, it is necessary to consider whether "hunnao" has an influence on other power relations other than the gender status of men and women. The bride and groom usually ask one or six to twelve of their best female friends or sisters to be their bridesmaids. One of the bridesmaids is the chief bridesmaid, while the other bridesmaids are called the "maid of honor" or "bridesmaid" and are usually unmarried women (Daoke Baba,2015). And through the observation of ten cases found that the bridesmaids in these cases are also the groom or bride's good friends. Thus, there is no employment-like pattern of power between bridesmaids and others. If bridesmaids are paid, then bridesmaids are expected to fulfill obligations agreed upon at the time of the formation of the employment relationship, which may lead to abuse by anyone(such as the bride), not just men. Therefore, in "hunnao", the main influencing factor of men's violence against women is the gender status and rights relationship reflected in the patriarchy.

Santos and Harrell argue that the two inequities in patriarchy are mainly inter-generational and gender inequities. As mentioned above, because the violence and sexual violence against bridesmaids generally comes from men of the same age and class, it means that generation is not the main factor in this phenomenon. Therefore, it mainly reflects gender inequality, namely the gender inequality reflected by men and women in society. At the same time, as mentioned above, various social subjects' sexual constraints on women before marriage make this group choose to avoid or conceal their experiences and problems related to sex.

5.2.1 The far-reaching influence of gender status difference in Chinese patriarchy

As mentioned above, Santos and Harrell described the definition of patriarchy in China and the reasons for its formation. It can be summarized as gender inequality based on consanguinity and economy, which is reflected in a male-dominated and male-dominated system of gender inequality based on male prestige (Santos & Harrell, 2017) Modern China is still in a patriarchal society, and gender inequality still exists in the economy, politics, and blood relationship (Santos & Harrell, 2017)

(1). Economically and politically. In ancient times, economic male dominance was reflected in the fact that males were the only objects of property inheritance and females were excluded (Santos & Harrell, 2017). At the same time, men are responsible for higher-paying and more important jobs in society (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This phenomenon still exists today, reflected in the fact that men occupy most of the social and economic resources in society. For example, as mentioned in the interview, at the end of 2017, female workers in urban areas accounted for 43.5 percent of the total urban labor force and 37.1 percent of the national workforce. Therefore, it can be concluded that the proportion of male employment in urban areas is 56.5% and that in the national workforce, male employment is 62.9%. This means that men enjoy more income than women. At the same time, some of the unemployed women are housewives who depend on their husbands for their living, and they need to rely on their husbands(men) to ensure their living conditions. This puts the man in the dominant position in the family and the wife in a subordinate position. This shows that the relationship between husband and wife is defined as a hierarchical relationship. In ancient times, patriarchal kinship and men held monopoly positions of public power, while women had no such treatment (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This phenomenon is also reflected in modern times. According to the interview data, women accounted for 21.33% of the total number of NPC deputies in 2008, while men accounted for 78.67%. In terms of political rights, men have more rights than women, which means that men have more political discourse power than women to some extent.

(2). Level of kinship. In ancient times, men enjoyed the hereditary right to inherit the position of the head of the family or the important role outside the family (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This is reflected in modern times by the fact that China now requires newborns to have the surname of the paternal side, not the mother.

This gender inequality based on economy, politics, and blood relationship have led to the acceptance of the subordinate status of women by various subjects in the society and women themselves from ancient times to the present. This can be reflected in a Chinese proverb that is still widely used today: "When the husband sings, the wife hums along." This proverb means that the wife's thoughts follow her husband's, and the direction of her husband's development determines the direction of her development. This has created a gender pattern in which men are associated with superiority and women with inferiority. The result of this male superiority is that the male group has no respect for the female group. In this case. Men's violence towards women can be understood as men's disrespect towards women. A closer look at the case shows that the men's violence is directed at the bridesmaids who participate in "hunnao", not the groomsmen. Because men who commit violent acts know in their minds that the best man and they are of the same sex, equal subjects in the power structure, they have no superiority over the other. Bridesmaids have a different status as a group attached to men. They think that as the party with more power or higher status, they can do some insulting and mocking violent behavior to them, and there is nothing unreasonable about this behavior pattern in their mind.

5.2.2 In China's patriarchal system, women avoid talking(避而不谈) about "sex" before marriage

On the other hand(mainly in response to the phenomenon of "hunnao" in which women were subjected to sexual violence by men), the patriarchy that exists in China today is no longer as powerful and violent as Santos and Harrell described to force women to obey. Men are still dominant in a new, more flexible way (Santos & Harrell, 2017). This patriarchal approach can be understood as a society's expectations,

universal standards and images of women admired by everyone encourage and encourage women to consciously or unconsciously choose subordination as a reflection. This image of women has a lot to do with the harshness of patriarchy on things related to "sex" for women before marriage. This leads to the phenomenon elaborated by Zavoretti that Chinese women would avoid and avoid sexual issues related to themselves before marriage to satisfy such female images. In the interview, six interviewees all believe that parents, men, and society have higher requirements for women and women before marriage than men in "sex".

Reasons for the increase of male sexual violence against women in "hunnao". It can be analyzed from three aspects:

(1). Parental level: the parents of unmarried women belong to the Chinese generation deeply influenced by patriarchy. So in the eyes of parents, daughters(females) who have not had any sexual experience before marriage are the perfect daughters. Having such a daughter would make the parents respectable parents in society. For example, in the interview data, interviewees believed that if their daughters had sex before marriage, they would feel humiliated and ashamed in front of relatives and friends.

(2). The level of male thinking: the superiority of men makes men think that women should have no sexual experience and have not experienced sexual assault before marriage. In the eyes of men, the word "sexual assault" is equivalent to "stain(玷污)".

The definition of this word in Chinese is closely related to the words such as "disgrace" and "disrepute", which is contrary to the part of speech of "pure(纯洁)".

Men think that the women they want are perfect, so they hold a grudge against women who have been subjected to "hunnao" sexual violence. For example, the interviewees in the interview data believe that men hope women have no sexual behavior and sexual experience before marriage(active or forced), but they do not pay attention to their "sexual" status before marriage or think it is irrelevant.

(3). The level of social requirements: the different degrees of social requirements for premarital "sex" between men and women can reflect the different degrees of social openness to "sex" between men and women. When men post-social comments about

their sexual behavior before marriage, society is largely unresponsive. However, if a woman before marriage publishes this information in the society, then the society will publish some social comments on the woman with bad nature and obvious choice of cultural value norms in favor of men and think that the woman is frivolous, has no self-esteem and does not love herself. Moreover, there is a widespread thought in society that being a wife and mother is usually considered a duty that women must fulfill from birth, and that it is irresponsible for a wife or mother to have sexual experience before marriage. For example, the interviewees in the interview data believe that society's requirements for women, especially those before marriage, are much more demanding than men in terms of "sex". For example, when women are sexually assaulted by men, some social subjects will attribute such things to the reason that women themselves wear too revealing clothes to induce men to commit crimes (Zheng, 2020). Or that women should leave their "first night"(初夜) to their partners, but not men.

As described in 5.2.1, some women in the patriarchal system of modern China are still in a subordinate position, which means that they consciously or unconsciously accept the core content of the patriarchal system, that is, the dominant position of men in the family and society. This dependency leads to the fact that after being subjected to sexual violence by men in "hunnao", women's first consideration is not how to protect their rights but to place themselves in the expectation of parents, men, and society in the patriarchal system. Consider whether or not they fit into the pattern of values they have for premarital women, and consider how they might be able to meet their (parents, men, and society) requirements and standards for premarital women. And think about how to meet their requirements and standards for women before marriage. If a woman who has been the victim of sexual violence chooses to speak out about her mistreatment, maybe she needs to post about it online. Doing so can attract more attention and more discussion. Finally, it attracts the attention of the government or relevant departments and then helps the victims to solve the problem and safeguard the rights of the women victims. This means that once they do this their experience

will be known to more people, including their parents, other men other than the abuser, and other important bodies of society. Although such incidents are reported anonymously, China's privacy safeguards are always weak, so eventually, these people will know who the victim is. Therefore, when sexual violence against women occurs in "hunnao", they will consider whether to expose their experiences from the perspectives of the three subjects mentioned above (parents, men, and society). From the perspective of parents, they believe that once they expose their experiences, other subjects in society may have negative comments on their parents. For example, strangers and their relatives and friends may directly define them as the parents of women who have been harmed by sexual violence. Change the status of parents in society, so that they may no longer be respected. On the other hand, usually men want to marry a woman who has not had sex before marriage, whether it is active or forced. Women want to be what men think they should be so that they can find a good and ideal partner. From the social perspective, as mentioned in the interview above, the social "sexual" criticism on women may not get the expected results when women are subjected to sexual violence but may lead to negative comments from society. Therefore, in the face of parents who may no longer be respected, unable to find an excellent and ideal partner, and negative comments from society, most of the women in "hunnao" who are sexually abused by men choose to hide the incident. This will not harm or negatively affect the above three objects. This leads some men to believe that women maintain a default attitude towards their subordinate status, and thus more aggressive violence and sexual violence are carried out in "hunnao".

5.2.3 Other reasons

There are other secondary reasons. First, for example, the State still considers marriage to be the only legal venue for sexual activity (Santos & Harrell, 2017). So many men who commit violence against women choose to use the custom of "nao" bridesmaids in "hunnao" to commit acts of aggression that do not touch the law. Secondly, it will be mentioned in the following paragraphs that China has many rights

to protect the body and reputation of Chinese women, although the state has set relevant laws. But there is a principled problem, does not involve the specific definition of sexual harassment. Moreover, China implements the principle that the party who sues needs the party to provide evidence. In most harassment cases, it is difficult for the parties to collect and provide evidence, so it is difficult to win. As a result, victims do not file charges with the relevant authorities, and as a result, many men have become increasingly violent or sexually violent toward women (bridesmaids).

5.3 Reasons for the increased sensitivity of various subjects in society to male violence against women in "hunnao"

This paper will analyze the reasons why some groups of women and other subjects in the society are more and more concerned about the rising trend of male violence and sexual violence against women in "hunnao" or why this phenomenon is becoming more and more sensitive. This paper argues that the reason is that although in the patriarchal system from the overall trend of women still have the characteristics of the subordinate. However, in the development process of patriarchy, the enhancement of some women's autonomy and the change of the status of men and women in the society make some women begin to pay attention to the protection of women's rights. At the same time, some men began to realize that women should be respected as a separate gender group from themselves. This paper holds that there are two reasons for this phenomenon. The first is the three points mentioned in the theoretical framework: the openness of "sex", the spread of women's rights in China by international organizations, and the advancement of the process of individualization in China. This makes some women and other social subjects realize that women exist independently of men and that female groups have independent social status. The second reason is that the Chinese government has adopted various laws and measures to protect women's economic and political rights, which has made some women realize that they have many coercive state policies and legal provisions to protect their

own physical safety and mental health. Therefore, with the increase of violence against women and sexual violence in "hunnao", more and more social subjects begin to pay attention to this problem and become more and more sensitive to this phenomenon. This social subject includes women themselves and male groups.

5.3.1 The promotion of women's social status in China's patriarchal system

It can be seen from the interview data that some women are aware that several laws and policies promulgated by the state protect women's political rights and economic sources, thus improving women's status in society. From a political perspective, three interviewees illustrate that the change of women's political status has helped women's social status to rise. On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which had the force of the Constitution, clearly stipulated that women enjoyed equal political rights with men. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China promulgated in 1953, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954, and the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Women(Amendment) in 1992 all explicitly stipulate that women have the same right to vote and stand for election as men. The enactment of these laws has made the spirit of equality between men and women in the Constitution the code of conduct in national life. The National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference are the main channels through which women participate in the deliberation and administration of state affairs. Women accounted for a certain proportion of all the deputies to the NPC and women members of the CPPCC National Committee in previous years. When the First National People's Congress was convened in 1954, there were 147 female deputies, accounting for 12 percent of the total. In the subsequent sessions of the NPC, the proportion of female deputies participating in the whole has increased steadily. In 2008, women deputies to the 11th NPC accounted for 21.33 percent of the total. They believe that the formulation and improvement of laws related to women and the increase in the

proportion of women members of the CPPCC represent the protection of women's political rights and the rise of women's political status. The other three interviewees explained from the economic perspective that the protection of women's rights in employment rights and the increase of women's employment positions helped women to obtain economic income. They said that according to relevant laws of the People's Republic of China, women enjoy equal rights with men in employment and equal pay for equal work. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, women went out of their homes one after another, and the number of women employed kept pace with the construction of the Republic. In 1949, the number of women workers in urban areas was 600,000, accounting for only 7.5 percent of the country's total. Between 1958 and 1959, the number of women workers soared to more than 7 million. By 1994, the number of women workers in China had reached 56 million, accounting for 38 percent of the country's total. From 1998 to 2003, women's federations at all levels actively sought micro-credit loans, directly helping 2.5 million women get reemployed. By the end of 2004, there were 337 million women employed in both urban and rural areas. By the end of 2017, the proportion had grown to 43.5 percent. There were 42.27 million women employed in urban units nationwide, accounting for 38.1 percent of the total. By 2017, the number will increase to 65.45 million, and the proportion of urban employees will increase to 37.1 percent. They believed that women's widespread employment laid the foundation for their right to economic independence and the elimination of economic dependence on their husbands. Over the past 60 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, with the development of China's economy and the rise of the tertiary industry, more and more jobs are available for women. From their understanding, it can be seen that China has formulated laws and policies to protect women's legal rights both politically and economically, which weakens women's economic and political dependence on men to a certain extent and improves women's overall social status. The promotion of women's status has made some women, men, and social subjects realize that women's status should be the same as men's, instead of being the objects of men's random violence and sexual violence.

5.3.2 The promotion of self-awareness and autonomy of some women in Chinese patriarchy

Secondly, it can be seen from the interview data that some women realize that they exist independently of men, and men have no right to use violence and sexual violence against female groups. Men need to show respect for women because women are not their subordinates. Men and women are equal social subjects, and they have independent personalities just like men. In the interview, five of the six interviewees have actively searched for information related to the "hunnao" case. They believe that bridesmaids should play a positive role in "hunnao" and bring good influence to the wedding. The bridesmaids are there to promote the "hunnao" and to help the bride and groom ease the tension. But they feel that the rights of the bridesmaids in "hunnao" are now being greatly violated, in the form of male violence based on humiliation and sexual desire. And through the interview found that they are aware of the gender boundary. They believe that the normal boundaries and normal contact between men and women can be summarized as that the two sides are based on self-respect and mutual respect, and should abide by and respect each others principles. At the same time in contact with the correct attitude, maintain a healthy consciousness. At the same time, it is necessary to accurately grasp the psychological distance and reject the contact that makes each other feel too close and causes the mood to fluctuate. Stay on the right track. Avoid sensitive topics and physical intimacy. They believe that gender boundaries represent friendliness between friends and politeness between strangers. They should make a clear distinction between themselves and others and give full consideration to each others feelings. They believe that there is an impassable distance between men and women, and this distance, although it is invisible, although is not clear, it is real. The promotion of some women's autonomy and self-awareness makes them more sensitive to the phenomenon of women being violated.

5.3.3 The impact of sexual openness, international promotion, and individual promotion on the re-understanding of women's rights

As China becomes more open to "sex", some women, men, and other social subjects begin to realize that it is no longer shameful to talk about "sex" in female groups. Similarly, they began to realize that there is no shame in discussing the phenomenon of "hunnao" in which bridesmaids(women) are subjected to male violence and sexual violence. Similarly, this group found that the increased discussion and increased sensitivity of these issues could help women better protect their sexual safety and bring more attention to the harm caused by male-female violence and sexual violence in "hunnao".

The dissemination of women's rights by international organizations in China has promoted the awareness of protecting women's rights in China. Some women begin to realize that they are independent human beings, and they have the right to raise objections or take actions to resist those injuries based on gender inequality, which is their human rights. They should not be the victims of "hunnao" men based on the differences between male and female status in the patriarchal system to satisfy their "sexual" desires or other purposes. At the same time, this communication process makes some men and social subjects reflect on the patriarchal ideology(men have higher status than women and more rights than women) which is the mainstream in the society, and begin to have a new definition and understanding of the female group. I began to reflect on the incident of bridesmaids(women) who were subjected to male violence and sexual violence in "hunnao", and began to become more and more sensitive to this incident and actively exposed this incident on the Internet.

The increasing individualization of China. As mentioned above, China's individualization process is reflected in the rise of individuals in the public and private spheres. This rising process can be understood as the respect of various groups in society for the privacy of individuals and the attention to gender boundaries. Individuals in the society began to pay more attention to the development and protection of their dignity and the embodiment of personal value in the society. Part of

the growing sensitivity of women, men, and society to this issue is because, in "hunnao", men's behavior is an infringement on women's dignity or a lack of respect for the female community.

5.3.4 Relevant laws for the protection of women's rights

At the same time, with the improvement of relevant laws in China, some women realize that they have more channels to safeguard their rights, and the country endows them with the right to protect their physical health and psychological integrity. In the interview materials, they mentioned that they know that China has promulgated many laws to protect women, such as the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests, and the crime of rape, coercive indecency, and insult in the Criminal Law. Later, through the official website of the National People's Congress of China to find out their specific content. Article 40 and Article 58 of the Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women of the People's Republic of China stipulate that if a woman is sexually harassed or subjected to domestic violence, she may file a lawsuit with the relevant unit or apply to the public security organ to impose administrative punishment on the violator in accordance with the law (The National People's Congress, n.d.). Article 236 and Article 237 of the Criminal Law also provide for the crime of rape and the crime of forcible indecency and insult. It provides for the rape of women by violence, coercion, or other means (The National People's Congress, n.d.). Threatening others or insulting women by violence, coercion, or other means, or gathering people to carry out the above acts in public places shall constitute a violation of the criminal law (The National People's Congress, n.d.).

6. Conclusion

"Hunnao", a unique wedding custom and form of wedding entertainment in China, has continued until now. In the process of its development, there has always been male violence against females and sexual violence. The development of "hunnao" is accompanied by the changes of Chinese patriarchy in the development process of China. Based on the study of typical cases and interview data, this paper finds that the violence(including sexual violence) of men against women in "hunnao" is on the rise. The reason for this rising trend is the far-reaching influence of China's patriarchy and loopholes in the law. Patriarchy produces a relationship based on economy, politics, and blood, which leads to the gender inequality system in which men have a higher status than women in society. This system produced a sense of male social superiority that has persisted from ancient times to modern times. They see themselves as superior to women in their families and society. Moreover, the existence of patriarchy in China for several centuries makes the society and women themselves compromise on the subordinate status of women. These two factors lead to men who engage in violence and sexual violence justifying insulting behavior and abnormal physical contact with bridesmaids in "hunnao". At the same time, it is because of the different views of "sex" on men and women by parents, male ideology and society in Chinese patriarchy. This prevents bridesmaids(women who marry before marriage) from complaining about violence and sexual violence during "hunnao". At the same time, they hide their experiences to fit the stereotype of a good man as a good woman. Based on male superiority, women's silence leads to more and more men in "hunnao" who are more presumptuously carrying out violence and sexual violence against women. Loopholes in the law have also helped. But there is growing concern that the phenomenon is on the rise, and that women and the younger generation in other societies are becoming more sensitive to it. This is because although China is still under the patriarchal system, in this process, due to the enhancement of Chinese individualization and the spread of women's rights by international organizations, China's openness to "sex" and the multiple laws and policies related to the protection

of women's rights designated by the Chinese government have made some women and some social subjects realize that women are not only dependent on men, but an independent gender individual, which should be respected and protected. This phenomenon helps to promote the improvement of women's status in China's patriarchal system and promote the better realization of gender equality in China .

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