

Women Entrepreneurs' Political Participation in China

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Abstract

Based on a questionnaire survey of 132 female entrepreneurs in Zhejiang, a Chinese province that is famous for its entrepreneurship, this research examines female Chinese entrepreneurs' participation in political processes by analyzing how female entrepreneurs undertake non-governmental positions from the following three perspectives: Their understanding of political participation, the determinants of their political participation, and their political participation behaviors. The research findings indicated that female entrepreneurs' personal traits, such as their educational attainments, professional skills, and economic status, had significantly positive impacts on their political participation, and that the division of labor within households was no longer a constraint to female entrepreneurs' political participation. Huge gaps were identified between what women entrepreneurs understood and perceived, and what motivated their political participation. Female entrepreneurs' families had neither encouraging nor discouraging attitudes toward their political participation. Organizations, however, played fundamental roles in facilitating and arranging for female entrepreneurs' political participation. Most female entrepreneurs' political participation was more characteristic of an organizational arrangement, while improving business performance and advancing their own interests were female entrepreneurs' real concerns for becoming politically engaged.

Key words

female entrepreneur, political participation, non-governmental positions, Zhejiang, China

Introduction

Women's comprehensive development has become both a national and an international policy priority. The Platform for Action launched at the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing promoted *women's active partic-*

ipation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. China National Program for Women's Development (2011-2020) also aimed at achieving women's comprehensive development in political, economic, cultural, social and other spheres. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, women in China have played increasingly important roles in many arenas, and their life opportunities, economic, and social status have improved significantly, while their political participation has lagged severely. Due to a long history of patriarchy and feudalism, there remains a big gap between women and men in terms of equal political participation. According to a policy briefing on international women's political participation provided by the Women's Studies Institute at the All-China Women's Federation, by January 1, 2010, in 47 countries, over 25% of women were ministers of the government; however, out of 26 ministers in China, only 3, or 11.5%, were females, and China was ranked 61st in the world; by January 31, 2011, female representatives in the People's Congress¹ accounted for 21.3%, and China ranked 55th in the world ("Women's Studies Institute," 2011).

Other data from the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China² showed that in 2009 women accounted for 11% of ministers, autonomous regional and provincial heads, 13.7% of provincial department heads and prefecture heads, and 16.6% of county and municipal heads (Beijing News, 2012). The results of the Third Survey of Chinese Women's Social Status³ conducted by the All-China Women's Federation and State Bureau of Statistics of China in late 2010 also confirmed women's low political participation rate: Female leaders in the governments, government-affiliated organizations, public institutions and enterprises only accounted for 2.2% of employed women ("Project Group," 2011).

¹ The Chinese people exercise state power through the National People's Congress and the Local People's Congress. These bodies are comparable to other countries' parliaments. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power.

² The Organization Department is one of the most important organs of the CPC, which controls staffing positions within the CPC.

³ The Survey of Chinese Women's Social Status has been conducted jointly by the All-China Women's Federation and the National Bureau of Statistics of China every 10 years since 1990. The third survey covered nine aspects: Health status, educational level, economic status, social security, politics, marriage and family, lifestyle, awareness of legal rights and interests, and attitudes toward gender.

The Chinese government recognized this gap, and designed many institutional arrangements to facilitate women's political participation. In terms of women's political participation, however, the government's main attempt to increase the number of women assuming government leadership positions was adopting a gender quota policy tool. For women who do not have full-time positions in the governments at different levels, however, there are very few channels for them to become politically involved.

Given an increasing number of female entrepreneurs, and the fact that more entrepreneurs wish to participate in the political arena, it is timely that the political participation of female entrepreneurs should be examined. This study examines female entrepreneurs' political participation by means of non-governmental positions. By non-governmental positions, we mean political positions not in the governmental offices. The paper is comprised of four parts. We use a literature review to develop a theoretical framework and define the terms pertinent to this study. In the methods, we describe our survey, research site, and the characteristics of our respondents. In the results, we present our research findings on the understandings, determinants, and behaviors that motivate female entrepreneurs' political participation. The discussions and conclusions summarize female entrepreneurs' political participation in China.

Theoretical Framework and Definitions of Terms

There are two dominant research themes in the literature pertinent to women's involvement in the political process: women's political participation, and entrepreneurs' political participation. The former focuses on female cadres in full-time leadership positions in government offices at different levels. The latter examines entrepreneurs' political participation in very limited forms, namely as representatives of the People's Congress, and members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Very few of these studies address the gender perspective.

Female entrepreneurs' political participation by means of non-governmental positions is a significantly neglected area of research. The reason for this is that fewer female entrepreneurs, and most scholars, define their understanding of political participation narrowly as taking leadership positions in various government departments. In this paper we review the literature on both of the above two themes, and develop an analytical framework for female entrepreneurs' political participation in China.

Women's Political Participation

There is a rich body of literature on women's political participation in China based on studies of female cadres in government departments that encompasses the following aspects:

1. The status quo of women's political participation, and especially women's underrepresentation in the political arena, which is indicated by the fact that only a small number of women have leadership positions in the government and most female leaders assume associate positions (Li, 2005; "Project Group," 2011).
2. The socio-cultural constraints on women's political participation include traditional gender norms and the characteristic division of household labor (Hsiung, 2001; Pei & Liu, 2010; Zhang, 2014); Politically engaged women face greater pressures and more demanding responsibilities than their male counterparts (Guo, 2016).
3. The institutional arrangements governing women's political participation include the application of the gender quota policy (Chen & Liu, 2008; Song, 2016; Wang, 2013).
4. Politically engaged women typically have a better education and relatively higher economic status than other women (Li & Zhang, 2016).

Entrepreneurs' Political Participation

For quite a long period of time before 1978, China put its main efforts into political movements. Since 1978, when China initiated its reform and open-up policy, China's focus shifted from the political arena to that of economic development. Businesses became a dominant sector. In early 2000, the Chinese government recognized entrepreneurs as an important social force (Chen, Lu, & He, 2008), and today entrepreneurs continue to be a growing social force in China. The literature on entrepreneurial political participation focuses on the positive relationships between entrepreneurs' political participation and their business performance. Entrepreneurs' political participation could serve to strengthen their own political influence, build up their social networks with local governments, protect their own business interests, and facilitate the future development of their businesses by obtaining more and longer-term loans from state banks, being entitled to more favorable tax policies and having easier access to certain competitive or monopoly industries (Hu, 2006; Lang, 2015; Song, Feng, & Tan, 2014).

An Analytical Framework for Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation

Female entrepreneurs' political participation has had significant impacts not only on women as an entire group, but also on entrepreneurs as the new-rich (Guo & Dong, 2006). Following a review of the literature of both women's political participation and entrepreneurs' political participation, this study undertakes to answer the following three questions to advance our understanding of Chinese female entrepreneurs' political participation: (1) How do female entrepreneurs understand their political participation? (2) What are the determinants of female entrepreneurs' political participation? (3) How do female entrepreneurs practice political participation?

Term Definitions

Before analyzing female entrepreneurs' political participation, we will define the two key terms discussed in this paper: *female entrepreneurs* and *political participation*. In this research, female entrepreneurs include not only female partners and owners of businesses, but also female business managers. Political participation in general encompasses the various activities citizens undertake to influence government behaviors. In this research, given that female entrepreneurs have full-time jobs, their political participation is only represented in the following five forms, namely, as representatives of the People's Congress, as members of the CPPCC, as representatives of a women's congress, as representatives of the CPC, or as directors or committee members of a trade and commerce union.

Data and Methods

We used a list of politically active female entrepreneurs provided by the Zhejiang Women Entrepreneurs Association in early 2016, to generate a random sample of study participants that included 150 female entrepreneurs in 11 prefectural cities of Zhejiang province. Through face-to-face or phone interviews, we conducted 14 questionnaire surveys in each of 9 prefectural cities that included Hangzhou, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Jiaxing, Shaoxing, Taizhou, Jinhua, Huzhou, and Quzhou, and 12 questionnaire surveys in each of 2 prefectural cities that included Zhoushan and Lishui, which are the two prefectural cities in Zhejiang with the lowest GDP. Excluding in-

complete surveys, we obtained 132 valid completed questionnaires.

Zhejiang was selected as our research site because this province is well known in China for its active entrepreneurial and prosperous businesses, and it has the largest number of enterprises which are listed among China's top 500 private enterprises ("All China Federation," 2016). A recent survey of female entrepreneurs in Zhejiang province showed that by the end of November 2016, the 1,463,300 businesses that had been established by women accounted for 28% of all the businesses in Zhejiang ("Zhejiang Provincial Administration," 2017).

The questions asked in our survey gathered basic information about female entrepreneurs and their businesses (see Table 1), their understanding of political participation (Tables 2-8), the determinants of their political participation (Tables 9-15), and their political participation behaviors (Tables 16-17).

Table 1.
Descriptive Characteristics of Female Entrepreneurs (N = 132)

		Frequency	Percentage
Age	Under 30	26	19.70
	30-39	88	66.66
	40-49	9	6.82
	50-59	9	6.82
Education	Junior college diploma	9	6.82
	Bachelor's degree	62	46.97
	Master's degree or higher	61	46.21
Nature of business	State-owned	86	65.15
	Joint-venture or foreign capital	26	19.70
	Private	11	8.33
Position in enterprise	Others	9	6.82
	Junior manager	35	26.52
	Middle manager	53	40.15
	Senior manager	26	19.7
Party membership	Owner	18	13.63
	China Communist Party member	70	53.03
	Democratic party member	27	20.45
	Non-party member	35	26.52

		Frequency	Percentage
Form of political participation (concurrent positions are possible)	Representative of the People's Congress	9	6.82
	Member of the CPPCC	0	0
	Representative of women's congress	53	26.52
	Representative of the CPC	53	46.97
	Director or committee member of trade and commerce union	35	26.67

Note. Parties other than the Communist Party of China are all listed as *democratic parties*. There are eight democratic parties. Joining the democratic parties will increase one's chance to be politically involved, since there are some quotas for different party membership.

Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation in China

Female Entrepreneurs' Understanding of Political Participation

Before we discuss the determinants of women's entrepreneurial political participation, we first examine the female entrepreneurs' understanding of political participation by verifying how important it is to these women to be politically involved (see Tables 2 and 3), how they perceive their own political status and power (Table 4), tokenism (Table 5), political abilities (Table 6), the political channels through which they can be politically involved (Table 7), and finally by identifying their own motivations for being politically involved (Table 8).

Female entrepreneurs were in unanimous agreement on the importance of political participation: 73.48% considered political participation very important, 19.70% considered it important; and none of the respondents thought that political participation was unimportant (see Table 2).

Table 2.
Female Entrepreneurs' Understanding of the Importance of Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Very important	97	73.48
Important	26	19.70
Not important	0	0
Hard to tell	9	6.82
Total	132	100

When asked how much they cared about being able to participate in the political arena, however, none of the respondents cared very much about being able to be politically involved; about half of them (46.97%) did not care at all; the other 33.33% said that they just complied with the organization's arrangement, which served as a synonym for *not caring* (see Table 3). Female entrepreneurs perceived political participation as being important, however, as individuals they did not care much about being able to participate in the political arena.

Table 3.
The Extent to Which Female Entrepreneurs' Care about Political Participation
(*N* = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Care very much	0	0
Care little	26	19.70
Obey the organization's arrangement	44	33.33
Do not care at all	62	46.97
Total	132	100

Most female entrepreneurs evaluated their political status and power as neither high nor low. As shown in Table 4, most respondents (65.91%) perceived female entrepreneurs' political status and power as just *neither high nor low*. Of the respondents, 13.64% believed that female entrepreneurs had low political status, while exactly the same percentage believed that they had high political status and power.

Table 4.
Female Entrepreneurs' Perceptions of Their Own Political Status and Power
(*N* = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Very high	0	0
High	18	13.64
Neither high nor low	87	65.91
Low	18	13.64
Hard to tell	9	6.81
Total	132	100

Responses to the question, “do you feel any tokenism in women’s political participation” further clarified female entrepreneurs’ perceptions of their own political status and power: 72.73% of respondents perceived some tokenism in female entrepreneurs’ political participation (see Table 5).

Table 5.
Female Entrepreneurs’ Perceptions of Tokenism in Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Some tokenism	96	72.73
Should be no tokenism	9	6.82
Definitely no tokenism	18	13.64
Hard to tell	9	6.81
Total	132	100

Female entrepreneurs obviously had strong confidence in their own ability to participate in political processes, and when asked to compare their own abilities to those of men, a large percentage (86.36%) of female entrepreneurs believed their abilities equaled those of men, and 4.55% even believed their abilities were greater than those of men (see Table 6).

Table 6.
Female Entrepreneurs’ Perceptions of Their Own Political Participation Abilities Compared to Those of Men (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Stronger	6	4.55
No difference	114	86.36
Weaker	9	6.82
Hard to tell	3	2.27
Total	132	100

This study also examined female entrepreneurs’ perceptions of political participation channels. No respondents thought that there were many such channels, and most of them believed there were comparatively few (46.97%) or very few channels (19.70%) by means of which female entrepreneurs could become politically involved (see Table 7).

Table 7.

Female Entrepreneurs' Perceptions of Their Own Political Participation Channels (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Many	0	0
Medium	26	19.70
Comparatively few	62	46.97
Very few	26	19.70
Hard to tell	18	13.63
Total	132	100

The final survey question on female entrepreneurs' understandings of their political participation pertained to their motivations (see Table 8). The respondents were asked to select from multiple possible answers to explain their motivations. Only 26.51% of the respondents said that their political participation was for the purpose of fulfilling their rights and obligations as citizens. Their motivations indicated a strong gender perspective, and significant self-interest that included upgrading women's social consciousness and status (59.85%), fulfilling one's own social values and influence (66.67%), fulfilling one's own values (59.85%), and benefitting one's own career and business development (53.03%).

Table 8.

Female Entrepreneurs' Motivations for Political Participation (Choose All that Apply) (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Upgrade women's social consciousness and status	79	59.85
Fulfill one's own social values and influence	88	66.67
Fulfill one's own values	79	59.85
Benefit one's own career and business development	70	53.03
Fulfill citizens' rights and obligations	35	26.51

Determinants of Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation

In this section, we classify the determinants of female entrepreneurs' political participation into three categories: (1) individual factors, (2) organiza-

tional factors, and (3) family and public factors. For the individual factors, we examined the impacts of female entrepreneurs' personal traits—including their educational attainments and professional skills (see Table 9) and economic status (Table 10)—on their political participation. With regard to organizational factors, we identified the roles played by organizations in facilitating female entrepreneurs' political participation (Table 11) and mobilizers of female entrepreneurs' political participation (Table 12). Under family and public factors, we examined families' attitudes toward female entrepreneurs' political participation (Table 13), how major housework responsibilities were undertaken in female entrepreneurs' households (Table 14), and public attitudes toward female entrepreneurs' political participation (Table 15). Tables 9-11 summarized participants' responses to the questions regarding how they perceived their educational attainments and professional skills, economic status, and organizational recommendation had impacted their political participation.

Female entrepreneurs' educational attainments and professional skills had significantly positive impacts on their political participation. Most female entrepreneurs believed that their educational attainments and professional skills were very important (53.03%) or important (33.33%) to their political participation (see Table 9). An equally important determinant of female entrepreneurs' political participation was their economic status (19.70% very important and 66.67% important) (see Table 10).

Table 9.
Impacts of Female Entrepreneurs' Educational Attainments and Professional Skills on Their Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Very important	70	53.03
Important	44	33.33
Neither important nor unimportant	9	6.82
Unimportant	0	0
Hard to tell	9	6.82
Total	132	100

Table 10.
Impacts of Female Entrepreneurs' Economic Status on Their Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Very important	26	19.70
Important	88	66.66
Neither important nor unimportant	9	6.82
Unimportant	0	0
Hard to tell	9	6.82
Total	132	100

Most respondents believed that an organization's recommendation was very important (39.39%) or important (46.97%) to their political participation. No one thought that an organization's recommendation was not at all important (see Table 11). In the Chinese context, *organization* does not just describe a system comprised of a group of people or a particular unit. Especially, in political discourse, organization is a general term that describes any officially established unit or collective of such units with specific legal status, authority, and resources. The term organization as used in this paper is consistent with the general meaning of the term in the Chinese context. The organization plays a very important role in facilitating individuals' political participation in China, and therefore an organization's recommendation is extremely important. Many important life opportunities, such as joining the Communist Party of China, the army, and being the member of a political or economic organization, depends on receiving a recommendation from an organization.

Table 11.
Impacts of an Organization's Recommendation on Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Very important	52	39.39
Important	62	46.97
Neither important nor unimportant	9	6.82
Unimportant	0	0
Hard to tell	9	6.82
Total	132	100

Responses to the question about the mobilizers of female entrepreneurs' political participation also confirmed the importance of the organization (see Table 12). For 40.15% of the respondents, their political participation was the result of an *organization's mobilization and recommendation*. Only 19.70% of the respondents were politically involved by their own choice, and no respondents were mobilized by family members.

Table 12.
Mobilizers of Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Female entrepreneur's own will	26	19.70
Organization's mobilization and recommendation	53	40.15
Mobilized by family member	0	0
Mobilized by colleague or friend	9	6.82
Others	44	33.33
Total	132	100

Having said that no female entrepreneurs had been mobilized to participate in politics by their family members, it was interesting to note that no one said their family members were opposed to their political participation (see Table 13). Instead, 40.15% of respondents reported that their family members supported their political participation, and another 40.15% held neutral attitudes.

Table 13.
Attitudes of Female Entrepreneurs' Families to Their Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	53	40.15
Neutral	53	40.15
Do not support	0	0
Hard to tell	26	19.70
Total	132	100

In the responses to our survey, only very few (6.82%) female entrepreneurs reported that they had major housework responsibilities in their

households (see Table 14). In the households of 53.03% of female entrepreneurs, wives and husbands shared the housework. About one third of the female entrepreneurs received help with the housework either from housekeepers (6.82%) or their parents/relatives (26.51%).

Table 14.
Major Responsibilities for Housework in Female Entrepreneurs' Households
(*N* = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Female entrepreneur	9	6.82
Husband	9	6.82
Shared by wife and husband	70	53.03
Housekeeper	9	6.82
Parent or other relative	35	26.51
Total	132	100

Public attitudes toward female entrepreneurs' political participation were quite complicated (see Table 15). Only 13.64% of female entrepreneurs believed they had both the trust and support of the public, and the same percentage of female entrepreneurs believed they received neither trust nor support. When we classified the responses to the questions on public attitudes into two groups—trust and support—66.67% of female entrepreneurs believed that they had public support (13.64% trust and support, and 53.03% no trust yet support), and 73.49% believed they did not have the public trust (53.03% no trust yet support, 13.64% neither trust nor support, 6.82% no trust). The interesting findings here were that most female entrepreneurs perceived that they received more public support than public trust. There may be various reasons for this paradox: the public may have believed that female entrepreneurs' political participation was a right and necessary cause, but they did not necessarily believe that female entrepreneurs had the power to make much difference.

Table 15.

Public Attitudes toward Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Trust and support	18	13.64
Do not trust yet support	70	53.03
Neither trust nor support	18	13.64
Do not trust	9	6.82
Hard to tell	17	12.87
Total	132	100

Political Participation Behaviors

The two major political participation behaviors and duties of female entrepreneurs are voting and making policy recommendations. Here we examined how female entrepreneurs voted in their political organizations (see Table 16), and which policy topics they proposed (see Table 17). Most respondents took voting very seriously, and 85.6% of respondents attended votes. However, 8.82% of women entrepreneurs never voted, which indicates that they actually did not care to fulfill their obligation and right to vote.

Table 16.

Female Entrepreneurs' Voting Behaviors in the Political Organization (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Attend vote	113	85.60
Ask someone to vote on her behalf	0	0
Hard to tell	10	7.58
Never vote	9	6.82
Total	132	100

Female entrepreneurs' biggest concerns pertained to their own industry, and 66.67% of female entrepreneurs had once proposed policies on industrial issues. One third of the female entrepreneurs (33.33%)—who included mothers—were also concerned about children and women's issues. Political issues were the least concerning issue overall, and accounted for only 6.82% of respondents policy proposals.

Table 17.

The Topics of Female Entrepreneurs' Proposals (Choose All that Apply) (N = 132)

	Frequency	Percentage
Female entrepreneur's own industry issues	88	66.67
Children and women issues	44	33.33
Social and public issues	26	19.70
Economic issues	26	19.70
Political issues	9	6.82

Discussion and Conclusions

By examining female entrepreneurs' political participation in China, we found that female entrepreneurs' personal traits—such as educational attainment, professional skills, and economic status—had significant impacts on their political participation. Female entrepreneurs, who are on average better educated than urban women, also achieve higher economic status, which in turn gives them confidence, abilities, and the resources they need to be politically engaged.

The division of labor in households that influences most women's political participation is not a problem for female entrepreneurs. This may be due to the fact that their higher economic status leads to equal status between males and females in the households, and their greater capacity to engage professional housekeepers.

We also identified complicated relationships among female entrepreneurs, their families, and their organizations. Female entrepreneurs with higher educational attainments and skills, and better economic status, were physically ready but not yet motivated to participate in political processes. Their families held neutral attitudes toward their political participation. It is the organization that plays a decisive role in motivating female entrepreneurs' political participation. Our research findings have enabled us to better understand the perceptions, determinants, and behaviors of female entrepreneurs' political participation in China.

Understanding Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation Perceptions and Determinants: Paradoxes and Conflicts

Several pairs of paradoxes and conflicts regarding female entrepreneurs'

perceptions and the determinants of their political participation—more specifically, perceptions versus motivations, and family mobilization versus family attitudes—were identified.

Perceptions versus motivations. There are huge gaps between what female entrepreneurs understood and perceived, and what motivated their political participation. They understood the importance of political participation, yet they did not care much about their own political participation. They were confident in their own abilities to participate in the political arena, which they believed to be equal to or even stronger than their male counterparts, yet they were not eager to become politically involved. The reasons behind these paradoxes and conflicts might be the barriers created by traditional gender norms, the lack of opportunities to participate in political processes, and complicated public attitudes toward women's political participation.

Family mobilizations versus family attitudes. Participants' responses to questions related to families' attitudes toward politically engaged female entrepreneurs revealed ambivalent attitudes: no female entrepreneurs had been mobilized by their family members to become politically engaged, yet no female entrepreneurs said their families did not support them when they did so. It seems that female entrepreneurs' families had a *neither encouraging nor discouraging* attitude toward their political participation.

Female Entrepreneurs' Political Participation Behaviors: By Whom and for Whom

By whom female entrepreneurs were mobilized and recommended. Unlike most western countries, where women's political participation is the outcome of lengthy women's rights movements and women's own preferences, most Chinese women's political participation is more likely to be the result of an organizational arrangement rather than an expression of their own wills. Many organizations in China, including trade unions and entrepreneurial associations, have close ties with the governments at the different levels. By joining these organizations, women have access to both the information and opportunities necessary to political engagement. Therefore, it is apparent that organizations play fundamental roles in facilitating and arranging for female entrepreneurs' political participation.

For whom female entrepreneurs become politically engaged. It is not sur-

prising that most female entrepreneurs proposed policies relevant to their own industries and women and children's issues, given that female entrepreneurs tended to think that their political participation was about upgrading women's social consciousness and status, and fulfilling their own social values, rather than fulfilling their rights and obligations as citizens. This finding indicates that their real concerns for becoming politically engaged involved improving their own business performance and advancing their own interests.

In conclusion, female entrepreneurs' political participation in China is still in the early stage, and it is unavoidable that they will encounter tokenism and face public distrust. The status of female entrepreneurs' political participation will be improved in the future, if they are able to develop greater awareness of their basic political rights, and governments at different levels provide them with more opportunities to actively participate in political arena.

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