

The Unmarried Women in Rural Areas of North China

-- Causes, Life, Status Marginalization and Loss

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Abstract

This article investigates the unmarried women living in Oak Village in Shandong Province, North China. In contrast to “self-combed sisters” in South China, such women are compelled to keep single for various reasons, having miserable life by themselves. At the same time, they are regarded as “outsiders” in their fathers’ family and forbidden to attend the worship activities with other villagers during Spring Festival and other important occasions. After they died, their name would not be enshrined among their ancestral spirit tablets to be worshipped by their descendants. During family sacrifices, even in their daily life, their statuses are missed and rejected by the villagers, even their own blood clan, resulting in the homelessness of their reality and spirits.

Keywords

The Unmarried Women; Outsider; Sacrifice; The Ancestral Spirit.

1. Introduction

A woman who has reached the age of marriage will comb her hair into a bun like a married woman to show that she will never marry and die alone. These women are called “self-combing sisters” or “clean woman” in the Pearl River Delta (The Pearl River Delta is the low-lying area along the Pearl River estuary, where the Pearl River flows into South China Sea. The delta includes the special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macau and nine cities--Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Foshan, Huizhou, Jiangmen and Zhaoqing --of Guangdong Province.), South China.[8] Once they make decisions to keep single, they must choose a special day to coil their hairs in front of relatives and friends, then drink chicken blood in front of the god tablet, and make a heavy oath that they will live life on their own. (It is a kind of ancient Chinese female culture in Guangdong province of South China, where sericulture industry was relatively developed in the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China.). In rural areas of North China, there is another group of “unmarried women” who have passed their marriageable age and have not got married, so they will helplessly keep single, living with their parents, and alone when their parents passed away. The women who are keeping single in modern urban society in China has been more and more understood and respected by the society, but the unmarried ones in rural communities have always been heterogeneous in their communities. In Chinese rural culture, people regard marriage as an inevitable event in the course of individual life. The principle of life that “men and women should get married in their proper ages” (This idiom is originally from *The Analects of Confucius*, Confucius explained that “fixed marriage refers to the age of marriage and the size of ostentation and extravagance. The male and female should be old enough to get married. Early marriage, men and women are underdeveloped, giving birth to unsound offspring, causing endless harm; Late marriage, birth won’t be ideal because of health.) is generally accepted. Women especially will face many practical problems if they don’t enter the marriage life in all their lives. In particular, the “family

identity”, which is highly valued by rural communities, is vague or even missed for the unmarried women.

In the sense of national law, women should own the same citizenship and right status as men. However, in the family system of rural communities, the statuses of women are quite different. For the Chinese Han Nationality in rural society, a man's position in the kinship system is pre-endowed, and he naturally has a prior position than woman in the family at birth, which will remain unchanged for life. A woman, on the other hand, are regarded as potential outsiders in their own blood system. Especially in adulthood, this consciousness of “outsider” identity will become more and more obvious, until she gets married and leaves her father's house and becomes a real “outsider”.[9] The vast majority of women have to complete the identity transformation from their own birth family to their husband's family through marriage, and thus establish their position in the kinship system where in-laws and blood relatives meet; However, women who keep single all their lives cannot establish their family status because they have no marriage relationship to depend on.

Marriage in Chinese culture is given multiple meanings beyond personal affection, and its additional value usually is considered as a priority over its affection. Many researchers, such as Hiroko Ueno and Freedman, etc. have long noticed the unmarried identity of women in their father's family, and it often “does not belong to any one of the clans, and its role and function also show some contradictions and fuzziness”. [4,5,9]

Rural girls usually get married as soon as they reach the legal age of marriage and start their own family life as housewives; Even if they are now able to work in cities more easily, they usually leave the countryside temporarily. They are “migrant girls” (A group of girls refer to young unmarried women who work mainly from remote areas to cities in China's coastal areas with China's reform and opening to the outside world and economic development. Most of them grew up in rural areas, with low academic qualifications, and worked as grass-roots administrators, general workers and hotel waiters in factories.) in the city, and most of them will return to the countryside to start family life when they reach the legal age of marriage. This is “the result of the dual tension between government and patriarchy”.[11] Many civilians believe that a person's life is meaningless without marriage and a family.

In Oaks Village (A typical village in Shan Dong Province, North of China, with population of 2000.), I have interviewed some villagers about whether women must get married, most of them undoubtedly said “yes”. Zhou Xiaomei, an old lady's answer is typical: “Naturally a girl has to get marriage, why not?” (The interviewee is Zhou Xiaomei, a housewife, female, aged, illiterate. Interview time: January 23, 2020. The interview place is Zhou's house.) The answer itself reflects the local understanding of women's marriage. Getting marriage is equivalent to having a living dependence.[6] In contrast, a woman without marriage lives with their parents, then alone, she will be like a duckweed floating on the river, doomed a miserable life and future. The female adulthood should rely on marriage to integrate into a clan group that has no blood relationship with themselves. Therefore, for the village women, marriage contains more meanings than marriage itself, that is, women's qualification for family issues, especially sacrifices in festivals depends on marriage. [9,10]

A few adult women died unexpectedly due to diseases and other reasons before they got married, which does not fall into the category of “unmarried women” discussed in this article. However, the treatment of such died women reflects villager's cognition of women's family status, and reveals the situation of unmarried women. Such women are treated differently depending on whether they are engaged or not. If the dead one is not engaged, her funeral would be like that of a dead child, she can't be given a grand funeral, only a simple burial ceremony, her body will be buried in a corner of her father's ancestral grave.

Besides their parents hold a memorial ceremony, others will not come to mourn her death, especially during the Spring Festival, her spirit tablet (It is a paper-made tablet(10cmX5cm) with the family ancestor's name on it. During Spring Festival, all the tablets will be put in rows on the table, with dishes of chicken, fish and pork etc. in front of them. The offspring will kowtow in front of the table to worship their ancestors.) can't be put with her ancestors' ones, waiting for worship from the clan's successors. If the married woman died, her body will be buried in the betrothed husband's ancestral grave, her spirit tablet will be put with the betrothed husband's ancestral spirit ones, enjoying betrothed husband's descendants' sacrifice. According to the villagers, such women have already been engaged to the husband's family, accepted by the betrothed family. There are two such cases in Oaks Village among which Lady Zou Aifang's dealing with the dead is representative and recognized highly by villagers. (The interviewee is Zou Aifang, a housewife, aged, illiterate. Date of interview: January 24, 2020. The interview place is Zou's house.)

Zou Aifang, a 70-year-old lady, living with her husband, Wang Tie, in Oaks Village. When Wang Tie was young, he had engaged a girl from another village who unfortunately died of disease before they got married. The girl's body was buried in the ancestral grave of Wang Tie's family in the Oaks Village. After Zou Aifang and Wang Tie got married, she has always recognized the girl as Wang Tie's "former wife". On her death day, Lady Zou will hold a memorial ceremony, letting her sons to sacrifice and mourn in front of the girl's tomb. During the Spring Festival family sacrifice her spirit tablet will be put with Wang Tie's ancestors' ones. On New Year's Day and other special festivals, Zou Aifang also went to visit the girl's parents as a "daughter" to them, and called her mother "Xu Niang", means subsequent mother. Lady Zou once explained to me in this way:

"After the girl and my old Wang had engaged, then she belonged to the Wang's family. We would not deny the fact or she has no home to enjoy worship and sacrifice during the Spring Festival." (Lady Zou always refers to the dead girl as "she", and never mentions her name. Out of the local custom of "taboo for the dead", I did not ask about her name. "Xu Niang" is a traditional relative around south of Shan Dong province. A man's first wife gave birth to a child and later died, and then he married again. The man's second wife also keep close relationship with his dead wife's parents and call them "Xu Niang" and "Xu Die", means subsequent mother and father. The parents call the second wife "Xu Guniang", means subsequent daughter. She gets along very well with her stepchildren, so she will visit the subsequent parents like their own daughter in festivals.)

Zou Aifang believes that if the Wang's family does not accept the dead girl, then her soul has no place to hover. The wandering soul will bring harm to the villagers and it is unfair to herself. Lady Zou also said that she and her old spouse Wang Tie are more than 70 years old, so it was time for them to "build a small house for the old"(the tomb for the old) (To "build a small house for the old" means to build a grave. It is a new term that has emerged in recent years in North China. Before the 1980s, old villagers in Oaks Village's generally lived in the main room of the old house, which was generally located in the middle of the north side of the courtyard, with doors and windows facing south, which was the best position in a courtyard. When the old man dies, the eldest son or the youngest son inherits the house. The obligation of its inheritors is to live in the same courtyard with the old man, living in the side room of the courtyard, and take care of their parents. In the past two or three decades, the concept of life has changed, and young people also want to live in a good house as soon as possible. Most parents give their sons and daughters-in-law the main room when their sons get married, and they will live in a side house or build a smaller house in other parts of the village. This kind of house used for retirement is called "house for the old". In recent years, the villagers jokingly refer to the construction of graves as "building a small house for the old."). "The small house" should be built in this way: the girl's tomb lies closely on the right of Wang Tie's, and Zou's tomb lies beside

the girl's. (According to local customs tomb design, if a man has more than one wife, the first wife will be buried on the right side of the husband, and the other wives will be buried on the right side of the first wife in order. It's not like where the men are in the middle and the wives are on either side. Local customs here show more attention to the order of the elderly and young.) According to Lady Zou, "If she is not satisfied with the tomes' arrangement, the soul will trouble the old Wang and cause him ill." Lady Zou's deeds and plan are generally appraised by the villagers.

To the villagers, Spring Festival's clan reunion and enjoyment of sacrifice are the top priorities in their afterlife, which considered as the top issues to their family identity. Based on this consideration, the rural adult women are usually regarded as "outsiders" in their fathers' family, they have to find a home in the husband's family. From this point of view, there is no home for the unmarried woman.

2. The Causes of Unmarriage for the Unmarried Women

According to my investigation, the causes of the unmarried women in China's rural areas are not faith or rational choice of lifestyle, they have missed the opportunity to marry for various reasons. In addition to the factors of physical disability, there are two factors that may affect marriage: one is the hardship of family circumstances, the other is the failure to meet the ideal marriage partner and miss the marriageable age.

In rural areas in North China, adult woman's long-term living in their parents' homes will be seen as being uncivilized, beyond etiquette and custom. Without marriage, it is impossible for them to join another family, so they have nowhere else to go. Almost all of the choice of the unmarried women is not voluntary, there are various reasons which missed the right fiancé to marry and have to keep single forever.

I came into contacts with two unmarried women during my investigation in Oaks Village. One of them was named Zheng Maixiang (The interviewee is Zheng Maixiang, unmarried, female, aged, illiterate. Date of interview: January 24, 2020. The interview place is Zheng's house.). Ms. Zheng was from a poor family: Her father had poor hearing, and her mother was a little mentally retarded. One of his two elder brothers had mental problems and could not take part in physical labor. Ms. Zheng has been putting off her marriage in the hope of helping her parents support their family.

Until her second elder brother got married and had children, then her parents died one after another. She was more than 40 years old, missed the right age to marry. She still could not make up her mind to leave the home and her brothers. The other villagers told me that she still had a chance to marry someone whose original spouse died when she was 42, but she said "I can't leave without my second elder brother's children. I have to look after them for my second sister-in-law. My eldest-brother needs me, too. I can't help it." Her second elder brother left a boy, who is the heir of their family clan. It is also an important reason for Ms. Zheng to give up getting marriage and help her second elder brother get married.

The other unmarried woman is Wang Qingtang (The interviewee is Wang Qingtang, a teacher, unmarried, female, aged. Date of interview: January 24, 2020. The interview place is Wang's house.), a teacher in the local primary school. She has served as a non-state employed teacher in the primary school for more than 20 years, and later became a state-employed teacher in the public primary school. She is retired at present.

When it was time to get married, Ms. Zheng was not willing to marry an ordinary civilian, while a man who ate "the grain from the State Treasury" (A person who eats "the grain from the State Treasury" refers to non-agricultural personnel with a stable job in state-owned factories, public schools, or governmental offices. From the 1950s to the 1980s, this part of people has a fixed

income every month, also they are supplied food stamps to get grain from the national monopoly of the purchase and sale of grain stores around. They were the envy of the villagers.) didn't want to marry a non-state employed teacher. At that time, although some men with good jobs came to chase her, she thought their appearance was not desirable and refused them. As she got older and older, fewer and fewer men nearby had interest to marry her anymore. Ms. Zheng was unwilling to compromise until she lost the chance to find the right one to get married. She was very regretful about that. In my interviewing, she said:

"When I was 24 years old, one of my classmates from middle school asked a matchmaker to come to propose a marriage. He was already serving in the arm by then and promoted as a cadre, naturally he had an excellent future. I refused him because he was not handsome. Later he married a girl from the next village. Now he is working in Beijing and having a good life. It was the stupidest thing I have ever done when I was young. At the thought of it, I regretted desperately. I wish there is a well nearby to jump into." (Wang Qingtang. Interview with the author. Wang's house, Oaks Village, Jan 24. 2020.).

It is clear that she didn't voluntarily choose to keep single. She just missed or didn't meet a desirable man to get married.

Marriage is an important way and means for individuals and families to accumulate social capital.[14] The unmarried women don't have the opportunity to increase their social and living capital by means of marriage, they will lose their identities and reduce their quality of life because they are born as "outsiders" in blood families for giving up marriage. They not only lose the possibility of normal family life, but also lose the qualification to participate in family activities, and miserably become an "alternative" in rural life.

Ramo has announced that the desire to determine our own identity is a universal instinct of human, but people have been controlled by others in most periods of human history.[12] Places of birth, parents' condition, beliefs and other factors restrict people's freedom to choose their ways of life. Rural women in China have little or no freedom to choose their way of life. Because of various restrictions, they have no possibility to choose their favorite way of life. The limitations include religious tradition, survival ability including skills to earn a living, living environment such as lack of development opportunities, etc. Women are in a situation of passively adapting to life style rather than positively choosing it, so they must be passively endowed with various identities. "Unmarried women" shows their images of "active choice" in their marriage, but their fates are extremely wretched. As a result, they lost the possibility of normal family life and became a "freak" in community life. It can also be said that the state of "unmarrying" is not the life style that they choose independently, but the catalyst is that they want to do their duties for their families they were born or don't want to condescend their unsatisfactory marriages.

3. The Miserable Life of the "Unmarried Women"

Thirty years ago, China's rural life was very hard, the "unmarried women" born in their households were seen as strangers, they have not their own family with husbands and children, once their parents passed away, at the time of difficulties, there were nobody who were obliged to help them, so their life was especially miserable.

Zheng Maixiang is now 55 years old. Her second elder brother has died of disease, leaving her and her eldest brother to live alone. The old house left by her parents has become dilapidated. On rainy days, water permeated through the cracks in the ceiling and the wall. She and her brother have neither strength nor financial resources to repair it, so they couldn't live there any longer. On the eve of the Spring Festival, the Village Committee paid for the building materials and the neighbors made efforts to build two bungalows for them. Their daily life is extremely difficult, close to poverty.

After Wang Qingtang became a state-employed teacher, she got a higher salary, and his pension after retirement was also high, causing the envy of ordinary villagers. She has provided for her parents, and she has no worries about food and clothing. However, after her parents died, Ms. Wang's life was getting wretched.

First of all, spiritually, she has nobody to communicate and depend on. As a daughter, she can't inherit the paternal lineage. Her father's family clan will be inherited by one of her cousins. She feels that the cousin is unfriendly to her, as if he is always looking forward to her, the "outsider", leaving or dying in order to inherit her father's legacy, especially the house she is living. Ms. Wang is extremely sensitive to that and therefore has a tense relationship with her cousin.

Secondly, the quality of material life is also poor. The house Ms. Wang is living in since she was born is the property of her parents. As a daughter, she has no right to dispose of it. The house will be left to her cousins as a patrilineal legacy. Therefore, although the house is very dilapidated, she does not want to pay for repair and still makes do with living inside. One summer evening after the rain, I went to interview her. I found that the courtyard was full of rainwater and I had to step on a few stones to get past to the room. The courtyard walls were covered with weeds, showing the atmosphere of little care. The room was also very damp and lifeless in the dim light.

From their living conditions, we can see the quality of life of unmarried women is bad. Zheng Maixiang's case is not common. The number of unmarried women in rural areas is very small, but her situation is typical. It reflects a kind of survival value orientation of women and its result. If women choose to do their best to take care of their family, especially when the family is in a difficult situation, women often need to give up the opportunity to establish their own marriage relationship, and the cost is quite heavy. The woman will be regarded as an "outsider" in the family she was born into. She has no home for her old age and is extremely lonely, especially when it comes to her own soul destination. Wang Qingtang's example shows that it is difficult to get out of the difficult situation without marrying a woman, even if she can be financially independent. The uncertainty of identity in the kinship system makes them dissociate from the family and have no spiritual dependence.

4. The Marginalization and Loss of Family Sacrifice Status of the "Unmarried Women"

As the most important festival of Chinese people, the Spring Festival is an important occasion for people to carry out ethnic identity. By participating in a series of group activities during the festival, people gain a sense of belonging psychologically. Therefore, it is most valued by rural people. The qualification of family sacrifice is the basic condition of participating in family sacrifice activities. The qualification of family sacrifice includes two meanings: first, the obligation to perform sacrifice etiquette for family ancestors; Second, after one family member died, the dead one belongs to the family ancestors and enjoys the rights enshrined by descendants of the family. Family sacrifice qualification is an important symbol of family identity.

Just as Gao said, "With the power of customs, traditional festivals allow people to automatically experience the same activities at the same time and experience the same values in the same ceremony, in that case, a common society keeps people happy to live." [7] Family sacrifices during the Spring Festival are the activities that can best reflect family identity and make people feel the sense of belonging, so the sacrifices are also the most valued by rural people.

In Oaks Village, there is no difference between boys and girls before they reach the age of marriage. During the festival celebrations, underage girls and their brothers enjoy the same treatment and participate in various activities during the festival. But things change when they grow up to marriageable age. Rural girls usually get married as soon as they reach the legal age

of marriage, and people gradually regard adult women as "outsiders" who are about to marry other clans.

From the perspective of female family identity, marriage is a symbolic event. Once a woman gets married, she is separated from her blood relatives: "Blood relatives exclude married women because they are related to the clan. Although the married daughter's reception is more casual when she returns to her mother's home, and her mother's home will still safeguard her rights and interests in her husband's family, this does not mean that people regard the married daughter as a family. On the contrary, once a girl is married, she immediately becomes an outsider".[3] On the wedding day, women lose their qualification to participate in the Spring Festival family sacrifice of their own families, but they also get the qualification and obligation of family sacrifice of their husbands. The awkward status of the unmarried women is also reflected most obviously in such activity.

According to Bossen, because of the potential "outsider" status of women in their own families, women who have passed the age of marriage can't confidently participate in the family ritual of the Spring Festival.[2] The unmarried woman cannot complete the conversion of family sacrifice qualification because she is not married; they are pushed to the marginalization of family sacrifice for their potential "outsider" identities in their own families. They have to worship their ancestors in their own houses, but when male relatives and women who have married into the clan proudly go from family to family and pay homage to the ancestors of different branches of the same clan, they tend to stay indoors, naturally their lack of status is revealed at the same time. The embarrassment of the two unmarried women in Oaks Village is highlighted in the Spring Festival family festival. During the Spring Festival, Zheng Maixiang did not set up the ancestral spirit tablets at home, but the tablets set at the second elder brother's home, because the elder second brother left a boy and the boy is the heir of their family clan. It is mainly for that reason that Ms. Zheng chose to give up getting married and help his second elder brother to get married in order to leave the hope of the continuity of the family blood. However, if she and her eldest brother died later, her eldest brother's name would be enshrined on the ancestral spirit tablet in their nephew's house, while her name would not appear there. According to local customs, the daughter is an "outsider", she can't enter the ancestral spirit. Ms. Zheng is naturally aware of the tradition, so during the Spring Festival, she does not go with other women to visit the ancestral spirit of her clan, so as not to bring misfortune to the others. She just stays at home, experiencing her loneliness in the busy and happy holiday atmosphere. During Spring Festival, Wang Qingtang also sets up her parents' spirit tablets to worship at her home, but no one came to worship, and her ancestors, including her parents were believed to have been worshipped at the home of her cousins. Ms. Zheng also does not go to the homes of her cousins or other ethnic groups to worship her ancestors. Instead, she "hides" at home alone. Partners of the same age have married, some married far away, even if they live close, they are also busy with housework, so she finds no friends to talk with in the village. The lively atmosphere of the Spring Festival contrasts with her loneliness.

The fate of the soul of the unmarried women after their death is even more perplexing. According to local customs, they could not enter into the ancestral spirits after their death, and there is no place for them on the spiritual tablets of their ancestors, which indicates that they will not be able to enjoy the offerings of their descendants. Sharma has announced that the status of the "unmarried women" is considered ominous for civil society. In the folk imagination, the soul of the "unmarried women" cannot join the ranks of ancestors to enjoy sacrifices, so it is in a wandering state.[13] It is not only unable to protect the offspring, but more like a ghost symbolizing external danger. This is very similar to the understanding of "Resentful Souls" in Japanese civil society (On November 4, 2008, Dr. Sano Kenji, the director of "Institute of Human Culture of Japan" in Kanazawa University had a report titled "From Obsequy to Funeral -- 13 Buddha Beliefs and Japanese Memorial Ceremonies" in Minzu University of China. He

considered that the souls of the dead would be divided into "harmonious souls" and "resentful souls" according to Japanese folk belief. The souls of the natural dead are called "harmonious souls", and in the process of people's worship, they will become the "ancestral souls" with the function of protecting the descendants. The souls of the abnormal dead are called "resentful souls", also known as "desolate souls", whose character is rough and will bring disasters to human.). The Japanese people refer to the spirits of the unusually dead as "Resentful Souls," which are violent and disastrous, far different from the "ancestral souls," which are supposed to protect descendants. The "unmarried women" are excluded from rural society because of their "freak" factors in real life.[1]

The status of "unmarried women" in the Spring Festival family sacrifice is marginalized and missed. The Spring Festival family festival, as a common ceremony held by many ethnic groups, brings more sense of belonging and happiness to participants. But for those who are out of the ritual, they will suffer the pain of inferiority, confusion and loss. The "unmarried women" are rejected by their own blood clan in the family sacrifice activities because they have not established their own marital relationship, resulting in the homelessness of their reality and spirits.

5. Conclusion

The anthropologists have known for many years that men and women are given certain tasks and roles in any society, so this phenomenon is called sexual division of labor. These activities have special values and people use these values to judge the status of specific activities relative to other activities. In such activities, social environment plays a far more important role in shaping gender differences than physiological factors. In the process of growing up, women's family identity is gradually socialized into different types from men's. When people consider clan relations, they often exclude women, here the definition of the concept of "clan" in traditional rural society is a blood group inherited from the same ancestor and living in a region, but inherited from the paternal line. Many researchers have also noticed the dual identity of women in the two clans of father's family and husband's family. A woman often belongs to either clan, and her role and function also show some contradictions and fuzziness. In the system of blood relatives born to women, they were given the status of "potential outsiders" at first, and this status was gradually strengthened in adulthood until they became "outsiders" in the true sense of their own blood families when they entered the marriage relationship. The unmarried women will wander in the fuzzy zone between "potential outsiders" and "real outsiders", and fall into an "alternative" state with uncertain family status.

Talking about the issue of national image, the fact should not be denied that if China is to maintain its development and stability, it can't ignore the two questions: one is how other countries view China and the other is how China views itself. National image, in a sense, will determine the future and destiny of China's development. The same is true of women's issues. Chinese government and relevant scholars have long proposed to build an advanced gender culture and create a social and cultural environment conducive to women's all-round development. However, in the actual implementation process, especially in the rural grass-roots communities, there will be many difficulties. A woman's status in life and her own development are derived from two factors, namely, how others view her and how she views herself, which are equally important.

In North China's rural society like Oaks Village, family blood is passed down in patrilineal single genealogy, and the position of male in the kinship system is predetermined by nature from birth, and this position remains unchanged for life; But the position of female in the kinship system is uncertain. Her family identity was characterized by the dissociating "outsider" in the blood relationship into which she was born. As an "outsider", a female will leave her family sooner or

later, enter and live in her husband's family by marriage. In the end, the vast majority of women transform their identity through marriage and offspring. This "outsider" identity is the view of social masses to women, and it is also women's own understanding of their own identity. The "outsider" identity will hurt women's self-confidence, at the same time form resistance to the display of women's individual and group abilities, reduce the quality of women's lives, and bring unnecessary pressure to rural women.

Rural women in China have little or no freedom to choose their lifestyle, and they have no possibility to choose their favorite lifestyle because of various restrictions including clan tradition, survival ability (skills to earn a living), living environment (for example, lack of development opportunities), etc. Women are in a situation of passively adapting to (rather than choosing) lifestyle and passively being given various identities. A woman's unmarried state shows her image of "active choice" in marriage, but she must pay the price of losing her family identity. In order to change this situation, women must own the statuses of first endowed relatives and families, to fundamentally improve their living conditions. In the process of building a harmonious rural community, how to change the passive situation of women in the family system and dissolve the extra pressure from the two aspects of subject and object are urgent problems that need to be paid attention to and solved by the government and intellectuals.

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