FAMILY PLANNING IN CHINA: RECENT TRENDS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1979, China announced the one-child policy, the world's most stringent effort to slow a country's population growth. Fertility had fallen in the 1970's, but not quickly enough to meet the government's plans for economic development or achieve their goal of holding the population to 1.2 billion by the year 2000. In 1970, women had an average of 5.8 children; by 1979, the average had dropped to 2.8 children (1.4 in urban areas and 3.1 in rural areas). The total fertility rate (TFR) had dropped to an estimated 2.1 by 1985, but rose to 2.4 in 1986.

The One-Child Policy

The one-child policy has been implemented to varying degrees during the past decade and has been more successful in urban than rural areas, and in some provinces over others. Originally the one-child policy encouraged couples to have one child, and controlled the number of second and third births. In the 1980's, the policy has restricted urban couples and cadres to only one child, with a second child allowed under rare special circumstances; allowed more second births in rural areas, but only for couples with "special difficulties;" and permitted only members of minority nationalities to have three children.

Amidst allegations of compulsion and coercion, the government has maintained that the policy is carried out through voluntarism with state guidance, and that it has enjoyed the full support and participation of the Chinese people. The government now concedes, however, that there has been strong resistance to the one-child policy in rural areas, and that coercion has occurred, especially during high tides such as that started during the family planning propaganda month in January 1983. In 1983, there was a huge upsurge in the number of abortions, sterilizations, and IUD insertions over previous years.

By the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan period (1981 through 1985), the government was pleased with the results of the family planning program. Some provinces had not only achieved their population targets, but had had even fewer births than expected.

The Birth Peak

Now, however, China is facing an impending "birth peak," because the large cohorts born after the Great Leap Forward in the early 1960's will be getting married and having children for the next decade. The following figures show the dramatic.
increase in the number of women in the peak childbearing ages between 1982 and the year 2000, and the 1986 rise in the number of births that is already occurring partly as a result of the age structure changes, but primarily as a result of an increase in fertility. (See text pages 6-9.)

China: Number of Women in Peak Childbearing Ages, 1982 to 2000

![Graph showing the number of women in peak childbearing ages from 1982 to 2000.]

Note: Peak childbearing ages are 21 through 30. All these ages have single-year age-specific fertility rates of .10 or above.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Center for International Research, computer reconstruction of China's demographic trends.

China: Estimated Number of Births, 1981 to 1986

![Bar chart showing the estimated number of births from 1981 to 1986.]

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Center for International Research, computer reconstruction of China's demographic trends.
Documents Number 7 and 13

The birth peak is coming at a time when family planning work has been relaxed in some areas of the country, in part as a result of Document Number 7, promulgated in 1984 to deal with the backlash against family planning program efforts in 1983. Document Number 7 counseled against the use of force in family planning and instead advocated using propaganda and education and improving relations between family planning workers and the people. At the same time, the Document demanded success in meeting targets. As a result of these conflicting guidelines, family planning between 1984 and 1986 was not enforced everywhere as strictly as it had been previously.

Document Number 13 was promulgated in 1986 in an effort to strengthen family planning work throughout the country. While it maintained some of the more moderate wording of Document Number 7, such as favoring propaganda and education over force, and improving the relations between family planning workers and the people, it emphasized action and achieving results. Provinces continue to be given annual population targets based on the goal of keeping the national population to within 1.2 billion by the year 2000, and in turn the provinces issue population targets to local areas.

Although provinces theoretically have flexibility in implementing the national family planning policy, in fact they are constrained by the need to meet ambitious population targets. Recently the provinces have been reviewing family planning implementation plans at local levels to make sure they conform with national guidelines and provincial regulations. Those that do not conform must be changed. (See text pages 16-17 and 33-36.)

The Impact of Economic Reforms on Fertility

At the same time that China has attempted to enforce family planning throughout the country, the basic infrastructure through which the family planning program was carried out in rural areas -- the commune system -- has been dismantled. Instead, families now receive private plots for farming, which has increased the perceived economic need for children in rural areas, and especially for sons. Studies on desired family size show that rural residents want an average of at least two or three children. (See text pages 60-67.)
Family Planning Responsibility Systems

To ensure that local leaders and family planning workers comply with family planning regulations, an increasing number of provinces are instituting responsibility systems which link local leaders, family planning workers, and individuals through a system of mandatory contracts. Individuals who break their contracts by having unauthorized births are to be fined and family planning workers and local leaders are to be penalized if they do not fulfill their family planning targets. In addition the government is trying to extend the coverage of regular family planning work throughout China. At present an estimated 30 percent of local areas do not have family planning workers. (See text pages 67-77.)

Mass Mobilization Campaigns and Shock Drives

Provincial family planning programs still use intensive mobilization campaigns to carry out family planning operations (abortions, sterilizations, and IUD insertions) in order to achieve population targets each year. Soon after the midpoint of each calendar year, provinces have statistics on how many births occurred in the first half of the year, and approximately how many pregnant women in the province will give birth by the end of the year. Based on these numbers, provincial leaders can predict whether or not the province will stay within its birth quota for the year. This is generally the time that provinces call for renewed efforts, usually through mass mobilization or shock drives, to meet their targets. This would require aborting some proportion of pregnancies. (See text pages 52-58.)

The Floating Population

The government is also trying to strengthen control over the "floating population," those workers whose household registration is in a different place from where they work. Family planning has been the responsibility of the family planning office in the locality of a person's household registration, so migrant workers who do not return home for extended periods of time have been able to avoid family planning workers. Migrant women are now to submit to regular family planning check-ups and sign family planning contracts. They and their husbands risk fines and having their business licenses revoked if they become pregnant with an unauthorized child. (See text pages 78-81.)
Marriage Reform

China's most recent initiative to ameliorate the effects of the imminent birth peak is to encourage late marriage and later childbirth for women. The legal age at marriage for women is still 20 years of age, but the government is hoping to convince women to wait until they are at least 23 years old to marry and 24 before they have their first child. Women who become pregnant before they are 20 years of age are considered to have unauthorized pregnancies and are expected to abort them. (See text pages 81-84.)

Continuity and Change

The most important shifts in the last few years have been the backing off from the 1983 high tide of force in family planning to a period of mixed messages in 1984 and 1985 (succeed in family planning, but not through force), and the recent shift back to a harder line being imposed once again by the national government.

Important elements of continuity from 1983 to the present include the one-child policy, the national requirement to practice family planning, the categorization of each birth as either approved or unauthorized, the prohibition of third and higher order births for the Han nationality, the use of mass mobilization campaigns to ensure family planning compliance and to meet population targets, the enforcement of required sterilization and abortion and IUD insertions, the use of mandatory birth limitation contracts, and various forms of cadre work responsibility systems to see that the cadres comply with orders to meet family planning targets. (See text pages 17-29, and 41-58.)

Summary

At present China has maintained its ambitious goal of keeping the population to about 1.2 billion by the year 2000. Chinese and Western projections show that if the 1986 birth rate should continue, the country will not meet its goal for the year 2000. Therefore, given the huge number of women entering the peak childbearing ages during the next decade, the attainment of this goal will require renewed efforts in family planning. The national and provincial governments are in the process of tightening up on family planning in order to achieve China's goal.
The Center for International Research (CIR) conducts economic and demographic studies. The results of these studies are issued as CIR Staff Papers. A complete listing of these papers is included at the end of this report. The use of data not generated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census precludes performing the same statistical reviews the Bureau does on its own data.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1979 China announced the one-child policy, the world's most stringent effort to slow a country's population growth. The policy was originally designed to achieve a stationary population size, and later to keep the country's population to within 1.2 billion by the year 2000. The one-child policy has been maintained in China, although it has been implemented to differing degrees over the past decade. Use of force in the family planning program reached a peak in 1983, and diminished in many areas between 1984 and 1986. Since 1986, China has faced a surge in the number of women in high reproductive ages and a decade-long fertility peak. This is causing the government to reassess its family planning program in an effort to strengthen implementation, so that the national goal of a 1.2 billion population can be attained by the year 2000.

This paper summarizes demographic trends in China, including the impending birth peak, an expected result of the large cohorts that will be reaching reproductive age during the next decade. The paper briefly describes the one-child population policy and family planning program in China through 1985 and looks in more detail at implementation of the family planning program in China between 1986 and 1988. The two periods are linked together with an analysis of the continuities and changes in policy and program implementation over the past decade.

For the period 1986 to 1988, national policy statements, including the promulgation of Document Number 13, and changes in the leadership of the State Family Planning Commission, and the Seventh Five Year Plan period (1986 through 1990) are discussed. The paper traces links between the national, provincial and local levels in implementing family planning, and discusses the use of mass mobilization drives as well as propaganda and education in the family planning program. The paper summarizes the effects of economic reforms on family planning; discusses desired family size in China; and provides a close look at implementation of the program, emphasizing family planning responsibility systems, marriage reform, and efforts to control the floating population.
II. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Total Fertility

Fertility has dropped dramatically in China, most quickly in the 1970's and in both urban and rural areas. Table 1 shows the total fertility rate (TFR)\(^1\) between 1970 and 1985 for the urban, non-agricultural population and for the rural population.

The urban TFR has remained about half of the rural TFR since 1970. By 1983, the latest year for which an urban and rural breakdown was found in Chinese sources, the national TFR was reported to be 2.1, with women in urban areas having 1.4 children and women in rural areas, 2.2 children. The national TFR for 1985 was a reported 2.0 births per woman.

Parity

Through the one-child policy, the Chinese family planning program has sought to control the number of second births and to strictly prohibit third births. Table 2 shows reported data on the parity distribution in China for selected years between 1970 and 1986.

As shown in table 2, first births as a proportion of total births rose to 47 percent by 1981, peaked at 56 percent in 1983, and was 51 percent in 1986. Obviously, though China has a policy of trying to limit most couples to only one child, many couples go on to have one or more additional births. Because the national and provincial governments are strongly committed to blocking the conception or birth of third or higher order children, the proportion of births in that category declined to 17 percent by 1986. Births to members of minority groups, who are in many cases allowed third or higher order births, no doubt make up a disproportionate share of the 3.8 million births in 1986 beyond second parity. However, the minority nationality share of these births has not been reported.

From 1977 through 1984, second parity births stabilized at about one-quarter of all births, while first births as a proportion of all births increased and the percent third and higher order declined. But in 1985 and 1986, there was a drop in the proportion first births and a jump in the second parity proportion of all births compared to 1983 and 1984. The Chinese government, while adamantly opposed to tolerating third or higher

\(^1\)The total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given fertility rate at each age.
Table 1. Official National, Urban, and Rural Total Fertility Rates for China: 1970 to 1986 (Births per woman)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>6.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>6.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>2.97</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>3.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>2.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/A Data not available

Note: In this table, urban refers to the urban, non-agricultural population, and rural refers to everyone else.

Table 2. China Birth Parities: Selected Years, 1970 to 1986 (Births in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total births as reconstructed</th>
<th>Percent first births</th>
<th>Percent second births</th>
<th>Percent third plus births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>30,338</td>
<td>20.73</td>
<td>17.06</td>
<td>62.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>19,903</td>
<td>30.86</td>
<td>24.59</td>
<td>44.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>20,803</td>
<td>46.57</td>
<td>25.35</td>
<td>28.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>21,265</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>5.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>19,025</td>
<td>56.37</td>
<td>24.58</td>
<td>19.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>18,106</td>
<td>55.45</td>
<td>24.99</td>
<td>19.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>18,619</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>22,005</td>
<td>51.25</td>
<td>31.48</td>
<td>17.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Total births through 1981 are from a computer reconstruction of China's demographic trends using annual single year age-specific fertility rates from the nationwide one-per-thousand-population fertility survey of 1982. Total births from 1982 through 1986 are from a computer reconstruction of China's demographic trends utilizing the official birth rates from the State Statistical Bureau's annual survey of population change. Reconstructed total births each year are allocated according to the reported parity distributions.

Figure 1. The Civilian Population of China, by Age and Sex: 1982

Note: Population pyramid created from China's July 1, 1982 census data by Doug Grossman, Precision Charts, Newport News, VA, 1987. Reproduced with permission. The numbers beside the pyramid are the ages below which are one-quarter, one-half, and three-quarters of the population of each sex. The military personnel are not included because their age distribution is only reported by 5-year age groups.

parity births, has been more lenient toward second births in these years, especially second births to rural couples. Many of these second births were approved before conception or before birth.

**Birth Peak**

For the past 2 years, Chinese leaders have been concerned about a "birth peak" or baby boom that is expected to last for at least the next decade. This birth peak is an echo effect of the high birth rates that began after the Great Leap Forward of 1958 to 1961 and lasted from 1962 through the early 1970's. Figure 1 illustrates the dramatic increase in the sizes of cohorts born after 1961 (ages 0 through 19 in the population pyramid). The official birth rate jumped from 18.0 per thousand in 1961 to 37.0 in 1962 and to 43.4 in 1963. For the rest of the 1960's, the birth rate remained above 33 per 1000 population. The huge cohorts born in the 1960's have now begun to reach their peak childbearing ages.

As shown in figure 2, the age-specific fertility pattern characteristic of Chinese women by 1981 features childbearing concentrated in the twenties, contrasted with low fertility rates for women in their teens, thirties, and forties. Therefore, sharp changes in the numbers of women at these peak childbearing ages is expected to result in sharp changes in fertility. Figure 3 shows the severity of the problem. The absolute number of women in China at the peak childbearing ages of 21 through 30 (that is, those ages with an age-specific fertility rate of 0.10 or more) was 80 to 90 million in the early 1980's, but will increase steeply to 110 million or more after 1990, with a peak of nearly 125 million in 1993.

The birth rate has begun to reflect the rise in the number of women reaching reproductive ages and having children. Table 3 shows the reported birth rates in China between 1981 and 1986 and the implied number of births and implied TFRs, in addition to the reported crude death rates and rates of natural increase. The birth rate dropped from 20.9 per thousand women in 1981 to 17.5 in 1984, giving rise to optimism in the family planning program in China that birth rates were on the decline. In 1986, however, the birth rate rose to nearly the level of 1981, and the rate of natural increase rose from 11.2 per thousand population in 1985 to 14.1 in 1986. The 1986 birth rate resulted in three million more births in 1986 than in 1985, and an increase in the implied TFR from 2.1 to 2.4. While most of the rise in the number of births was due to an increase in fertility, between 20 and 22 percent was due to a shift in the age structure.
Figure 2. China: Age Specific Fertility Rate, 1981


Figure 3. China: Number of Women in Peak Childbearing Ages, 1982 to 2000

Note: Peak childbearing ages are 21 through 30. All these ages have single-year age-specific fertility rates of .10 or above.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Center for International Research, computer reconstruction of China's demographic trends.
Table 3. Birth Rates and Estimated Number of Births, Estimated TFR, Crude Death Rate, and Rate of Natural Increase for China: 1981 to 1986 (Per 1,000 population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birth rate</th>
<th>Estimated number of births (in 000)</th>
<th>Estimated TFR</th>
<th>Crude death rate</th>
<th>Rate of natural increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>20.91</td>
<td>20,803</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>14.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>21.09</td>
<td>21,265</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>14.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>18.62</td>
<td>19,025</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>11.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>18,106</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>17.80</td>
<td>18,619</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>11.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>20.77</td>
<td>22,005</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>14.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The provinces will experience the birth peak to differing degrees, depending on their pattern of fertility decline during the past three decades. For example, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Gansu will have proportionately more people entering the reproductive years than will Hebei, Liaoning, and Zhejiang, where birth rates did not rise as steeply in the early 1960's. In other provinces such as Jiangxi, Fujian, and Yunnan, the birth peak will last longer since birth rates began to decline in the late 1970's, compared to Jiangsu, Shandong, and Liaoning where fertility dropped in the early 1970's.²

²Zhang Xinxia, "Xinde shengyu guafeng de tedian jiqi duice" ("The Main Characteristics of a New Birth peak and Countermeasures"), JKB—JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), May 9, 1986, p. 2.
III. FAMILY PLANNING THROUGH 1985

Overview

China's sharp reduction in fertility has not been completely spontaneous, but has come about under the influence of an unusually effective national family planning program. This program had a brief beginning in the late 1950's. Not much is known outside China about how the family planning program operated during the 1960's, but we might surmise that it was influential in bringing about the precipitous decline of urban fertility in the mid-1960's from a total fertility rate of 6.2 births per woman in 1963 to 2.9 in 1967.3

The program started to be vigorously implemented in rural areas in the early 1970's.4 Very little information is available about how the program actually was carried out during this important period, which saw a very steep fertility decline for China as a whole, from a total fertility rate of 5.8 births per woman in 1970 to 3.6 in 1975 and then to 2.7 in 1978, as shown in Table 1. During 1977-78, the government stipulated that rural as well as urban women were to stop childbearing after two children. By that time, couples were supposed to request permission from local leaders before conceiving a child, and local areas had birth plans designating which couples were authorized to have a birth during the next year.5


In 1978, Chinese leaders discovered from a set of population projections that if the women of China stopped childbearing after two children on average, the nation's population would continue growing until well into the next century. Such an outcome was unacceptable to them, so they adopted a policy promoting a limit of one child per couple. The one-child policy included a series of mostly financial incentives and disincentives to encourage couples to stop at one child and penalize those who did not. Based on a national model family planning law, provinces drafted their own family planning laws that differed only slightly from one another. As reported in 1980:

In order to encourage one child per couple, the Planned Parenthood Leadership Group of the State Council drafted, on the basis of extensive opinion-gathering, a "Planned Parenthood Law (Draft)" in 1979 for discussion by all areas. Based on local conditions, all areas in China have formulated corresponding regulations and stipulations on planned birth, and issued single-child certificates to childbearing age couples with only one child. By the end of November 1979, 27 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have formulated regulations and stipulations.

From the beginning, provincial family planning regulations have required national approval. For example, in 1979 it was reported that Chen Muhua, the leader of the State Council Family Planning Group at the time, "gives her approval to the regulations on planned birth formulated by Sichuan, Guangdong, Tianjin, Anhui, Gansu, and Shandong."

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8 "Kongzhi renkou shi yixiang zhongyao de zhanlue renwu" ("Population Control is an Important Strategic Task"), Wenhui bao (Cultural News), June 30, 1979, p. 1.
Some provinces have made modifications in their family planning rules or issued revised regulations since 1979. In the early 1980's, provincial regulations were amended to be more restrictive regarding who was allowed a second birth. For example, Shanxi province regulations of 1982 stipulated:

Except in special circumstances where the birth of a second child is approved, state cadres, staff members and workers and urban residents (including those whose spouses reside in the countryside) are allowed one child per couple. Except in special circumstances or real difficulties where the birth of a second child is approved, rural commune members are allowed one child per couple....Under no circumstances is the birth of a third child allowed.9

The highly unusual "special circumstances" were then delineated in detail. After early 1984, revisions of provincial regulations generally expanded the categories of couples who qualified for approval of a second birth. For instance, in 1984 Shandong province on the east coast of China publicized its expanded list of 16 conditions under which couples were allowed a second birth.10

During 1979 and in subsequent years, in some urban areas and some provinces, women pregnant with a second or higher order child were required to abort the pregnancies. Instances of mandatory sterilization were also reported.11 As shown in table 4, the first year of the one-child program (1979) registered a surge in the numbers of abortions and tubal ligations performed in comparison to earlier years. Every year

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since 1979 for which data have been reported, there have been at least 8 million abortions performed nationwide, in contrast to around 5 million each year before 1979.

Table 4 also documents the extraordinary numbers of tubal ligations, vasectomies, IUD (intrauterine device) insertions, and abortions that were carried out in 1983. In December 1982, the national government announced there would be a nationwide campaign beginning in January 1983, one of whose main purposes was to carry out "technical measures" for birth control. These technical measures included required sterilization of one partner in those couples who already had two or more children, mandatory IUD insertion for women who had one child, and required abortion for all unauthorized pregnancies. As a result, the number of IUD insertions and the number of abortions peaked that year nationwide, and the total number of sterilizations performed increased from 5 million in 1982 to 21 million in 1983.

The "high tide" of enforced family planning in 1983 was very successful, in that by the end of the year, 74 percent of married women of reproductive age (15-49) in China were using a contraceptive method, the vast majority employing an effective modern technique. Because of the government emphasis on sterilization, by yearend 1983, over half of those couples of childbearing age with two or more living children nationwide had one partner sterilized.

Indirect evidence suggests, however, that there was popular backlash against the 1983 peak of enforced family planning. The head of the State Family Planning Commission, Qian Xinzhong, who was strongly identified with the 1983 campaign, was suddenly dismissed in December 1983. He was replaced by Wang Wei, who began his tenure by adopting a moderate tone and a message to avoid the use of coercion. More "high tide" family planning


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total operations</th>
<th>IUD insertions</th>
<th>IUD removals</th>
<th>Vasectomies</th>
<th>Tubal ligations</th>
<th>Abortions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>13,051,123</td>
<td>6,172,889</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1,223,480</td>
<td>1,744,644</td>
<td>3,910,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>18,690,446</td>
<td>9,220,297</td>
<td>853,625</td>
<td>1,115,822</td>
<td>2,087,160</td>
<td>4,813,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>25,075,557</td>
<td>13,949,569</td>
<td>1,126,756</td>
<td>1,933,210</td>
<td>2,955,617</td>
<td>5,110,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>22,638,229</td>
<td>12,579,886</td>
<td>1,352,787</td>
<td>1,445,251</td>
<td>2,275,741</td>
<td>4,984,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>29,462,861</td>
<td>16,743,693</td>
<td>1,702,213</td>
<td>2,652,653</td>
<td>3,280,042</td>
<td>5,084,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>22,385,435</td>
<td>11,626,510</td>
<td>1,812,590</td>
<td>1,495,540</td>
<td>2,707,849</td>
<td>4,742,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>25,539,086</td>
<td>12,974,313</td>
<td>1,941,880</td>
<td>2,616,876</td>
<td>2,776,448</td>
<td>5,229,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>21,720,096</td>
<td>10,962,517</td>
<td>2,087,420</td>
<td>767,542</td>
<td>2,511,413</td>
<td>5,391,204</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>30,581,114</td>
<td>13,472,392</td>
<td>2,288,670</td>
<td>1,673,947</td>
<td>5,289,518</td>
<td>7,856,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>28,628,437</td>
<td>11,491,871</td>
<td>2,403,408</td>
<td>1,363,508</td>
<td>3,842,006</td>
<td>9,527,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>22,760,305</td>
<td>10,344,537</td>
<td>1,513,376</td>
<td>649,476</td>
<td>1,555,971</td>
<td>8,696,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>33,702,389</td>
<td>14,069,161</td>
<td>2,056,671</td>
<td>1,230,967</td>
<td>3,925,927</td>
<td>12,419,663</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>58,205,572</td>
<td>17,755,736</td>
<td>5,323,354</td>
<td>4,359,261</td>
<td>16,398,378</td>
<td>14,371,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>51,734,864</td>
<td>11,751,146</td>
<td>4,383,129</td>
<td>1,293,286</td>
<td>5,417,163</td>
<td>8,890,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>28,470,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11,580,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/A Data not available.

Sources: Data for 1971 through 1984 were reported in Zhongguo weisheng nianjian Compiler Committee, Zhongguo weisheng nianjian 1985 (Public Health Yearbook of China 1985), Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1986, p. 57. The total number of operations in 1986 was reported by Yan Renying, "Jihua shengyue cujin fuyou baojian gongzuo" ("Family Planning Promotes Health Care Work for Women and Children"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), October 23, 1987, p. 3. The number of abortions in 1986 was reported in "Family Planning Head Admits 'Coercive Activities,'" FBIS, No. 130, July 8, 1987, p. K1.
campaigns that had been scheduled and announced for January 1984 were canceled without explanation.\textsuperscript{14}

The new tone was embodied in "Party Central Committee Document Number 7" of April 1984, which has never been publicly released. This document instructed local officials and family planning workers nationwide that "family planning policies must be built on a foundation that is fair and reasonable, supported by the masses, and easy for the cadres to carry out." Document Number 7 also emphasized that "the relationship between the Party and the masses must be consolidated and public order and unity must be promoted."\textsuperscript{15} The Document stated that it was acceptable to "open a small gap" in the one-child limit by allowing couples who could be considered hardship cases to have a second birth. Those allowed a second child should be "about 10 percent" of couples.\textsuperscript{16} While backing off from the crash campaigns of 1983, however, Document Number 7 continued to insist on full success in fertility control. It stated that family planning work must be "grasped firmly and well," "must be done with a tight rein and be done well with great effort," and that "strict control must be applied to second births outside the plan and to excessive [meaning third or higher parity] births."\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{15}JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), May 18, 1984; Peng Zhiliang, "Tan jihua shenyu zhengce yao heqing heli" ("Family Planning Policy Must be Fair and Reasonable"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), June 29, 1984, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{16}Long Guangrong, "Renzhen kai hao xiaokou qieshi duzhu dakou" ("Earnestly Do Well in Opening a Small Gap and Effectively Close the Big Gap"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), October 19, 1984, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{17}Liang Jimin and Peng Zhiliang, "Ying quanmian lijie zhengque guanche jihua shenyu zhengce" ("The Implementation of Family Planning Policies Should be Understood Correctly and Fully"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), April 13, 1984, p. 3; and Wang Wei, "Ba zhongyang jingshen bian wei ganbu quanzhong de zijue xingdong" ("Turn the Guidelines of the Party Central Committee into Voluntary Action on the Part of the Cadres and the Masses"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), July 6, 1984, p. 1.
The Wang Wei era, which lasted from December 1983 to January 1988 (but was most influential during 1984-85), could therefore be characterized as the era of the mixed message. Cadres were expected to meet birth limitation targets, but to do it nicely. When these conflicting instructions could not simultaneously be carried out, many local leaders cracked down on the women of reproductive age under their jurisdiction and met the assigned targets, while many other cadres heeded the anti-coercion guideline and thus relaxed controls on fertility.

Basic Elements of China's Family Planning Program

Most of the basic elements of China's family planning policy and program today have been in place since the early 1980's. These include:

- Stated official policy;
- Required family planning;
- National limits on the number of children per couple;
- One-child pledge;
- Family planning contracts; and
- Required contraceptive methods.

Stated official policy

First, China's stated national policy has always been that the country's family planning program is voluntary, not compulsory, that people are persuaded to practice birth control but not forced, and that China combines the voluntarism of the masses with state guidance or direction in family planning. Any instances of coercion that come to light are attributed to local cadres exceeding their instructions. Public statements like these have not varied, even during 1979-82 when required abortions in the second and third trimester were mandated by several provinces. For example, in 1980 the Chairman of the

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Chinese Communist Party, Hua Guofeng, gave a speech to the National People's Congress in which he said:

It is very common for one couple to have only one child in the developed countries. But for people in our rural areas, it is truly an important matter of transforming social customs and traditions. In our effort to achieve this, we rely chiefly on publicizing and implementing the policies of the Party and government and on ideological and political work, not on compulsion and arbitrary orders. However, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that, for diverse reasons, cases of compulsion or even violations of the law and discipline have occurred in this work in some places. We must firmly put an end to this.20

China's official stated policy on the question of coercion was repeated in the authoritative People's Daily in late 1980:

Planned parenthood concerns the vital interests of each household. We must patiently and meticulously conduct ideological and educational work and persuade the people. We oppose coercion or issuing orders or employing force or punishment, methods which are divorced from the masses.21

Even in 1983, the peak year in which China carried out a nationwide campaign of mandatory sterilization, abortion, and IUD insertion using a degree of compulsion in family planning unprecedented in the world, official statements that China's program is voluntary continued to be issued:

A spokesman of the State Family Planning Commission told Xinhua today that it is China's consistent policy to encourage people to practice birth control voluntarily. The Chinese Government has never resorted to compulsory means to force sterilization among people. He said in an interview that there were individual cases of using compulsory measures due to the simple working method of local cadres.


and staff members. But the government will take prompt measures to stop them, whenever it discovers such cases, he stressed. The spokesman was commenting on slanders spread by certain foreign newspapers and individuals that the Chinese Government adopts compulsory measures in family planning.  

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman reiterated China's stated official policy in late 1985 as follows: "By pursuing its family planning programme, Ch... has always followed the principle of voluntary participation under State guidance and opposed all coercive means in the work of family planning."  

Required family planning  
China continues to have a nationwide policy of required family planning practice. People are not allowed a choice about whether they will control their fertility. The policy of obligatory family planning was gradually implemented in different places during the 1970's. Then in the revised national Marriage Law that took effect January 1, 1981, an explicit requirement to practice family planning became national in scope: Article 12: "Both husband and wife shall have the duty to practice family planning." In December 1982, China adopted a new Constitution that reiterated the obligation of married couples to use birth control in Article 49: "Both husband and wife have the duty to practice family planning."  

To overcome any confusion about the meaning of these laws, policy statements have explained that they mean that family planning practice is required. For example, in 1983 the province of Ningxia in north central China emphasized, "During family planning propaganda month [January 1983], Ningxia extensively mobilized the masses and achieved very good results. This enabled people to realize that the practice of family planning is  


state policy and that it is imperative. The same year China’s most populous province of Sichuan confirmed, "Through legislation, it can be made even more explicit to the broad body of cadres and masses that implementing planned parenthood is not an expedient measure but that it is a principle stipulated by the laws of the nation and that it is a legal duty that the citizens must bear to the state."

The Constitution and Marriage Law are still in effect. Their requirement that couples practice family planning has not been rescinded, nor has its meaning or interpretation been changed. In Chinese sources, the statement that family planning is a "basic national policy" of China refers to the national requirement that couples practice birth control. For example, this Yunnan provincial broadcast reconfirmed the national policy as follows:

Study and implement the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates and get a ceaseless grasp of planned parenthood work in Yunnan. Emphasis must be laid on propaganda regarding three things that are unchanged: planned parenthood as a basic national policy; the great goal of holding the country’s population to about 1.2 billion at the end of the century; and the guiding principle of advocating that each couple should have only one child.

National limits on the number of children per couple

China’s national government sets a limit on the number of children couples may have. (In 1977 and 1978 the policy was that urban and rural couples must stop at two children.) Since the beginning of 1979, national policy has been that every couple must stop at one child unless given explicit permission by local


28Kunming Yunnan provincial broadcast, February 1, 1986, JPRS, No. JPRS-CPS-86-023, March 5, 1986, p. 114.
officials to bear a second child. In March 1982, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued a directive tightening birth restrictions nationwide:

Among government cadres, workers, and urban residents, each couple should have only a single child with the exception of those who for special reasons have obtained permission to have more than one child. In rural areas, each couple should limit themselves to a single child, but some couples may be given permission to have a second child if their requests are justified. No one is allowed to have a third child, no matter what.29

Press commentary softened these requirements for China's minority groups, constituting only 7 percent of the total population, who in general had not been subjected to the family planning program before the 1980's: "Although the policy toward the national minorities may be appropriately relaxed according to actual situations, family planning must also be encouraged among the national minorities."30 This policy statement from China's Premier Zhao Ziyang in 1983 is still in force: "We must persistently advocate late marriage and one child per couple, strictly control second births, prevent additional births by all means, earnestly carry out effective birth control measures and firmly protect infant girls and their mothers."31

Not only does the government tell people that they may bear only one child, or sometimes two, but also China is unique in that every birth, at least in theory, falls into one of two categories, (1) approved and included in the local government's birth plan, or (2) forbidden and outside the official birth plan. When a couple applies for permission to have a child, and permission is granted, they are supposed to receive a card certifying that the birth is approved. This card may have to be shown when the woman seeks prenatal care, when she enters a hospital for the birth, or for postnatal benefits. While urban areas appear to follow such procedures closely, in many rural areas the government has not been as strict.


areas the whole system is much looser and the government is able to exert much less control.

How can it be that China has a compulsory one-child, two-at-the-most policy if, as documented in table 2, people continue having millions of unauthorized second births and also millions of third and higher order births? Under China's required program of birth limitation, how can couples conceive and carry to term babies whose births are forbidden? The most important reason is that China's network of family planning workers and other officials involved in the family planning effort is not as pervasive and intrusive in some places as in others.

In urban and many rural areas, women who have not been sterilized and who are still considered fecund are monitored quarterly or even monthly, to see that they are not pregnant and their IUD is in place or they are using some other effective birth control method. In such localities, any unauthorized pregnancies are detected early, and the authorities immediately begin applying severe economic, political, and personal pressure on the couple. Only rarely can anyone succeed in carrying forbidden pregnancies to term under these conditions. Where obedience to the regulations is assured and complete, China no longer carries out crash campaigns to force sterilizations, abortions, or IUD use because there is no perceived need.

Many cities report almost total compliance with official family planning policies. For example, the north China city of Tianjin reported that in 1986, about 97 percent of births were officially planned, only 2 percent of all births were unauthorized second births, and 0.2 percent of births were third or higher order births. The city of Shenyang in the northeast province of Liaoning reported achieving 99.76 percent of its family planning targets in 1987; there were one thousand fewer births than in the official plan that year. In localities such as these, China's program of compulsory family planning and the compulsory one-child limit are working as the government wants.

There is great variation in the effectiveness of China's family planning program from city to countryside and from province to province. For example, the province of Jiangsu on the east coast reported great success in 1985, when 92.37 percent of births in the province were officially authorized and only


\[33\] Shenyang ribao (Shenyang Daily), January 6, 1988.
1.06 percent of all births were third or higher parity. Even more amazing, the rural population of 9 million people in the highly urbanized northeast province of Jilin had a total fertility rate of only 1.0 birth per woman by 1985. The one-child family policy is strongly enforced in rural as well as urban areas of Jilin province. Liaoning, the most populous province in the northeast with a primarily urban population, proudly reported that 99.39 percent of births throughout the province in the first 9 months of 1985 were covered by the official birth plan.

But many other provinces have been far less successful in enforcing compulsory fertility limitation, though they are trying to follow national instructions. Furthermore, within provinces from county to county there is a great range in family planning delivery systems from highly effective to barely functioning. For instance, one remote mountainous county in the southeast coastal province of Fujian had no family planning workers monitoring women or promoting birth control use as of 1987. Gansu Province in north central China reported in 1986 that: "Family planning work is in a backward state in one-third of our counties." Guizhou Province in the southwest reported in 1986 that 23 percent of births were third or higher parity, not surprising since 26 percent of the province's population belongs to minority groups. Guizhou's backwardness is reportedly due to "a low rate of birth control use, a high rate of excessive [third or higher order] births, weak basic level work, and poor cadre quality," and the leaders of Guizhou promised to "resolutely and relentlessly control" the rate of population growth during the


Seventh Five Year Plan period (1986 through 1990). The populous province of Hunan in south central China reported great variation among rural areas in the province as follows:

Hunan's family planning work is still developing unevenly. Even though it is commendable that Li County with a population of 830,000 persons does not have one excessive birth in this year and that the natural population increase rate of the entire Changde Prefecture for 1985 is 5.06 per thousand, the province still has about 40 percent of its area where family planning is backward and Party committee and government leadership over family planning is lax in some locations. These must arouse our attention to a great degree.

In many rural and remote areas of China, the family planning program has never been very effective. For instance, as of 1981, 28 provinces of China (excluding Tibet) had total fertility rates ranging from only 1.32 births per woman to as high as 4.36 births per woman, and contraceptive prevalence rates ranged from 88 percent of married women of reproductive age practicing birth control down to 54 percent. Some provinces and local areas have reported weak control over fertility in the mid-1980's. The use of high tide or crash campaigns for abortion or sterilization is targeted to areas such as these where people are having unauthorized pregnancies and births.

Another reason why many second and third parity births happen in spite of the compulsory one-child (or for some couples two-child) limit is data problems. In some places, people manage to have unauthorized births, but they have no incentive to try to register the child's birth or existence because they will gain nothing and they know that penalties are likely to follow. Local


cadres have also been known to falsify birth data before reporting to higher authorities in order to appear successful. Compilations that include underreporting by households or officials may result in faulty family planning service statistics such as the reported data in appendix 1, table 1 for 1982 through 1984 claiming that 61 to 68 percent of all births were first births.

Careful comparison with text table 2 clarifies that massive underreporting of third and higher parity births, plus exclusion of considerable numbers of second births, caused the exaggerated reports of success. When local birth and parity statistics are incorrect, higher levels of government may be unaware just how much the local areas are deviating from the top-down demands. An example of this problem was reported from Ningxia in 1987: "Aside from large-scale sample surveys, it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics at present. One thing is sure: Currently, the seriousness of population increase far outstrips the seriousness indicated by the statistical figures."43

One-child pledge

The one-child policy, introduced in 1979, included the innovation of the one-child pledge. Those who already have one child are eligible to sign this pledge and receive a single-child certificate that is supposed to qualify the signatories for certain financial rewards. Apparently in some places couples have a choice whether or not to sign this pledge, while in other places there has been a universal requirement to sign it.44 By the end of 1983, 24.77 million couples had reportedly signed the one-child pledge. They constituted 71.8 percent of the 34.49 million couples with one child.45 The number of couples with one child who had signed the pledge increased to 28.17 million by yearend 1984, and then declined to "over 24 million" by late 1986. We do

43Chang Naiguang, "Cong 'liuwu' tongji kan Ningxia renkou de chaokong weixian" ("The Danger of the Population of Ningxia Getting out of Control as Shown by the Statistics of the 'Sixth Five'"), Ningxia shehui kexue (Social Science in Ningxia), No. 1, January 1987, p. 21.


not know what proportion of couples with one child these numbers represent.\textsuperscript{46}

Family planning contracts

A further element of continuity is China's system of requiring couples to sign family planning contracts over whose content the couple has no control, and then punishing couples who violate the stipulations of these contracts. For example, with the introduction of the economic reforms in agriculture in the early 1980's, which meant a shift from communal to family farming, local cadres reported that they had lost control of the fertility of village couples. For example, one Chinese newspaper lamented, "Where farm work is done separately by the households, this increases the difficulty of propaganda, of planned control, of carrying out birth control measures, and of discovering pregnancies outside the plan."\textsuperscript{47}

To overcome these difficulties, a "double contract" system was pioneered in some rural areas, whereby households were required to sign a "contract guaranteeing to have only one child," or if they already had more than one a "contract


\textsuperscript{47}"Jiu youguan nongcun jihua shengyu wenti da duzhe wen" ("Questions and Answers on the Problems of Rural Family Planning"), Liaoning ribao (Liaoning Daily), January 6, 1983, p. 3.
guaranteeing to have no more children" every year when they
signed their agricultural production contract with the production
team.48 If a child was born anyhow, the couple had by definition
violated its double contract and was then subjected to economic
penalties. This system was successful in requiring birth control
compliance while keeping the new agricultural contract system, so
the national and provincial governments beginning in 1981
publicized this method and urged or mandated its use.49 We do
not know how widespread the double contract system has become.

A newer system of required signatures on family planning
contracts is the "goal management" system now being promoted, in
which not only the couple of childbearing age but also people in
every level of the administrative hierarchy above the couple are
required to sign contracts guaranteeing compliance with family
planning regulations dictated from higher up.] The "cadre work
responsibility system" was introduced in 1981 and China's
national government began promoting its widespread implemen-
tation. In some places, cadres had to sign contracts that their
units would meet birth limitation targets handed to them, and if
couples under their jurisdiction had unauthorized births, the
cadres would be reprimanded and subjected to reductions in their
income.50 The purpose of this system was to ensure that the
national required family planning program was not weakened or
diluted when implemented at the local level. Currently
available descriptions of the "goal management" system suggest
that it is simply a renewed attempt to expand the geographical
and population coverage of the "cadre work responsibility
system."

Required contraceptive methods

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48 For example, see Li Shushi, "Zhengque renshi he chuli
nongmin shengyu zhong de xin qingkuang xin wenti" ("Correctly
Recognize and Handle the New Situation and New Problems Regarding
Childbearing by the Peasants"), RKYJJ (Population and Economy),
No. 2, April 25, 1982, pp. 45-49; and Bao Jimin, "Jining diq
dali tuixing jihua shengyu zerenzhi" ("Jining Prefecture Promotes
Planned Parenthood Responsibility Systems with Great Effort"),
Dazhong ribao (Mass Daily), September 12, 1981, p. 3.

49 The double contract system is documented and discussed in
Judith Banister, "Population Policy and Trends in China, 1978-

50 For documentation see Judith Banister, "Population Policy
December 1984, pp. 726-727. Also discussed in Judith Banister,
China's Changing Population, Stanford, CA: Stanford University
The government not only tells Chinese couples that they must practice birth control, but often tells them what type of contraceptive method they must use. This policy originally became national in scope when the government announced in late 1982 that women with one child must use an IUD, those couples with two children must have one partner sterilized, and those with unauthorized pregnancies must undergo abortion. Since then, some localities and provinces have claimed that they are flexible about what technique is used so long as it works to prevent births. Others, however, have continued to echo the 1982 guidelines by insisting that women of childbearing age "who have already given birth to a child must be mobilized to be fitted with IUD's," "either the husband or the wife of a couple who has two or more children should be sterilized," or "when pregnancies are discovered, remedial measures must be taken promptly." It is no accident that by the end of 1983, 50 percent of all couples practicing contraception in China had the wife or husband sterilized, 41 percent of contracepting couples were using the


52 See, for example, Guangzhou Guangdong provincial service, May 8, 1984; Haikou Hainan regional service, August 31, 1984; Nanning Guangxi provincial service, December 4, 1984; Shaanxi ribao (Shaanxi Daily), January 11, 1985; Renkou vanjiu (Population Research), March 29, 1985; JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), July 19, 1985; Yin Su, "Hebei shengwe fu shuji Yue Qifeng shuo zhu jinhua shengyu yao jianding buyi jianchi buxie" ("Assistant Secretary Yue Qifeng of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee Said that Family Planning Must be Carried Out Firmly and Relentlessly"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), November 21, 1986; Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, in Chinese, October 28, 1987, "Hunan Leader Urges Birth Control," FBIS, No. 210, October 30, 1987, pp. 63-64; and Ji Xinfang, "Nongcun yao yi gong zuo jieyuqi he jieza cuoshi wei zhu" ("Rural Areas Must Take Intrauterine Devices and Ligations as the Principal Means"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 29, 1988, p. 2.
IUD, and only 9 percent were using other methods. More recent data on the contraceptive mix in China show very little change. By yearend 1985, 51 percent of contracepting couples used sterilization; 39 percent used IUD's; and 10 percent used other methods. There is no reason to expect a major shift from this pattern since 1985.

Not only does the government tell people what type of contraceptive method to use, but the government has also made it a crime to remove an IUD. The crime of "illegal IUD removal" appears to be unique to China. Elsewhere in the world, a woman would not be required to have an IUD inserted when she did not want it, and she would be able to have it removed legally by a medical or paramedical worker upon request. In China, those who provide the illegal service of removing IUD's are considered criminals and sometimes imprisoned.

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By the beginning of 1986, each province had taken stock of achievements in family planning work during the Sixth Five Year Plan period (1981 through 1985). Most provinces were satisfied with their family planning statistics; some were surprised that provincial statistics showed fewer births than planned. Between 1981 and 1985, there were 14 million fewer births in China than had been anticipated, due in part to the very strong family planning drive carried out throughout China in 1983. The results of that widespread campaign to increase the number of abortions, sterilizations, and IUD insertions are reflected in the statistics in table 4 which show the dramatic increase in the number of each of those family planning operations during 1983.

In April 1986, Wang Wei, the Head of the State Family Planning Commission, praised achievements in family planning since April 1984 when Document No. 7 was promulgated. Pleased that the total fertility rate of 1984 was close to replacement level, and with preliminary statistics for the first half of 1985, Wang Wei stated that "not only was the rapid population growth rate put under control, but attention was paid to the relation between the party and the masses." Statistics from 1984 and 1985 were used to show that targets could be met while using more moderate means.

Conceding that abuses had occurred in the family planning program, Wang Wei also reported on improvements that had been made in workstyle in the family planning program since 1984. "Due to the heavy task, the urgent demand, and insufficient guidance from us, roughness and unreasonableness occurred in some areas in the past. For awhile the relation between the party and the masses was tense." He said that "a marked improvement is not using coercion" and that the national level has stressed that family planning cadres and workers at all levels must "recognize the harm of coercion and overcome the idea that coercion is unavoidable." He was not the only Chinese official to refer to


abuses in the family planning program.\textsuperscript{59} Wan Li, the Vice Premier of the State Council, also mentioned coercion in a speech given in March 1986.

We should keep our population growth under strict control and at the same time adopt a civilized work style for family planning, reform our work in a civilized way and refrain from harming the interests of the masses. Further efforts should be made to avoid coercion and to popularize effective ways to render services to the people.\textsuperscript{60}

Despite the acknowledgement that coercion had taken place, areas with the best family planning results continued to be the most highly praised, and those areas "lagging behind" in family planning work were castigated. In 1986 Wang Wei reported that the government was worried about the differences between growth rates in various parts of China and about areas that were trailing behind in family planning work.\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{Seventh Five Year Plan Period: Birth Peak}

The main concern among Chinese leaders in early 1986, and the message they were sending to provincial family planning cadres, was the impending birth peak during the Seventh Five Year Plan period (1986 through 1990)\textsuperscript{62}. The need for family planning was reaffirmed in the Seventh Five Year Plan, in which provincial targets for the plan period continued to be based on the goal of


\textsuperscript{60}Wan Li, "Family Planning Work Should be Brought into the Orbit of Construction of Socialist Spiritual Civilization," Speech delivered at the National Conference to Commend Advanced Collectives and Individuals in Implementing Family Planning Programs, Mimeograph, Beijing, March 1, 1986.

\textsuperscript{61}Wang Wei, "Guanyu jihua shengyu gongzuo wenti" ("On the Question of Family Planning Work"), RKYJJ (Population and Economy), No. 2, April 25, 1986, pp. 3-10.

1.2 billion by the year 2000. The national target was to stay within 1.113 billion by the end of 1990, with an average annual growth rate of about 12.4 per 1,000. Provincial family planning reports in 1986, however, indicated that birth rates in many areas were not falling during the first half of 1986, but were rising instead.

Party Central Committee Document Number 13

In response to the impending decade-long birth peak, evidence that family planning work had not been stringently implemented in many areas of China between mid-1984 and mid-1986, that the rising birth rate had not been curbed, and rumors that the policy had changed to allow couples to have two children, the Party's Central Committee issued new guidelines for the family planning program. Document Number 13, promulgated in May 1986, was issued to supplement and clarify Document Number 7, but not to completely supersede it, for implementing the family planning program. Neither document has ever been published, but citations from each give a reasonably clear picture of their contents.

Document Number 13 was an attempt to "formulate a policy good for controlling population growth, which the majority of the masses are able to accept by means of education." It was also designed to keep family planning from "being loose and running on its natural course," and to concentrate on strengthening family


64In April 1987 it was estimated that 30 percent of localities were lagging behind in family planning work. Lu Mu, "Our Country's Birthrate Increased Last Year; It is Imperative To Strictly Control the Birthrate," Renmin ribao (People's Daily), April 11, 1987, FBIS, No. 073, April 16, 1987, p. K3.

65Gao Ping, "Jihua shengyu zhengce meiyou bian" (There is no Change in the Family Planning Policy), Banyue tan (Semi-monthly Forum), No. 6, March 25, 1987, pp. 7-9.


planning work in backward areas. Document Number 13 also stresses coordination efforts between the family planning program and other government units such as public health, civil affairs, planning, finance, medicine, industry and commerce, and organizations such as labor unions, youth leagues, and women's associations. It affirmed the success of the program during the Sixth Five Year Plan period and discussed the birth peak of the Seventh Five Year Plan period.

While reiterating some of the moderate means of Document Number 7, such as use of propaganda and education, and improving the relationship between family planning workers and the people by improving workstyle, it also stresses the need for practical results, for ensuring that the targets set for the Seventh Five Year Plan period are met, and for stabilizing the country's population policy for the next decade at least. China’s basic population policy remains:

To promote late marriage and late birth. With the exception of special cases and provided that approvals are given, all state cadres, state employees and workers, and urban residents are to have only one child. In rural areas, one child per couple is to be widely promoted, but those with real difficulties may be scheduled in a planned way for a second child. Second children outside of birth plans and excessive [i.e. third or higher order] births are prohibited. Minority nationality couples may in general have two children and, in individual cases, a third birth may be permitted.

68Commentator, "Xia da liqi ba houjin gongzu tu shangqu" ("To Put Great Effort In Pushing the Backward Ones Forward"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planing Edition), September 5, 1986, p. 1.

69Commentator, "Rang quan shehui guanxin yu ge bumen xiezuo" ("To Let The Entire Society Be Concerned and to Collaborate with Other Departments"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planing Edition), September 12, 1986, p. 1.


71Commentator, "Yao jixu tichang yidui fufu zhi shengyu yige haizi" ("To Continue to Promote One Child Per Couple"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), September 26, 1986, p. 1.
In January 1987, Chang Chongxuan, China's representative at the 24th session of the U.N. Population Commission, reaffirming China's strong commitment to lowering the population growth rate, said that "China has no reason to slacken but redouble its efforts to implement its family planning program." This message was repeated throughout 1987. A commentary in March 1987 said "Party committees and governments on all levels must attach great importance to and continue to strengthen leadership over this work. They must never lower their guard and become negligent. Population must be strictly controlled." While national leaders stressed that coercion was not advocated, couples were still expected to comply with the family planning program. According to the Chinese periodical Banyue tan, "Every couple reaching childbearing age must respond to the call of the party and the state and willingly practice family planning."

To mark the "Global Day of the Five Billion" in July 1987, Wang Wei gave an address that included a summary of the conclusions reached at the State Council's Conference on Family Planning earlier in the year:

We must unremittingly uphold the consistent principles and policy in family planning on a stable and long-term basis.

The population target will not change: we must strive to keep the total size of the population at around 1.2 billion by the end of the century.

Since we are facing the third upsurge of population growth, and the population situation is so severe, we must strictly control the growth of the population, continue to keep a tight hand, and allow no slackening of efforts in our work.

While controlling the size of the population, we must also do a good job in promoting genetic excellence and bringing up children well in order to improve the quality of our population.

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We must strengthen our work at the grass roots level, especially the work of backward areas and some weak links. Effective measures must be taken so that the work of backward areas is improved and problems at the weak links are solved.

Family planning work should occupy an important place on the work agenda of local governments. Different departments should have a clear mind about their responsibilities and make joint efforts to fulfill their population targets.

He added that "we should strictly forbid unplanned second and multiple births through ideological, administrative, economic, and scientific measures." "Ideological" measures here mean applying verbal pressure on women to change their minds, and "scientific" measures imply technical measures or the application of birth control methods.

At a briefing for foreign and Chinese reporters in July 1987, the Director of the General Office of the State Family Planning Commission revealed that there were 21.58 million births and 11.58 million abortions in 1986. When asked if abortion was now mandatory for women bearing their second child, the Director responded: "We think that if a woman gets pregnant with a second child, it is her right to decide whether to have an abortion." At the same time, he added "that abuses exist among local officials who resort to coercive measures to meet quotas." 

A 1987 survey showed that the net increase in China's population was 1.68 million more people than planned in 1986. This rate, projected until the end of 1990 would mean that China would have 8 million more people than planned, and that it would be extremely difficult to reach the target of 1.2 billion by the year 2000.

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77 Lu Mu, "Our Country's Birthrate Increased Last Year; It is Imperative to Strictly Control the Birthrate," Renmin ribao (People's Daily), April 11, 1987, FBIS, No. 073, April 16, 1987.
Population Policy in 1988

In January 1988, Li Peng, Acting Premier of the State Council, stated again that family planning remains a fundamental policy of China. He said, however, that "family planning is work involving the masses and should be carried out only through propaganda and education and on a voluntary basis rather than through compulsory measures."78 The government hopes, through propaganda and education, that the Chinese people will understand the necessity of further tightening family planning work. Ai Xiao, writing in the People's Daily in January 1988, put it succinctly: "Perhaps we can reduce our difficulties by telling the public all the facts."79 At the same time, the government is still adamant about reaching its policy goal. Acting Premier Li Peng told the National People's Congress in March 1988 that "to keep the country's population at about 1.2 billion by the end of the century, China must 'strictly carry out' the policies of promoting later marriages and restricting each couple to only one child."80

With the recent reform separating the functions of the party and the government, Li said that decisionmaking on key issues regarding family planning will be made by the party. Government offices at all levels will be responsible for implementing the family planning policy and any decisions made by the party. The family planning program will continue efforts to strengthen the infrastructure for family planning by hiring more personnel, providing better training, and establishing more family planning centers, especially in rural areas. The clear message being transmitted throughout China now is that the population policy will be unwavering at least until the end of the century, and that the attitude of "wait and see" among family planning workers will not be tolerated.81


Changes in Leadership of the State Family Planning Commission

In January 1988, Wang Wei, associated with the relaxation of the "workstyle" in China's population program between 1984 and 1986, was relieved of his post as the head of the State Family Planning Commission (SFPC), and Minister Peng Peiyun was appointed to succeed him. One of the highest ranking women in the party, Peng Peiyun had been the party secretary of the Chinese University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Anhui province. Her past experience also included acting as the Vice-Minister of Education and the State Education Commission.82

It should be recalled that Qian Xinzhong, head of the State Family Planning Commission during the unpopular campaign of 1983, was relieved of his duties in December 1983 and the more moderate Wang Wei replaced him. In one of Minister Peng Peiyun's first public statements, at a national conference to change undesirable marriage customs in February 1988, she reiterated the government's current position on family planning.

The 13th Party Congress [held in October 1987] attached great importance to China's population problem. It stressed that the size of the population be controlled and that the quality of the population be improved. It pointed out that the problem 'is an important one, which is related to the overall economic and social development,' and that 'China's population base is large. The population is in a period of birth peaks. Family planning work cannot be relaxed in the slightest. Otherwise, it would affect the realization of the goals set.'83

It may be that the new leadership of the State Family Planning Commission signals a shift towards another tightening in China's population program. A recently published indirect criticism of "the existing policy-making structure," apparently that of the Wang Wei period, suggests so.

Now that the policy of one child for one couple has been adopted as a national policy, normally it should


not be affected by any personnel change in the government. It is much to be regretted that this is not the case. It is quite baffling that a breach of this policy which is of far-reaching significance to the national economy and the people's livelihood was made at the upper level, and, what is more, it was made regardless of the objection by some demographers. What a significant role the interference of officials can play. This breach of policy has resulted not only in the birth of a second child to many families but the birth of multiple children to families in many rural areas. So population is almost out of control again.84

This article was published in the Guangming ribao, a national newspaper that reflects the party's policies in its writings.

V. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM

Links With the National Level

In the past 2 years, Chinese leaders have stressed that the one-child policy is just that—a policy, not a law to be enforced throughout China without regard to local conditions. Guidelines given at the central level are to be adapted to the specific conditions in each province and local area. They also say that when granting permission for a second child, "It is necessary to strictly adhere to the provisions enacted by the province, autonomous region, or municipality involved." What then are the links between local, provincial, and state level family planning activities and plans?

Setting population plans

Each year, based on discussions with each province, the national government sets provincial targets, or plans, consistent with the broader national goal of keeping the country's population to within 1.2 billion by the year 2000. A Chinese reporter explained the difference between the population plans for the various administrative levels:

In terms of the strict meaning of population plans, only the national and provincial plans are real population plans. The provincial level plans, same as the national plan, are comprehensive national economic and social development plans, which include population plans. They are distributed to the lower levels in standard forms. At the lower levels, population plans in a greater sense are task assignments and work targets.

Thus for Shanghai, "During the Seventh Five Year Plan the population plan target assigned by the state must continue to be reached in order to control a rapid population increase...During the Seventh Five Year Plan, the average number of births per year

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will be around 170,000 persons."  

For Qinghai, "The population plan assigned to Qinghai Province by the state for the Seventh Five Year Plan is to keep the total population below 4.47 million by 1990."  

For Guizhou, "We must strictly control our population growth rate and fulfill the state population plan formulated for our province."  

In mid-1987 Hebei calculated that "if the average natural population growth of the recent 7 years (12.33 per 1000 population) is allowed to continue, the province's population will reach 66 million by the end of the century. This will greatly surpass the target of controlling the province's population within 62 million by the end of this century."  

**Provincial flexibility**

The provinces and local areas have flexibility in implementing the family planning policy only to the extent that they have some leeway in deciding which categories of people may have a second child, and only as long as they do not interfere with reaching the province's annual population target, and providing they do not contradict state family planning guidelines. According to an article in the *Semi-monthly Forum* in early 1987, which clearly reiterated China's population policy, "All areas, when making improvements in their family planning policies, must take the state's overall family planning policy as the premise and must not separate themselves from the guideline of strictly controlling population growth. This point must be very clear."  

For example, Hunan province issued a circular in mid-1986 pointing out that "No locality should recklessly change the family planning policy. We should report to the provincial  

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91 Gao Ping, "Jihua shengyu zhengce meiyou bian," ("There is no Change in the Family Planning Policy"), Banyue tan, (Semi-monthly Forum), No. 6, March 25, 1987, pp. 7-9.
Family Planning Commission for approval those couples who are
having a second child." In April 1986 Shanxi Province reported
that "some places have not done a thorough job in implementing
the intentions of the central authorities." In August 1986
Shaanxi province convened a meeting for family planning cadres,
and decided that

1. Leadership at all levels must first study Document
Number 13 to unify their understanding of the basic
guideline of strengthening family planning and strictly
controlling population growth.

2. The guideline of the document must be spread
quickly to the masses so that the basic guideline of
the document may be known to all families and to all
people.

3. Areas and units where the work is in a backward
state must draw plans to fix a dateline for changing
their backwardness and to adopt effective measures to
improve their work.

4. Implementation of the guidelines and the measures
must be achieved level by level. Family planning
commissions on all levels must sum up their
experiences, find weak points, and carry out and
improve the measures item by item in order that the
demands of the Document and the various measures may be
truly implemented.

In late 1986, the Secretary General of the Sichuan
Provincial Party Committee told the participants of a family
planning training course that Sichuan "must act in accordance
with the principles on planned parenthood which have already been
formulated by the central authorities and the provincial party

92Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, in Chinese, May 28,

93Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service, in Chinese, March 22,
1986, Station Commentary, "Continue to Get a Tighter Grasp of
Planned Parenthood Work," JPRS, No. JPRS-CEA-86-040, April 11,
1986, p. 76.

94Liang Naizhong, "Shaanxi sheng ba zhongyang jingshen he
gexiang cuoshi luodao shichu" ("Shaanxi Carried Out the Guideline
of the Party Central Committee and Various Measures in Earnest"),
JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), August 29,
committee. Before the end of this year, it is necessary to correct any deviations in planned parenthood work made by certain places."95

Guangxi province issued a circular in late 1986 on family planning. It stated that "All prefectures, municipalities and counties must conscientiously carry out an examination of the family planning regulations formulated locally. All items which disagree with the guidelines of the Open Letter [of 1980] and Document Number 13 of the CCLCC must cease to be effective."96 In Yunnan the message was the same: "Regulations formulated by local areas without approval and regulations which do not agree with the provincial policy must be corrected."97 Between January 1987 and February 1988, Jiangsu, Hubei, Shandong, and Henan, among other provinces, also issued statements or circulars on the importance of adhering to the central guidelines on family planning in Document Number 13.98

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97"Yunnan sheng fushengzhang Chen Liyang zai quansheng jihua shengyu yao you nonghou de qifen" ("Chen Liyang, Lt. Governor of Yunnan, said at the Provincial Family Planning Work Telephone Conference that Propaganda and Education Must Have a Vigorous Atmosphere"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), November 7, 1986, p. 1.

When provincial leaders report the conclusions of national level family planning work conferences, and discuss family planning work for their provinces, the wording they use is very similar to that used by national leaders. For example, in the past year many provinces have talked about the "grim reality" facing family planning work, about the impending "birth peak," about the dangers of "letting things go," and about the necessity for "stabilization" of the population policy. Table 5 lists a few of these key words, and the provinces from which reports using the words are available.

Links with the national level in 1988

In early 1988 at the nationwide conference of directors of provincial family planning commissions, the Deputy Director of the State Family Planning Commission discussed the tasks for family planning in 1988:

First of all, he pointed out that in 1988 family planning organs at all levels must conscientiously study and implement the guidelines of the 13th Party Congress [of October 1987], that they must continue to carry out the tasks laid down by the 1986 nationwide family planning work conference, which were approved by comrades of the central leadership in 1987, together with their instructions, and that they must bring family planning work to a new height based on the arrangements made by the State Council in 1988 in order to assure the fulfillment of the population plan for this year. 99

In 1988, the year in which "reforms are to be carried out in-depth," it appears that provinces may be permitted to experiment with reforms to improve implementation of family planning. According to an article in China Population, "Each province may have one or two pilot areas to find a way and to formulate regulations to carry out control in collaboration with other relevant organs." 100

99 "Yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and to Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of this Year"), ZGJHSYB, (China Population), January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.

100 "Yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and to Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of this Year"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.
Table 5. Commonly Used Words in National and Provincial Family Planning Speeches and Reports for China: 1987-88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>&quot;Birth peak&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Stabilization&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Letting things go&quot;</th>
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Note: This list is not exhaustive because not all documents for all provinces were available. It is intended to illustrate the similarities in wording used in speeches and articles on family planning at the national and provincial levels.

Source: The documents, articles, speeches, and broadcasts from which these key words were taken are all on file at the China Branch, Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Provincial Family Planning Regulations

Several provinces have promulgated revised family planning regulations to augment national family planning guidelines. These provincial regulations are based on the national one-child population policy, the constitution, the marriage law, and other national directives and provincial regulations.

Guangdong province revised its family planning regulations in mid-1986 to expand the categories of couples who could have two children. Urban residents were limited to only one child unless they fell under one of five categories: 1) their first child was crippled as a result of a non-hereditary disease and cannot provide the family with normal labor; 2) one party in a remarriage is childless and the other has only one child; 3) if a sterile woman conceives after adopting a child; 4) if the only child of a couple has already married; or 5) if a person has worked for 5 or more years at sea or in a mine, and is still engaged in that work.

For rural residents, couples should have only one child unless they meet one of the first four exceptions for urban couples, or if their first child is a daughter. Both urban and rural couples who are allowed to have a second child must give birth according to the area's annual birth plan. National minority couples may have two children and in special cases three. Specific punishments for violators of family planning regulations were included in the regulations. Among the other regulations, marriage between close relatives is banned, and pregnancies resulting from such a union "must be terminated." 101

In 1986, Qinghai and Zhejiang provinces also promulgated family planning regulations, with provisions for having a second child for rural and urban couples with "real difficulties" and for special groups such as minority nationality herdsmen in Qinghai. 102 In Ningxia, rural couples and those couples in which

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one spouse is a Hui minority, are permitted to have two children. Urban couples are allowed only one child and Hui minorities living in mountainous areas are permitted three children.¹⁰³

Sichuan province's family planning regulations, adopted in mid-1987, appear in appendix 2. In addition to listing the 11 conditions under which a couple may have a second child, the regulations state that either a husband or a wife should undergo sterilization measures after they have had their second child. In addition, "couples who have serious hereditary diseases including psychosis, mental deficiency, and malformation must not be allowed to bear children. Those who are already pregnant must terminate the pregnancy."¹⁰⁴

A series of rewards and punishments is listed for those who comply with or break family planning regulations. Couples who continue an unapproved pregnancy are fined during the pregnancy and for 7 years after the child is born, at a rate after the birth of the child of 10 to 20 percent of both the husband's and the wife's salary. Those who insult, threaten, or beat family planning personnel, those who drown, abandon, sell or otherwise mistreat baby girls or their mothers, and those who illegally remove IUD's will be handled by the judicial organs and will be handled according to the law.¹⁰⁵ Punishment for those in violation of family planning restrictions, such as those who illegally remove IUD's, has also been mentioned at the national level.¹⁰⁶


¹⁰³Chang Naiguang, "Cong 'liuwu' tongji kan Ningxia renkou de chaokong weixian" ("The Danger of Ningxia's Population Getting Out Of Control As Shown by the Statistics of the '6th Five'"), Ningxia shehui kexue (Social Science in Ningxia), No. 1, January 1987, pp. 19-23.


In October 1987, Sichuan province ordered an inspection to "check if birth policies had been unified according to the 'Sichuan Provincial Regulations on Family Planning,'" among other things. The province reported that due to the success of the family planning regulations, the birth rate dropped from 18.17 births per 1,000 in 1986 to 16.79 per 1000 in 1987 and that the rate of natural increase fell from 11.7 to 10.3 per 1000.

By March 1988, Guizhou and Hubei provinces had also promulgated revised family planning regulations. Although the complete details of the regulations are not available, they appear to be similar to other provincial regulations. The Guizhou regulations include chapters on late marriage, late births, fewer and quality births, birth control methods, awards, penalties, management and division of labor, and appendices.

The Effects of Rewards and Penalties

As reported above, each province has a system of rewards and penalties for those who comply with and those who disregard family planning regulations. According to an official of the State Family Planning Commission, "For those who become pregnant out of the quota, we try to persuade them to stop the pregnancy at the earliest time. If they do not accept this advice, they will be fined." In Guangxi, "Those who violate policies and have more children or pregnancies than allowed, must, on the basis of ideological education, undergo administrative


interventions and economic sanctions." It appears that in some areas the penalties are not having the desired effect on fertility decisions. According to a 1988 report in the People's Daily, "The system of rewards and penalties relating to birth control has not been faithfully applied. Those who have money are not afraid of penalties, saying with compelling argument: 'We can buy a son with money.' If we do something against those who do not have money, they have nothing to lose as they have no money." In other areas, the rewards and penalties are not applied. In some areas of Qinghai province, for example, "family planning regulations are ineffective; rewards and penalties are not made good; and too many exemptions from the regulations have been granted."

Punishing Cadres For Disregarding Family Planning Regulations

Cadres and family planning workers "don't have the privilege to have more than one child," and should be "seriously dealt with" for noncompliance. When the new secretary of the Dianbai county (Guangdong) party committee learned of the problem of cadres disobeying family planning regulations, he "urged No. 1 leaders of all units to personally deal with the problem within a time limit. The No. 1 leaders of the units who cannot fulfill the task should be removed from their posts. As a result of strengthening leadership and taking effective measures, in only

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2 months, some 1,225 cadres, staff, and workers have been dealt with for violating family planning since October 1979."

Hainan, Jilin, and Shaanxi also have stipulations for punishing cadres who disregard family planning regulations. While most accounts do not detail the punishments meted out to cadres, one example, of the deputy mayor of the town of Yuyin, does. He was not punished after he had an unplanned birth in 1985, but in the recent tightening up on cadres, "based on current policy regulations, he was punished monetarily, was given a warning from the party, and was discharged from the position of deputy mayor." In Shanxi province, "Cadres...who violate regulations of the CCPCC and the provincial party committee must be restricted and punished. Those who have childbirth in excess of plan will not be made cadres, will not be promoted, will not be given advanced grades, will not be evaluated as an advanced worker, and will not be given additional housing space."119

In Hengnan county in Hunan province in 1987, cadres and party members "who had excessive births were subjected to birth control..."

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control measures with persistence." In Guangdong province, "in checking and dealing with births in excess of plans, Dianbai county has the determination of not quitting until problems are solved....Cadres, employees, and workers who violated family planning regulations since October 1979 were dealt with altogether; whereby, the confusion of excessive births among cadres, employees and workers in the entire county was basically corrected."  

Mass Mobilization Drives For Contraceptive Surgery

While no individual cases of forced abortions or sterilizations have been found in the Chinese press during the past 2 years, there is evidence that the family planning program is continuing to pressure couples with unauthorized pregnancies to have abortions and those with two children to undergo sterilizations, in order to meet family planning targets set by the state and the provinces.

Soon after the midpoint of each calendar year, most provinces have statistics on how many births occurred in the first half of the year, and approximately how many pregnant women in the province will give birth by the end of the year. Based on these numbers, provincial leaders can predict whether or not the province will stay within its birth quota for the year. This is generally the time when provinces call for renewed efforts to meet the target. For women already pregnant, however, this can only be done through abortions. Sterilizations help ensure that the same problem will not recur in future years.

Mobilization drives in 1986

In late 1986, Liu Zheng, Deputy Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Committee of the Party gave a televised address "to demand that party committees at all levels and party and league

120 Liang Yi and Zhang Hanxiang, "Hengnan xian youxiao niuzhuan renkou shikong jumian" ("Hengnan County Effectively Reversed Its Loss of Population Control"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), November 27, 1987, p. 3.


members take action to adopt effective measures to rapidly turn around the situation of a population upswing in Hunan and to strive to fulfill the population task of the Seventh Five Year Plan period relentlessly. He said that in addition to a widespread propaganda drive, "the busy farm season is over, all areas must fully utilize this opportunity to conscientiously carry out all types of birth control measures to create conditions for lowering the birth rate in this year."

Shaanxi province in north central China undertook similar activities in late 1986. In order to "strictly prohibit second births and additional births not covered by a plan" provincial authorities chose October and November to step up family planning activities. "From the middle of this month to the end of November, the activities of publicizing the documents of the central authorities on firmly grasping birth control and taking remedial measures [i.e. abortion] should be extensively carried out in all urban and rural areas of the province." Earlier in the year, Shaanxi had reported that "Nearly 500,000 contraceptive operations were carried out in the first half of the year, 185,000 more than in the same period last year."

Mobilization drives in 1987

In Hebei province of north China, the provincial family planning work conference in March 1987 concluded that,

As the Seventh Five Year Plan period is a baby boom period, we should fully understand the arduousness of the work of controlling population growth; should strive to achieve the work for this and following years; and should make efforts to ensure that 90 percent of the women of childbearing age and already with a child wear contraceptive loops, 90 percent of the child-bearing women with two children or more receive tubal ligation, remedies be given to 90 percent of the unplanned pregnant women, fines be imposed on 90 percent of

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123Liang Yi, "Yi 'gongkai xin' wei wuqi niuzhuan renkou huisheng jumian" ("To Take the 'Open Letter.' As the Weapon to Turn Around the Situation of a Population Upswing"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette - Family Planning Edition), September 26, 1986, p. 1.


the women who violate regulations on family planning work, birth control rate reach 90 percent, and multiple birth rate be controlled below 1 percent. In this quotation, "remedies" refers to abortion, "unplanned" means in violation of the government's local birth plan, and "multiple birth rate" means the percent of all births that are third or higher order births. In October 1987, the Hebei Provincial Family Planning Association reiterated the need for these measures.

Yunnan province planned a family planning publicity and action drive at the beginning of 1987. According to a circular put out to publicize the campaign, in addition to teaching about the serious situation of the baby boom in Yunnan and disseminating information on the national family planning policy, contraception, and bringing up healthy babies, "we must mobilize the masses to vigorously and conscientiously implement the measures for birth control and remedial measures."

The regional party committee and the regional people's government on Hainan Island issued a circular in April 1987 calling for a "shock drive in the family planning work in the Han area of Hainan." Family planning workers were to promote family planning under the leadership of the party, to publicize the spirit of the provincial family planning regulations, to carry out a policy of rewards and penalties, and finally to understand that "our current emergency task of promoting family planning work must center on energetically stressing remedial measures for unscheduled pregnancies. At the same time, we must pay attention to stressing tubal ligations for those who have

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127 Yin Su, "Hebei shengwe fu shuji Yue Qifeng shou zhua jihua shengyu yao jianding buyi jianchi buxie" ("Assistant Secretary Yue Qifeng of Hebei Provincial Party Committee Said that Family Planning Must be Carried out Firmly and Relentlessly"), JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), November 21, 1986, p. 1.


already given birth to two children.\textsuperscript{130} By late April, 26,270 sterilizations had been carried out, but authorities were not satisfied, saying "generally speaking this drive has not yet been launched in an all-around way and it has not produced notable results."\textsuperscript{131}

Sichuan, China's most populous province, carried out a family planning drive in the summer of 1987. Provincial party committee Deputy Secretary Nei Ronggui, in a speech on the drive:

demanded that the leaders at all levels attach great importance to family planning work and take immediate action to launch the major propaganda, inspection, and implementation drive throughout the province to ensure the fulfillment of this year's population plan. It is necessary to ensure that family planning work is carried out within the scope of the policy provisions laid down by the provincial authorities. It is necessary to do a good job in grass-roots work. We must curb early marriage and child-bearing and stop unmarried cohabiting couples having children. We must seriously implement contraceptive measures.\textsuperscript{132}

Because the purpose of this campaign was "the fulfillment of this year's [1987's] population plan," and the speech was broadcast in June, the meaning is that unauthorized pregnancies in the second and third trimester, with births due before the end of 1987, must be aborted.

In July 1987, the Lieutenant Governor of Jiangxi province in southeast China, demanded "that all areas resolutely implement the guidelines of the nationwide and provincial family planning work conferences and carry out the current policies strictly. On the basis of doing propaganda and educational work well,


contraceptive and birth control measures must be carried out with
vigor to eliminate births outside the plan."133

In the same month the Regional Vice Chairman of Nei Monggol
(Inner Mongolia) said that "unplanned second births and multiple
births must be banned. Restrictive measures should be worked out
and implemented to deal with those who persist in having
unplanned births despite ideological work so that we can win the
trust of the people."134 In late October 1987, the Regional Vice
Governor reiterated that:

The current family planning propaganda work should be
focused on rural areas, and should be launched under
the unified leadership of party committees and people's
governments at all levels.... At the same time, we
should adopt effective measures to strictly ban the
above-quota births. Family planning departments should
cooperate with public health departments to actually
conduct the contraceptive and birth-control work and
various other remedy measures.135

At the provincial conference on work in "backward" counties
in Guangdong, Vice Governor Ling Botang concluded that "the
provincial party committee and government will make arrangements
for family planning in the second half of the year in an endeavor
to fulfill this year's provincial population control target."136
This speech was given on August 26 1987, so this directive can
only mean that second and third trimester abortions must be
carried out for unauthorized births due between September and
December. Also in August, the provincial family planning work
conference in Guizhou province of south China "stressed that the
focal point in this work this year is to take remedial measures
regarding pregnancies not covered by the plan and additional

133"Shijia 50-yi renkou ri' qianxi Jiangxi sheng fu
shengzhang chen kuizun fabiao dianshi jianghua" ("On the Eve of
the 'World 5 Billion Population Day'.Jiangxi Lt. Governor, Chen
Kuizun, Gave a Television Speech"), ZGJHSYB (China Population),

134Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, in Chinese, "Nei
Monggol Holds Family Planning Work Conference," June 26, 1987,
JPRS, No. JPRS-CEA-87-024, July 23, 1987, p. 70.

135Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, in Chinese, "Nei
Monggol Official on Family Planning," October 28, 1987, FBIS,
No. 209, October 29, 1987, p. 45.

136Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service, in Chinese,
"Guangdong Urges Better Family Planning," August 26, 1987, FBIS,
No. 196, September 1, 1987, p. 33.
pregnancies, to ensure the fulfillment of the population plan. In other words, unauthorized pregnancies must be aborted.

In October 1987, a standing committee member of the Hunan provincial government spoke of the plan to perform 2.5 million birth control operations that year in the province. The Vice Governor added that "The current activities must put stress on using sterilization surgery for those who have given birth to their second or third child, and prevent all unauthorized births not covered by plans." These activities were to be promoted through propaganda and mobilization, but also through checking for unauthorized pregnancies.

Mobilization drives in 1988

Family planning propaganda activities have continued into 1988, in an effort to "take prevention as the principal task," which means the prevention of conception using sterilization or IUDs, and to "assure fulfillment of the population plan," according to an article in Zhongguo jihua shengyu bao (China Population). The same article stated that:

In the past, we proposed that ligation not be applied indiscriminately. The intention was to stress starting from facts and treating each case individually. Now, for the same reason, we cannot refrain from doing ligation and from doing IUD insertions indiscriminately. If this work were relaxed, unplanned second births and excessive births would naturally run their own course.

Hainan Island in early 1988 called for regular "shock drives" for family planning "with the emphasis on practical


139 Ji Xinfang, "Nongcun yao yi gong nei jieyuqi he jieza cuoshi wei zhu" ("Rural Areas Must Take Intrauterine Devices and Litigations as the Principal Means"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 29, 1988, p. 2.
results,"140 and an article in China Population, reporting on the 1988 national conference of directors of family planning commissions, called for choosing "the appropriate time to carry out several concentrated propaganda and technical service activities, especially in the border areas and areas where regular family planning work is lacking at the basic level."141

Propaganda and Education

In addition to mass mobilization drives, designed to carry out required sterilizations, abortions, and IUD insertions, the family planning program also carries out propaganda and education work to convince couples of the need for family planning, and to publicize the quality of life of small families. One of the principal components of Document Number 13 is the need to expand and improve propaganda and educational activities to increase popular support for and to quell discontent about family planning. In Henan province, for example, a circular issued in late 1987 said:

Planned parenthood must be publicized deep into the grass roots and among the people, and importance must be attached to results... In the propaganda drive, it is necessary to successfully grasp three key links:

1. It is necessary to disseminate intensively the important directive on population problems that is contained in the report of the 13th CPC National Congress [of October 1987] and the seriousness of the population situation of our country and province so that the cadres and the masses can understand the relationship between population control and the achievement of the strategic target of three big steps: understand the reason for carrying out planned parenthood, understand that the one-child policy is still advocated, and conscientiously carry out planned parenthood.

2. It is essential to succeed in propagating knowledge of contraception, sterilization, childbirth, and child


141 "Yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and To Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of This Year"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.
3. It is imperative to visit those who have undergone operations and to help them solve practically their difficulties in making a living.\textsuperscript{142}

Helping one-child families to 'get rich' to help the cause of family planning is not a new task. A 1986 commentary on Document Number 13 talked about "quickly [taking] charge of the work of 'helping the poor' and helping one-child families to get rich so that a good effect would be created among the cadres at all levels and among the masses and that family planning work may be promoted."\textsuperscript{143}

In late 1987, Yantai Municipality in Shandong province outlined five steps to control the birth peak, the first of which is "to carry out repeated propaganda and education."\textsuperscript{144} In early 1988, an article in \textit{China Population} discussed means of educating and getting feedback from people on family planning: "We must establish...a system of visiting households and holding earnest conversations in order to strengthen contacts between family planning commissions of all levels and the masses, to listen to their views, to give guidance, and to guide them in practicing family planning."\textsuperscript{145} An article in the \textit{Guangming ribao} in early 1988 added "Providing the three kinds of services to the people, through propaganda and education, technical services, and mother and child care, the masses will better understand the purpose of family planning, and will better abide by the policies concerned


\textsuperscript{143} Commentator, "Zhuanbian houjin xu yu 'fu pin' xiang jiehe" ("The Transformation of Backwardness Must be Linked with 'Helping the Poor'") JKB-JHSYB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), September 19, 1986, p. 1.


\textsuperscript{145} "Yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and to Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of This Year"), ZGJHSYB, (China Population), January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.
and follow the technical measures." The line between education and compulsion is, however, easily crossed when Chinese officials and family planning workers make repeated (and often unwelcome) visits to women and their families in order to elicit compliance with family planning regulations.

One other method of educating people about the effects of rapid population growth is to provide them information about the economic consequences of population growth for their locality and for their families. One such article, published in China Population in January 1988, discusses the effects of population growth on the labor surplus, the poor quality of the rural population, natural resources, and rural development in Heilongjiang province.

The Effects Of Economic Reforms On Family Planning

Since the rural economic reforms were instituted in China in the early 1980's, which included the dismantling of the commune system, some observers have predicted that birth rates would rise. Under the new rural economic system, households are responsible for economic production. Therefore, producing children, especially boys, is beneficial to the family's economic welfare. Even in 1988 the need for children and sons in rural areas was being reported:

Eighty percent of the country's population live in rural areas and the vast majority of them are mainly farming or doing business on a contract basis. As a matter of fact, this form of production demands that each family have its male labor force, otherwise small-scale production that badly needs manual labor cannot be carried out. Some farm work can only be accomplished by a group of laborers with different special skills, and it will not work if there is a shortage of labor. What is more, this form of production also needs manpower replenishment. The reflection of all these objective requirements on people's mentality toward having children is that they must have baby boys, at least two to three children.


147 Jiang Ying and Song Yuanjie, "Zhengque jiejue Heilongjiang nongcun renkou wenti cujin nongcun jingji wending fazhen" ("To Correctly Solve Heilongjiang's Rural Population Problems to Promote a Stable Development of the Rural Economy"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 4, 1988, p. 3.
the more the better, and the earlier they get married and have children the better.148

To counter the increase in births in rural areas as a result of the economic reforms, family planning commissions have instituted regulations, such as the double-contract system, and tying land distribution to a family size of two children (regardless of actual family size) and more recently through family planning contracts, to keep the birth rate from increasing in rural areas. Family planning was less difficult to enforce in rural areas when rural residents were organized into communes. According to a well-qualified local observer's report from Hubei province, penalties for noncompliance with birth restrictions were effective while people lived in communes, because people's work points could easily be reduced to punish an unauthorized birth.

When communes were disbanded, a double contract system was established, whereby rural residents signed economic production and family planning contracts. Violation of the family planning contract brought stiff economic penalties. Once the land had been divided up, however, and annual deliverables had been specified, it was not necessary to sign a production contract every year, especially after 1984 when land parcels were allocated for 15 years. A sort of "continuing resolution" has reportedly taken over in many places.

Rural families who have unauthorized births are among the richest and the poorest peasants. Rich peasants can pay the fines while poor peasants are not expected to borrow money to pay family planning penalties. Since the adoption of Document Number 7, family planning cadres are no longer allowed to seize a family's house to pay the fine. Where possible, family planning workers try to collect one-time fines for unauthorized births since they are unwilling to collect annual fines for 14 years after the birth.149

Not everyone agrees that the agricultural responsibility system has caused the birth rate to rise in rural areas. Based on a survey conducted in 12 villages of 4 townships in Guizhou province, two Chinese authors concluded that "the view which blames the upswing of natural population increase rates and the increase of unplanned births on the responsibility system is

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149Interview conducted by Judith Banister, at the U.S. Bureau of the Census, April 1987.
contrary to objective facts and has no legs to stand on."150 They said that farmers need less labor power under the new agricultural system: "The work which took three to four persons to accomplish in 1 day can now be done by one." They also said that the savings of smaller families was higher than those of large families. The prevailing view, however, is that the economic reforms in rural areas have discouraged the use of family planning.

One way that the economic reforms have had an impact on family planning is by abolishing the institutional structure through which family planning was carried out. With no commune system, there is little institutional reinforcement for family planning workers. Because of this institutional breakdown, the government is putting emphasis on setting up grass-roots family planning organizations, on training more family planning workers and making sure that they get paid for their work, and on making sure that there is money for family planning work in all areas.

At a national family planning financial control conference in December 1987, it was reported that family planning expenditures in China increased an average of 18.5 percent annually between 1982 and 1986, and that "financial departments at all levels actively allocated funds for family planning undertakings even under tight financial conditions. Despite the increase "some areas are still short of funds and contradictions between supply and demand are still relatively acute."151

Desired Family Size

The government, while maintaining that the one-child policy is supported voluntarily by the people, is still interested in knowing the fertility desires and intentions of China's youths and young married couples. The prevailing perception in China is that rural couples in particular want to have more than one child. This sentiment is reflected in statements and articles on population in China. For example, a commentator in 1986 said,


"The population policy created to fulfill this population plan has met with interference from the old views of having children which has had an influence over the masses for thousands of years. Thus, a contradiction has appeared between birth policies and the masses' wishes about having children."\(^{152}\)

The government has permitted several studies to be conducted by universities and other organizations on family planning attitudes and intentions. The results of attitudinal surveys such as these should be viewed with caution since respondents may not feel free to respond with their true desires, but instead may give answers they think are expected of them. Still, with that caution in mind, the information yielded from these surveys is useful for understanding the desires and intentions of Chinese couples. While the responses may not be completely accurate, they can be taken at least as the minimum desired family size.

A survey carried out in 1979-80 interviewed young men and women in Beijing and Sichuan province. The study found that the desired family size in Beijing and Sichuan was 1.3 to 1.4 in urban and 1.7 to 1.8 in rural areas.\(^{153}\) Desired family size was surprisingly low, especially in rural areas, but it should be kept in mind that China Youth League members carried out the interviews, which could have had a substantial effect on the responses.

The government is interested in studies of desired family size in order to adjust family planning messages and propaganda work. A description of a 1984 survey of young people in Zhejiang province reported, for example:

If we can understand early the reproductive motives and needs of unmarried youth we will be able to take various measures and thoroughly satisfy and adjust the reproductive motives and needs of unmarried children. Thus the motives of unmarried young people will harmonize with the national birth plan.\(^{154}\)


The Zhejiang survey found that half of the respondents wanted one child with no preference for the sex of that child. Nearly one-third wanted two children; of those, 25 percent wanted a son and a daughter. None of the youths said they wanted three or more children. Fully 10 percent of the sample said they wanted no children; however, none of that 10 percent were peasants. None of the peasants surveyed wanted only daughters.

A 1985 survey in Shaanxi and Hebei provinces and in Shanghai asked married women how many children they intended to have. The majority of women married during the 5 years preceding the survey (83 percent in Shaanxi and 92 percent in Hebei) wanted two children, while the majority of women married 15 years before the survey wanted three or more children. In Shanghai, fully 75 percent of those women married during the 5 years before the survey intended to have only one child. A survey of 350 peasant households in 3 townships in Guizhou province found that 80 percent of the respondents wanted 2 children, and 5 percent wanted 3 children.

Whyte and Gu summarized the results of 10 studies conducted between 1980 and 1985 in both urban and rural areas of several provinces. The samples in these surveys were small and not randomly selected, but they nevertheless provide interesting results. Only two groups--military personnel in Beijing and urban residents in Zhejiang--wanted a family size close to one child. In other areas, the average number of children desired was closer to two, with rural respondents wanting slightly more children than urban respondents.

National minorities want larger families on average than do Han Chinese. A 1985 survey reported that in Sichuan province, for example, 66 percent of Han Chinese wanted two children.

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compared to 83 percent of Tibetans. More than 75 percent of Yin nationality respondents wanted at least three children.\textsuperscript{158}

A 1986 survey of both urban and rural areas of Danjiang County in Hubei province asked respondents to list the advantages and disadvantages of having "more" children. "More" was not defined in the survey, but might be assumed to mean more than one or two children. The results are listed in table 6.

Table 6. Advantages and Disadvantages of More Children in Surveys in Danjiang County, Hubei, by Residence: 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic support in old age</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity of family line</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To increase labor force</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To add power to kin group</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To add to spouse bond</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For enjoyment of parents</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disadvantages:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial cost</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatigue</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less time for spouse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health hazards</td>
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<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems in neighborhood</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for children's future</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for overpopulation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Multiple choices in reporting perceived advantages and disadvantages were allowed. "More" children was not defined in the survey.


\textsuperscript{158}XINHUA, April 9, 1986, "Family Planning Workers Urged To Study Psychology," JPRS, No. JPRS-CEA-86-051, April 30, 1986, p. 79.
Rural residents were more likely to think of children in economic terms than were urban residents.

In a 1983 survey in two counties in Hubei province, the richest families wanted the most children, followed by the poorest families. Family planning workers are aware of this phenomenon, and say that the richest peasants are able to pay the fines for having births not covered by the plan, while the poorest peasants cannot pay the fines and therefore have nothing to lose.

While surveys provide the most comprehensive data on fertility desires and intentions, other reports give an indirect indication of the people's wishes to stop at one child or try for more. For example, in Guangxi province, some local leaders, thought that in order to carry out family planning work reasonably and fairly, in order to make the work easier for the cadres, and in order to satisfy the masses, family planning policy must be relaxed. Thus, they stipulated locally that urban nonagricultural population could give birth to two children. When the masses found out, they demanded that their own units do the same. Some of them even requested a transfer to those units.

Attacks on family planning workers are not uncommon either. Again, in Guangxi province, "In some places, a few people abuse, surround, and beat up grass-roots cadres and family planning cadres." Family planning regulations make such actions illegal.

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161 Li Qiang, "Guangxi tongzhi gedi renzhen jiancha zhixing zhiding de jihua shengyu guiding ("Guangxi Notified All Areas to Conscientiously Check Family Planning Regulations Formulated Locally"), JKB-JHSXB (Health Gazette-Family Planning Edition), November 11, 1986, p. 1.

Reports in 1988 continue to concede that people in rural areas need more than one child. An article in the People's Daily, for example, said that "over 80 percent of China's 1 billion people live in the countryside, where families work on a household basis under the current contract system. That...makes it imperative for each family to have at least one male worker. As a result, every rural family wants to have at least two children."\textsuperscript{163}

The Year of the Dragon, 1988 has presented a new obstacle for the family planning program, and another clash between national policy and traditional beliefs. It is considered auspicious to have a son in the Year of the Dragon, and according to the People's Daily, "some unmarried people of marriageable age want to get married and have their children this year so that they can have 'double happiness in the Year of the Dragon.'"\textsuperscript{164} Such articles are warning people of the nonsense of the tradition and the need to maintain family planning work this year.

**Family Planning Responsibility Systems**

**The cadre work responsibility system**

Chinese authorities claim that when family planning abuses have been discovered, the "Chinese government did not cover up but openly exposed and condemned these misdeeds. People involved were criticized and even subjected to disciplinary or legal punishment."\textsuperscript{165}

So far, we have been unable to discover any instance of a Chinese official or family planning worker having been punished or even reprimanded for carrying out mandatory family planning. On the contrary, there are frequent reports of family planning cadres being criticized or punished for not meeting family planning quotas, or for "sabotaging" family planning. A July 1987 circular from the Public Security Department of Guizhou province stated that:


\textsuperscript{165}Statement by Mr. Chang Chongxuan, Representative of China at the 24th Session of the United Nations Population Commission, January 29, 1987, mimeograph, p. 5.
Cases of illegal removal of an intra-uterine device, obtaining money by deceit, abusing women, and other instances of sabotage of family planning must be promptly investigated and dealt with.\textsuperscript{166}

At a 1986 Shanxi province meeting of heads of backward counties, "Those county heads who failed to attend the meeting were publicly criticized."\textsuperscript{167} In Guangdong province, several delegates from backward areas who attended the province's work conference for backward areas said that "they attended the conference with pressure of feeling embarrassed."\textsuperscript{168}

In July 1987, the Governor of Shaanxi stated in an interview that "indiscriminate granting of exemptions [for second births] is forbidden. If they are granted, the matter will be dealt with seriously."\textsuperscript{169} In September 1987, the Vice Governor of Hubei said that "each level must grasp the work and fulfill its responsibility. We must commend those who do well and criticize those who do badly."\textsuperscript{170}

In February 1988, the Secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee said that:

Backward counties should be criticized in the newspapers. In next year's family planning work conference we must arrange the names of counties in the order of their results....[and] the party committee


secretary and head of the county that rank last should be summoned to explain why they lag behind.171

In the past year or so, several provinces have strengthened "cadre responsibility systems" whereby cadres and family planning workers are penalized if they do not reach their target for family planning and where family planning work is used as a performance criterion by which to judge their job performance. These systems are being set up or reinstated to guarantee the support and diligence of family planning cadres and workers, who had an easier time with family planning work between 1984 and 1986, when the policy was somewhat less stringent. According to an official in the State Family Planning Commission in June 1987, in areas where family planning work has slackened, "people are mentally unprepared for dealing with the forthcoming birth rate peak for strengthening family planning at the grass-roots levels."172

When national leaders called for a tightening of family planning work in 1986, family planning workers were not entirely prepared for it. In Hunan, the Hunan Provincial Party Committee acknowledged this problem saying that the relaxation of family planning work had "resulted in 'the higher ups yelled vigorously, while the lower levels loosened their hold.'"173 A survey in 7 counties in Gansu province in 1987 found that of 100 family planning workers surveyed, 77 percent wanted to change jobs.174 Even in early 1988 there was still confusion about the family planning policy. The Vice Governor of Shandong province said, "Some people think that the restrictions of family planning have been relaxed when they have not."175


In Yujiang county of Jiangxi province, a contract responsibility system has been set up in which "township cadres are responsible for the villages, village cadres are responsible for the teams, and team cadres and party members are responsible for households."\(^{176}\) In Yunnan, "Population plans should be treated as one of the targets to be examined during a government's term of office."\(^{177}\) In Liaoning, "Leading personnel at all levels should enhance their leadership over the work and hold themselves responsible for a local failure in this regard."\(^{178}\) In Shaanxi in March 1987, the provincial party committee deputy secretary and acting governor "demanded that leaders at all levels.... establish the idea of simultaneously grasping 'two kinds of production,' [economic production and reproduction] and take measures to do well and firmly this work. Otherwise...they were not qualified leaders... All levels must implement the system of contracted responsibilities for population."\(^{179}\)

In 1987, the Hunan provincial party committee adopted several measures to improve family planning work, including the "'three fixes' (to fix the responsibility of party and government cadres at all levels, to fix the responsibility of basic level cadres, and to fix family planning quotas with individuals)" which "were carried out in all areas of the province. Population contracts were made from the lowest levels to the highest levels. A responsibility system was implemented among those leaders in charge of family planning in the party and in the government at all levels during their term in office."\(^{180}\)


\(^{180}\)Liang Yi, "Hunan xia daligi jiuzheng fangsong he ziliu xianxiang" ("Hunan Puts Great Effort in Correcting the Loosening of Family Planning Work and the Situation of Letting It Take Its Natural Course"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), September 4, 1987,
In late 1987 Jinhua municipality in Zhejiang province set up a system for reaching family planning targets during the Seventh Five Year Plan period. This system included setting targets and establishing responsibility systems for all areas. Backward areas where family planning rates remain below 85 percent are to submit a written report (of self-examination) to their county party committees and governments by the end of June. In addition, "necessary economic penalties should be meted out to the principal leaders, and to make adjustments among leaders of poor quality; to establish a goal management responsibility system in which townships and villages take the responsibility together, and to implement a double-track system for carrying out policies and for reaching population targets by January of next year."\(^{181}\)

In January 1988, an article on family planning in the Chinese newspaper, *China Population*, said that "the most important problem which needs to be solved in our work is to attach importance to the establishment and the improvement of all types of responsibility systems...."\(^{182}\) In March, the Governor of Gansu stated at the provincial family planning work conference that: "This year we must include family planning in the responsibility system for targets to be met during a county governor's term of office and regard it as an important criterion for examining the performance of the people's government at all levels."\(^{183}\) The secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee also called for implementation of a responsibility system for family planning.\(^{184}\) In early 1988, Shandong and Henan


\(^{182}\)"Yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and to Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of This Year"), *ZGJHSYB (China Population)*, January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.


\(^{184}\)Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service, February 27, 1988, "Fujian's Chen on Importance of Family Planning," FBIS, No. 045, March 8, 1988, p. 43.
provinces also implemented cadre responsibility systems.\textsuperscript{185} In March 1988, the Vice Governor of Henan province described the cadre responsibility system to be implemented throughout the province, saying, "Putting into effect at each level the system of responsibility for targets to be met is an important way and effective measure for fundamentally changing the passive situation in family planning work."\textsuperscript{186}

\textbf{Individual and group responsibility systems}

In rural areas, a double contract system for agricultural production and reproduction has been in effect since the early 1980's when communes were disbanded and households were allocated land to farm. Each year, a couple would sign a contract to provide the state with a fixed amount of agricultural produce, and also to practice family planning. If the couple gave birth to an unauthorized child, they would be fined.

In practice, this system has not worked in many areas, due in part to the lack of rural family planning personnel to enforce the contracts. In late 1987, Wang Wei reported that about 30 percent of China's villages lacked family planning workers.\textsuperscript{187} The government, aware of the problem of staff shortages in rural areas, is now concentrating on expanding the workforce of family planning personnel. For example in Guangxi province, more than 2,500 additional personnel were assigned to family planning work in 1987.\textsuperscript{188} Harbin municipality in Heilongjiang province and Hebei province had started in late 1986 and Sichuan province began in early 1987 to assign more workers for family planning in rural areas. According to the Lt. Governor of Hebei province: "The forces on the forefront cannot be cut. Without the staff to


\textsuperscript{186}\textit{Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service, in Chinese, March 16, 1988, "Henan Meeting Stresses Family Planning," FBIS, No. 052, March 17, 1988, p. 46.}

\textsuperscript{187}\textit{Wang Wei, "Zai jianshe you zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi zhong de jihua shengyu gongzuo" ("Family Planning Work Amidst the Construction of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), December 18, 1987, pp. 1-2.}

\textsuperscript{188}\textit{Jilin Guangxi liang sheng qu caiqu youli cuoshi jiu zheng fang song ziliu xianxiang" ("Jilin and Guangxi Adopt Effective Measures to Correct Loosening of Family Planning Work and the Situation of Running its Natural Course"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), September 18, 1987, p. 1.}
go deep into the families and households, the work of population control would become empty words. This grand social engineering must have the cooperation of all departments and must be guaranteed with manpower and materials.\footnotemark[189]

Family planning is rarely considered a personal matter. In villages of Guzhuangdian township of Henan province, blackboards and wall papers publicize information contained in birth control registration cards of newlyweds, one- and two-child households, and households which practice birth control, so that people can supervise each other and cadres can monitor the situation. "In this way, the situation of 'concealing and getting through the cracks' and excessive births have been checked."\footnotemark[190] In Ningxia province a group of inspectors has been assigned "to clarify the pregnancy situation monthly. Once a month, married women of reproductive age are visited during the time of their periods and a report on their condition is submitted to a higher level."\footnotemark[191]

As staff levels are being increased, the government is placing renewed emphasis on contract responsibility systems. In Sichuan province the Governor said, "It is also necessary to set up responsibility systems at all levels, conduct strict examinations, and deal out the appropriate rewards and penalties as prescribed."\footnotemark[192] In Hunan province family planning quotas are


\footnotemark[191]Liu Zongyuan, "Yongning xian shangbannian duotailu mingxian xiajiang" ("Yongning County's Rate of Excessive Births in the First Half of This Year Dropped Markedly") ZGJHSYB (China Population), October 9, 1987, p. 2.

fixed with individuals in rural areas. Hunan province is promoting the example of Hengnan county in establishing a contract responsibility system.

In March [1987], the county formulated the 'Ten Article Regulation' to tighten the opening and to control population growth strictly. It carried out a comprehensive examination of the implementation of the family planning policy in earlier years throughout the county and resolutely took back those quotas for a second birth, which were issued without conforming to policy regulations. By means of meticulous ideological work, birth contracts were signed one by one. 'Notices' were issued to strictly control childbirth. At the same time, birth control measures and distribution of awards and penalties were carried out firmly.

As of today, the county has retrieved more than 1,200 quotas for second births...[and] the number of birth control operations completed is 46.34 percent more than the number during the same period last year.... Depending on their situation, all 25,367 women of reproductive age in the county have already received their 'notices' either allowing them to have a second birth or restricting them from having a second birth. Those who are eligible are definitely allowed to give birth and those who are not eligible are prohibited resolutely.194

In Zhangzhen township of Ningxia province, a system of "universal contracts" was established in 1987 whereby "township cadres were responsible for villages, village cadres were responsible for households, and couples of childbearing age signed family planning contracts."195


At a national conference on family planning work at the beginning of 1988, it was reported that 2.5 million people are presently members of family planning associations throughout China. A February article on family planning added that "New community-based groups will be set up to ensure that people follow sensible family planning practices. For instance, women of childbearing age could be required to sign contracts with these grass-roots organizations." Another article, citing an official from the State Family Planning Commission, was more definite about the contracts:

The contract responsibility system will be carried into national family planning, a commission official announced on February 15 in Beijing. He said that local family planning organizations will be required to sign contracts with child-bearing women to ensure that they have only one child. Penalties will be levied against those who break their contracts while social benefits will be provided for those who fulfill them.

These grass roots organizations are required "to guarantee the fulfillment of the birth control target, give awards, and provide contraceptives and necessary services, and require couples of childbearing age to actually take contraceptive measures." Some areas are experimenting not only with family planning organizations, but also with using key households, party members contact households, and households with women of childbearing age, "in an effort to organize all types of social


forces and to carry out self-education among the masses for moving family planning ahead.200

Other areas are setting up systems to evaluate townships and villages on family planning work. In Inner Mongolia's Linxi County, for example, townships and villages are rated on their family planning performance and are given a series of awards based on their rating on marriages, births, and abortions. "Township cadres and family planning cadres perform their duties according to their contracted responsibilities and are awarded or punished accordingly." Through this method,

It is beneficial to arouse the masses' voluntarism and activism for self-management of planned births. It pushed forward the implementation of family planning policy, whereby it changed the situation of a few people working on a large number of people to one of a large number of people working on a few people.201

Nanjing municipality has initiated a trial responsibility system with the heads of several counties under the municipality's jurisdiction. The system, referred to as "six guarantees and one reward" required counties to fulfill five economic quotas and the planned birth quota in order to receive awards. Through this system, a network has been set up with "the mayor taking charge of county heads, county heads taking charge of heads of townships, and heads of townships taking charge of village heads."202

Changde prefecture in Hunan province has a similar system, which is being promoted throughout the province. Under the "veto power" system, townships and districts which fail to fulfill their family planning targets are stripped of their status of

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200"yi gaige tong lan quanju jianjue wancheng jinnian gongzuo renwu" ("To Have Overall Control of the Situation by Carrying Out Reforms and to Resolutely Accomplish the Tasks of This Year"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), January 29, 1988, pp. 1-2.

201Xu Fengge, "Linxi xian de mubiaohua guanli" ("The Goal Management of Linxi County"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), February 19, 1988, p. 3.

advanced unit of industrial or agricultural production, and the rewards which accompany that favored status.203

In urban areas, birth quotas are strictly enforced through people's work units. The example of the Daye steel factory shows how a contract system can work. The factory has 33,000 workers, of whom 9,144 are women of childbearing age.

In 1986, the main factory signed a 'document of contract responsibility' with 32 of its branch factories. All branch factories in turn signed contracts with their respective workshops, which in turn signed contracts with their teams, which in turn signed contracts with each individual team member....In order that the 'contracts' do not become empty words, we define clearly the contents of inspection and carry out inspections strictly down to each person. Awards and penalties are meted out.204

Provincial party committees are sending out inspection teams to ensure the implementation of these responsibility systems.205 Family planning responsibility systems are designed to increase the participation of local leaders and family planning workers in family planning work by raising the stakes for the success or failure of family planning work. A reporter writing on Hebei province's family planning work conference in January 1988, said "The people will be motivated and inspired with enthusiasm for doing some work only when great pressure is applied on them."206

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203 Liang Yi, "Hunan xia daliqi jiuzheng fangsong he ziliu xianxiang" ("Hunan Puts Great Effort in Correcting the Loosening of Family Planning and the Situation of Letting it Take Its Natural Course"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), September 4, 1987, p. 1.

204 Daye Steel Factory Family Planning Commission, "Women shizenyang loushi mubiao quanli de" ("How We Achieved the Goal by Management"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), February 22, 1988, p. 2.


The Floating Population

As part of China's economic reforms, more people from rural areas have been permitted to move temporarily to urban areas or other rural areas for work. This group, estimated at 50 million people since 1979, is called the floating population, because their household registration is still in the original rural area, but they spend much of their time elsewhere. The most common type of floating person is a single or married man away from his family, but women are increasingly becoming mobile workers in urban areas. In some cases, husbands and wives travel together as mobile workers.

The degree of success achieved by China's family planning program depends in part on frequent surveillance of adult women to prevent them from having children they want; therefore, the floating population has continued to cause problems for family planning workers because people away from their place of registration do not fall under the jurisdiction of the urban family planning workers, and they are not within reach of the rural family planning workers. For example,

Yujiang County [Jiangxi province] has more than 44,000 married women of childbearing age. More than 1,600 of them are away with their husbands, who are engaging in trade and industry. These people are often stubborn in their thinking. They not only create 'dead corners' in family planning work, but also bad influence over the people around them....therefore, to do well in managing family planning work among this flowing population is extremely urgent.208

Counties such as Yujiang are setting up systems through which the floating population must have family planning certificates before they can leave their home area and must present them to their urban work unit as part of the registration process to be permitted to work. In Qingdao Municipality in Shandong province:

Women of reproductive age, whose household registration is in this town, but who live permanently in other areas... must submit every 3 months a certificate of gynecological examination from a local hospital to their unit (of residence). If they failed to do so,


either their food grain ration would be stopped, or they would have to be responsible for moving their household registration and for the expenses incurred by persons sent out by this town to trace (their whereabouts). Punishment for falsifying the certificate is in the amount of 500 yuan.\textsuperscript{209}

Hangzhou municipality in Zhejiang province set up a system of surveillance of migrant workers by "means of investigation, establishment of card files, organization, and the formulation of regulations."\textsuperscript{210} Migrant workers must fill out a family planning registration card in order to obtain a business license.

Zhejiang province promulgated "Tentative Regulations on the Management of Family Planning Among In- and Out-migrants of Zhejiang Province." Without family planning certificates, work permits will not be issued, and:

Those who violate family planning must be severely treated according to regulations. Serious violators are to be punished with cancellation of employment contracts, closing of businesses, or revoking of licenses. Those who conceal their marriage and childbirth status to obtain 'family planning certificates' by deceit and those who purposely give convenience to and shelter incoming and outgoing violators of family planning policies are to be given either financial or administrative penalties.\textsuperscript{211}

In Guangxi province also, members of the floating population and the self employed may also have their licenses or temporary

\textsuperscript{209}Shi Hailong, "Zhongshi dui liudong renkou jihua shengyu de guanli - Qingdao shi de shijian" ("To Attach Importance to Having Control Over Family Planning of the Floating Population--The Practice of Qingdao Municipality"), \textit{ZGJHSYB (China Population)}, December 18, 1987, p. 3.


residence permits revoked for violating family planning regulations. In Shulan county of Jilin province,
a detailed record is to be made of in- and out-migrants on cards and in books. Whenever violations of family planning policies are discovered, they must be dealt with appropriately and locally. Those who must be punished will be punished. Those who must undergo remedial measures will undergo remedial measures. Those who must practice contraception will practice contraception.

Yunnan province has issued trial regulations for migrant workers. Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Fujian, and Qinghai, which all have large migrant populations, also have regulations to monitor family planning use among the floating population.

Even with such regulations, unauthorized births among the floating population still occur. In mid-1987, a spokesperson for the State Family Planning Commission said that "most places still fail to exert effective control over extra-quota births among the floating population." A 1987 survey of 100,000 migrant workers in Lanzhou, the capital of Gansu province, found that over 70 percent of the 5,000 women of childbearing age were not following family planning regulations. In Jiayuguan, another city in Gansu, one-third of the women of reproductive age among the mobile population had given birth to two or more children. "Most of these women ignore the requirement to use birth control..."


measures, and many take advantage of their situation to have more children than allowed."218

The State Family Planning Commission is planning to conduct a survey of the country's floating population and with the survey's results formulate uniform guidelines for handling family planning work among migrant workers.219

**Marriage Reform**

The government has recently initiated a campaign to end the practice of early marriage because early marriage often leads to early childbirth. In 1986, an estimated "2 million people under the legal age gave birth to children."220 The legal age at marriage in China, based on the Marriage Law of 1980, which took effect January 1, 1981, is 22 years for men and 20 years for women. As the number of young people reaching marriage and reproductive age has increased recently, and will remain high for the next decade, there is renewed interest not only in enforcing the legal age at marriage, but also in promoting late marriage and later childbirth among young couples. The practice of either cohabiting before marriage registration and producing a child or simply marrying earlier than the legal age has become widespread, according to Chinese sources.221 In 1986, early marriages accounted for an estimated 15 to 20 percent of marriages in rural areas of China.222 However, no reliable data on age at marriage since 1981 are available. China will be conducting a survey in mid-1988 which should yield data on age at marriage.

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According to a spokesperson of the State Family Planning Commission in mid-1987, "All departments concerned must take effective measures to handle cases of newlyweds below the legal marriage age (including those who have married without registering with the authorities)." In Sichuan province a publicity campaign on marriage was carried out in late 1987. A circular issued by the Provincial People's Government of Sichuan stipulated that:

Illegal relationships which should be dissolved must be dissolved. Those who have reached the legal marriage age must carry out marriage registration procedures. Those who are pregnant out of wedlock and have not reached the legal marriage age must undergo remedial operations within a prescribed time.

Similarly in Shulan county in Jilin province, "Aside from being fined, those who have married early will be ordered to live separately. Those who marry early and are having a child early must undergo remedial measures immediately. If a child were already born, heavy fines will be imposed." As this quote makes clear, if a woman is pregnant for the first time, but she and her husband have not been allowed to register their marriage because she is below 20 or he below 22, then the pregnancy is unauthorized and an abortion is required.

Prohibiting cohabitation and early marriages is a priority task during the first half of 1988. In early 1988, a "Circular on Earnestly Implementing the 'Marriage Law' and Strictly Prohibiting Marriage in Violation of the Law" was issued jointly by the State Family Planning Commission, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the Judiciary, and the National Federation of Women's Associations. The circular suggests solutions to the problems associated with disregard of the marriage law. "Those who marry..."

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224 Li Huachang, "Sichuan sheng zhengfu yaoqiu gedi cuiqu deli cuoshi zhizhi zaohun zaoyu he feihun shengyu" ("The Provincial Government of Sichuan Demands that All Areas Adopt Effective Measures to Stop Early Marriages, Early Births, and Births Out of Wedlock"), ZGJHSYB (China Population), September 13, 1987, p. 1.

early before the legal marriage age and have early childbirth and those who allow their children to practice cohabitation without registration will be criticized and educated even to the extent of being disciplined by their work units... Those who violate the law must be punished accordingly." In Anhui province, out-of-wedlock children are considered unplanned births, and "no contract land and house lot are allowed before their mothers reach the legal age."227

A national conference on eliminating bad marriage customs, held in February 1988, called for a firm resolution "to prevent early marriages and early births, [and] to forbid illegal marriages," among other things.228 In late 1987, the People's Congress Standing Committee of the east coast province of Jiangsu had discussed barriers to fully implementing the marriage law in the province. "These problems include mercenary marriages, abducting young women for sale, not going through marriage procedures, and abandoning baby girls."229

Some areas are revising their marriage registration procedures. In the Town of Zetou, in Shandong province, for example, couples used to simply go to the civil affairs assistant to register for marriage. Now they must get a certificate from their village, check their household records with the public security station, have a premarital examination at the hospital, and a talk with the civil affairs assistant and the family planning propagandist before marriage registration can be

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completed. Yunnan, Shanxi, and Hunan provinces have also begun to look into early marriage practices.

Promoting late marriage is also becoming a key task for family planning and marriage registration offices. According to a commentary in China Population, "Those who have reached the legal age and are unwilling to have a late marriage after patient education, we should not force them to do so, but we must mobilize them to practice late marriage."

Guangdong provincial family planning regulations include a chapter on incentives for late marriage and childbirth. Cadres and workers who marry late (age 23 for women) are allowed an extra 10 days for their honeymoons. Those giving birth late (age 24 for women) are given an extra 15 days leave when their child is born. "Urban individual laborers, persons awaiting employment, and persons who practice late marriage and childbearing will be commended and suitably rewarded by their local people's government."


VI. SUMMARY

This report has documented in some detail the recent trends in China's family planning program, emphasizing the years 1986, 1987, and the first 3 months of 1988. We have shown that after 1983, the peak year of the use of compulsion in family planning, the Chinese government reacted to the backlash by replacing Qian Xinzhong, the head of the State Family Planning Commission, with Wang Wei. Wang Wei's tenure of 1984 through 1987 was a period during most of which China's national government gave ambiguous, contradictory messages about national family planning policy. On the one hand, cadres were told to succeed in meeting birth limitation targets, but on the other hand, were told not to force people to accept family planning. These conflicting demands led to mixed results. Cadres in some areas kept tight control over fertility while others took this opportunity to slacken work on their assigned family planning tasks. After the 1986 rise in China's birth rate was detected and assessed, Wang Wei was replaced by Peng Peiyun in January 1988, a move which has apparently signaled that strict control of fertility is once again the rule.

Through all these changes, China's family planning program has remained one whose regulations and guidelines are decided at the national level and dictated to provincial and lower levels of government and ultimately to couples of childbearing age, with only small variations allowed. Cadres and family planning workers are held to their difficult, often unpopular tasks by "cadre work responsibility" or "goal management" systems that include financial penalties and reprimands for those who fail to prevent unauthorized births. Today, Chinese couples still are not given a choice about whether they practice family planning, how many children they have, when they have the allowed birth or births, whether or not to sign family planning contracts, or what form of birth control they will use.

In urban areas and throughout some provinces, frequent surveillance of women in childbearing ages is coupled with strong threats and penalties for attempted noncompliance. In these places, almost complete conformity with birth restrictions is assured. However, in many rural areas of numerous provinces, especially where the family planning network is weak, and among China's floating population, numerous couples still succeed or have a chance to succeed in marrying early and having unauthorized first births, or in bearing second or higher parity children outside the official plan. In "backward" areas and among certain subpopulations, China's provinces continue to implement mass mobilization or "high tide" campaigns to carry out required abortions, sterilizations, and IUD insertions. Therefore, during the 1980's, the essential nature of China's family planning program has not changed.
At present the Chinese government continues to hold to the ambitious goal of keeping the country's population size to about 1.2 billion by the year 2000. But given the huge number of women entering the peak childbearing ages during the next decade, the attainment of this goal will require intensified efforts in family planning. The national and provincial governments are in the process of tightening up on family planning in order to achieve the country's goal.
### Table 1. China, Alternative Reported Birth Parities (Births in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reported total births</th>
<th>Percent first births</th>
<th>Implied number of first births</th>
<th>Percent second births</th>
<th>Implied number of second births</th>
<th>Percent third plus births</th>
<th>Implied number of third plus births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>17,980</td>
<td>61.21</td>
<td>11,006</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>4,243</td>
<td>15.14</td>
<td>2,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>(22.4)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>68.03</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>21.68</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/A Not available

Note: The parity distributions presented in table 2, though reported from different sources, appear consistent with one another. The data presented here were also reported, but seem inconsistent with data in table 2. Figures in parenthesis were derived from other figures given in the table.

Chapter One: General Principles

Article 1. To practice family planning, exercise control over the population, and improve the quality of the population so that population growth would be suited to economic and social development plans, these regulations are enacted in accordance with the PRC Constitution, PRC Marriage Law, and relevant regulations of the state, and in connection with Sichuan's actual realities.

Article 2. Both husband and wife have the duty to practice family planning.

Article 3. The principle of ideological education and necessary administrative and economic means with the stress on the former should be implemented in family planning to achieve the results of late marriage, late and fewer births, and eugenics.

Article 4. The local people's government at all levels should strengthen leadership over family planning and be responsible for implementation of these regulations.

All units should implement the responsibility system in family planning work. The departments concerned should attend to their duties according to division of work.

Village committees and township neighborhoods should establish relevant systems to do a good job of family planning.

Article 5. The local family planning committees at all levels are the competent departments in family planning work.

The family planning work departments of wotnship (town) people's government and urban subdistrict offices are in charge of family planning work of their own township (town) and districts under their jurisdiction.
Chapter Two: Late Marriage, Late Births, and Birth Control

Article 6. Late marriage and late births are encouraged.

Late marriage means that both men and women are married 3 years later than the lawful age. Late births mean birth by women aged 24 and above.

Article 7. Births should occur in a planned manner.

Each couple is encouraged to give birth to one child.

No births must occur without marriage.

Article 8. Couples that can meet the following requirements may give birth to a second child:

1. The first child has a non-hereditary disease and cannot become a normal laborer;
2. Marriage between only son and daughter;
3. In the rural areas, the groom moves to the bride's (only daughter) house after marriage;
4. Only sons and daughters of martyrs in rural areas;
5. Disabled demobilized soldiers in rural areas with Merit Citation Class II, A;
6. Those in rural areas who were disabled while on duty and are equivalent to the disabled demobilized soldiers with Merit Citation Class II, A;
7. The person is the only one of several brothers in rural areas who can have children;
8. In the rural areas, the husband or wife is the only son or daughter for two generations;
9. In the rural areas of the Pengzhou mountain counties and the mountain townships (not including the flatland, hilly land, and valleys) within the basin approved by the cities (prefectures) of the economic construction zone, families with only daughters which have labor shortages;
10. In the rural areas of the remote mountain areas in Pengzhou mountain counties, families with only sons and daughters; and
11. Both husband and wife are returned overseas Chinese who have settled down in Sichuan.
Article 9. Those who have no children many years after marriage, but have become pregnant after adopting a child, may give birth to a child.

Article 10. Those who can meet one of the following requirements may give birth to a second child:

1. A widower or widow remarries and before the remarriage, the widower or widow has fewer than two children, while the spouse has no children; and

2. Husband or wife who remarry after a divorce and before the remarriage, one side has only one child, while the other has no children.

Article 11. For those who can meet the requirements of Articles 8, 9, and 10 and who want to bear children, both husband and wife should submit an application which will be examined and brought into line with family planning by the departments at the county level responsible for family planning work. Second births should be given at an interval of 4 years.

Chapter Three: Eugenics and Birth Control

Article 12. The medical and health centers for women and children and the family planning propaganda and technical guidance units at and above the county level should open eugenics and birth control consultative clinics.

Health examination should be conducted before marriage. Those who want to marry and give birth to children should receive eugenics and birth control guidance.

Article 13. Couples who have serious hereditary diseases including psychosis, mental deficiency, and malformation must not be allowed to bear children. Those who are already pregnant must terminate the pregnancy.

Article 14. Focused on contraception, various measures should be adopted in birth control.

Either husband or wife should adopt sterilization measures after they have two children.

Contraceptive medicines and apparatus will be provided free of charge to couples who have reached child-bearing age.

Article 15. The medical units and family planning propaganda and technical guidance units responsible for ligation operations should have the necessary conditions for performing operations. Ligation operations should be performed by qualified doctors who have certificates issued by public health or family planning departments at and above the county level to ensure the health and safety of the patients.
The ligation operation charges of staff members and workers of state enterprises and collective enterprises in urban and rural areas will be paid by the enterprises concerned from the medical care fund. The operation charges of inhabitants in urban and rural areas will be paid by the family planning expenses.

Article 16. Owing to change of conditions, those who are allowed to bear children after undergoing ligation operations should receive anastomosis operations at a designated hospital with a certificate provided by the units concerned and with approval of county level departments in charge of family planning work.

Article 17. With the appraisal of the family planning technical guidance group at and above county level, those suffering from complications and sequelae arising from ligation operations will receive medical treatment. During the period of treatment, state personnel and workers of urban and rural collective enterprises will receive wages as usual, while the peasants will be exempted from voluntary labor within the year and the medical fees will be regarded as ligation operation expenses.

Chapter Four: Reward and Punishment

Article 18. If a couple has reached the requirements of late marriage and both of them are state personnel or workers of urban or rural collective enterprises, they will get a 10-day leave for marriage in addition to the holidays prescribed by the state. If they are willing to give late births, the wife will get a 20-day maternity leave in addition to the maternity leave prescribed by the state. The marriage and maternity leave will be regarded as attendance.

Peasants who are willing to give late births will be exempted from collective voluntary labor within the year.

Article 19. A couple with one child under the age of 14 who, after receiving ligation operation, may submit an application for only child certificate which will be verified by the units concerned and approved by the township (town) government or urban subdistrict office.

Article 20. If children born (covered by the plan) are twins or more, they are regarded as only children.

Article 21. Those who have obtained only child certificates will receive preferential treatment and be rewarded in light of the following:

1. Each only child will receive 5 yuan every month for health care until the child is 14. The units where the father and mother are working will respectively undertake 50 percent of the amount. The only child health care benefits of state personnel and workers of urban and rural collective enterprises will be paid by the financial department according to relevant stipulations. The only
child health care benefits of peasants will derive from the public welfare fund of the collectives or profits retained by township (town) enterprises. The only children in rural areas may also be exempted from accumulation and retention of common funds by the collective. The only child health care benefits of unemployed inhabitants in urban areas will derive from family planning expenses and those of private businessmen engaged in industry and commerce will be handled according to relevant stipulations.

2. While giving aid to the poor peasant households and recruiting workers for township enterprises, preferential treatment should be given to only children.

3. Under equal conditions, special treatment should be given to only children in health and medical care.

Article 22. The local government at all levels and departments concerned should commend and reward units and individuals who have done a job in family planning work.

Regarding localities and units that fail to properly implement these regulations, the government at or above the same level should make criticism, conduct education, and urge them to make improvements within a specified period.

Article 23. Those who refuse education and give birth to children not covered by the plan will be fined from the month the child is born. The wages or annual income of both husband and wife will be deducted by 10 to 20 percent for 7 years and the total sum should not be less than 500 yuan. Those who give birth to another child after the birth given according to Articles 8, 9, and 10 of these regulations will be fined at a minimum of 800 yuan. A heavy fine will be imposed on those giving births not covered by the plan.

Regarding pregnancy not covered by the plan, both husband and wife will be imposed a fine of 20 to 30 yuan a month during the period of pregnancy. If the pregnancy is terminated, the fine imposed will be returned.

The fine imposed will be used for family planning work only. The provincial family planning committee and finance department will work out use and management methods.

Article 24. If those giving births not covered by the plan are cadres and staff members, apart from imposing a fine, the units where they work should also apply disciplinary sanctions according to the seriousness of the case.

Article 25. Those who have received certificates for only children and are allowed to give birth to a second child should return their certificates and will no longer get rewards and preferential treatment from the month they are allowed to give birth to a second child. Those who give birth to another child without approval, apart from the measures stipulated in Articles 23 and 24, will no longer get rewards and preferential treatment for only children and must return the certificates and health care benefits for only children.
Article 26. Regarding doctors, nurses, and working personnel in charge of family planning work and marriage registration and state functionaries who violate these regulations, practice fraud, and accept bribes, the units where they work or the higher level competent departments should educate them through criticisms and disciplinary sanctions. If their practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Persons holding direct responsibility for accidents in litigation operations due to negligence will be handled according to relevant regulations.

Article 27. Regarding those who insult, threaten, and beat doctors, nurses, and working personnel in charge of family planning work or use other methods to obstruct family planning, the public security organs will handle the cases in light of the "PRC Regulations Concerning Public Security Management and Punishment." If the practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Article 28. Drowning, abandoning, selling and maltreatment of girl babies and their mothers are prohibited. Regarding those involved in any of these practices, the units where they work or the leading organs concerned should educate them through criticisms and disciplinary sanction in light of the seriousness of the case. If their practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Illegal removal of intrauterine devices is prohibited. In addition to confiscating the income obtained from illegally taking out the intrauterine device, a fine of over 500 yuan will be imposed. A heavy fine will be imposed on those who commit the offense repeatedly. The judicial organs will, according to law, investigate and affix the responsibility for injuries and deaths caused therefrom.

Article 29. If the family planning competent departments are responsible for meting out punishment for violation of these regulations, a decision on meting out punishment should be made by the basic level departments in charge of family planning work and sent to the person concerned with the approval of the township (town) people's government or urban subdistrict office. If the person concerned refuses to accept the punishment, he may appeal to a higher level family planning department for reconsideration within 15 days after receiving the decision. The decision will become effective if no appeal is made within 15 days.

The decision made by the higher level family planning departments after reconsideration is the final decision.

If the person concerned refuses to implement the effective decision, the family planning competent department at the county level may apply to the people's court to enforce the decision. If the decision is indeed erroneous, the people's court may stop its implementation and inform the competent department.
Article 30. If the decisions made by family planning competent departments which have become effective are indeed erroneous, they should be amended.

If a higher level family planning competent department has discovered that a decision made by a lower level family planning competent department is indeed erroneous, efforts should be made to amend the decision.

Article 31. The family planning cases accepted and heard by the local judicial organs at all levels according to legal procedures should be tried out in light of relevant state laws and these regulations.

Chapter Five: Supplementary Articles

Article 32. In light of the principle of these regulations and the actual conditions of the locality, the people's congress standing committees of the autonomous prefectures and counties may draft family planning measures of the autonomous prefectures and counties and submit them to the provincial people's congress standing committee for examination and approval.

Article 33. In accordance with these regulations, the provincial people's government may make stipulations on problems arising from implementation.

The specific problems regarding application in these regulations shall be explained by the provincial family planning committee.

Article 34. These regulations come into force upon promulgation. All previously promulgated rules and regulations of the province that conflict with these regulations shall be annulled.

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<th>Abbr.</th>
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<td>FBIS</td>
<td>Foreign Broadcast Information Service.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JKB</td>
<td>Jiankang bao. (Health Gazette).</td>
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<td>JPRS</td>
<td>Joint Publications Research Service.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RKYJJ</td>
<td>Renkou yu jingji. (Population and Economy).</td>
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<td>SWB</td>
<td>Summary of World Broadcasts.</td>
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<td>Zhongguo jihua shengyu bao. (China Population).</td>
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