

University of Mississippi

eGrove

Honors Theses

Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale
Honors College)

1-1-2011

Chinese Popular Opinion Towards the One Child Policy

Alyssa W. Yuen

The University of Mississippi

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis

Recommended Citation

Yuen, Alyssa W., "Chinese Popular Opinion Towards the One Child Policy" (2011). *Honors Theses*. 2801.
https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis/2801

This Undergraduate Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College) at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

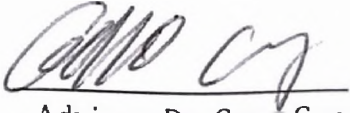
Chinese Popular Opinion Towards the One Child Policy

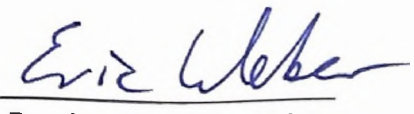
by
Alyssa W. Yuen

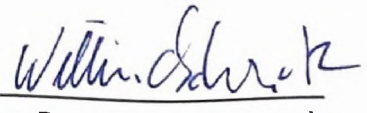
A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the completion of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies
Croft Institute for International Studies
Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College
The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi
May 2011

Approved by:


Advisor: Dr. Gang Guo


Reader: Dr. Eric Weber


Reader: Dr. William Schenck

12

598

H-

7468

46

©2011
Alyssa W. Yuen
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Dedication

*My year of thesis writing has been a long
and somewhat torturous journey.
To all my family, friends, and educators
who bore through the frustration and chaos,
these 19,006 words are for you.*

Acknowledgments

I don't know how to start to thank everyone with all the help I have received during the writing process of my thesis. All my family, friends, and educators have been instrumental during this very long journey. There are no words to express the gratitude I have for each individual encouraging me when I felt overwhelmed. I would like to thank the following individual people:

First and foremost, to my thesis mentor, Dr. Guo, thank you dealing with all my moments when I was so nervous. You calmed me down during my frequent "freak outs" and kept pushing me to go that extra mile. This thesis would not have been possible without your guidance, and for this, I wholeheartedly thank you.

To my two readers, Dr. Weber and Dr. Schenck, thank you for all the support you have given me during my long journey with my thesis. Thank you for your patience during my times of sickness and my horrible grammar. Your support and advice were extremely vital during this journey, and has helped shaped my thesis to its final form.

To my one-on-one teacher in Kunming, He Guojun, thank you for opening my eyes up to the reality of the One Child Policy. When I arrived to Kunming, I thought I knew almost everything about the policy, but you helped me delved into the ethical issues of the policy and helped me gain a better understanding of the Chinese perspective about the policy. Thank you for all the long discussions and materials concerning the policy. This thesis would not have been well rounded without your teachings.

Dr. Susan Allen and Dr. Megan Shannon, thank you for rescuing me in my time of need. From the time spent in the Croft computer lab arguing with SPSS to a crash course on SPSS output, I am extremely thankful. I don't know how I would have turned in my second draft with you two.

My quantitative section would not have been possible without the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. I want to thank the Pew Global institute for their information concerning China's social issues.

My parents have been so supportive during my thesis journey. Mom and Dad, sorry for all the ignored phone calls and emails, but thank you for all the encouragement and support you have given me not only within my senior year, but also throughout my college tenure.

To my brother, Anthony, thank you for dealing with all the late phone calls and urgent emails. Your experience and advice concerning thesis writing were instrumental during my journey. You're the best brother a sister could have. Oh, and don't worry, Anthony, you still won on longest thesis. Mine was only 102 pages.

To my friends, Alex Kynerd, Sarah Shaw, Matthew Archer, and Ryan Parsons, I don't know what I would have done without you. You were right beside me during the late nights crying over thesis, editing the over 100 pages of thesis, and making sure I was eating and sleeping. I'll never forget the support you have given me throughout this journey and throughout my college tenure.

Abstract

Alyssa W. Yuen: Chinese's Popular Opinion Towards the One Child Policy
(Under the direction of Dr. Gang Guo)

The One Child Policy has been implemented since 1980, and is the world's longest implemented population control policy. Popular opinion towards the policy is inevitable. This thesis attempts to explain the rationale behind the One Child Policy, the impacts the policy has had on China socially, economically, and environmentally, and the effects the policy has had on the Chinese population. The research question for this thesis is, "What affects Chinese popular opinion about the One Child Policy?"

The first section of this thesis illustrates the impacts the policy has had economically, socially, environmentally, and morally. Through the qualitative section, the researcher is able to determine which demographics have been impacted the most from the policy.

The second section utilizes the information obtained in the first section to produce quantitative data. Through the analysis from the first section, the researcher created a theoretical framework to guide her during the research process, and then determined which variable to include in the study. The variables included in this study were: ethnicity, marital status, income, locale, age, education level, and gender.

The researcher used a binary logistic regression to test the relationship between the dependent variable (Support of the One Child Policy) and the nine independent variables. The regression showed that ethnicity and locale had the most impact on whether someone support or does not support the One Child Policy. This answer agrees with the researcher's second half of her theoretical framework.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	vii
Introduction	1
Importance	1
Background	2
Research Question	5
Organization of the Thesis	6
Project Design and Organization of the Study	6
Theoretical Framework	7
Macro-Level: One Child Policy and the Impacts on China	10
Literature Review	10
Economy	21
Social Issues	31
Environment Issues	42
The Ethics of the One Child Policy	53
Micro-Level: Chinese Attitudes Towards the One Child Policy	62
Introduction	62
Methodology	63
Independent Variables	64
Hypotheses	67
Basic Frequencies	68
Cross Tabulations	68
Regression	79
Conclusion	82
Bibliography	85
Appendices	92
Introduction to the <i>Pew Global Attitudes Project</i>	93
Relevant Questions from the Survey	54

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1:	China's Fertility Rate	4
Figure 2:	How Many Children do Chinese Women Prefer?	15
Figure 3:	China's Population Pyramid 1953-2000	25
Figure 4:	China's Population Pyramid 2005-2030	27
Figure 5:	China Arable Land	45
Figure 6:	China Coal Production	47
Figure 7:	Basic Frequency Graph	68
Figure 8:	Age & Support of the One Child Policy (mean)	70
Figure 9:	Education & Support of the One Child Policy (mean)	72
Figure 10:	Income & Support of the One Child Policy (mean)	75
Table 1:	Number of Children and Family Size, Shanghai and Beijing (1980)	16
Table 2:	Percentage of Chinese women, by Attitude	17
Table 3:	Contraceptive Method in China	34
Table 4:	Basic Frequency Table	68
Table 5:	Cross Tab, Gender	69
Table 6:	Cross Tab, Age Group	69
Table 7:	Cross Tab, Education Level	71
Table 8:	Cross Tab, Income Level	72-74
Table 9:	Cross Tab, Martial Status	76
Table 10:	Cross Tab, Ethnicity: Han	76
Table 11:	Cross Tab, Ethnicity: Hui	77
Table 12:	Cross Tab, Locale: City	78
Table 13:	Cross Tab, Locale: Town	78
Table 14:	Regression	79-80

Introduction

Importance

After implementing the One Child Policy in 1980, the People's Republic of China realized that the policy was creating social and economic problems and the government noticed the detrimental effects it had on society. Because of the country's massive population, China cannot completely abandon the One Child Policy. Abolishing the policy would worsen the already detrimental social and economic problems. The Chinese government plans to continue the One Child Policy "for at least another decade." The government is currently developing a realistic population growth policy.¹

To formulate a new policy, I believe it is important to take account the Chinese citizen's popular opinion towards the policy. With what aspects are they unsatisfied? What aspects do they want to stay the same? What aspects do they want to change? Because of the policy amendments and the negative effects the policy has had, these questions will provide insight into the citizen's popular opinion of the policy since implementation.

Furthermore, this study will offer the academic field insight into Chinese public opinion and what elements in Chinese policies are considered important, especially on a national level. Currently, the literature concerning popular opinion towards the One Child Policy on a national level is relatively sparse. I hope to address this gap in the literature by examining how popular opinions vary or do not vary among different demographics within

¹ Yardley, Jim. "China Sticking With One-Child Policy." *The New York Times* 11 March 2008 9 Apr 2009. 1

China. This information will help other researchers formulate new studies on Chinese popular opinion towards the One Child Policy and other social policies in China.

Background

Before implementation of the One Child Policy, the Chinese government's main issue was population control; there were "too many mouths."² The government could not sustain the social welfare, energy requirement, and an unemployment rate that could control the population growth. In 1955, the People's Republic of China launched the first campaign to promote birth control. The Ministry of Health regarded birth control to be the "democratic right of people."³ After small successes with the birth control campaign during the 1950s, the central government endorsed the "Late, Long, and Few" policy, which lasted from 1969 to 1976. This policy encouraged the Chinese citizens to delay childbearing, have greater spacing between children, and have fewer children. During the late 1970s, the Chinese government began revising the "Late, Long, and Few" policy. In 1980, Deng Xiaoping implemented the One Child Policy with the intention to alleviate strain on China's national resources and to develop the economy, while also controlling China's rapidly growing population.⁴ Because of its rapid population growth, China needed a policy that would help resolve the problem quickly. Prohibiting families from having more than one child proved to control the population more effectively than other methods. A spokesman

² Li, Cheng. *Rediscovering China*. Lanham: Rowman, 1997

³ Yu, Y. C. "The Population Policy of China." *Population Studies*. 33.1 (1979): 126.

⁴ Hsu, Mei-Ling. "Growth and Control of Population in China: The Urban-Rural Contrast." *Annual of the Association of American Geographers*. 75.2 (1985): 241-257.

for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference said, "The one-child policy was the only choice we had, given the conditions when we initiated the policy."⁵

Implementation of the One Child Policy created the National Population and Family Planning Commission (NPFPC). This state commission enforces the policy at the provincial level. Local offices raise awareness of importance of family planning by means of propaganda, including seminars, films, posters, and pamphlets.⁶ They also perform household registration and inspections in every province. Couples who wish to have a child must register to receive a permit through the NPFPC. Every person who registers is monitored closely for number of children in the household. After childbirth, the NPFPC notes in a file that the couple has a child, and is no longer eligible to have another.⁷

Violation of the policy results in moderate to harsh punishments. After the birth of a second child, social privileges and monetary awards are revoked. After the birth of a third child, the government refused to provide "free education, grain rations, allocation of housing space, and rural private plots" to families. The government also subtracts 10 percent of the parents' monthly wages. These fines are levied to convince Chinese citizens that large families are expensive and troublesome.⁸ In addition to fines, families who have more than one child are "socially shunned," especially in urban areas.

The Chinese government estimates that implementation of the One Child Policy has reduced growth in the population by more than 250 million, nearly equal to the entire

⁵ Yardley, Jim. 1

⁶ Yu, Y. C., 140

⁷ Banister, Judith, and Karen Hardee-Cleaveland. "Fertility Policy and Implementation in China, 1986-88." *Population and Development Review*. 14.2 (1988): 245-286.

⁸ Goodstadt, Leo F. "China's One-Child Family: Policy and Public Response." *Population and Development Review*. 8.1 (1982): 37-58.

population of the United States.⁹ According to one report, China's population, since implementation of the One Child policy, has been growing by up to 17 million people per year.¹⁰ The policy is a step in the right direction, and has been accomplishing its goal of controlling the population growth and encouraging economic growth. China has been able to accomplish their goal of controlling the population growth, which has helped alleviate economic disparities, strain on the environment, and unemployment levels. However, it has also created a number of unforeseen consequences, notably a declining labor force, an aging population, an abnormally large gender imbalance, and a generation of children without siblings.



Because of certain restrictions in the One Child Policy, couples have attempted to ensure that the child is male by “floating” or migrating around to different cities. In a 1994 survey conducted in Shanghai, the “floating population” had 30 times the childbirths of Shanghai residents. One migrant worker planned to “move repeatedly” until they had a

⁹ "China Steps Up 'One Child' Policy." *BBC News* 25 Sept. 2000 9 Apr 2009.

¹⁰ Yardley, Jim. 1

male baby.¹¹ Because of this phenomenon, the central government implemented new regulations to counter the floating population in 1994. The regulation requires provincial governments to be responsible for the floating population's family planning, which includes "checking marriage and family status, providing contraceptives and birth control services, and dealing with those people who have violated family planning regulations."¹² Some couples take extreme measures to ensure having a male child such as aborting or abandoning female infants. This obsession for a male child has led to the widening gender gap in China. In 2007, the People's Daily newspaper reported that China had 37 million more males than females. The article states that this overwhelmingly male population has made it more difficult for Chinese males to find wives. According to the State Family Planning Commission, this has led to human trafficking and prostitution.¹³

The Research Question

To further understand the One Child Policy and popular opinion towards the policy, this thesis proposes to answer the question: "What affects Chinese popular opinion about the One Child Policy?" Identifying demographics that have been affected by the policy, and analyzing the selected demographics' opinions towards the policy will be crucial to answering this question. These specific demographic subsections are: urban, rural, region, education, marital status, wealth, gender, and ethnicity.

¹¹ Li, Cheng. 1

¹² "One Child Policy Update." *Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada* 1 January 1995: 9. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a816.html>

¹³ "'Wife shortage' to hit nation in 2020s." *People's Daily* 9 July. 2007 9 Apr 2009.

Organization of the Thesis

This study is divided into two parts: a qualitative approach and a quantitative approach. The qualitative section examines the history of the One Child Policy and how the policy has changed since implementation. This section examines the years 1955 to present day. It will also delve into the social, economical, environmental, and moral issues that the One Child Policy has created. The information obtained from the qualitative section will help me decide which factors have been influential in who supports the One Child Policy. The quantitative section focuses on statistical data from the Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, which examines Chinese popular opinion towards the One Child Policy. Then, I analyze the data to discover trends and correlations between popular opinions from different demographics and policy elements of the One Child Policy.

Project Design and Organization of the Study

The first level of research is to analyze the One Child Policy by examining the history, implementation, rules and regulations, changes within the policy, and the policy's impact on Chinese society, economy, and environment. To fully understand the policy, I use primary and secondary sources such as government documents, newspapers, interviews, and scholarly work. These historical references show changes in the policy, the effect on the country, and popular opinion over time.

The second level of research consists of drawing hypotheses and theories from the primary and secondary sources. After analyzing historical documents, policy analysis, and scholarly work, I grouped certain trends together. Then I formed theories and hypotheses based on information from the primary and secondary sources. This process benefited me

by gaining more focus with my research and knows which elements are imperative for this study.

The third level of research mostly involves gathering relevant data that supports or opposes the hypotheses and theories. This statistical analysis was drawn from surveys and previous studies that represent the entire People's Republic of China. I examined the survey questions and previous studies. Then I determined the study's variables, data set, methods of analysis, and methodology. During my time abroad, I attempted to interview people of different demographics to help support my findings. Because of the nature of the government, not many people were willing to be interviewed. However, I was able to get information and statistics concerning health issues and birth control surgery in China.

The fourth level of research analyzes the correlations between the popular opinion and the elements of the One Child Policy. After selecting the specific data, I inserted the data into statistical software (SPSS) to establish correlations between popular opinion and the One Child Policy. Then I explored the trends from each demographic and compare and contrast with the demographics' counterpart. I also examined how each trend corresponds with my hypotheses. These results depicted if the policy is important towards the Chinese and how this affects their opinions towards the One Child Policy and other Chinese social policies.

Theoretical Framework

The One Child Policy has been implemented for over 30 years; leading to a high level of awareness about the policy. Analyzing the reasoning of these opinions is the main obstacle. Some opinions seem obvious: farmers are not as supportive of the policy because

of the need for laborers and proclivity towards traditional culture values. While the above opinion was easily explained, the reasoning behind other opinions is not as easy to pinpoint. Popular opinion is layered with different factors influencing people's choices to support or not support the One Child Policy.

Since there are several factors involved in influencing public opinion, I must use a theoretical framework to help guide my approach to analyzing Chinese popular opinion. Therefore, I will use the following theoretical framework:

- Political socialization leads to support for government policies
- Affinity occurs when there are benefits to be gained from government policies

Political Socialization and Support

Political socialization is the process in which political values are developed and transferred from one generation to the next. This phenomenon includes the following vectors: family, schools, religious institutions, peer groups, social class, interest groups, political parties, and the mass media.¹⁴ These factors influence our political values, which, in turn, influence how individuals perceive government policies. The home demographic, location, and behavior affect what individuals consider important and valuable in life..

Affinity and Benefits

This concept is a very basic and common assumption in social science; a person gaining benefits from a policy will be more likely to support government policies. If a

¹⁴ Almond, Gabriel A., G. Bingham Powell Jr., Kaate Strom, and Russell J. Dalton. *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*. 7th. New York: Addison Welsey Longman, 1999. 67

person were harmed by a government policy, why would they support it? People prefer anything that will profit them.

Literature Review

Because the implementation of the One Child Policy has ignited not only admiration, but also concern, this has led to a copious amount of literature regarding the policy.

Literature detailing the One Child Policy is categorized into two groups: analysis of the policy and analysis of popular opinions towards the policy. The analysis of the policy is the qualitative approach that consists of policy history and implementation. Scholars explain the reasons for implementing the One Child Policy and the different processes of enforcing the policy. The popular opinions toward the policy are usually categorized by demographics: urban and rural, male, and female. This literature review will provide explanations on why the One Child Policy was developed and implemented, and how this policy has affected Chinese popular opinion.

One Child Policy

History

Most qualitative literature analyzing the One Child Policy is divided into two sections: history and implementation. According to Qian Xinzhong, the Minister in Charge of State Family Planning Commission during the 1980s, the development of the One Child Policy is divided into four distinct phase: initial concept of population control (1950s), formation of specific family planning policy (1960s), policy for planned population growth

(early to mid 1970s), and new development of population policy (late 1970s to early 1980s).¹⁵

During the 1950s, the People's Republic of China's natural population growth rate increased from sixteen births per 1,000 to twenty births per 1,000 in a span of three years, over a one birth per 1,000 increase every year.¹⁶ By 1953, the central government began realizing the problem of such a rapidly growing population. In 1955, the government started the first campaign to promote birth control.¹⁷ The following year, the government created the Office of Birth Control, which was responsible for: 1) developing birth control rules and regulations, 2) monitoring the implementation of the rules and regulations, 3) supporting research concerning a variety of contraceptive methods, 4) instructing high-level birth control employees, and 5) allocating birth control materials.¹⁸

The second phase implemented in the 1960s faced several obstacles due to the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. During the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Chairman Mao ordered the Chinese people to bear many children because of his ideal of "the more people, the more strength." (人多力量大)¹⁹ After the Cultural Revolution, the government began to develop policy concerning population control, especially after China joined the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1972. Other members of the United Nations questioned if China would

¹⁵ Qian, Xinzhong. "China's Population Policy: Theory and Methods." *Studies in Family Planning*. 21.3 (1983): 296-97

¹⁶ Qian, Xinzhong, 296.

¹⁷ Yu. Y. C., 126

¹⁸ Chen, Pi-Chao. "China's Birth Control Action Programme: 1956-1964." *Population Studies*. 24.2 (1970): 142

¹⁹ Qian, Xinzhong, 296.

be able to control its population growth.²⁰ The Chinese government developed the “Late, Long, Few” policy, which was implemented during the early 1970s.²¹

The last phase was during the late 1970s, where the central government revised the “Late, Long, Few” policy, and created the One Child Policy. The new population control policy was announced at the Fifth National People’s Congress in 1978. At the meeting, the government stated three goals for China’s population growth problem: 1) add birth control and population planning to the ten tasks of development, 2) decrease the population growth rate to 0.5 percent by 1985 and to negligible population growth by 2000, and 3) accomplish the first and second goal by implementing a birth planning policy.²²

Implementation

When discussing the implementation of the One Child Policy, scholars divide the process into two sections: propaganda promoting the One Child Policy and incentives for adhering to the policy. Yu, Chen, and Hsu all discuss the use of propaganda to promote the One Child Policy. Yu states that one of the main factors that affected the implementation of the policy was attempting to change “social customs, individual habits, and the value system of a society.”²³ Furthermore, when the One Child Policy was implemented, there was a tremendous amount of resistance from the rural regions.²⁴ The central government believed that by using propaganda, they would be able to “overcome popular resistance.”²⁵ The types of propaganda includes posters, pamphlets, and the electronic mass media. The

²⁰ Yu. Y. C., 127

²¹ Qian, Xinzong, 296.

²² Hsu, Mei-Ling, 241.

²³ Yu. Y. C., 134

²⁴ Wang, Feng, 2.

²⁵ Chen, Pi-Chao, 145.

government would state that these films or pamphlets were for educational purposes, not for propaganda purposes.²⁶

Another method the central government developed to help propagate of the One Child Policy was incentives, which are discussed by Nie and Wyman, Kane and Choi, and Short and Zhai. These incentives were usually economic and social. In Short and Zhai's research, they state that most incentives were given to couples that "pledged to limit their families to one child." Any couples that had more than three children were penalized, but having two children was simply discouraged.²⁷ When the policy was implemented, the government distributed ration coupons for necessary commodities, such as grains and fabrics. If the family consisted of several generations, they would have to purchase either lower quality or fewer amounts of goods in order to pay living expenses. The government believed that this method would increase participation of the policy.²⁸ In addition to the ration coupons, the government also bequeathed "a monetary reward, preferential access to housing, schools, and health services" for couples that not only pledge to have only one child, but also earn a one-child certificate.²⁹

Birthing more than two children led to severe fines and social pressure. Tian Si, a female worker at a Shanghai bank, depicted the social pressures that could occur if one did not follow the One Child Policy. If a woman was known to be pregnant with a second child, she and the other employees would try to convince her to abort the child because of "all the

²⁶ Yu. Y. C., 140

²⁷ Short, Susan E., and Fengying Zhai. "Looking Locally at China's One-Child Policy." *Studies in Family Planning*. 29.4 (1998): 374

²⁸ Nie, Yilin, and Robert J. Wyman. "The One-Child Policy in Shanghai: Acceptance and Internalization." *Population and Development Review*. 31.2 (2005): 322.

²⁹ Kane, Penny, and Ching Y Choi. "China's one child family policy." *BMJ*. 319. (1999): 992

bad consequences and how her children would live poor lives." Through this means of social pressure, Tian Si never encountered someone insisting to have a second child.³⁰

Chinese Popular Opinions

Urban/Rural

Urban and rural opinions toward the One Child Policy can be measured through compliance with the policy, through analyzing preferred family size survey as well as data and actual family size data. Qu and Hesketh's and Wang's study on popular opinions in urban and rural areas are based on preferred family size. In Qu and Hesketh's 2001 survey data, they discovered that 55.1 percent of urban residents prefer at least one child, while 44.5 percent prefer two or more children. In contrast, 30.4 percent of rural residents prefer to have at least one child, while 68.5 percent having two or more children. Based on these numbers, the difference in urban residents' opinions is roughly around 11 percent, which is mainly due to the 43 percent of urban residents preferring to have at least two children. However, the difference in rural residents' opinions is almost double.³¹ More rural residents surveyed preferred having two or more children. This preference could be due to several reasons, such as traditional Chinese values (*zhong nan qing nü*) or increasing the labor force. Wang's research also confirms the aforementioned results. Below is her table of women's children preference from 1982-85 to 2001. The following table depicts

³⁰ Nie, Yilin, and Robert J. Wyman, 323-24.

³¹ Qu, Jian Ding, and Therese Hesketh. "Family size, fertility preferences, and sex ratio in China in the era of the one child family policy: results from national family planning and reproductive health survey." *BMJ*. 333. (2006): 372.

how rural residences prefer more children to urban residences, but also how the differences between urban and rural children preferences have gradually decreased.³²

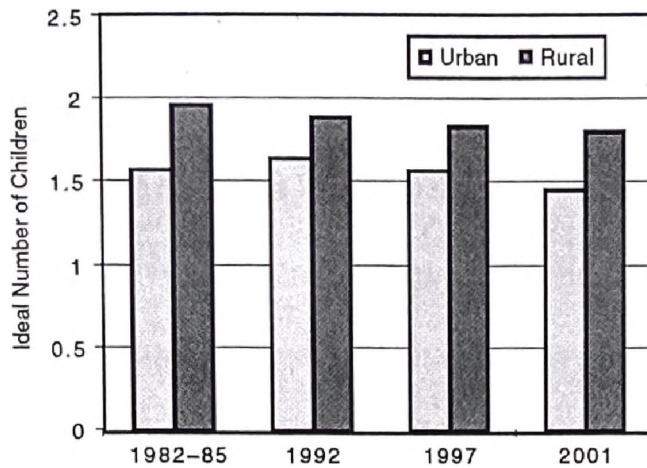


Fig. 3. How many children do Chinese women prefer?

Goodstadt, Kane and Choi examine urban and rural compliance through the number of children per family. According to the percentage of total married couples that were issued “one-child” certificates in 1980, Beijing had the highest certificates at 79.4 percent. Shanghai and Jiangsu was a close second at 75 percent. Zhejiang was at 34 percent, while Guangdong was the lowest at 12.7 percent. This data illustrates how urban areas (Beijing, Shanghai, and Jiangsu) were more compliant with the One Child Policy than the rural areas (Zhejiang and Guangdong).³³

The studies of Kane and Choi, unlike Goodstadt, focus more on Shanghai and Beijing, and also divide the region into urban and rural. The authors analyze the number of children and family size in both urban and rural areas of Shanghai and Beijing in 1980. In urban Shanghai, 63 percent of the residents had at least one child, while 37 percent had two to five children. The difference between the two percentages is almost double. Unlike urban Shanghai, rural Shanghai residents’ preference on the number of children is more

³² Wang, Feng, 9.

³³ Goodstadt, Leo F., 50.

similar. Forty-five percent had at least one child, while 55 percent had two to five children. Beijing was an anomalous. Even though Beijing is a metropolis, the data did not correspond to the usual urban and rural trends of compliance to the One Child Policy. In urban Beijing, only 41 percent of residents had at least one child, while 59 percent had two to five children. In rural Beijing, a low 35 percent of residents had at least one child, while 65 percent had two to five children.³⁴ When examining Shanghai and Beijing, the urban and rural areas' data is almost reversed. Shanghai had a stronger compliance in the urban area than Beijing's urban area.

*Number of children and family size, Shanghai and Beijing, 1980**

Number of children	Urban Shanghai	Rural Shanghai	Urban Beijing	Rural Beijing
0-1	63%	45%	41%	35%
2-5	37%	55%	59%	65%

Gender Preference

Traditional Chinese values stress an importance on having a son to continue the family line; however, this ideology is slowly becoming less prevalent in both urban and rural settings. This ideology was considered a high importance in rural China, but according to a 2003 survey, respondents in both Jiangsu and Yunnan provinces were satisfied with having one daughter. Jiangsu province had 73.4 percent of respondents satisfied with one daughter, while Yunnan had 50 percent. However, both Yunnan and Anhui had high number stating that one daughter was “too few,” with Yunnan having 48.6 percent, and Anhui having 65.7 percent. Surprisingly, in all three provinces, Jiangsu, Anhui, and Yunnan, respondents were over 70 percent satisfied with having two daughters.

³⁴ Kane, Penny, and Ching Y Choi, 96.

Jiangsu and Yunnan both responded with over 90 percent. Anhui was the highest of the three provinces, stating that two daughters were “too many” with a low 8.9 percent.³⁵

Percentage of Chinese women, by attitude toward their number of children, according to the number and sex of children and province ³⁶*

Number and sex of children and province	N	Too Few	Satisfactory	Too Many
1 Son				
Jiangsu	640	23.6	75.0	0.2
Anhui	284	41.2	58.1	0.0
Yunnan	210	42.4	54.3	1.4
1 Daughter				
Jiangsu	515	25.6	73.4	0.0
Anhui	213	65.7	31.0	1.4
Yunnan	222	48.6	50.0	0.5
2 Daughter				
Jiangsu	58	0.0	94.8	1.7
Anhui	45	15.6	73.3	8.9
Yunnan	229	4.4	93.4	1.7

Fong’s study also illustrates traditional Chinese values becoming less prevalent, but states that most people tend to prefer children of their own gender. In her 1999 survey, she asked, “Would it be better to have a son or a daughter?” Out of the study’s 1,241 female respondents, 37 percent preferred a daughter, while only 8 percent preferred a son.

³⁵ Hardee, Karen, Zhenming Xie, and Baochang Gu. "Family Planning and Women's Lives in Rural China." *International Family Planning Perspective*. 30.2 (2004): 72.

Conversely, out of the study's 872 male respondents, 28 percent preferred a son, while only 9 percent preferred a daughter.³⁷

While traditional values may be becoming less prevalent, they are still evident. In two studies, Hardee, Xie, and Gu's as well as Qu and Hesketh's studies confirm the phenomenon of *zhong nan qing nü*. According to a 25-year-old woman from Anhui province, "If I don't get a son, I will consider that my fate is bad. I am a graduate of senior high school, but I still think boys are better."³⁸ Qu and Hesketh's survey also corresponds this quote. Out of the 24,907 respondents, 4,435 preferred having a son to the 2,590 that preferred a girl; the difference between the respondents is almost two-fold.³⁹ Based on a survey conducted in Beijing and Shanghai, 27.5 percent of women prefer a son, while 16.1 percent prefer a daughter.⁴⁰ To ensure that their child is a boy, some couples would go through illegal means, such as the use of an ultrasound machine, which is banned to determine the gender. A resident of Anhui province stated, "If [the fetus] is a female, they don't want it. No matter how much money they have to spend, they think it is worth it."⁴¹ Some of these male child preferences related to traditional values, but some also related to complying with spouse's or parents-in-laws' expectations. A Beijing woman stated that usually men prefer a son, which is due to the traditional idea of *zhong nan qing nü*.⁴² This quote agrees with Fong's survey that parents tend to prefer a child of the same gender.

³⁷ Fong, Vanessa L. *Only Hope: Coming of Age under China's One-Child Policy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. 137.

³⁸ Hardee, Karen, Zhenming Xie, and Baochang Gu, 72.

³⁹ Qu, Jian Ding, and Therese Hesketh, 372.

⁴⁰ Milwertz, Cecilia Nathansen. *Accepting Population Control: Urban Chinese Women and the One-Child Family Policy*. Padstow, UK: TJ Press Ltd., 1997: 139

⁴¹ Hardee, Karen, Zhenming Xie, and Baochang Gu, 72.

⁴² Milwertz, Cecilia Nathansen, 140.

Overall, the idea of *zhong nan qing nü* is slowly disappearing in both rural and urban China. A woman in Anhui province proudly stated, "Whatever men can do, [women] can do. You know women hold up half the sky. It is not just boys who are the sun."⁴³

Conclusion

The qualitative section, the One Child Policy, of the literature review explains the four different phases China's population growth policy went through and how each phase influenced the next. To ensure success, the government believed the most efficient way to curtail major resistance and change old customs and traditions was through propaganda and incentives. The use of incentives was shown to be very efficient, since it helped lower the population growth rate. Coercion was common around rural areas of China, but was not promoted by the Central Government. Evidence of coercion will be discussed later in the Ethics of the One Child Policy chapter.

The quantitative section, Chinese popular opinions, delves into the differences between urban and rural opinions and how gender still affects opinions towards the policy. Qu and Hesketh's data illustrates the ongoing difference between urban and rural preference on family size. Wang's table supports the ongoing difference, and depicts the slight changes in preferences of rural residents. Through Goodstadt's and Kane and Choi's research, shows that urban residents are more compliant with the One Child Policy than rural residents. At least 70 percent of urban residents received a one-child certificate. Furthermore, Kane and Choi's research supports the idea that Shanghai is a model city for population control.

⁴³ Hardee, Karen, Zhenming Xie, and Baochang Gu, 72.

Gender preference has always been a major issue when discussing the One Child Policy. In Hardee, Xie, and Gu's data, it is apparent that there is more acceptance towards female births. There are two provinces, Jiangsu and Yunnan, which over 90 percent of residents were satisfied with the prospects of having two daughters. Fong's research project shows that there are still some lingering gender preferences, but as the data shows, this preference is slowly fading.

Economy

Introduction

China's economic growth is what economists would call "extraordinary." Over the past decade, China's growth rate has been equivalent to the growth of an industrialized country in a century. Basically, China's growth rate has been annually ten percent.⁴⁴ China currently ranks second in GDP, amounting to almost in 6.1 trillion USD in 2003. Goldman Sachs predicted that China will be the world largest economy by the year 2050, quadruple the "combined economies of Germany, France, and the United Kingdom."⁴⁵ China is now a major force in commodity markets, especially energy. China is also a major holder of foreign direct investments, calculating up to \$10 billion to \$15 billion a month. The rate of foreign direct investments is approximately 50 percent of China's GDP, which is the highest in the history of a large economy.⁴⁶ This extraordinary growth would not have been possible with the open up and reform (*gaige kaifang*) policies that was enforced by Deng Xiaoping after Mao Zedong's disastrous Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward.

Background

Mao Zedong once said, "Of all things in the world, people are most precious."⁴⁷ In the development of China, humans would be the greatest resource, which could be used for defense or labor.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ "The Environment and China." *World Resources Institute*. 1. <<http://www.wri.org/publication/content7830>

⁴⁵ Heilig, Gerhard K. "Many Chinas? The Economic Diversity of China's Provinces." *Population and Development Review*. 32.1 (2006): 148.

⁴⁶ Zuckerman, Mortimer B. "A Giant's Growing Pains." *U.S News & World Report* 23 Jan. 2006: 1

⁴⁷ Kane, Penny, and Ching Y Choi. 992

One of Mao's notable economic reforms was the collective reform. Rice is the staple grain in China; therefore, Mao believed China should become the powerhouse in grain production. His idea was to grow enough to sustain the rapidly growing population, but also to have a large surplus. He encouraged all farmers to produce just grain, not to diversify their crops. Due to the damages to the environment, a famine and locust infestation occurred, destroying the majority of the wheat crops.⁴⁹

Under Mao's reforms, the economy actually regressed, especially during the Great Leap Forward. From 1958 to 1965, the growth of national income was less than half of the 1966 to 1978 period. These reforms left China in a period of economic setback.

Rationale

Due to the disastrous economic and social effects of the Maoist era's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, in the late 1970s, Deng Xiaoping discontinued Mao's communes, and implemented several economic reforms to help the struggling Chinese economy. These reforms included decollectivization of agriculture, which increased bureaucracy within China, and led to the breakup of communes and the development of township and village enterprises (TVEs).⁵⁰

One of the major economic reforms Deng Xiaoping executed was the decollectivization of agriculture. He believed that to encourage development, the country should move away from Mao's policies of the collective system because it fostered laziness

⁴⁸ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. "Health in China: The One Child Policy: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 314.7095 (1997): 1685.

⁴⁹ *China: A Century of Revolution*. Narr. Will Lyman. Ed. Howard Sharp. and Sue Williams Dir. (WinStar Home Entertainment, 1997); Demeny, Paul and Geoffrey McNicoll, Eds. "Famine in China". *Encyclopedia of Population*. vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2003) p. 388-390.

⁵⁰ Dwight Perkins, "China's Economic Policy and Performance", chapter 6 in *The Cambridge History of China*, volume 15, ed. by Roderick MacFarquhar, John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett. 1991. Cambridge University Press.

and was unproductive. As a result, Deng encouraged consumption, not accumulation. The government encouraged farmers to diversify their crops, instead of only planting grain. To not only be self-sustainable but competitive in the international sphere, China had to diversify crops, and grow more cash crops.

However, to expand the economy and increase the standard of living, Deng Xiaoping believed that China needed to restrain the population growth.⁵¹ With the boom in the population and the struggling economy, it was hard for the country to feed and employ all of the Chinese people. Furthermore, several government officials believed that drastic population growth would lead the country into backwardness.⁵² So, Deng decided to implement a population control policy to help alleviate the strains on the economy and natural resources that the population was causing, hence the birth of the One Child Policy.

Impact

Aging population (laolinghua)

The aging population (*laolinghua*) is a pressing economic problem China is now facing. The aging population is a problem because this affects China's employment, unemployment, retirement pension, and social program for the elderly. Since the implementation of the One Child Policy, China was transformed from a "high fertility and high mortality" to a "low fertility and low mortality" state.⁵³ Based on the United Nations criteria, a country is considered "aged" when more than 7 percent are 65 years old or over,

⁵¹ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. 1685

⁵² Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. "China's Environment in a Globalizing World." *Nature*. 435. (2005): 1180.

⁵³ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips. "Ageing in Rural China: Impacts of Increasing Diversity in Family and Community Resources." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*. 14. (1999): 157

or when more than 10 percent are 60 years old or over.⁵⁴ In 1982, population aged 65 or over accounted for 4.9 percent, which rose to 7 percent by the year 2000.⁵⁵ In 1995, there were around 74 million Chinese who were aged 75 and older.⁵⁶ The population aged 60 or over was over 10 percent of population, meaning since 2000, China has been considered an aging population.

The One Child Policy has had a significant impact on the aging population problem in China. Because the policy has reduced the growth of the population by 250 million births, this has resulted in rapid aging in the Chinese population. Within the past few decades, China's median age has increased from 20 to 33, and will reach the age of 45 within the next several decades.⁵⁷ This phase has been referred as the "quickenning phase" of ageing in China." By 2025, China will reach a period known as "super-ageing."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Chesnais, Jean-Claude, and Shuxin Wang. "Population Ageing, Retirement Policy and Living Conditions of the Elderly in China." *Population: An English Selection*. 2. (1990): 3.

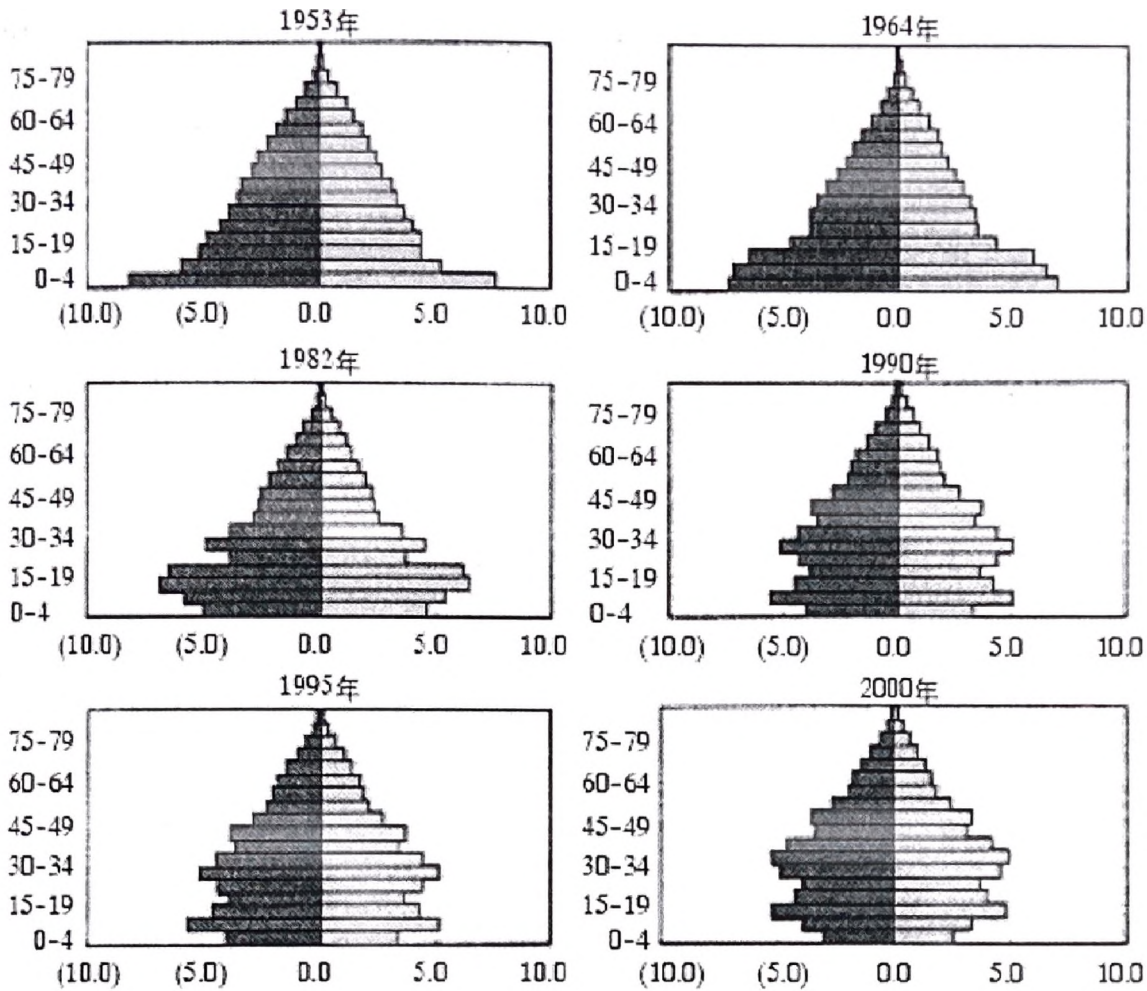
⁵⁵ Festini, F., and M de Martino. "Twenty Five Years of the One Child Policy." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health (1979-)*. 58.5 (2004): 359.

⁵⁶ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips. 156

⁵⁷ Zuckerman, Mortimer B. 2

⁵⁸ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips. 155

China's Population Pyramid 1953-2000



Researchers have predicted that by 2025, the population aged 65 or over will rise to 13.3 percent⁵⁹, and by 2030, the elderly population will rise to 15 percent by 2030.⁶⁰ By 2040, there will be approximately 100 million Chinese over the age of 80.⁶¹ By 2050, a quarter of the population or around 60 million Chinese will be aged 60 and over. In 2000, the ratio between aged over 60 to the working population was 10 percent.⁶² By 2015, China's age pyramid will become "middle-heavy," with the workforce age population

⁵⁹ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips. 155

⁶⁰ Festini, F., and M de Martino. 359

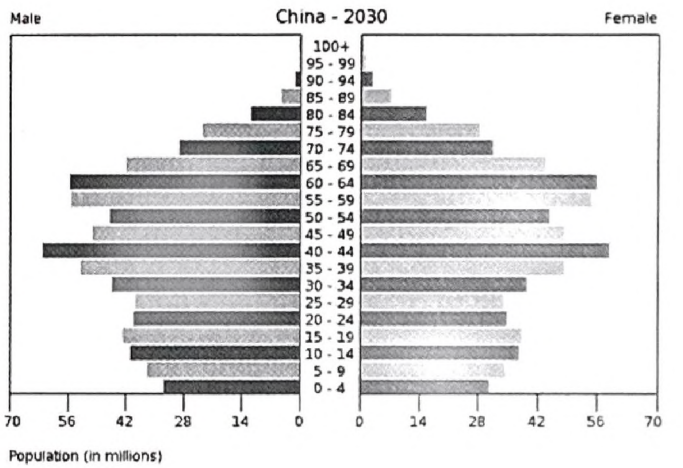
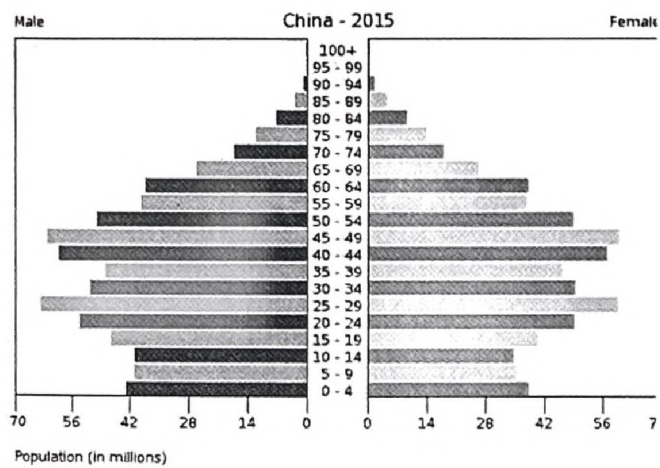
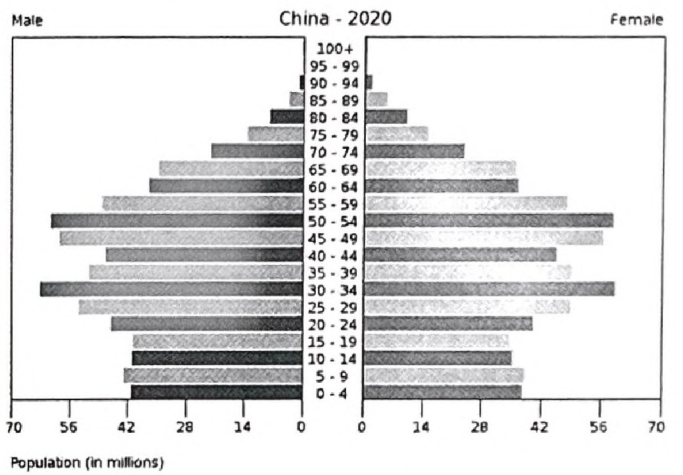
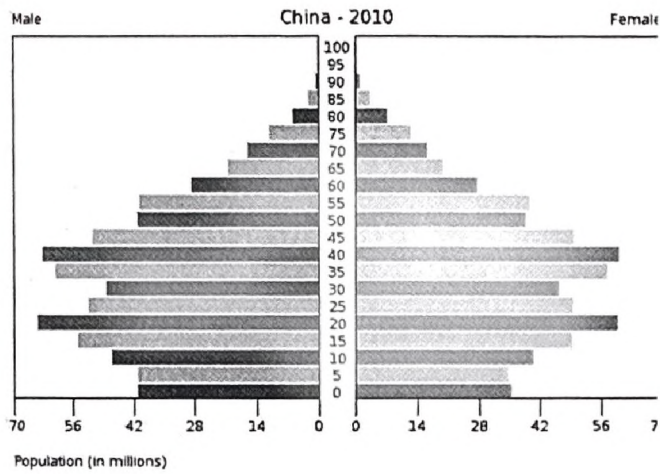
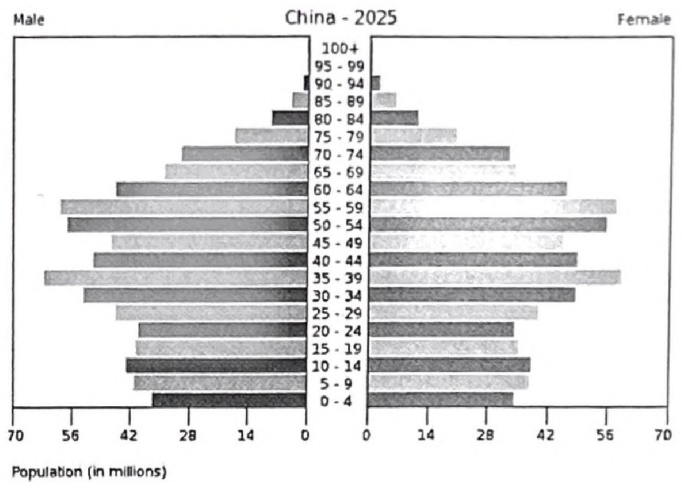
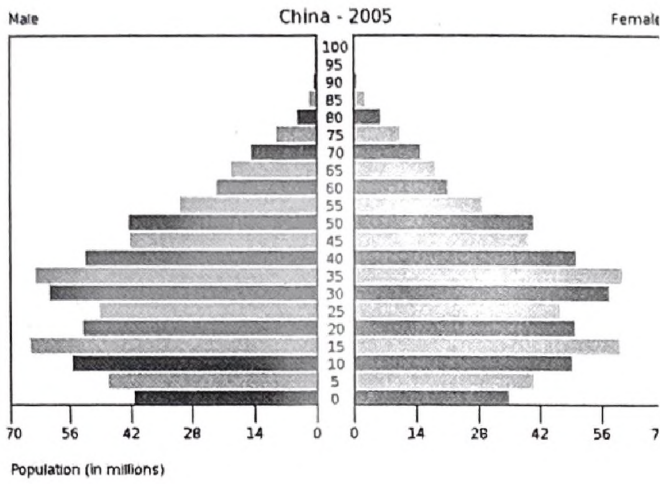
⁶¹ Zuckerman, Mortimer B. 2

⁶² Festini, F., and M de Martino. 359

increase.⁶³ As time progresses, the ratio between the elderly and working population will also grow larger. China will need to find a solution to support the growing elderly population and sustain the employment issues.

⁶³ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips.156

China's Population Pyramid 2005-2030



China's Population Pyramid

The above graphs depict China's population from 1953 to 2030. In analyzing these graphs, the years 1953 and 1964, China's population would be described to be in a stationary phase, which represents the country's low fertility and low mortality rates. However, after the implementation of the One Child Policy, there was a decrease in fertility. The decrease became gradually apparent through 1982 to 2000. During these years, China is transforming from a stationary pyramid to a constrictive pyramid, which depicts a country's low birth rate, but long life expectancy. This also illustrates that a country has an aging population. From 2005 to 2015, the pyramid becomes "middle-heavy," as China's baby boomers fall into the workforce age, aged 30 to 40. So there is an increase of workers in the workforce. Then from 2020 onwards, these baby boomers hit the age 60 and over, so there are more people retiring, while China's first singleton generation are taking over the workforce. These population pyramids depict the growing aging population, and the low birth rate, clearly showing the 4-2-1 problem that China faces today.

Dependency ratio

The increase in the aging population leads to a greater problem, dependency. According to traditional Chinese value of filial piety (*xiao*), the children, namely the son, are responsible to take care of and support their parents and grandparents. As the One Child Policy limits families to only have one child and as life expectancy increases, this creates a large burden to support not only his/her own family, but to also support his/her parents and grandparents. Before the implementation of the One Child Policy, this responsibility

was shared between the siblings, but now it is solely the single child's responsibility to support 4 or more people.⁶⁴

Furthermore, China does not have a stable or strong form of pension. Currently state pension cover less than one-fifth of the workforce and the medical benefits cover around 5 percent.⁶⁵ In 2002, 17 percent of older Chinese had some form of pension, and over 70 percent rely solely on their children. While this is a smaller percentage, there are some elderly people who have *no* living relatives to depend on; therefore, they would need aid from the state. However, the state has not heavily funded elderly care or social security. The social security system in China has transformed from enterprises' responsibility to provide for the workers to workers themselves contributing to social security.⁶⁶ Since 83 percent of older Chinese do not have any type of pensions, they have a stronger need for financial and physical assistance.⁶⁷

What's Changed

Due to the population decrease, a "demographic window" has opened, which has allowed the Chinese population to have sufficient access to resources, improved standard of living, and furthered the economic growth.⁶⁸ The Chinese economy is still rapidly growing, despite the recent economic crisis. However, if China wants to continue this steady, upward growth, the government must address the aging population problem. Recently the Chinese government has disbanded the "cradle-to-grave" system, which was

⁶⁴ Festini, F., and M de Martino.359

⁶⁵ Zuckerman, Mortimer B. 2

⁶⁶ Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips.160

⁶⁷ Zhan, Heying Jenny, and Rhonda J. V. Montgomery. "Gender and Elder Care in China: The Influence of Filial Piety and Structural Constrains." *Gender and Society*. 17.2 (2003): 213.

⁶⁸ Festini, F., and M de Martino.359

implemented during the 1970s to ensure jobs and security during one's life. However, the government has not replaced this system with a new elderly care program, which is imperative since China is now considered an ageing population.⁶⁹ Changes needed to be made by the Chinese government if they wish to stay as an economic powerhouse.

⁶⁹ "China auctions first 50-year government bond." *Financial Times* 27 Nov 2010

Social Issues

The main goals of the One Child Policy were to boost economic growth and control the population where it could be deemed sustainable. These goals were achieved, but along with this success brought several problems to the Chinese society, specifically social issues. After the implementation of the One Child Policy, there is evidence to an aging population, women oppression, rural resistance, and so on. These are growing problems that the Chinese government needs to face to bring stability and harmony to the people.

Women

Confucius wrote, "For a woman to be without ability is a virtue."⁷⁰ According to Confucian values, the ideal woman was obedient, docile, and submissive. The Three Bonds of Obedience state that women first obey her father when young, then her husband when married, and then her son when widowed.⁷¹ Women were considered third on the five basic relationships, after the ruler and subject relationship and the father and son relationship. Before Mao Zedong's rule, women were oppressed through several means, such as marriage, family roles, and traditional customs. A traditional custom that socially and physically hindered the position of women was foot binding. It can be considered a double-edged sword (双刃剑). Since the beginning of foot binding, this was one of the very few ways women were able to climb the social ladder. They were able to leave the fields,

⁷⁰ Judd, Ellen R. *Gender and Power in Rural North China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994. 1.

⁷¹ Judd, Ellen R., 166.

and marry into a wealthy family. However, women with bound feet not only live their entire lives in constant pain, but also fundamentally housebound.⁷²

Furthermore, the Chinese had a traditional notion of placing importance on males over females (重男轻女). Males were believed to be the only one that can carry on the family line; therefore, leading to a long-held cultural preference for sons. The Chinese believe that producing a male creates a “big happiness,” whereas a female would produce only a “small happiness.” The females are considered a “small happiness” because the family essentially raises the girl for another family. The female, after she gets married, has no affiliation with her original family. Her loyalty is then solely toward her husband’s family, taking care of his parents.⁷³ Families would heavily fund their son’s education because of the old-age financial support he would provide. To help support their son’s education, they would be reluctant to give their daughter opportunities to receive an education. Some families would spend very little to fund their daughter’s education, and some families were more extreme, making their daughter drop out of school and work to help fund her brother’s education.⁷⁴ In an article from the *Economist*, the journalist visited a village in Shandong province where she witnessed the midwife drop a newly born baby girl into a pail. Afterwards, the midwife said, “It’s not a child. It’s a girl baby. Around these parts, you can’t get by without a son. Girl babies don’t count.”⁷⁵ As disturbing this might sound to foreigners, this was a common phenomenon in rural villages in China.

⁷² Bossen, Laurel. *Chinese Women and Rural Development: Sixty Years of Change in Lu Village, Yunan*. Boston, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002. 39

⁷³ Hinton, Carma, Dir. *Long Bow Trilogy: Small Happiness*.

⁷⁴ Fong, Vanessa L. "China's One-Child Policy and the Empowerment of Urban Daughters." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 104.4 (2002): 1103.

⁷⁵ "Gendecide: The worldwide war on baby girls." *Economist*. 6.12 (2010): 77.

Hardships caused by the One Child Policy

The One Child Policy in rural China created numerous problems. Because families were only able to have one child, the policy limited the amount of labor power within the family. Jacka stated that the policy hurt several families economically and stirred enormous resistance around rural China. Also, the elder generation lost “the five guarantees” (五宝), consisting of food, health care, shelter, clothing, and funeral costs. The grandchildren were usually responsible to provide these “five guarantees” to the elder generation.⁷⁶ This “loss” put more pressure on the wife to bear a son to help provide for the parents in old age. Wives were constantly blamed for the gender of the child, so this creating intense pressure. There have been numerous reports of husbands and in-laws abusing their wives. Female infanticide, abandonment, abortion, and sale increased within rural China.⁷⁷ Bossen states that these techniques were used to help “cover their tracks,” so they are able to try again and have a boy.⁷⁸ The stress put on the females to produce a male heir was monumental, and led to suicide. The World Health Organization reports that female suicide rates in China were one of the highest in the world, especially in rural China. Young women in the rural areas killed themselves by ingesting fertilizers.⁷⁹

Birth Control Surgery

⁷⁶ Jacka, Tamara. *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 50-51.

⁷⁷ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. 1687

⁷⁸ Bossen, Laurei, 276-277.

⁷⁹ "Gendercide: The worldwide war on baby girls." 77.

After having the first child, the parents, more specifically the mother, was strongly encouraged to either insert a IUD or have a birth control surgery performed. These birth control surgeries include getting tube ties to a hysterectomy to even complete sterilization; however, these surgeries were mostly performed on the female, not the male. In rural China, sterilization was more common, especially after the second or third child. Abortions in rural China were also another common phenomenon; it was socially expected for a woman after the first child was born.⁸⁰ When the One Child Policy was implemented, women were forced by the local family planning bureau officials to have abortions after the first or second child. While forced abortions are not as prevalent nowadays, these situations can still be evident in some rural areas of China.⁸¹

Contraceptive Method	1982	1988	1992	1997	2001
			<i>percent</i>		
Male sterilization	10	13	12	9	8
Female sterilization	25	37	42	40	37
Intrauterine device	50	40	40	43	46
Condom	2	2	2	4	6
Oral contraceptive pill	8	5	4	2	3
Other method	5	3	<1	1	1

Hesketh (New England Med Journal)

These surgeries had numerous risks, whether in was during the operation or after the operation. Due to the social pressures, numerous women would have illegal abortions,

⁸⁰ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. 1685

⁸¹ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. 1686

which was a leading cause of death in rural women. According to the Sichuan Health Department, maternal deaths during abortions were almost doubled over regular deliveries from 1981 to 1991.⁸² Poor rural women were the most affected because they had limited access to reproductive health services. A survey conducted in 1997 reported that over 70 percent of rural women had at least one reproductive tract infection.⁸³ However, due to the high statistics of women dying or contracting diseases from illegal abortions, there are now easier means to access safe abortion clinics.⁸⁴

Liberation from the One Child Policy

Females born before the implementation of the One Child Policy were faced with the traditional and cultural gender norms, which placed more importance on males than females. Females born after the implementation of the One Child Policy did face several problems; however, the policy was able to help liberate females from the bonds of these norms. Since families were only allowed to have one child, families who bore only girls were worried about financial security after they retire. Since some families only had girls, they invested their money in their daughters' education, hoping their daughters would have the financial means to support them in old-age.⁸⁵ These girls have more opportunities to obtain a high school or college education - uncommon before the implementation of the One Child Policy.

⁸² Doherty, Jim P., Edward C. Norton, and James E. Veney. "China's one-child policy: the economic choices and consequences faced by pregnant women." *Social Science & Medicine*. 52. (2001): 747.

⁸³ Kane, Penny, and Ching Y Choi. 993

⁸⁴ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. 1686

⁸⁵ Fong, Vanessa L. "China's One-Child Policy and the Empowerment of Urban Daughters." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 104.4 (2002): 1103.

Because of this rise of females gaining education opportunities, it was becoming more and more common for women to no longer be in the house, but in the workforce, earning an income and being financially independent. Women in the household were no longer expected to have several children, but allowed to acquire skills to work.⁸⁶ Women in the workforce were a big stepping-stone for China, especially in rural China. Bossen states, from 1990 to 1997, women's work opportunities in Lu Village have increased in commerce, industry, health, education, and government. Women now have choices, instead of being stuck in a factory or field.⁸⁷ This phenomenon has helped increase women's confidence in their selves, which in Bossen's words is "truly revolutionary."⁸⁸

Children

4-2-1 Problem

The "Four-Two-One" problem, on a national level, translates to what is known as an inverted population pyramid, where a declining labor force is forced to support a very large retired population that requires care from the state. Because of the restrictions of the One Child Policy and Chinese traditional values, the one child will bear the responsibility to not only support his own family, but also his two parents and his four grandparents. Before the implementation of the policy, the responsibility was shared among the siblings, but now is poured onto one child.⁸⁹ This leaves the older generation with more of a dependency on retirement funds or charity in order to have support. If personal savings, pensions, or state

⁸⁶ Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu.1686

⁸⁷ Bossen, Laurel, 133.

⁸⁸ Bossen, Laurel, 139.

⁸⁹ "“四二一”家庭真的是问题吗？(Are 'four-two-one' families really a problem?)" (in Chinese). 中国人口学会网 (China Population Association Online). 10 October 2010.

welfare should fail, then the most senior citizens would be left entirely dependent upon their very small family or neighbors for support. If a child cannot care for their parents and grandparents, or if that child cannot survive, the oldest generation could find itself destitute. Because the 4-2-1 Problem has been a pressing social problem, in 2009, the Chinese government issued an amendment allowing parents who were both singletons to have two children.⁹⁰

Little Emperor Syndrome

The Little Emperor Syndrome stems from the 4-2-1 Problem. Since the one child has two parents and four grandparents constantly doting and taking care of him/her, these children tend to become more spoiled, self-centered, insecure, and rude.⁹¹ This phenomenon is prevalent in urban regions. Since the 1990s, researches have questioned if singletons in this environment would result in poor social and cooperation skills.⁹² These singletons are academically talented, but their parents perform basic tasks for them, such as brushing their hair or tying their shoe.⁹³

Furthermore, these singleton's parents will spend a lot of money on the child's education, extra-curricular activities, clothes, and snacks. To succeed academically, the parents will send their child to boarding school, have a private tutor, and enroll the child in music or dance lessons. The families use their disposable income to pamper the child, buying brand name clothes, toys, and imported snacks. It has been reported that families

⁹⁰ "Rethinking China's one-child policy". *CBC*. October 28, 2009. Retrieved June 11, 2010.

⁹¹ "Double Happiness." *China Daily* 3 March 2009 9 Apr 2009.

⁹² Daniela Deane (July 26, 1992). *The Little Emperors*. Los Angeles Times. pp. 16

⁹³ Reese, Lori. "Children's Palace: China Copes With the One-Child Policy, 1980 A Generation of Little Emperors." *Time International* 27 Sept. 1999: 88.

spend almost half of their income on their child.⁹⁴ The singleton phenomenon not only creates great amount of stress on the child, but also becomes a financial burden to the parents.

Psychological Problems/Struggles

However, because they are “singletons,” these children receive not only receive constant doting upon, but also enormous amounts of pressure from their family members with the high expectations.⁹⁵ Since there is only one child, parents exert excessive amount of attention to excel in academics and extra-curricular activities. This pressure from the parents has resulted in a “stunting of social and emotional growth.” While these are some of the more extreme cases, there have been reports of children who have hanged themselves or committed matricide after being denied treats and being overly scolded.⁹⁶ During the 2007 Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, 30 delegates voted to abolish the One Child Policy with the reason that limiting the family number, and having the constant companionship of parents will lead to “social problems and personality disorders in young people.”⁹⁷ Ye Tingfang, a professor at the Chinese Academy of Social Science, proposed that the Chinese government should allow a two-child rule. She states, “The one-child limit is too extreme. It violates nature’s law. And in the long run, this will lead to Mother Nature’s revenge.”⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Shao, Paul Herbig, and Alan T. "Marketing implications of China's 'little emperors.'" *Review of Business* 16.1: 16(5).

⁹⁵ Festini, F., and M de Martino.358

⁹⁶ Marshall, Andrew. "Little emperors." *The Times* (London, England) 29 Nov. 1997: 44.

⁹⁷ "Consultative Conference: "The government must end the one-child rule"". *AsiaNews.it*. 2007-03-16.

⁹⁸ "Advisors say it's time to change one-child policy". *Shanghai Daily*. 2007-03-15.

Minorities and their Exemptions

China has 55 official identified minority groups, and in 1990, occupied about 6.7 percent of the entire Chinese population. The largest minority group is the Zhuangs with over 13 million, then Huis (7.2 million), Uighurs (6.0 million), Yis (5.4 million), and then Miaos (5.0 million). When the One Child Policy was implemented, many researched worried about how the policy would affect minority groups in China. There are about nine groups that have less than 10,000 people;⁹⁹ therefore, this policy could potentially wipe out the entire minority group. To help protect the ethnic minorities of China, the Chinese government stated:

“In national minority areas and other sparsely populated areas, appropriate measures are taken to facilitate population growth, while birth control advice and help are given to those parents who have too many children and desire birth control.”¹⁰⁰

Unlike the Han group, the dominant ethnic group in China, the minorities are exempted from the policies; however, minorities are still urged to follow the policy. The government has provided family planning services, ranging from pamphlets to contraceptives.¹⁰¹ Despite all the “minorities are exempt from the One Child Policy” mantra the government has repeatedly stated, there have been instances where minorities groups were informed that they were only allowed to have one child. A Manchu dairyman was told that that he could only have one child. If he and his wife had one more child, they

⁹⁹ Park, Chai Bin, and Jing-Qing Han. "A Minority Group and China's One-Child Policy: The Case of the Koreans." *Studies in Family Planning*. 21.3 (1990): 161.

¹⁰⁰ Yu, Y. C., 129

¹⁰¹ Park, Chai Bin, and Jing-Qing Han. 161

would have to pay fines.¹⁰² Moreover, several minority groups have faced persecution from Han members since they are allowed the exemption to the policy.

Rural Resistance

Labor

After the implementation of the One Child Policy, there was strong resistance from the rural farmers (农民) of China. Farmers only source of income was through the crops planted; therefore, laborers were needed to help with the arduous tasks such as tilling, weeding, and harvesting. Most farmers would bear 3 or more children to help with not only farming tasks, but also with household tasks. In a way, the children were contributing the family income. However, by limiting rural farmers to only having one child, also meant limiting their labor force and their annual income. This also affected the parents' financial and physical security because they would only have one child bearing the responsibility to support them.¹⁰³

Culture

The Chinese living in rural parts of China tends to be more traditional than Chinese living in urban areas. These rural residents hold the idea of filial piety (孝) and males having more worth than females (重男轻女) to extreme importance. These ideas led to

¹⁰² "U.N. Population Fund Targets Minorities in China: New PRI Investigation Reveals the Manchus Are Under Fire, One-Child Policy Rigorously Enforced." *Population Review Institute Review* 19.4 (2009): <http://www.pop.org/content/u-n-population-fund-targets-minorities-in-china-1218>

¹⁰³ Doherty, Jim P., Edward C. Norton, and James E. Veney. 747

several female infanticide, abortions, and abandonment. Peasants believed that males could not only carry on the family lineage and help provide support in old age, but also were more useful doing farm work. Males are physically stronger; therefore, able to assist the father in the harvest. A female, however, could only help with the work within the house. To a farmer, males were worth more than a female. Therefore, the One Child Policy could potentially ruin a family's chance to bear a male to carry the family lineage, help with harvesting, and provide support during old age. Every family only had a 50 percent chance to either have a "big happiness" or a "small happiness."

Environment

Introduction

China always prioritized developing the economy over protecting the environment. Despite the rapidly growing economy and being one of the world's major polluters, the Chinese government argues that as a developing country, China should be allowed to focus on economic growth, and not be penalized for the pollution that is emitted. The government says that the Western powers are being hypocritical for criticizing China for the pollution output when they once were developing and polluting the environment. The government believes it should be allowed to follow the Western way of "pollute first and clean up later."¹⁰⁴ The idea for a developing nation to spend money to maintain low carbon emission levels and fund research and develop projects for renewable is unreasonable in the government's opinion.¹⁰⁵ However, due to the pressure from the international community, China has been forced to realize the extent of their environmental degradation and how their situation will affect the economy and society in the long run.

Background

Damage to the environment was apparent several centuries ago, but has been more prevalent in the past 50 years.¹⁰⁶ Mao Zedong believed in order to "achieve great power

¹⁰⁴Edmonds, Richard Louis. "The Environment in the People's Republic of China 50 Years On." *China Quarterly*. 159 (1999): 641

¹⁰⁵ Edmond, Richard Louis, 647.

¹⁰⁶ Banister, Judith. "Population, Public Health, and the Environment in China." *China Quarterly*. 156. (1998): 986.

status for China," man must "conquer nature."¹⁰⁷ This belief was evident throughout the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During the Great Leap Forward, Mao ordered the Chinese people to increase grain and steel production and develop irrigation systems to accelerate economic growth. His orders led to enormous environmental disruptions, including massive famine, deforestation, and numerous village relocations.¹⁰⁸ Because of the renewed importance of grain production, the Cultural Revolution created more devastation throughout the country and the environment, such as degradation of forest, lakes, and pastures.¹⁰⁹

By the end of the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping implemented several economic reforms to improve China's distressed economy. Through his "To Get Rich is Glorious" platform, Deng created the Household Responsibility System, township and village enterprises, and opened up China to foreign investors. His economic reforms led to one of the greatest economic success stories; GDP per capital "increased more than tenfold" in 1984 to 2001.¹¹⁰ Even though the economy was at an all time high, the environment was severely suffering. The economic development was resulted in the in loss of grasslands¹¹¹, water scarcity¹¹² and an increased use of coal. Numerous natural resources were becoming depleted in order to develop the economy, which increased the instances of respiratory and pulmonary diseases in the population. China's emissions were causing toxins to accumulate in the atmosphere, leading to acid rain, which poisoned fisheries and crops.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Economy, Elizabeth C. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004: 51

¹⁰⁸ Economy, Elizabeth C., 52-53.

¹⁰⁹ Banister, Judith, 989.

¹¹⁰ Economy, Elizabeth C., 61-62

¹¹¹ Economy, Elizabeth C., 66

¹¹² Economy, Elizabeth C., 67

¹¹³ Economy, Elizabeth C., 72

Major Environment Problems

Land Degradation and Desertification

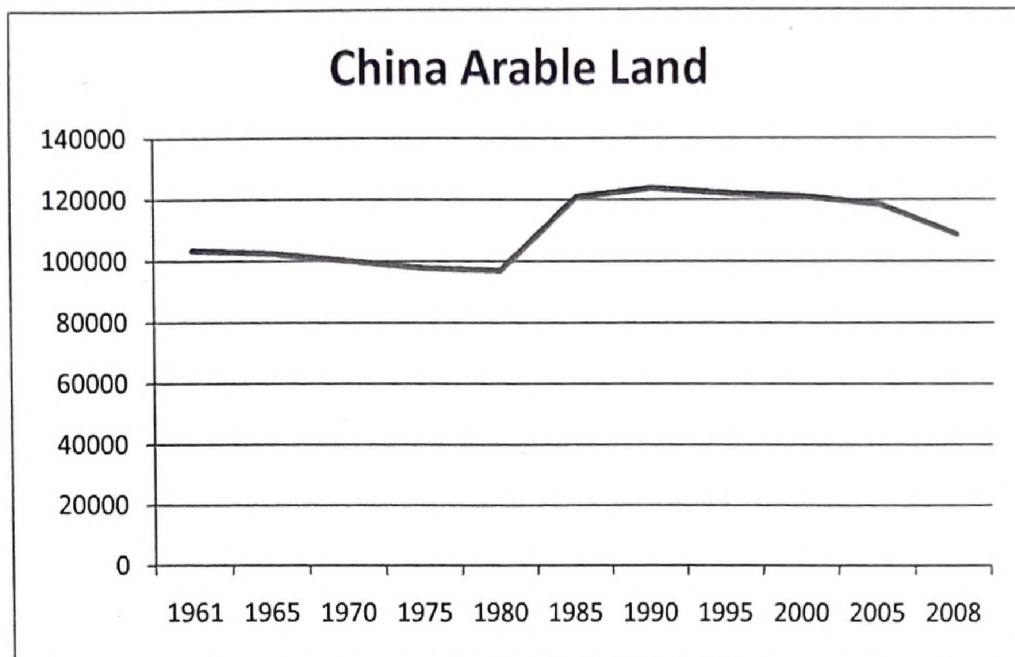
The Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) exploited the land by increasing the cutting of trees to fuel steel production, demolishing the wetlands for land reclamation projects, and practicing poor farming techniques to harvest grains. This all led to land degradation, leading to a loss of the already depleted hectares (ha) of arable land in China.¹¹⁴ Between 1978 and 1996, China's arable land declined by 4.3 million hectares. Most of the damage occurred in the coastal and central regions.¹¹⁵ In 1998, the Chinese assessed that desertification of semi-arid land was happening at 2,400 square kilometers per annum.¹¹⁶ By 2006, 4.38 million square kilometers (45 percent of China's land) was affected by desertification.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Edmond, Richard Louis, 640

¹¹⁵ Yang, Hong, and Xiubin Li. "Cultivated land and food supply in China." *Land Use Policy*. 17. (2000): 1.

¹¹⁶ Edmond, Richard Louis, 643

¹¹⁷ "Control of Land Degradation and Desertification." *china.org.cn*. China Development Gateway, n.d. Web. 3 March 2011. <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/Brief/193258.htm>>.



Food and Agriculture Organization (UN)

Urbanization is also a major influence on land degradation in China.¹¹⁸ Due to urbanization and industrialization, China has lost over 8.2 million hectares of arable land since 1997. Currently, over 37 percent of China's total land is affected by land degradation.¹¹⁹ Damage to arable land has decreased cropland, therefore, affecting the food security. This is a pressing problem in China since the population and food consumption per capita is increasing. From 1991 to 2000, China's cropland decreased to 0.1 ha per person, which is less than half of the world's average.¹²⁰

Air pollution

Air pollution is one of the most pressing environmental issues in China. China's air pollution gained international attention when China was announced to host the 2008

¹¹⁸ Veeck, Gregory. "[untitled]." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 91.4 (2001): 778.

¹¹⁹ *Land degradation among China's food supply challenges, says UN expert.*, 2010. Web. 2 March 2011. <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/printnewsAr.asp?nid=37151>>.

¹²⁰ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1182

Olympics. Currently, China holds sixteen out of twenty of the world's cities with worst air pollution. According the World Health Organization, these cities' air pollution levels are some of the worst ever recorded, ten times more than the set regulations.¹²¹ Air pollution has contributed to over 300,000 deaths per year.¹²²

One of the leading causes of the air pollution is China's reliance on burning coal to further economic growth. Coal accounts for two-thirds of the country's total energy supply; almost 80 percent of the electricity in China is generated by coal.¹²³ From the years 1989 and 1993, China's consumption of coal rose annually by 2 percent. China burned over 1.5 billion metric tons of coal in 2000, compared to the 0.99 billion metric tons burned in 1990.¹²⁴ In 2000, China was ranked first in sulfur dioxide (SO₂) emissions and ranked fourth in nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions.¹²⁵ However, these high emissions cannot be solely blamed on the industrialized northern regions of China. In southern China, coal mining emits high quantities of sulfur, leading to increase in potency instances of acid rain.¹²⁶ Since the preparation for the 2008 Olympics, China has been working to increase the number of "blue-sky days," but their air-quality is still deemed harmful to people.

¹²¹ "China's environmental problems" *World Resources Institute*. 1. <<http://www.wri.org/publication/content8413>

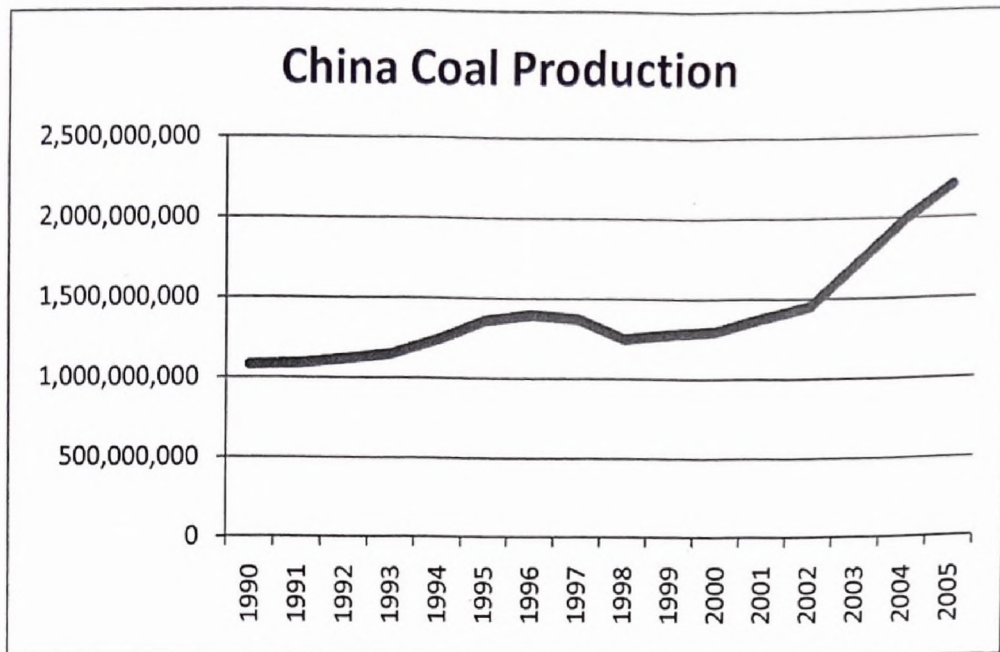
¹²² Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1883

¹²³ "Renewable Energy in China: An Overview." *World Resources Institute*. 1. http://www.chinafaqs.org/files/chinainfo/ChinaFAQs_Renewable_Energy_In_China.pdf

¹²⁴ "China's Health and Environment: Air pollution and health effects." *World Resources Institute*. 1. <<http://www.wri.org/publication/content8416>

¹²⁵ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1181

¹²⁶ *World Bank, Clear Water, Blue Skies: China's Environment in the New Century*. The World Bank. Washington D.C.:1997. 23



Energy Statistical Database (UN)

Water Pollution

The problem of water pollution became evident during China's industrialization in 1949. With the expansion of industries and township and village enterprises (TVEs), there was an increase of industrial waste dumped in nearby rivers and lakes. In the 1980s, scientists reported that heavy metals, lead, and oil were the major substances polluting China's water system.¹²⁷ Through the 1980s and 1990s, industrialization was prioritized in China, leading to the fastest economic growth of any nation in history. However, by 1997, seven of the major river systems in China were deemed as "badly polluted or barely acceptable."¹²⁸ Of the rivers flowing through urban cities, more than 75 percent are considered "unsuitable for drinking and fishing."¹²⁹ The Huai River Valley basin's death rate is a third higher than the provincial average.¹³⁰ Due to the sewage and toxic waste

¹²⁷ Banister, Judith, 995.

¹²⁸ Edmond, Richard Louis, 644

¹²⁹ Economy, Elizabeth C., 18

¹³⁰ Economy, Elizabeth C., 3

released by the factories in 1994, 26 million pounds of fish and thousands of people died.¹³¹ The government shut down a thousand factories; however, only two years later, 40 percent of them had reopened. The government claimed to have cleaned the Huai River from pollutants; however, a 2001 experiment by a professor at Huainan Industrial College concluded otherwise.¹³²

Water Scarcity

Currently, over half of the Chinese population does not have access to clean water, which is a problem since water usage has quintupled since 1949.¹³³ The per capita quantity of freshwater is “only a quarter of the world average.”¹³⁴ The accessible drinking water is still not deemed “drinkable” because of the contamination of animal and human waste that exceeds maximum permissible levels.¹³⁵

China’s severe water pollution also plays a vital role in the country’s water scarcity problem, which is one of the leading environmental problems. China has roughly 7 percent of the world’s resources and 20 percent of the world’s population.¹³⁶ Furthermore, water sources within China are unevenly spread. Southern China has three times as much water as Northern China.¹³⁷ Water scarcity in northern China has been a reoccurring problem, chiefly due to the heavy and rapid industrialization.

¹³¹ Economy, Elizabeth C., 4.

¹³² Economy, Elizabeth C., 7.

¹³³ Yardley, Jim. "Beneath Booming Cities, China's Future Is Drying Up." *New York Times* 28 Sept 2007: 1.

¹³⁴ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1182

¹³⁵ "China's environmental problems" *World Resources Institute*. 1. <<http://www.wri.org/publication/content8413>

¹³⁶ Yardley, Jim. 4.

¹³⁷ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1182

China is currently implementing several grand-scaled projects to help alleviate water scarcity. One of the biggest projects is the South-North Transfer Project (南水北调工程), which was implemented in 2002. Stemming from Mao Zedong's quote, "Southern water is plentiful, Northern water is scarce,"¹³⁸ the project will construct three different routes to divert 12 trillion gallons of the southern river systems through other areas in China.¹³⁹ The three different routes are a western route, central route, and eastern route. Chinese engineers proudly state that the South-North Transfer Project, while massive and money consuming, will help alleviate the scarce water problem in northern and western China. However, scientists believe that the construction of the project has been and will be harmful to the environment. The water transfer project will cause flooding and change the flow and water temperature of the Yellow River, harming aquatic life. The western line alone will divert water from six different major rivers.¹⁴⁰

Despite the government's best efforts, researchers have predicted that as income increases, the country's water consumption will increase which, in turn, will worsen the problem.¹⁴¹ Water deficits will still be prevalent and will need to be addressed.¹⁴² Scientists agree that the most efficient way to deal with the water scarcity problem in China is not to divert major water systems, but to improve water management, especially in Northern China.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ "China's water-diversion scheme: A shortage of capital flows." *The Economist*. (2008):1

¹³⁹ Yardley, Jim. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Simons, Craig. "The Vital Role of Natural Resources: Solving the Entire Chinese Water Crisis." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 10 Sept 2006.

¹⁴¹ Edmond, Richard Louis, 642

¹⁴² Yardley, Jim. 1.

¹⁴³ Simons, Craig, 1.

Impact of the One Child Policy on the Environment

Urbanization

Currently, China's population is roughly 1.3 billion people, which is 20 percent of the world's population. This number has doubled over the past century, affecting the number of households within China. From 1985 to 2000, the number of households increased three-folds as the average household size was reduced from 4.5 to 3.5 people per household, giving China an additional 80 million households in 2000.¹⁴⁴ This huge increase has affected the amount of natural resource consumption in China. Numerous smaller households will consume more resources per person, which is more detrimental to the environment than fewer households with more people. This increased number of household will lead to more emitted pollution by humans.¹⁴⁵ The population alone has already exacerbated the environmental problems in China. China is already struggling to produce food for 1.3 billion people. This, combined with land degradation and water pollution problems, will be a growing challenge China will have to face, especially if the country still wants to be self-sustaining and continue exporting grain to help feed other countries.

Industrialization

Industrialization leads to population growth because people are financially capable of supporting themselves and their family. This leads to an increase number of households and a higher standard of living. The rising living standards will further environmental degradation through the increased number of industries to escalate the economy's growth

¹⁴⁴ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1179

¹⁴⁵ Edmond, Richard Louis, 648

rate. This will lead to more air and water pollution. With rising living standards and growing population combined, China will need to address the issue of pollution by using renewable resources or cleaner energy sources. The improved standard of living could still be helpful in environmental protection. Prosperity could lead to an increased use of biofuels, sustainable development, et cetera.¹⁴⁶

The Future, One Child Policy, and the Environment

Environmental problems are affecting the social and economic development of China. In 1990, water pollution damages alone cost China 5 billion *yuan*.¹⁴⁷ By 1997, *China Environment News* stated that the economic costs from alleviating environmental problems, such as air pollution and desertification, have reached 14 percent of China's GDP.¹⁴⁸ Recently, the World Bank estimated that air and water pollution alone cost China nearly 8 percent of its GNP, around US \$54 billion.¹⁴⁹ In the past two decades, ecological damage and pollution cost 7 percent to 20 percent of China's GDP every year.¹⁵⁰

One of the most pressing issues for China and its environment will be resource degradation.¹⁵¹ The decline in arable land due to land degradation and desertification threatens China's ability to sustain agricultural levels, which will not only affect the country's importation of grain, but the ability to have a self-sustaining food industry.¹⁵² In

¹⁴⁶ Banister, Judith, 1014.

¹⁴⁷ Rozelle, Scott, Jikun Huang, and Linxiu Zhang. "Poverty, population and environmental degradation in China." *Food Policy*. 22.3 (1997): 231.

¹⁴⁸ Qian Chen, "Improve the Eco-Environment and Rebuild the Beautiful Mountains and Rivers," *China Environment News* (September 13, 1997), p. A

¹⁴⁹ *World Bank. Clear Water, Blue Skies: China's Environment in the New Century*. 23

¹⁵⁰ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. 1183

¹⁵¹ Edmond, Richard Louis, 648

¹⁵² *Land degradation among China's food supply challenges, says UN expert*. , 2010. Web. 2 March 2011. <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/printnewsAr.asp?nid=37151>>.

1997, the Ministry of Agriculture reported that the reduced grain production keeps about 65 million people from being adequately fed.¹⁵³ Even with population control policies, the Chinese population is still growing. In the book, *Who Will Feed China?*, Lester Brown predicted that China would not be able to feed itself by the year 2030 due to the land degradation and water pollution.¹⁵⁴ Richard Evans, a hydrologist consulting for the World Bank, has stated that the North China Plain “will run out of groundwater” if the government does not become conservative with the nation’s water usage.¹⁵⁵

Presently, China is ranked 129th out of 142 countries for environmental sustainability.¹⁵⁶ While the One Child Policy has helped limit the amount of environmental degradation that has occurred, the policy has still affected the environment. While the family size has decreased, the amount of total households has increased, leading to more pollution and emissions per capita. If China wants to continue to hold the position of an economic powerhouse and be able to provide for the Chinese people, the government will have to focus more on long-term environmental protection policies and stop putting environmental issues behind economic and social issues.

¹⁵³ Edmond, Richard Louis, 647

¹⁵⁴ Yang, Hong, and Xiubin Li.1.

¹⁵⁵ Yardley, Jim, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond.1181

The Ethics of the One Child Policy

After the open up and reforms (改革开放) in the 1970s, the government also opened itself up to criticism, especially concerning human rights. The regulations and implementation of the One Child Policy has stirred criticism from around the world. Different human rights advocacy groups have protested about the draconian policy, stating it has taken away the rights of Chinese citizens. This chapter's purpose is to delve into the ethical and moral questions concerning the One Child Policy to fully understand the rationale behind the implementation of the policy.

Private Rights Versus Public Rights

Definition

When discussing the ethics and morals of the One Child Policy, the topic of private rights and public rights is crucial. According to Black's Law Dictionary, a private right is defined as "a personal right, as opposed to a right of the public or the state." In contrast, a public right is defined as "a right belonging to all citizens and usually vested in and exercised by a public office or political entity."¹⁵⁷

To better understand the phenomenon of private rights and public rights and the relationship with the One Child Policy, an understanding in the history and ideological views of China is important to understanding the phenomenon of rights.

¹⁵⁷ Black's Law Dictionary, 9th Ed., Copyright 2010 Thomson Reuters

History and Ideology

Historically, China has followed "the supreme imperial power" principle to develop policies and laws. Because the Chinese believe that the emperor has been bestowed a god-given right, therefore the property, land, and food are given to the emperor or the government. Property, land, and food are the country's belongings, not the individual's. Farmers have to rely on their land in order to survive, but the government has the power to confiscate the land and evict the farmers. The Chinese believe that human rights are like any other right, not absolute.¹⁵⁸ The denial of private property rights is not only a political construct, but also has been the Chinese's way of thinking for thousands of years.

Furthermore, Confucianism is deeply rooted in Chinese culture. To understand the Chinese way of thinking, one must understand the basis of Confucianism. Confucius believed there were five cardinal relationships each person is subject to respecting (*wulun*): ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. After the relationship of ruler and subject, father and son is the highest priority. Not having a child is a severe violation of the Confucian principle of filial piety. "Not having a child equals no virtue" according to Qiu.¹⁵⁹ Having a child is an important element in the Chinese family structure. A child will help with household chores, bring the family honor, and provide support for the parents.

¹⁵⁸ Billitteri, Thomas J. "Human Rights in China: Are crackdowns on basic freedoms increasing?." *CQ Researcher*. 18.26 (2008): 3.

¹⁵⁹ Qiu, Ren-Zong. "Morality in Flux: Medical Ethics." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*. 1.1 (1991): 16.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

After the atrocities of World War II, the international community decided that a document must be created to protect human rights. On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which declares that the fundamental human rights are universally protected.”¹⁶⁰

The document states:

- “Member nations would observe human rights and fundamental freedoms”
- “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”
- “Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person”
- “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home, or correspondence”
- “The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.”¹⁶¹

When examining the One Child Policy, people tend to view it through their own cultural lenses, but that is not correct. It is important to view the One Child Policy through the shoes of an unbiased party. Therefore, it is important to analyze the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights to check if the One Child Policy violates any of the amendments.

¹⁶⁰ *Official UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations, 1948.

<<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/introduction.aspx>>

¹⁶¹ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations, 1948.

<<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>>

Based on the above sections, I believe that the Chinese government has overstepped their rights by implementing the One Child Policy. Limiting the number of children a family can have is within their legal right, but the absurd “social compensation fees,” birth control surgeries, and abortions is unethical. A country’s government is allowed to take drastic measures to keep their economy sustainable until these measures impedes on the citizens’ fundamental human rights.

Family Planning Policy: Overstepping of power?

The One Child Policy has the motto, “one couple, one child” (一对夫妇只生一个孩子). This policy presents three major ethical dilemmas, 1) the government limits the amount of children families are allowed to have, 2) paying a “social compensation fee” for “unapproved children,” and 3) after the first child is born, the government requires the couple to undergo birth control surgery.

Limiting the Number of Children

The Chinese government has stated that limiting the number of children couples can have, in the future will help China’s economic growth, environmental sustainability, and decrease the population growth rate. So this raises the question, “is it justified for a government regulate the right of its citizens to reproduce?” Tristram Engelhardt Jr., a philosopher, stated:

Reproduction, unlike sexual intercourse, concerns more than the consenting individuals providing gametes. The production of a new person involves not

only obligations of parents towards children, but also their duties towards society and others who may become financially obliged to protect and nurture the new individual.¹⁶²

Children are not only the responsibility of the parents and family, but also of the government. Since they are Chinese citizens, the government has the responsibility to promote their welfare and safety. In China's scenario, enforcing a population control policy in a country that the population was supposed to surpass 1.2 billion by the year 2000 is difficult.¹⁶³ The rapidly growing population was suppressing the economy and wasting natural resources, affecting China's future. While implementing the One Child Policy is limiting the citizens' rights, the policy's purpose is to help the government develop and maintain a sustainable population. Without the implementation of the policy, the complications that have arisen from One Child Policy have been amplified to astronomical proportions, such as environmental degradation, sustainability, energy sources, etc. The main question regarding the implementation process of the One Child Policy, is it moral?

Social Compensation Fee

Unless exempted from the policy, couples must pay a "social compensation fee" for the second or third child. These fees can reach up to ten times the average person's annual disposable income.¹⁶⁴ In the Beijing municipality in 1991, the fine for having a second child ranged from 5,000 to 50,000 *yuan*, and the fine for having a third child ranged from 20,000 to 100,000 *yuan*. For rural families, these fees would equal the amount of a year or

¹⁶² Qiu, Ren-Zong. 18-19

¹⁶³ Qiu, Ren-Zong. 17.

¹⁶⁴ Billitteri, Thomas J. 14.

even two years' income.¹⁶⁵ In 2006, the overall average annual income in China was 16,200 *yuan*, or approximately 1,350 *yuan* per month. The amount that is fined is about double the average monthly income.¹⁶⁶ While the fees did encouraged some families not to have additional children, fees also led families to leave the village and secretly have their child. As the standard of living and income have risen, so have the fines for birthing additional children.¹⁶⁷

After a couple has a second or third child and is not exempted from the policy, they must pay these fines to the Family Planning Commission according to the official policy. Then the woman, male, or both would have to be sterilized to ensure that the family would not produce more children. If the family does not quickly pay the fines, family-planning officials can take "forcible action," such as "detaining family members or confiscating and destroying property of families."¹⁶⁸ These occurrences are not stipulated in the official policy, and usually are led by the local government or local family planning bureau. In 2007, Wei Linrong narrated her story to National Public Radio. She lived in Guangxi province with her husband and child. She got pregnant again, and then ten family-planning officials informed her that they would have to abort the 7-month-old fetus. The officials stated, "If you don't go [to the hospital], we'll carry you." She remembered the hospital was "full of women who'd been brought in forcibly." After the abortion, the 7-month-old fetus was "wrapped up in a black plastic bag" and thrown away in the trash.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Mosher, Steven W. "China's One-Child Policy: Twenty-five Years Later." *Human Life Review*. 26. (2006): 88.

¹⁶⁶ World Bank Data.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/EASTASIAPACIFICEXT/CHINAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20680895~menuPK:318976~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:318950,00.html>

¹⁶⁷ Mosher, Steven W. 88.

¹⁶⁸ Billitteri, Thomas J. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Lim, Lousia. "Cases of Forced Abortions Surface in China," National Public Radio, April 23, 2007, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyid=9766870.

Birth Control Surgery and Abortions

To enforce the policy in the beginning, the government has encouraged women who have already had one child to undergo birth control surgery (IUD, tubal ligation, and hysterectomy.) After the policy was implemented, the government set up several family planning offices to help educate couples about the importance of contraceptives; however, there are numerous cases in which contraceptives were unsuccessful, especially in the countryside. These women had an abortion; some women had multiple abortions, which led health officials to be concerned for rural women's health.¹⁷⁰

Forced abortions and sterilizations were extremely prevalent during the 1980s. In order for the policy to succeed, the Central Government set a national cap for population growth every year for different regions; however, several local governments set their own cap on population growth. In 1980, the Guangdong provincial government set a 1 percent cap for their province's population growth. The government essentially commenced a "high tide" rule to terminate pregnancies. The "high tide" rule was simple, a second child was not allowed to be born four years after the first child, and a third child was forbidden. Additionally, women who have had three or more children by November 1, 1979, had to be sterilized.¹⁷¹ Women who disobeyed the rules were forced to have an abortion and get sterilized.

Later in the 1980s, Western media began to report about the inhuman treatment of women. Michele Vink, a reporter from the *Wall Street Journal*, wrote that women were "handcuffed, tied with ropes or placed in pig's baskets for their forced trips to the abortion

¹⁷⁰ Qiu, Ren-Zong. 19.

¹⁷¹ Mosher, Steven W. 79.

clinics.” *New York Times*’ reporter, Christopher Wren, depicts how women were “locked in detention cells or hauled before mass rallies and harangued into consenting to abortions.” Wren describes how some of the aborted babies were crying when they were born,¹⁷² and then killed by lethal injection.¹⁷³ The press began to equate the One Child Policy with “brutality and coercion.”¹⁷⁴

Forced abortions and sterilizations were more common in the 1980s; however, there is evidence that women are still being subjected to both abortions and sterilizations. According to the One Child Policy, women are either sterilized or implanted with an IUD after the first childbirth; women are sterilized after the second childbirth. Women are not allowed to remove the IUD unless it causes severe side effects, but would have to use another type of birth control, such as Norplant or Depo-Provera.¹⁷⁵ Removing an IUD is against the law, which has led to black market IUD removals for women.¹⁷⁶

Conclusion

The purpose of the One Child Policy is to help slow population growth to alleviate strains on the economy and the environment. Enforcing the policy has helped accomplish those goals; however, the way the policy has been implemented has crossed moral and ethical grounds. Forcing women to have abortions and to get sterilized is in no way rational or ethical. However, the government placing a limit on the number of children a couple is allowed to have can be considered rational. The government’s main

¹⁷² Mosher, Steven W. 83.

¹⁷³ Mosher, Steven W. 77.

¹⁷⁴ Mosher, Steven W. 84.

¹⁷⁵ Mosher, Steven W. 90.

¹⁷⁶ Mosher, Steven W. 91.

responsibility is to protect the safety and welfare of its citizens, so population growth and sustainability are determining factors. However, the government should not and does not have the power to *force* women to have abortions or to get sterilized. These practices are not only unethical, but also dangerous. These procedures have major health risks for the woman. There are no ethical, moral, or rational reasons for forced abortions and forced sterilization. If China wants to be considered a developed country, the government should check on the local, provincial governments to see if these procedures are still occurring.

Quantitative Section

Introduction

Introduction to the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a project conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2001. The goal of the project is evaluate public opinion worldwide on a myriad of subjects varying from views on their own country, other countries, and important current issues.

The survey used in this thesis was a portion of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, which examined 24 countries. This survey was conducted from March 28 to April 19, 2008 through face-to-face interviews. Princeton Survey Research Associates International conducted the interviews and the Horizon Market Research cited the data from their self-sponsored survey, "Chinese People View the World." The report that the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is titled "*The 2008 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in China: The Chinese Celebrate their Roaring Economy, as they Struggle with its Cost, Near Universal Optimism About Beijing Olympics*"

Relevance to this Study

This survey depicts China's public opinion towards the One Child Policy by asking the direct question, "Do you approve or disapprove of the One Child Policy?". Unlike past studies, the surveys on this topic were localized studies, and do not represent the Chinese people as a whole. The sample provided by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* represents approximately 42% of China's adult population, including eight major cities, medium sized towns and rural areas in eight Chinese provinces. The sampled cities include Beijing,

Changsha, Chongqing, Guangzhou, Harbin, Shanghai, Wuhan and Xi'an. The towns and rural areas were sampled from the provinces of Guangxi, Guizhou, Hebei, Henan, Jiangxi, Liaoning, Shanxi and Zhejiang.

Survey Details:

Sample Design	Probability
Mode	Face-to-face adults (age 18+)
Languages	Chinese (Dialects: Mandarin, Henan, Sichuan, Shanghainese, Guizhou, Hebei, Shanxi, Cantonese, Guangxi, Hubei, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Beijjngese, Dongbei, & Anhui)
Fieldwork Dates	March 28 – April 19, 2008
Sample Size	3,212

Methodology

After the researching impacts that the One Child Policy has had on China's society, economy, and environment, I wanted to analyze public opinion towards the policy. The first step was to review the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* survey to find questions relevant for the study. The most relevant question in the survey is "Do you support or not support the One Child Policy?" In addition to the question, it is important to find explanatory variables that would have a strong correlation to public opinion towards the policy. Based on the research data from the quantitative section, I deduce that the greatest demographics that influences attitudes towards the policy would be: age, gender, education level, martial status, locale, income level, and ethnicity. I analyzed these seven explanatory variables and correlated these variables with the overall question of "Do you support or not support the

One Child Policy.” The breakdown of the variables used in the study is found in the Appendix II.

After determining which variables would be most influenced by the policy, I analyze these independent and dependent variables using SPSS, running a frequency distribution, then I moved on to cross tabulations. I tested the compatibility of the variable of support to the independent variables by using a binary logistic regression. Below are details of the independent variables used in the study, then the cross tabulations, and the binary logistic regression.

Independent Variables:

Gender

Due to the social and cultural expectations of the Chinese people, women would be more affected by the One Child Policy; therefore, men would be more likely to support the One Child Policy. Based on cultural traditions, women hold the expectations to bear a son to maintain the male lineage, and are looked down upon if the first child is not a boy. Furthermore, women face societal pressures if they bear more than one child.

Ethnicity

Han Chinese would be less supportive of the policy because of the strict regulations they have to follow. Ethnic minorities are allowed to have more than one child because of the government’s policy to prevent the extinction of Chinese ethnic minorities. These exemptions have angered some Han Chinese. Furthermore, most of the metropolitan’s

population is Han Chinese, not ethnic minorities; therefore, the Han Chinese feel more pressure from the government and the One Child Policy.

Age Group

This variable is divided in four groups: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, and 50+. Out of the age groups, I believe that the groups 40-49 and 50+ would be more supportive of the One Child Policy. They were alive when the policy was implemented, and the policy was strictly enforced. They knew they had to follow the policy's restrictions or face severe repercussions. The younger generation is more liberal and has been more exposed to western ideals; therefore, more willing to rebel against government policies. Currently, some of the younger generation wants the policy to be changed to a two-child policy.

Education Level

The education level variable is divided into seven groups: Below primary school, Primary school, Junior high school, High school, College, Bachelor's degree, and Master's degree. Out of these groups, I believe that the College or above families would be more supportive of the One Child Policy based on their knowledge of politics, economics, and social issues. They would know that the policy is helping alleviate economic and environmental stress from China. This independent variable would fall into the theory of political socialization, the process in which political values are developed and transferred from one generation to the next.

Income

High Income would be the most supportive of the One Child Policy. They have the most funding to support the child during their life. Furthermore, if they wanted to have a 2nd child, they usually have the money and influence to go around the law. Middle Income families, I believe, would be the most nonchalant; they mostly support the policy, but it does not really affect their lifestyle. Low Income families would be the most against the policy, especially low income families in rural China. Because the development of technology is not prevalent and laborers are scarce, these families need children to help with the farm work. This phenomenon is also seen in urban families; children are used to help earn income; however, this phenomenon is not as prevalent as rural families.

Locale

The locale variable is categorized in three groups: rural, town, and city. Since most cities are already overcrowded, people residing in the city would be more supportive. By controlling the population, this will lessen the number of people living and working in the city. Rural residents would be less supportive because they need children to help earn income.

Region

Region variable is broken down three groups: East, Central, and West. People living in the eastern region would be more supportive of the policy. This reasoning is very similar to the locale reasoning. Most populated cities are located in the east because they

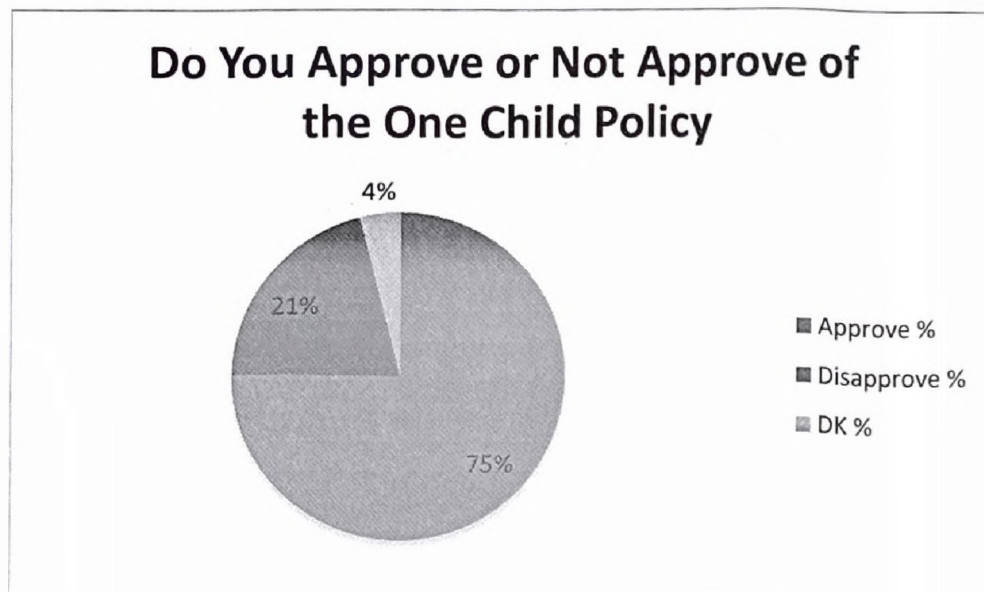
are near the sea. Because of urbanization, these cities are densely populated, so population control would help lessen the number of people residing in the city.

Hypotheses

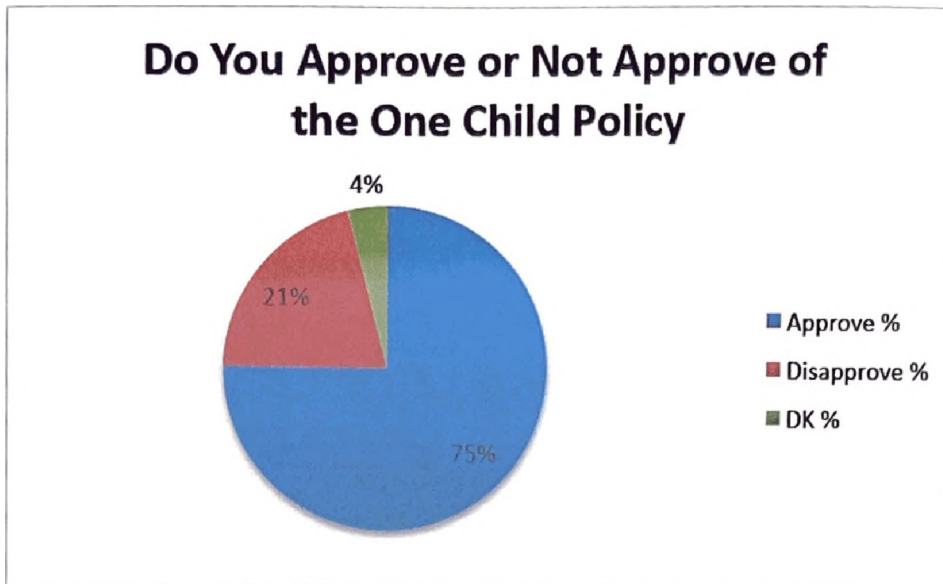
From the macro-section and survey data, there is evidence to support that the following variables support the One Child Policy:

- Male
- Han
- Age group: 40-49
- Education level: College or higher
- High Income
- City residents
- East region residents

Chinese Public Opinion Towards the One Child Policy: The Basic Frequency Distribution



Chinese Public Opinion Towards the One Child Policy: The Basic Frequency Distribution



Above is the basic frequency for the total respondents of the survey answering the question, “Do you approve or not approve of the One Child Policy?”. According to *Pew Global*, 75 percent of surveyed Chinese citizens approves the One Child Policy, while 21 percent of the surveyed citizens disapprove, and 4 percent of the surveyed citizens do not know or did not want to respond. Over one-third of the surveyed Chinese citizens support the policy.

Basic Frequency of Region

Region	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't Know %
East	77	20	3
Central	78	18	4
West	71	24	5

Above is the basic frequency for the total respondents of the survey answering the question, “Do you approve or not approve of the One Child Policy?”. According to *Pew Global*, 75 percent of surveyed Chinese citizens approves the One Child Policy, while 21 percent of the surveyed citizens disapprove, and 4 percent of the surveyed citizens do not know or did not want to respond. Over one-third of the surveyed Chinese citizens support the policy.

Basic Frequency of Region

Region	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't Know %
East	77	20	3
Central	78	18	4
West	71	24	5

According to the basic frequency of region, the majority of the people who support the One Child Policy live in the central region of China at 78 percent. Next were residents in eastern China at 77 percent, and residents in western China at 71 percent. Even though the highest frequency was with residents in the central region, the east region still has a high percentage at 77 percent.

Because the Pew Global data set only provided aggregate data, region will not be factored into the regression analysis.

Cross Tabulations

To accurately describe the correlation between supporting the One Child Policy and the independent variables, a basic frequency chart is not enough. To depict this correlation, cross tabulations are computed to describe the strength of the relationship

between the two variables. Below are the following cross tabulations between support of the One Child Policy and the independent variables.

Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not Support	Count	348	315	663
		% within Gender	21.7%	21.2%	21.4%
	Supports	Count	1256	1174	2430
		% within Gender	78.3%	78.8%	78.6%
Total	Count	1604	1489	3093	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

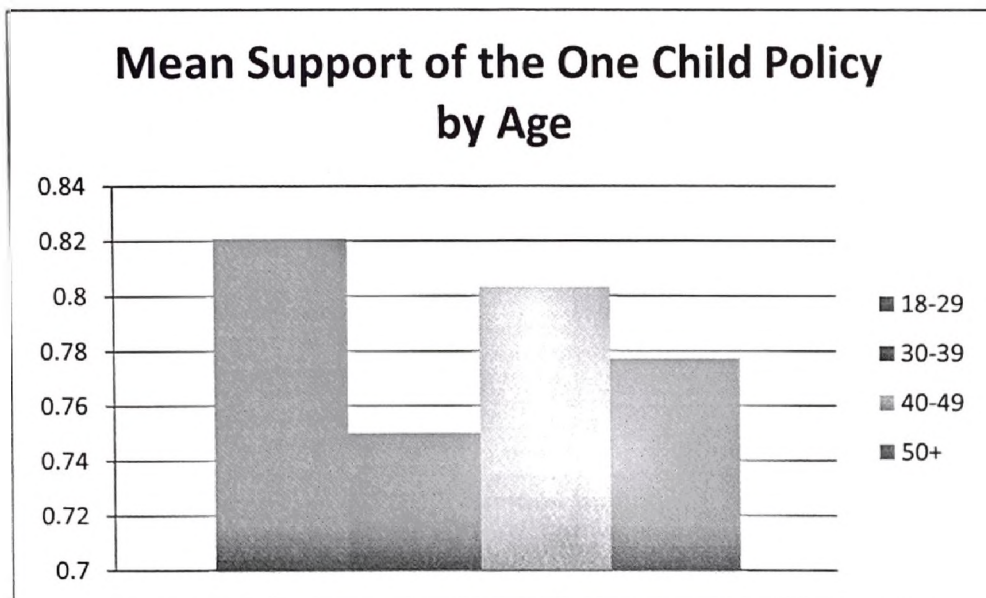
According to the cross tabulation, 348 surveyed females did not support the One Child Policy, while 1,256 surveyed females did support the One Child Policy. For males, 315 surveyed males did not support the One Child Policy, while 1,174 males did support the policy. Out of the people who support the policy, 78.3 percent of women support the policy and 78.8 percent of men support the policy.

Age Group

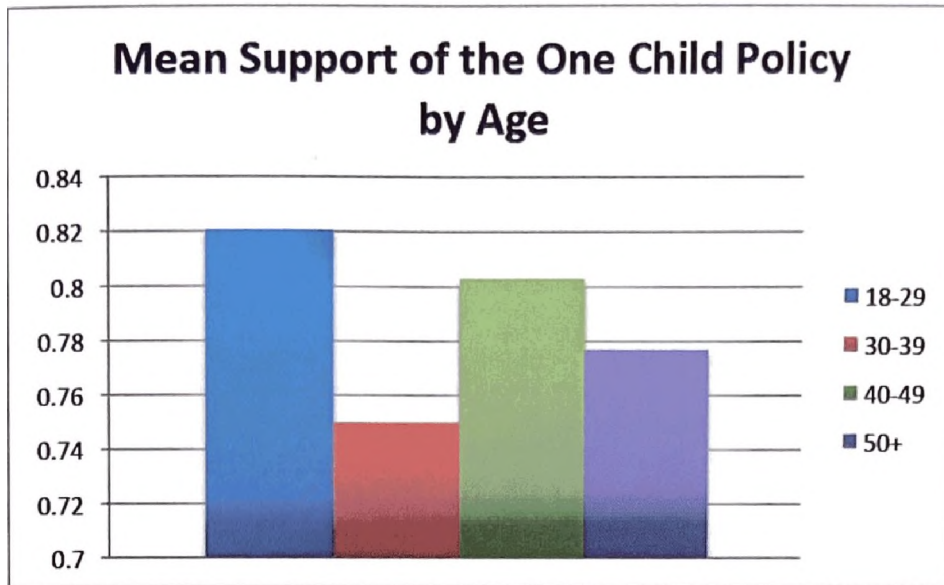
			Age				Total
			18-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count	114	209	152	189	664
		% within Age	17.9%	25.0%	19.7%	22.3%	21.5%
	Supports	Count	522	627	620	659	2428
		% within Age	82.1%	75.0%	80.3%	77.7%	78.5%

Total	Count	636	836	772	848	3092
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%

According to the cross tabulation, 114 surveyed 18-29 aged group did not support the One Child Policy, while 522 surveyed 18-29 aged group did support the One Child Policy. For aged group 30-39, 209 citizens did not support the One Child Policy, while 627 did support the policy. For the third variable, aged 40-49, 152 people responded stating they did not support the policy, while 620 people responded supporting the policy. In the last variable, aged 50 and over, 189 people did not support the policy, while 659 did support the policy.



Shown in the above column chart, the aged group 18-29 has the highest mean support for the policy at 82.1 percent. Next would be aged group 40-49 at 80.3 percent, then 50+ at 77.7 percent. The last was aged group 30-39 at 75 percent.



Shown in the above column chart, the aged group 18-29 has the highest mean support for the policy at 82.1 percent. Next would be aged group 40-49 at 80.3 percent, then 50+ at 77.7 percent. The last was aged group 30-39 at 75 percent.

Education Level

			Education				
			Below primary school	Primary school	Junior school	High school	College
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Education	31 29.0%	145 33.0%	220 21.0%	173 17.6%	66 17.8%
	Supports	Count %within Education	76 71.0%	295 67.0%	826 79.0%	811 82.4%	305 82.2%
Total	Count % within Education	107 100.0%	440 100.0%	1046 100.0%	984 100.0%	371 100.0%	

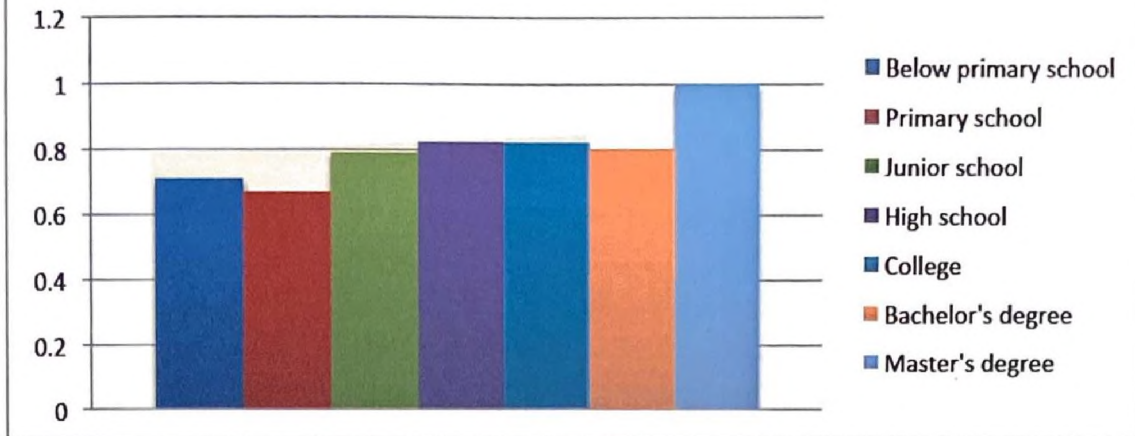
Education Level

			Education				
			Below primary school	Primary school	Junior school	High school	College
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Education	31 29.0%	145 33.0%	220 21.0%	173 17.6%	66 17.8%
	Supports	Count %within Education	76 71.0%	295 67.0%	826 79.0%	811 82.4%	305 82.2%
Total		Count % within Education	107 100.0%	440 100.0%	1046 100.0%	984 100.0%	371 100.0%

			Education		
			Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Total
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Education	25 20.2%	0 .0%	664 21.5%
	Supports	Count %within Education	99 79.8%	6 100.0%	2430 78.5%
Total		Count % within Education	124 100.0%	6 100.0%	3094 100.0%

In the cross tabulation above, only 71 percent people who received a below primary school education support the One Child Policy, while 29 percent does not support the policy. Out of people who received a primary school education, only 67 percent support the policy, while 33 percent does not support the policy. Based on the data, people who received only a junior high school education, 79 percent of this population support the

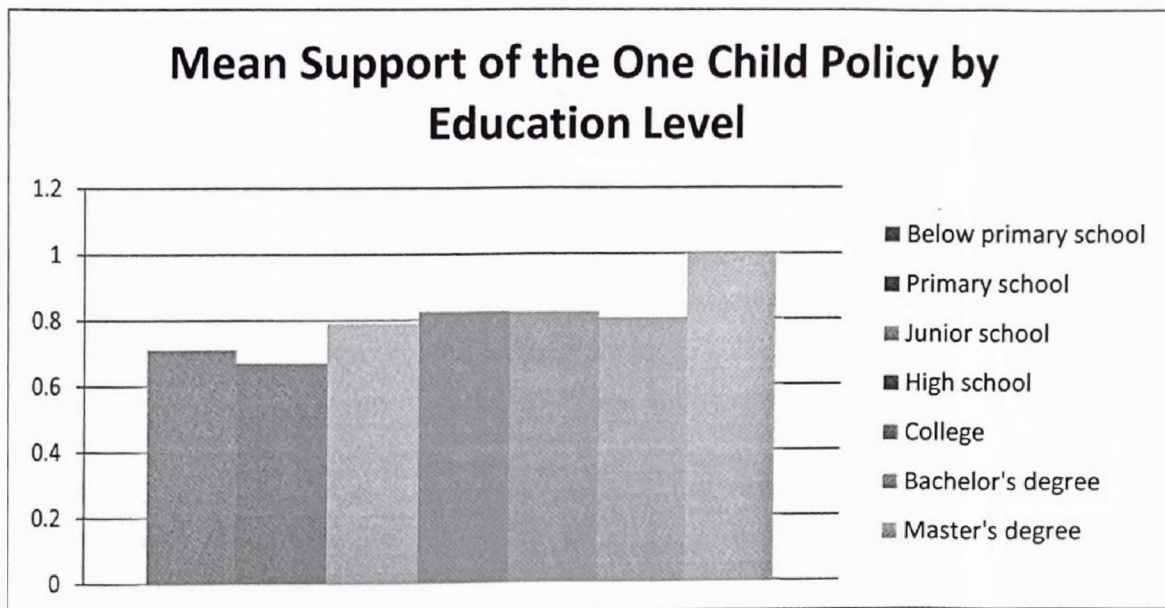
Mean Support of the One Child Policy by Education Level



Income Level (annual)

			Income (annual)					
			Less than 500 yuan	501-1,000 yuan	1,001- 1,500 yuan	2,001- 3,000 yuan	3,001- 4,000 yuan	4,001-5,000 yuan
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Income (annual)	9 32.1%	2 22.2%	18 34.6%	18 28.1%	13 27.1%	9 22.0%
	Supports	Count % within Income (annual)	19 67.9%	7 77.8%	34 65.4%	46 71.9%	35 72.9%	32 78.0%
Total	Count % within Income (annual)	28 100.0%	9 100.0%	52 100.0%	64 100.0%	48 100.0%	41 100.0%	

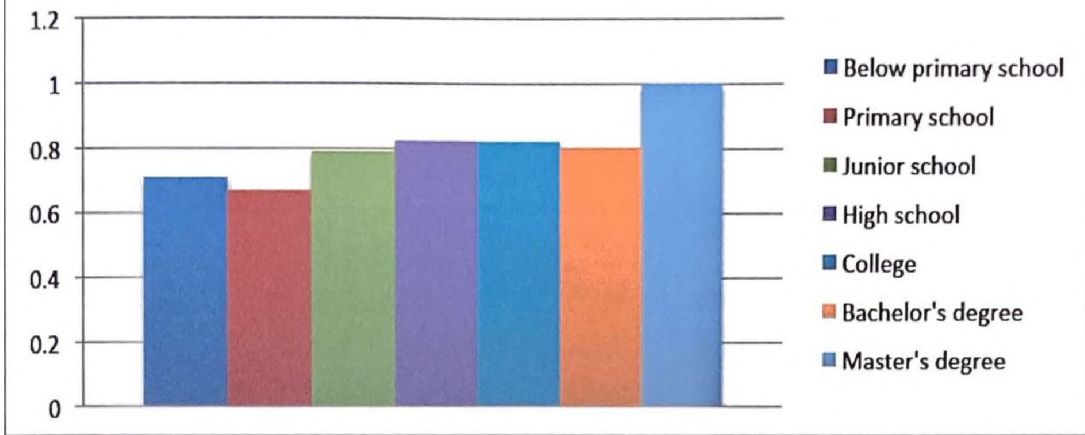
policy, while 21 percent does not. Ranking at second, people who obtained a high school education, 82.4 percent of these people support the policy, while 17.6 percent does not. Out of college education recipients, 82.2 percent support the policy, while 17.8 percent does not support. People who graduate and obtain a bachelor's degree, 79.8 percent support the One Child Policy, while 20.2 percent does not support the policy. Ranking first, people who obtain a Master's degree are 100 percent supportive of the policy.



Income Level (annual)

			Income (annual)					
			Less than 500 yuan	501-1,000 yuan	1,001-1,500 yuan	2,001-3,000 yuan	3,001-4,000 yuan	4,001-5,000 yuan
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count	9	2	18	18	13	9
		% within Income (annual)	32.1%	22.2%	34.6%	28.1%	27.1%	22.0%

Mean Support of the One Child Policy by Education Level



Income Level (annual)

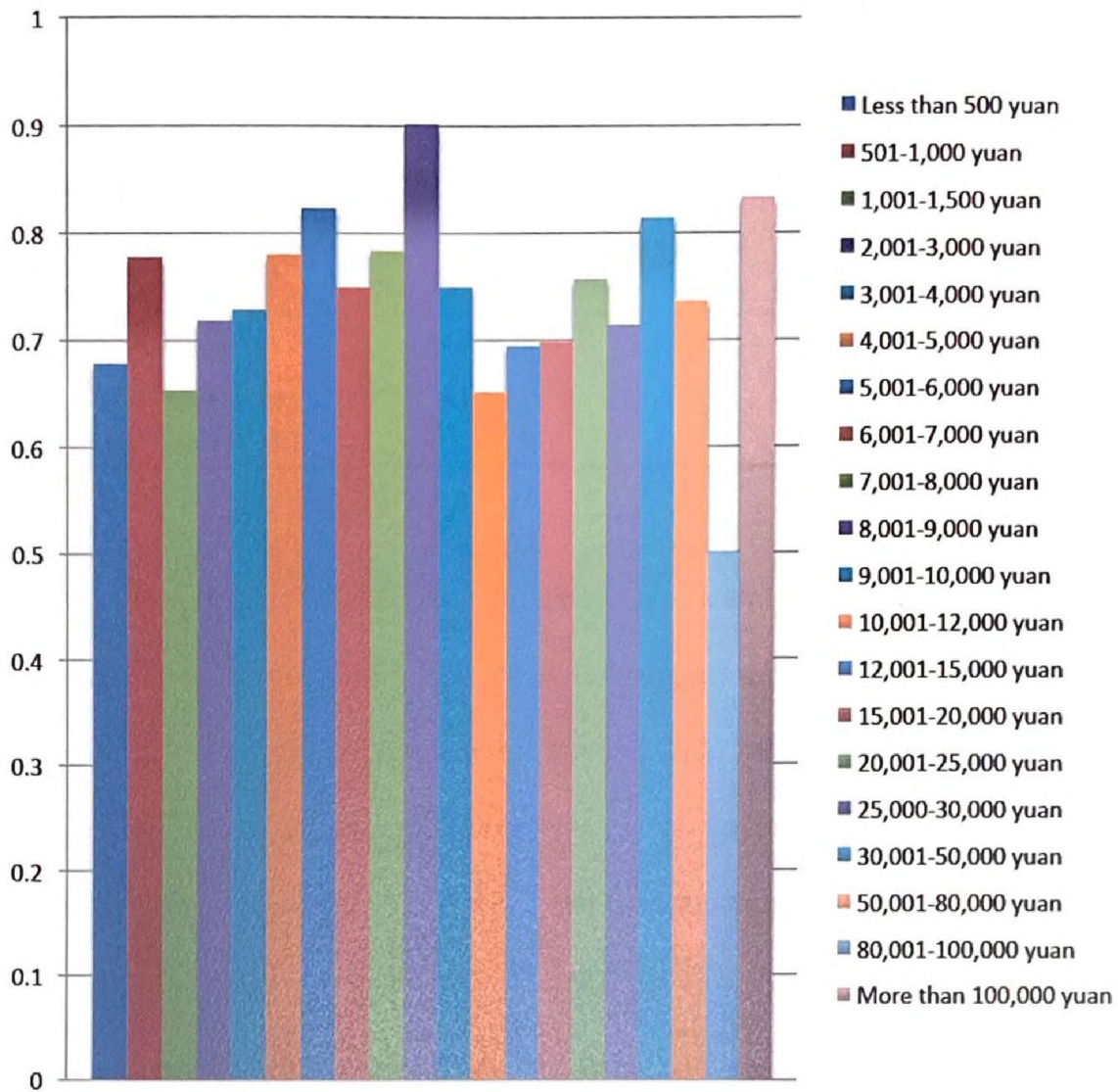
		Income (annual)					
		Less than 500 yuan	501-1,000 yuan	1,001- 1,500 yuan	2,001- 3,000 yuan	3,001- 4,000 yuan	4,001-5,000 yuan
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count 9	2	18	18	13	9
	% within Income (annual)	32.1%	22.2%	34.6%	28.1%	27.1%	22.0%
	Supports	Count 19	7	34	46	35	32
	% within Income (annual)	67.9%	77.8%	65.4%	71.9%	72.9%	78.0%
Total	Count	28	9	52	64	48	41
	% within Income (annual)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Supports	Count	19	7	34	46	35	32
	% within Income (annual)	67.9%	77.8%	65.4%	71.9%	72.9%	78.0%
Total	Count	28	9	52	64	48	41
	% within Income (annual)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

			Income (annual)					
			5,001- 6,000 <i>yuan</i>	6,001- 7,000 <i>yuan</i>	7,001- 8,000 <i>yuan</i>	8,001- 9,000 <i>yuan</i>	9,001- 10,000 <i>yuan</i>	10,001-12,000 <i>yuan</i>
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Income (annual)	20 33.9%	8 40.0%	10 22.2%	1 3.8%	18 35.3%	45 31.9%
	Supports	Count % within Income (annual)	39 66.1%	12 60.0%	35 77.8%	25 96.2%	33 64.7%	96 68.1%
Total	Count % within Income (annual)	59 100.0%	20 100.0%	45 100.0%	26 100.0%	51 100.0%	141 100.0%	

			Income (annual)					
			12,001- 15,000 <i>yuan</i>	15,001- 20,000 <i>yuan</i>	20,001- 25,000 <i>yuan</i>	25,001- 30,000 <i>yuan</i>	30,001- 50,000 <i>yuan</i>	50,001-80,000 <i>yuan</i>
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Income (annual)	29 31.9%	25 32.5%	16 25.4%	16 28.6%	13 18.6%	5 26.3%

Mean Support of the One Child Policy by Income



Martial Status

			Married		Total
			Not Married	Married	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Martial Status	99 18.0%	564 22.2%	663 21.4%
	Supports	Count % within Martial Status	452 82.0%	1978 77.8%	2430 78.6%
Total		Count % within Martial Status	551 100.0%	2542 100.0%	3093 100.0%

According to the cross tabulation, 99 unmarried respondents did not support the One Child Policy, while 452 unmarried respondents did support the One Child Policy. For married respondents, 564 people did not support the One Child Policy, while 1,978 people did support the policy. Out of the surveyed people, 82 percent of not married people support the policy, while 77.8 percent of married people support the policy.

Ethnicity

Han

			Han		Total
			Other Ethnic Groups	Han	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count % within Ethnicity	12 9.4%	652 22.0%	664 21.5%
	Supports	Count	115	2314	2429

Locale

City

			City		Total
			Does not reside in the city	City resident	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count	492	171	663
		% within Locale	26.7%	13.7%	21.4%
	Supports	Count	1353	1077	2430
		% within Locale	73.3%	86.3%	78.6%
Total	Count	1845	1248	3093	
	% within Locale	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

According to the cross tabulation, 492 surveyed non-city residents did not support the One Child Policy, while 1,353 surveyed non-city residents did support the One Child Policy. For the next variable, 171 surveyed city residents did not support the One Child Policy, while 1,077 city residents did support the policy. Out of the people surveyed, 86.3 percent of city residents support the policy, while 73.3 percent of non-city residents support the policy.

Town

			Town		Total
			Does not reside in a town	Town resident	
Supports the One Child Policy	Does not support	Count	474	189	663
		% within Locale	20.8%	23.3%	21.4%
	Supports	Count	1808	621	2429
		% within Locale	79.2%	76.7%	78.6%

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a						
Gender	.026	.092	.077	1	.782	1.026
Han	-.665	.455	2.138	1	.144	.514
Marital Status	-.088	.133	.437	1	.509	.916
City	.788	.166	22.612	1	.000	2.199
Town	.186	.157	1.408	1	.235	1.205
Age	.028	.048	.342	1	.559	1.028
Education	.071	.051	1.949	1	.163	1.073
Hui	1.054	.626	2.839	1	.092	2.869
Income (annual)	.017	.012	2.071	1	.150	1.017
Constant	1.069	.520	4.231	1	.040	2.913

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Gender, Han, Marital Status, City, Town, Age, Education, Hui, Income (annual).

The R^2 tells us that 5.8% of the variation of support for the One Child Policy can be explained by the independent variables in the model. *City* and *Hui* were statistically significant. *City* score was statistically significant at alpha level 0.001, while *Hui* score was statistically significant at alpha level 0.1. Both variables had positive relationships. Specifically, for every percentage change in *City*, there was a .788 increase in support for the One Child Policy score controlling for all other variables. For every unit increase in *Hui* score, there was an increase 1.054 increase in support for the One Child Policy score controlling for all other variables. *Han* (.144), *Education* (.163), and *Income* (.150) scores were close to becoming statistically significant. However, *Gender*, *Marital Status*, *Age*, and *Town* were all not statistically significant. *Han* and *Marital Status* were the only two variables that had a negative relationship. All other variables had a positive relationship. It

is clear from the standardized regression coefficients *City* score was the most substantive variable in this model.

for the One Child Policy) and the nine independent variables. Based on the data compiled from the micro section, we see what factors have the most influence on whether one supports the One Child Policy. These factors are: urban residents and ethnicity. We should also note that income, education, and marital status play a small role of influence over the support of the One Child Policy. These two factors, urban residents and ethnicity, fully support the second half of the theoretical framework of: affinity and benefits.

Affinity and benefits relates back to the concept that is a very basic and common assumption in social science; a person gaining benefits will be more likely to support government policies. Rural residents have lost their right to produce as many as children to have a greater labor force, in turn, hurting their source of income. Urban residents have more to benefit from the policy because a population control policy will help alleviate the strains within urbanized areas. For ethnic minorities, the Chinese government has granted them with exemptions, allowing minorities to produced two to three, even four children per household. Han Chinese, however, can only have one child, unless they fall into rare circumstances.

After understanding the rationale behind the One Child Policy, and what factors have impacts on supporting the policy, it is important to consider the future of the policy. Should the Chinese government continue the One Child Policy? If they continue the policy, how will this affect China and the existing social, economic, and environmental problems? If they discontinue the policy, will a two-child policy be implemented?

The government has already given a statement saying China will continue the One Child Policy during the thirteenth Five-Year Plan. How the government decides to proceed after the Five-Year Plan will determine how China will resolve not only the population

problem, but also the aging population problem, environmental problem, moral and ethic problems, and employment problems. It is imperative for the Chinese government to begin resolving these issues. Furthermore, the government needs to create a transition plan for the One Child Policy. Because of the severe repercussions China will face with the aging population, the government needs to strategize a plan to reduce the burden that the aging population will cause China.

Bibliography

The citations in this thesis used the MLA style.

- "Advisors say it's time to change one-child policy". Shanghai Daily. 2007-03-15.
- Almond, Gabriel A., G. Bingham Powerll Jr., Kaate Strom, and Russell J. Dalton. *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*. 7th. New York: Addison Welsey Longman, 1999. 67
- Alun, Joseph E., and David R. Phillips. "Ageing in Rural China: Impacts of Increasing Diversity in Family and Community Resources." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*. 14. (1999): 157
- Banister, Judith. "Population, Public Health, and the Environment in China." *China Quarterly*. 156. (1998): 986.
- Banister, Judith, and Karen Hardee-Cleaveland. "Fertility Policy and Implementation in China, 1986-88." *Population and Development Review*. 14.2 (1988): 245-286.
- Billitteri, Thomas J. "Human Rights in China: Are crackdowns on basic freedoms increasing?." *CQ Researcher*. 18.26 (2008): 3.
- Black's Law Dictionary, 9th Ed., Copyright 2010 Thomson Reuters Chen, Pi-Chao. "China's Birth Control Action Programme: 1956-1964." *Population Studies*. 24.2 (1970): 141-158
- Bossen, Laurel. *Chinese Women and Rural Development: Sixty Years of Change in Lu Village, Yunan*. Boston, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Chesnais, Jean-Claude, and Shuxin Wang. "Population Ageing, Retirement Policy and Living Conditions of the Elderly in China." *Population: An English Selection*. 2. (1990): 3.

"China auctions first 50-year government bond." *Financial Times* 27 Nov 2010

"China's environmental problems" *World Resources Institute*.

1.<<http://www.wri.org/publication/content8413>

"China's Health and Environment: Air pollution and health effects." *World Resources*

Institute. 1.<<http://www.wri.org/publication/content8416>

"China's water-diversion scheme: A shortage of capital flows." *The Economist*. (2008):1

"China Steps Up 'One Child' Policy." *BBC News* 25 Sept. 2000 9 Apr 2009.

"Consultative Conference: "The government must end the one-child rule"". *AsiaNews.it*.

2007-03-16.

"Control of Land Degradation and Desertification." *china.org.cn*. China Development

Gateway, n.d. Web. 3 March 2011.

<<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/Brief/193258.htm>>.

Doherty, Jim P., Edward C. Norton, and James E. Veney. "China's one-child policy: the

economic choices and consequences faced by pregnant women." *Social Science &*

Medicine. 52. (2001): 747.

"Double Happiness." *China Daily* 3 March 2009 9 Apr 2009.

Economy, Elizabeth C. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*.

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. (pg. 51)

Edmonds, Richard Louis. "The Environment in the People's Republic of China 50 Years On."

China Quarterly. 159 (1999): 641

"The Environment and China." *World Resources Institute*.

1.<<http://www.wri.org/publication/conten7830>

- Festini, F., and M de Martino. "Twenty Five Years of the One Child Policy." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (1979-). 58.5 (2004): 359.
- Fong, Vanessa L. "China's One-Child Policy and the Empowerment of Urban Daughters." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 104.4 (2002): 1103.
- Fong, Vanessa L. *Only Hope: Coming of Age under China's One-Child Policy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- "Gendercide: The worldwide war on baby girls." *Economist*. 6.12 (2010): 77.
- Goodstadt, Leo F. "China's One-Child Family: Policy and Public Response." *Population and Development Review*. 8.1 (1982): 37-58.
- Hardee, Karen, Zhenming Xie, and Baochang Gu. "Family Planning and Women's Lives in Rural China." *International Family Planning Perspective*. 30.2 (2004): 68-76
- Heileg, Gerhard K. "Many Chinas? The Economic Diversity of China's Provinces." *Population and Development Review*. 32.1 (2006): 148.
- Hesketh, Therese, and Wei Xing Zhu. "Health in China: The One Child Policy: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 314.7095 (1997): 1685.
- Hsu, Mei-Ling. "Growth and Control of Population in China: The Urban-Rural Contrast." *Annual of the Association of American Geographers*. 75.2 (1985): 241-257.
- Jacka, Tamara. *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Judd, Ellen R. *Gender and Power in Rural North China*. Stand ford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Kane, Penny, and Ching Y Choi. "China's one child family policy." *BMJ*. 319. (1999): 992-994

- Land degradation among China's food supply challenges, says UN expert.*, 2010. Web. 2 March 2011. <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/printnewsAr.asp?nid=37151>>.
- Li, Cheng. *Rediscovering China*. Lanham: Rowman, 1997
- Lim, Lousia. "Cases of Forced Abortions Surface in China," National Public Radio, April 23, 2007, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyid=9766870.
- Liu, Jianguo, and Jared Diamond. "China's Environment in a Globalizing World." *Nature*. 435. (2005): 1180.
- Marshall, Andrew. "Little emperors." *The Times* (London, England) 29 Nov. 1997: 44.
- Milwertz, Cecilia Nathansen. *Accepting Population Control: Urban Chinese Women and the One-Child Family Policy*. Padstow, UK: TJ Press Ltd., 1997
- Mosher, Steven W. "China's One-Child Policy: Twenty-five Years Later." *Human Life Review*. 26. (2006): 88.
- Nie, Yilin, and Robert J. Wyman. "The One-Child Policy in Shanghai: Acceptance and Internalization." *Population and Development Review*. 31.2 (2005): 313-336
- "One Child Policy Update." *Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada* 1 January 1995
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a816.html>
- Park, Chai Bin, and Jing-Qing Han. "A Minority Group and China's One-Child Policy: The Case of the Koreans." *Studies in Family Planning*. 21.3 (1990): 161.
- Qian Chen, "Improve the Eco-Environment and Rebuild the Beautiful Mountains and Rivers," *China Environment News* (September 13, 1997), p. A
- Qian, Xinzhong. "China's Population Policy: Theory and Methods." *Studies in Family Planning*. 21.3 (1983): 295-301

- Qiu, Ren-Zong. "Morality in Flux: Medical Ethics." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*. 1.1 (1991): 16.
- Qu, Jian Ding, and Therese Hesketh. "Family size, fertility preferences, and sex ratio in China in the era of the one child family policy: results from national family planning and reproductive health survey." *BMJ*. 333. (2006): 371-373
- Reese, Lori. "Children's Palace: China Copes With the One-Child Policy, 1980 A Generation of Little Emperors." *Time International* 27 Sept. 1999: 88.
- "Renewable Energy in China: An Overview." *World Resources Institute*. 1.
http://www.chinafaqs.org/files/chinainfo/ChinaFAQs_Renewable_Energy_In_China.pdf
- "Rethinking China's one-child policy". *CBC*. October 28, 2009. Retrieved June 11, 2010.
- Rozelle, Scott, Jikun Huang, and Linxiu Zhang. "Poverty, population and environmental degradation in China." *Food Policy*. 22.3 (1997): 231.
- Shao, Paul Herbig, and Alan T. "Marketing implications of China's 'little emperors..'" *Review of Business* 16.1: 16(5).
- Short, Susan E., and Fengying Zhai. "Looking Locally at China's One-Child Policy." *Studies in Family Planning*. 29.4 (1998): 373-387
- Simons, Craig. "The Vital Role of Natural Resources: Solving the Entire Chinese Water Crisis." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 10 Sept 2006.
- "U.N. Population Fund Targets Minorities in China: New PRI Investigation Reveals the Manchus Are Under Fire, One-Child Policy Rigorously Enforced." *Population Review Institute Review* 19.4 (2009): <http://www.pop.org/content/u-n-population-fund-targets-minorities-in-china-1218>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations, 1948.

<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>

Veeck, Gregory. "[untitled]." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 91.4 (2001): 778.

Wang, Feng. "Can China Afford to Continue Its One-Child Policy?." *Asia Pacific Issues*. 77 (2005): 1-12

"'Wife shortage' to hit nation in 2020s." *People's Daily* 9 July. 2007 9 Apr 2009.

World Bank Data.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/EASTASIAPACIFICEXT/CHINAEXTN/0..contentMDK:20680895~menuPK:318976~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:318950.00.html>

World Bank, Clear Water, Blue Skies: China's Environment in the New Century. The World Bank. Washington D.C.:1997. 23

Yang, Hong, and Xiubin Li. "Cultivated land and food supply in China." *Land Use Policy*. 17. (2000): 1.

Yardley, Jim. "Beneath Booming Cities, China's Future Is Drying Up." *New York Times* 28 Sept 2007: 1.

Yardley, Jim. "China Sticking With One-Child Policy." *The New York Times* 11 March 2008 9 Apr 2009.

Yu, Y. C. "The Population Policy of China." *Population Studies*. 33.1 (1979): 125-142

Zhan, Heying Jenny, and Rhonda J.V. Montgomery. "Gender and Elder Care in China: The Influence of Filial Piety and Structural Constraints." *Gender and Society*. 17.2 (2003):209-229

Zuckerman, Mortimer B. "A Giant's Growing Pains." *U.S News & World Report* 23 Jan. 2006:

1

"“四二一”家庭真的是问题吗？(Are 'four-two-one' families really a problem?)" (in

Chinese). 中国人口学会网 (China Population Association Online). 10 October 2010.

Appendix

Appendix I

Introduction to the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a project conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2001. The goal of the project is evaluate public opinion worldwide on a myriad of subjects varying from views on their own country, other countries, and important current issues. The survey used in this thesis was a portion of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, which examined 24 countries. This survey was conducted from March 28 to April 19, 2008 through face-to-face interviews. Princeton Survey Research Associates International conducted the interviews and the Horizon Market Research cited the data from their self-sponsored survey, "Chinese People View the World." The report that the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is titled "*The 2008 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in China: The Chinese Celebrate their Roaring Economy, as they Struggle with its Cost, Near Universal Optimism About Beijing Olympics*"

Survey Details:

Sample Design	Probability
Mode	Face-to-face adults (age 18+)
Languages	Chinese (Dialects: Mandarin, Henan, Sichuan, Shanghainese, Guizhou, Hebei, Shanxi, Cantonese, Guangxi, Hubei, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Beijingsese, Dongbei, & Anhui)
Fieldwork Dates	March 28 – April 19, 2008
Sample Size	3,212
Fieldwork Dates	March 28 – April 19, 2008
Sample Size	3,212

Appendix II

Relevant Questions Used from the Survey

Q68 Do you approve or disapprove of the one-child policy?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

READ TO ALL

Now, I would like to ask some questions about your background.

ASK ALL

Q75 Gender (Interviewer record by observation)

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

ASK ALL

Q76 How old were you at your last birthday?

_____ years (RECORD AGE IN YEARS)

- 97 97 or older
- 98 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 99 Refused (DO NOT READ)

ASK ALL

Q84 What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

RESPONSE CATEGORIES VARY BY COUNTRY

ASK ALL

Q89 Here is a list of incomes. Which of these does your household fall into counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in? Just give the letter of the group your household falls into, before taxes and other deductions.

RESPONSE CATEGORIES VARY BY COUNTRY

ASK ALL

Q90 Which (ethnic/racial/tribal/nationality) group do you belong to?

RESPONSE CATEGORIES VARY BY COUNTRY

ASK ALL

Q91 Are you currently married, living with a partner, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

- 1 Married
- 2 Living with a partner
- 3 Widowed
- 4 Divorced
- 5 Separated
- 6 Never been married
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

INCLUDE IN FINAL DATASET

Q98 Region of country where the interview was conducted

CATEGORIES VARY BY COUNTRY

INCLUDE IN FINAL DATASET

Q99 City/Province

CATEGORIES VARY BY COUNTRY

INCLUDE IN FINAL DATASET

Q101 Is