

POPULATION PLANNING ¹*International Standards and China's Coercive Population Policies*

Chinese officials continue to actively promote and implement coercive population planning policies which, as they are written and implemented, violate international standards. The PRC Population and Family Planning Law and provincial implementing guidelines limit couples' freedom to build their families as they see fit by stipulating if, when, and how often they may bear children.² Local implementing regulations across China still require that couples be married and obtain a birth permit to lawfully bear a child.³ The population planning policies of all of China's 31 provincial-level jurisdictions limit couples to bearing one child.⁴ Exceptions for couples who meet certain criteria vary by province,⁵ and include some exceptions for ethnic minorities.⁶ Officials continue to coerce compliance with population planning targets using methods including heavy fines,⁷ forced abortions,⁸ and forced sterilizations.⁹

Controls imposed on Chinese women and their families, and additional abuses engendered by China's stringent population and family planning system, violate standards set forth in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action¹⁰ and the 1994 Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development.¹¹ China was a state participant in the negotiations and adoption of both.¹² Acts of official violence committed in the implementation of coercive population planning policies¹³ contravene provisions of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,¹⁴ which China has ratified.¹⁵ Furthermore, discriminatory policies¹⁶ against "out-of-plan" children (i.e., children born in violation of population planning policies) contravene the Convention on the Rights of the Child¹⁷ and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.¹⁸ China is a State Party to these treaties and has committed to uphold their terms.¹⁹

Policy Revision

At the Third Plenum of the 18th Party Congress in November 2013,²⁰ central Party authorities issued the Decision on Certain Major Issues Regarding Comprehensively Deepening Reforms, which called for a broad range of reforms,²¹ including the provision of a new exception to China's population planning policy.²² The exception represents only a slight modification of the previous policy, adding couples in which just one parent is an only child to the category of families permitted to bear a second child.²³ Rural couples, ethnic minority couples, and couples in which both parents are only children were among those already permitted under previous exceptions to bear a second child.²⁴ As of August 2014, at least 15 provinces and municipalities had amended population and family planning regulations in accordance with the new policy.²⁵ Experts predict that the impact of this most recent policy revision will be more noticeable in urban areas,²⁶ and that the change may affect 15 to 20 million people across China.²⁷ Estimates for the additional number of births that could result from this change range from 1 to 3 million per year.²⁸ Reports have also noted, however, that

many couples would not want to expand their families even if given the option,²⁹ and thus far China has seen a smaller increase in births than predicted.³⁰ As for the demographic challenges that precipitated the population policy change, a top family planning official pointed in particular to China's decreasing working-age population, rapidly aging population, and persistent sex ratio imbalance.³¹ Chinese officials have emphasized the limited scope of the recent population planning policy revision, while Chinese and international critics continued to call for cancellation of the entire policy on family planning.³²

Coercive Implementation

Chinese law contains provisions that prohibit officials from infringing upon the "legitimate" rights and interests of citizens while implementing population planning policies but does not define what constitutes a citizen's "legitimate" right or interest.³³ Despite these provisions, however, abuses continued during the Commission's 2014 reporting year. Provincial-level population planning regulations in at least 22 of China's 31 provincial-level jurisdictions explicitly instruct officials to implement abortions, often referred to as "remedial measures" (*bujiu cuoshi*), for "out-of-plan" pregnancies, with no apparent requirement for parents' consent.³⁴ Officials also reportedly continued to use other coercive methods—including forced abortion under arbitrary detention,³⁵ forced implantation of long-term birth control devices,³⁶ and forced sterilization³⁷—to implement population planning policies.

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGNS

Language used in official speeches and government reports from jurisdictions across China continued to reflect an emphasis on harsh enforcement measures with an apparent disregard for restraint. The Commission noted that during this reporting year, as in previous years,³⁸ official reports from several provinces and municipalities across China (e.g., Anhui,³⁹ Beijing,⁴⁰ Fujian,⁴¹ Guizhou,⁴² Hebei,⁴³ Henan,⁴⁴ Hunan,⁴⁵ Jiangxi,⁴⁶ Shandong,⁴⁷ and Zhejiang⁴⁸) continued to promote "family planning implementation work" using phrases such as "spare no efforts" (*quanli yifu* or *fenli*) and "use all means necessary" (*qian fang bai ji*) to urge officials to implement harsh and invasive family planning measures. Implementation targets promoted in these reports were unrelenting, including some reports calling for a 100-percent implementation rate in compelling policy offenders to undergo "remedial measures" or the "four procedures" (i.e., intrauterine device (IUD) implants, first-trimester abortions, mid- to late-term abortions, and sterilization).⁴⁹ For example, one government report from Guzhang county, Xiangxi Shijia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan province, called upon local officials to implement "remedial measures" on 100 percent of women with "out-of-plan" pregnancies during an upcoming county-wide population planning "service" campaign.⁵⁰ The same report promised to give town governments specific monetary rewards and public praise or to circulate a notice of criticism based on their achievement rate in implementing surgical procedures.⁵¹

Representative Cases of Coercion

- **Guizhou.** In January 2014, more than 20 government personnel in Yuqing county reportedly took Tan Kaimei, who suffered from uterine fibroids, to the local family planning office where they signed her agreement on an operation consent form and pinned her down while performing a sterilization procedure on her.⁵² Tan and her husband reported to the U.S.-based human rights organization ChinaAid that officials refused to give them a legal explanation for the forced procedure.⁵³
- **Guangdong.** According to a January 2014 Xinkuai Net report, family planning officials in Baiyun district, Guangzhou municipality, were withholding *hukous*—household registration permits—for children or welfare disbursements from families if the mother refused to have an intrauterine device (IUD) inserted.⁵⁴ While one district-level family planning official claimed that the registration of *hukous* and disbursement of welfare had been linked to IUD insertion for all 11 years of her involvement in family planning implementation, a higher level official interviewed for the report claimed such linking was not permitted.⁵⁵
- **Xinjiang.** In December 2013, local family planning officials in Hotan prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, reportedly forced four Uyghur women to undergo abortions.⁵⁶ According to Radio Free Asia, one of the women was in her ninth month of pregnancy.⁵⁷ Local officials acknowledged the four abortions had taken place, stating that they were only following orders from higher authorities and that they planned to conduct two more.⁵⁸ Officials at the hospital where authorities reportedly took the women denied having carried out any forced abortions.⁵⁹
- **Shandong.** In late September 2013, 20 officials in Weifang city broke into the home of Liu Xinwen, six months pregnant with her second child, and took her to a local hospital for a forced abortion.⁶⁰ Officials prevented her husband from accompanying her and did not tell him where they had taken her.⁶¹ At the hospital, the officials reportedly forced her consent, and administered the abortion before her husband could find her.⁶²

Punishments for Noncompliance

Chinese authorities continued to use various methods of punishment to manage citizens' compliance with population planning policies. In accordance with national measures,⁶³ local governments have directed officials to punish noncompliance with heavy fines, termed "social maintenance fees" (*shehui fuyang fei*), which compel many couples to choose between undergoing an unwanted abortion or incurring a fine much greater than the average annual income of their locality.⁶⁴ State-run media reported on one case in December 2013 in which a villager committed suicide after local officials convinced him to sell all his crops to pay "social maintenance fees."⁶⁵ The officials reportedly were not authorized to collect the fees and were later investigated and punished.⁶⁶

A court in Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong province, ruled in March 2014 that the provincial family planning authority's decision not to disclose "social maintenance fee" data in response to a citizen's Open Government Information request was an incorrect use of the law and that the family planning office must re-address his request.⁶⁷ On July 29, the Guangdong province audit depart-

ment released the results of an audit of “social maintenance fee” collection across the province, finding that some local governments’ fee collection did not comply with regulations.⁶⁸ During this reporting year, other reports emerged highlighting local governments’ misuse or incomplete disclosure of “social maintenance fees,” noting that in some localities officials were permitted to retain a percentage of the fees, and that in some cases officials had spent collected monies on personal expenditures.⁶⁹ The PRC Population and Family Planning Law (PFPL) prohibits and provides punishment for the misuse of population planning-related funds.⁷⁰

In addition to fines, officials imposed or threatened other punishments for family planning offenses. These punishments included job termination,⁷¹ expulsion from the Communist Party,⁷² destruction of personal property,⁷³ arbitrary detention,⁷⁴ forced abortion, and at least one reported forced sterilization.⁷⁵ The PFPL prohibits and provides punishments for officials’ infringement on citizens’ personal, property, and other rights while implementing population planning policies.⁷⁶

During this reporting year, authorities in some localities denied birth permits and *hukous* for children whose parents disobeyed local family planning requirements. In one such example, an April 2014 Shanghai Daily article reported that officials in Guangzhou municipality withheld birth permits for families who were eligible to have a second child, requiring that mothers agree to be sterilized after the birth before they would issue the permit.⁷⁷ Higher level officials later reported that this requirement was not in accordance with the law and that family planning staff needed additional training.⁷⁸ Authorities in some areas also withheld *hukous* from children born in excess of birth quotas until their parents paid the necessary “social maintenance fees” associated with their birth.⁷⁹ In some localities, authorities would not issue *hukous* to children born to single parents, as they required the information of both parents to complete the necessary paperwork.⁸⁰ People who lack *hukous* in China are commonly referred to as “illegal residents” (*heihu*)⁸¹ and face considerable difficulty accessing social benefits typically afforded to registered citizens, including health insurance, public education, and pensions.⁸² The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child conducted a periodic review of China’s compliance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child in September 2013. In its concluding observations, the Committee stated its concern about low rates of birth registration in China—in part due to China’s family planning policies—and recommended that China “reform family planning policies in order to remove all forms of penalties and practices that deter parents or guardians from registering their children” and “abandon the *hukou* system in order to ensure birth registration for all children.”⁸³ [For additional discussion of China’s *hukou* system, see Section II—Freedom of Residence and Movement.]

Demographic Consequences

The Chinese government’s population planning policies continue to exacerbate the country’s demographic challenges, which include an aging population, diminishing workforce, and skewed sex ratio. Affected in recent decades by government restrictions on the num-

ber of births per couple, China's total fertility rate has dropped from 6.14 births per woman in 1949⁸⁴ to an estimated 1.55 births per woman in 2014,⁸⁵ contributing in part to a serious demographic imbalance with regard to China's increasing elderly population and shrinking working-age population.⁸⁶ Although Chinese authorities continue to implement a ban⁸⁷ on "non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion,"⁸⁸ some people reportedly continue the practice in response to government-imposed birth limits and in keeping with a traditional cultural bias for sons.⁸⁹ According to state-run media, China's male-female ratio at birth is severely skewed and has "hovered at a high level since fetal ultrasound exams became common in China"—an apparent reference to sex-selective abortion.⁹⁰ Chinese and international experts note that while the recent new exception to the one-child rule may improve China's sex ratio at birth, it will not resolve the problem of China's current sex ratio imbalance.⁹¹ The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended in its October 2013 concluding observations that China "take immediate legal, policy and awareness-raising measures to prevent sex-selective abortions, female infanticide and abandonment of girls, including by addressing factors that reinforce cultural norms and practices that discriminate against girls."⁹² While Chinese media reported that China's sex ratio at birth has decreased in the past few years,⁹³ according to the UN Population Division, as of 2012 it remained the highest in the world.⁹⁴ Reports have also suggested a link between China's large number of "surplus males" and an increase in the trafficking of women and children for forced marriage or commercial sexual exploitation.⁹⁵

Reports indicate that China's population planning policies have contributed in part to what the state-controlled *Global Times* has called China's "massive and lucrative baby market,"⁹⁶ as a traditional preference for sons combined with birth limits is thought to encourage a black market for adoptions.⁹⁷ In January 2014, a court in Shaanxi province handed down a suspended death sentence to an obstetrician involved in the illegal acquisition and sale of seven babies under her care.⁹⁸ The doctor allegedly convinced parents to relinquish their newborn children, claiming they were seriously ill, and then sold them to brokers.⁹⁹

Further contributing to illicit adoptions, parents who are unable to afford "social maintenance fees" for "out-of-plan" pregnancies, in some cases, give away their children.¹⁰⁰ In one such case, in Jiangxi province, a couple pregnant with their third child attempted to give away their baby through an online adoption forum after determining they could not afford to pay the necessary family planning fines to secure the child's *hukou*.¹⁰¹ The adoption forum was later shut down, and its founder arrested, during a February 2014 crackdown on fraudulent adoptions.¹⁰²

Notes to Section II—Population Planning

¹To avoid confusion, the Commission uses the official Chinese term "population planning" when referring to the Chinese government's official policy of limiting the number of children a woman or couple may have and the methods employed by Chinese officials to coerce compliance with this policy. Some Commissioners also use the term "population control" to describe these policies.

²PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, art. 18. Article 18 stipulates, "The State maintains its current policy for reproduction, encouraging late marriage and child-

bearing and advocating one child per couple. Where the requirements specified by laws and regulations are met, plans for a second child, if requested, may be made.⁶ For information on differing provincial implementing regulations that permit couples to have more than one child, see Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 6–7. Implementing regulations in different provinces vary with respect to the ages at which couples may give birth or the spacing permitted between children; most provinces have canceled limitations on birth spacing altogether. See, e.g., “Nine Provinces Formally Launch ‘Two Children for Single Only-Child Couples,’ 20 Provinces Put Forth Implementing Timetables” [9 shengfen zhengshi qidong “dandu lianghai” 20 shengfen tui shishi shijianbiao], China News Net, 26 March 14; “19 Provinces in Our Country Cancel [Mandatory] Birth Spacing, Central [Authorities] Call for Strict Control of the Births of Multiple Children” [Wo guo 19 sheng quxiao shengyu jian’ge zhongyang yaoqiu yankong duohai shengyu], Xinhua, reprinted in People’s Daily, 31 December 13.

³See, e.g., Beijing Municipal Population and Family Planning Commission, Beijing Municipal Birth Services Certificate Management Measures [Beijing shi shengyu fuwu zheng guanli banfa], issued 30 May 91, amended 31 December 97, effective 1 April 00, art. 4; Beijing Municipal Population and Family Planning Commission, Beijing Municipal Implementing Details on Birth Services Certificate Management Measures [Beijing shi shengyu fuwu zheng guanli banfa shishi xize], issued 23 March 12, effective 1 May 12, art. 5; Fujian Provincial Population and Family Planning Committee, Fujian Province Birth Services Certificate Management Measures [Fujian sheng shengyu fuwu zheng guanli banfa], issued 27 February 13, effective 1 March 13, sec. 1(1); Guizhou Province Ninth People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guizhou Provincial Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guizhou sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 24 July 98, amended 29 September 02, art. 29; Yecheng County People’s Government, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region “Birth Services Certificate” Dispensation and Management Measures (Trial) Summary [Xinjiang weiwuer zizhiq “shengyu fuwu zheng” fafang yu guanli banfa (shixing) zhaiyao], issued 27 March 13, arts. 4, 14.

⁴PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, art. 18. Article 18 stipulates, “[t]he State maintains its current policy for reproduction, encouraging late marriage and child-bearing and advocating one child per couple. Where the requirements specified by laws and regulations are met, plans for a second child, if requested, may be made.” For information on differing provincial implementing regulations that permit exceptions to the one child policy, see Gu Baochang et al., “China’s Local and National Fertility Policies at the End of the Twentieth Century,” *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2007), 134–135, Table 1.

⁵Gu Baochang et al., “China’s Local and National Fertility Policies at the End of the Twentieth Century,” *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2007), 134–135, Table 1. According to the report, these criteria include, for example, such conditions as: The first child was medically diagnosed as disabled, both members of the couple are only children, the couple are rural residents and their first child was a girl, or the couple are remarried.

⁶Ibid., Table 1. Ethnic minority couples (couples in which at least one parent belongs to an officially recognized ethnic minority group) are permitted to bear a second child in all provincial-level jurisdictions except Jiangsu province, and Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing municipalities. Ethnic minority couples are permitted to bear a third child if they meet certain criteria in the Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang Uyghur, and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regions, and Heilongjiang, Fujian, Hainan, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, and Qinghai provinces. Population and Family Planning Commission of Hubei Province, “Hubei Provincial Population and Family Planning Regulations” [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], 2 February 09, art. 17(5). In Hubei province, both members of the couple must belong to an ethnic minority to be able to bear a second child.

⁷See, e.g., Shaanxi Provincial People’s Government, Shaanxi Provincial Implementing Measures for Collection and Management of Social Maintenance Fees [Shaanxi sheng shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli shishi banfa], issued 8 June 04, effective 1 August 04, art. 5(1). In Shaanxi province, individuals in violation of local population planning regulations can each be fined three to six times the amount of the average annual income of a resident in their locality, sometimes more, based on statistics from the previous year. See also Brittany Hite et al., “China Fines Zhang Yimou \$1.2 Million,” *Wall Street Journal*, China Real Time Report (blog), 9 January 14; “Cost of a Second Child: Pair Fined 1.3m Yuan,” *Shanghai Daily*, reprinted in China Internet Information Center, 31 May 12; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 19–20.

⁸See, e.g., Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” *Sky News*, 4 October 13; “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” *Radio Free Asia*, 30 December 13.

⁹See, e.g., ChinaAid, “Guizhou Family Planning Official Says Woman Should Have Forced Sterilization ‘Because He Told Her To,’” 27 January 14. See also Steven W. Mosher, Population Research Institute, “Better To Be a Criminal in China Than a Pregnant Mother,” *Weekly Briefing*, Vol. 16 (2014).

¹⁰Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 95, and endorsed by UN General Assembly resolution 50/203 on 22 December 95, paras. 9, 17. The Beijing Declaration states that governments that participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women reaffirmed their commitment to “[e]nsure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms . . .” (para. 9) and “are convinced that . . . [t]he explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment . . .” (para. 17).

¹¹Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development, 18 October 94, paras. 7.2, 8.25. Paragraph 7.2 states that, “[r]eproductive health therefore im-

plies that people . . . have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice. . . .” Paragraph 8.25 states, “[i]n no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.”

¹²United Nations, “Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women,” A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, 1996. chap. II, para. 3; chap. VI, para. 12. China was one of the participating States at the Fourth World Conference on Women, which adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. United Nations Population Information Network, A/CONF.171/13: Report of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), 18 October 94, chaps. II.C; VI.1. China was one of the participating States at the ICPD, which reached general agreement on the Programme of Action. The Programme of Action is provided as an annex to the above ICPD report.

¹³For recent examples of acts of official violence in the implementation of population planning policies, see ChinaAid, “Guizhou Family Planning Official Says Woman Should Have Forced Sterilization ‘Because He Told Her To,’” 27 January 14; “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” Radio Free Asia, 30 December 13; Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” Sky News, 4 October 13.

¹⁴UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 39/46 of 10 December 84, art. 1; UN Committee against Torture, 41st Session, Consideration of Reports Submitted by State Parties Under Article 19 of the Convention: Concluding Observations of the Committee against Torture—China, CAT/C/CHN/CO/4, 12 December 08, para. 29. In 2008, the Committee against Torture noted again with concern China’s “lack of investigation into the alleged use of coercive and violent measures to implement the population policy (A/55/44, para. 122).”

¹⁵See United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, last visited 11 July 14. China signed the convention on December 12, 1986, and ratified it on October 4, 1988.

¹⁶See, e.g., Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 26. Children born “out-of-plan” in China may be denied household registration (*hukou*) and thus face barriers to accessing education, social services, and in some cases employment.

¹⁷UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 89, entry into force 2 September 90, arts. 2–4, 6, 24, 26, 28. China signed the convention on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992. Article 2 of the CRC calls upon States Parties to “respect and ensure the rights set forth . . . to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parent’s or legal guardian’s . . . national, ethnic or social origin . . . birth or other status.” Article 24 sets forth the right of the child to access healthcare, Article 26 sets forth the right of the child to social security, and Article 28 sets forth the right of the child to free primary education and accessible secondary education and higher education.

¹⁸International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 3 January 76, art. 10(3). China signed the covenant on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001. Article 10(3) calls upon States Parties to recognize that “[s]pecial measures of protection and assistance should be taken on behalf of all children and young persons without any discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions.”

¹⁹UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 89, entry into force 2 September 90. China signed the convention on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992. See also United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, last visited 8 July 14; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 3 January 76; China signed the covenant on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001. UN Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, last visited 8 July 14.

²⁰“China To Ease One-Child Policy,” Xinhua, 15 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

²¹Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Decision on Certain Major Issues Regarding Comprehensively Deepening Reforms [Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu quanmian shenhua gaige ruogan zhongda wenti de jue ding], reprinted in Xinhua, 15 November 13. See also David Shambaugh, “Breaking Down China’s Reform Plan,” National Interest, 2 December 13; Christopher K. Johnson, Center for Strategic and International Studies, “China Announces Sweeping Reform Agenda at Plenum,” 15 November 13.

²²Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Decision on Certain Major Issues Regarding Comprehensively Deepening Reforms [Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu quanmian shenhua gaige ruogan zhongda wenti de jue ding], reprinted in Xinhua, 15 November 13, para. 46. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Gu Baochang et al., “China’s Local and National Fertility Policies at the End of the Twentieth Century,” Population and Development Review, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2007), 134–135, Table 1; Tian Yuan and Zheng Songbo, “All 31 Provinces in China Have Launched Two-Child Policy for Families in Which Both Parents Are Only Children” [Quanguo 31 shengfen jun yi fangkai shuangdu jiating sheng ertai zhengce], International Online, reprinted in NetEase, 26 November 11; “From One-Child to Two-Child Policy,” CNC World, 25 January 12. See also “Chinese Com-

munist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13; CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 93–94.

²⁵Laney Zhang, “China: Provincial Family Planning Regulations Amended Allowing More Couples To Have a Second Child,” Global Legal Monitor, Library of Congress, 6 August 14. See, e.g., Heilongjiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Heilongjiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], effective 1 January 03, amended 22 April 14, chap. 2, art. 13(2); Jiangsu Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Jiangsu sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], effective 1 December 02, amended 17 June 04, 28 March 14, issued and effective 28 March 14, chap. 3, art. 22(1); Shanghai Municipal Population and Family Planning Regulations [Shanghai shi renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], effective 15 April 04, amended 25 February 14, issued 25 February 14, effective 1 March 14, chap. 3, art. 25(1).

²⁶Wei Gu, “China’s Coming Baby Boomlet Will Deliver a Boost,” Wall Street Journal, 22 November 13; Shan Juan, “Wait a Minute, Baby,” China Daily, 17 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

²⁷Dai Lili, “‘Single Only-Child’ Households Can Have Second Child” [“Dandu” jiating fangkai sheng ertai], Beijing Evening News, reprinted in Beijing Daily, 16 November 13; “Will a New ‘Baby Wave’ Come With the Launch of the ‘Two Children for Single Only-Child Couples’ Policy?” [“Dandu lianghai” zhengce qidong xin yi lun “yinger chao” hui lai ma?], People’s Daily, reprinted in China News Net, 13 December 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

²⁸Wei Gu, “China’s Coming Baby Boomlet Will Deliver a Boost,” Wall Street Journal, 22 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

²⁹Liz Carter, “For Cash-Strapped Chinese Parents, Two Babies Are Too Many,” Foreign Policy, Passport (blog), 20 November 13; Daniel Ren, “Shanghai Parents React Coolly to Relaxation of One-Child Policy,” South China Morning Post, 23 November 13; Dai Lili, “‘Single Only-Child’ Households Can Have Second Child” [“Dandu” jiating fangkai sheng ertai], Beijing Evening News, reprinted in Beijing Daily, 16 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

³⁰Zhuang Pinghui, “Birth Rate Holds Steady After One-Child Policy Eased, but There Won’t Be Further Easing,” South China Morning Post, 11 July 14; “One-Child Proclivity,” Economist, 19 July 14.

³¹National Health and Family Planning Commission, “National Health and Family Planning Commission Deputy Director Wang Pei’an Answers Reporters’ Questions About Maintaining the Basic National Family Planning Policy and Launching the Implementation of the Two Children for Single Only-Child Couples Policy” [Guojia weisheng jisheng wei fu zhuren wang peian jiu jianchi jihua shengyu jiben guoce qidong shishi dandu lianghai zhengce da jizhe wen], 16 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

³²National Health and Family Planning Commission, “National Health and Family Planning Commission Deputy Director Wang Pei’an Answers Reporters’ Questions About Maintaining the Basic National Family Planning Policy and Launching the Implementation of the Two Children for Single Only-Child Couples Policy” [Guojia weisheng jisheng wei fu zhuren wang peian jiu jianchi jihua shengyu jiben guoce qidong shishi dandu lianghai zhengce da jizhe wen], 16 November 13; Wang Feng, “Bringing an End to a Senseless Policy: China’s ‘One-Child’ Rule Should Be Scrapped,” New York Times, 19 November 13; U.S. Representative Chris Smith, “No Amount of ‘Easing’ Will Fix China’s Brutal Population Control Policy,” LifeNews, 17 November 13; Simon Denyer and William Wan, “In Reform Package, China Relaxes One-Child Policy, Abolishes Prison Labor Camps,” Washington Post, 15 November 13; “Women’s Rights Organization Says ‘Single Only-Child Couples Bearing a Second Child’ Does Not Loosen Family Planning Policy” [Nuquan zuzhi cheng “dandu ertai” bingfei fangsong jisheng zhengce], Voice of America, 19 November 13; Shan Juan, “Wait a Minute, Baby,” China Daily, 17 November 13. See also “Chinese Communist Party Announces Revision to Population Planning Policy,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 2, 23 December 13.

³³PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, arts. 4, 39.

³⁴This number is based on Commission analysis of population planning measures. Jurisdictions that urge officials to adopt “remedial measures” to terminate “out-of-plan” pregnancies (with no mention of a requirement for parents’ consent) include Tianjin and Chongqing municipalities; Liaoning, Jilin, Guangdong, Fujian, Hebei, Hubei, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan, Qinghai, Jiangxi, Sichuan, Anhui, Gansu, Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan, and Hainan provinces; and the Ningxia Hui and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regions. For two specific examples, see Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations Full Text 2014 [Guangdong sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli quanwen 2014], reprinted in Lawtime, 10 April 14, art. 25, and Jiangxi Provincial People’s Congress Standing Committee, Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations (2014 Revisions) [Jiangxi sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli (2014 nian xiuding)], reprinted in Lawtime, 16 January 14, art. 15; Beijing Municipal Population and Family Planning Commission, “Early Term Abortion” [Zaoqi rengong liuchan], 10 April 09. The Beijing Municipal Population and Family Planning Commission clearly draws the link between the term “remedial measures” and abortion: “Early term abortion refers to the use of surgery or pharmaceuticals to terminate a pregnancy before the 12th week of gestation; it is a remedial measure taken after the failure of contraception.”

³⁵See, e.g., Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” Sky News, 4 October 13; “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” Radio Free Asia, 30 December

13. See also Steven Mosher, Population Research Institute, “Better To Be a Criminal in China Than a Pregnant Mother,” Weekly Briefing, Vol. 16 (2014).

³⁶ Li Qiuling, “Baiyun District—Woman Doesn’t Want IUD Implanted, Residence Committee Threatens Cancellation of Bonus Share” [Baiyun qu—nuzi bu xiang shanghuan juweihui weixie quxiao fenhong], Xinkuai Net, 3 January 14.

³⁷ See, e.g., ChinaAid, “Guizhou Family Planning Official Says Woman Should Have Forced Sterilization ‘Because He Told Her To,’” 27 January 14.

³⁸ See CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 100; CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 91; CECC, 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 111; CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 118.

³⁹ Duji District Party Committee Propaganda Department, “Duji District Convenes Population and Family Planning Work Meeting” [Duji qu zhaokai renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuohui], reprinted in Duji District People’s Government, 27 June 14; Bowang District People’s Government, “Bowang Township and Village Committee Elections and Family Planning Work Mutual Promotion” [Bowang zhen cun liang wei huanjie yu jihua shengyu gongzuo hu cujin], 22 July 14.

⁴⁰ Changping District Population and Family Planning Commission, “Changping District Convenes 2014 Family Planning Work Meeting” [Changping qu zhaokai 2014 nian jihua shengyu gongzuo huiyi], 17 July 14.

⁴¹ Jinjiang City Family Planning Bureau, “2014 Family Planning Work Briefing” [2014 nian jihua shengyu gongzuo jianbao], No. 3, reprinted in Jinjiang News Net, 28 January 14.

⁴² Guanling Buyi and Miao Autonomous County People’s Government, “Guanling Autonomous County 2013 Annual Population and Family Planning Work Summary” [Guanling zizhixian 2013 niandu renkou jisheng gongzuo zongjie], 27 December 13.

⁴³ Shijiazhuang Municipality Health and Family Planning Commission, “Municipal Government Standing Committee Conference Studies Family Planning Work” [Shi zhengfu changwu huiyi yanjiu jihua shengyu gongzuo], 28 July 14.

⁴⁴ Boai County Population and Family Planning Committee, “Boai County Deputy Chief Li Xiuping Goes to the Grassroots and Inspects and Supervises the Spring ‘Reproductive Health Enters the Household’ Top Quality Service Activities” [Boai xian fu xianzhang li xiuping shenru jiceng jiancha dudao chunji “shengzhi jiankang jin jiating” youzhi fuwu huodong], 6 March 14.

⁴⁵ Guzhang County People’s Government, Circular Regarding Earnestly Organizing and Launching the All-County 2014 Annual First Family Planning Concentrated and Unified Service Activities [Guanyu renzhen zuzhi kaizhan quanxian 2014 niandu diyi ci jihua shengyu jizhong tongyi fuwu huodong de tongzhi], 10 November 13; Beita District People’s Government, “Spare No Efforts in Fighting the Battle of Family Planning Concentrated Service Activities” [Fenli dahao jisheng jizhong fuwu huodong gongjian zhan], 12 December 13.

⁴⁶ Xiangdong District People’s Government, “Regarding the Launch of Spring Family Planning and Reproductive Technical Service Activities” [Guanyu kaizhan chunji jihua shengyu jishu fuwu huodong de], 21 March 14.

⁴⁷ Heze City Population and Family Planning Commission, “Heze City Convenes Citywide Population and Family Planning Work Dispatch Meeting” [Hezi shi zhaokai quanshi renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo diaodu huiyi], 11 April 14.

⁴⁸ Songyang County People’s Government, “Comrade Zhong Changming’s Speech at the Countywide Population and Family Planning Work Meeting (Summary)” [Zhong changming tongzhi zai quanxian renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo huiyi shang de jianghua (zhaiyao)], 28 March 14.

⁴⁹ Beita District People’s Government, “Spare No Efforts in Fighting the Battle of Family Planning Concentrated Service Activities” [Fenli dahao jisheng jizhong fuwu huodong gongjian zhan], 12 December 13; Boai County Population and Family Planning Committee, “Boai County Deputy Chief Li Xiuping Goes to the Grassroots and Inspects and Supervises the Spring ‘Reproductive Health Enters the Household’ Top Quality Service Activities” [Boai xian fu xianzhang li xiuping shenru jiceng jiancha dudao chunji “shengzhi jiankang jin jiating” youzhi fuwu huodong], 6 March 14. For a report that clearly presents which procedures are included in the term “four procedures,” see “Township Spring Family Planning Service Activities Program” [Xiangzhen chunji jihua shengyu fuwu huodong fang’an], Mishu Net, 9 January 14.

⁵⁰ Guzhang County People’s Government, Circular Regarding Earnestly Organizing and Launching the All-County 2014 Annual First Family Planning Concentrated and Unified Service Activities [Guanyu renzhen zuzhi kaizhan quanxian 2014 niandu diyi ci jihua shengyu jizhong tongyi fuwu huodong de tongzhi], 10 November 13.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² ChinaAid, “Guizhou Family Planning Official Says Woman Should Have Forced Sterilization ‘Because He Told Her To,’” 27 January 14.

⁵³ Ibid. According to ChinaAid, Huang said that he and Tan Kaimei “have not violated any family planning policy that would warrant such actions against them.”

⁵⁴ Li Qiuling, “Baiyun District—Woman Doesn’t Want IUD Implanted, Residence Committee Threatens Cancellation of Bonus Share” [Baiyun qu—nuzi buxiang shanghuan juweihui weixie quxiao fenhong], Xinkuai Net, 3 January 14.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” Radio Free Asia, 30 December 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid.; “Uyghur Woman Forced To Abort Six-Month Pregnancy While Ill,” Radio Free Asia, 13 January 14.

⁵⁸ “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” Radio Free Asia, 30 December 13.

⁵⁹ “Uyghur Woman Forced To Abort Six-Month Pregnancy While Ill,” Radio Free Asia, 13 January 14.

⁶⁰ Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” Sky News, 4 October 13.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ PRC Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Maintenance Fees [Shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli banfa], issued 2 August 02, effective 1 September 02, arts. 3, 7.

⁶⁴ All Girls Allowed, “One-Child Policy Fines Relative to Income Levels in China,” 1 November 12. See, e.g., Shaanxi Provincial Implementing Measures for Collection and Management of Social Maintenance Fees [Shaanxi sheng shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli shishi banfa], issued 8 June 04, effective 1 August 04, art. 5(1). In Shaanxi province, individuals in violation of local population planning regulations can each be fined three to six times the amount of the average income of a resident in their locality, sometimes more, based on their income compared to the average income of rural residents the previous year. For a recent example in which local family planning authorities required that a woman pay six to nine times the base fine for an “out-of-plan” child, see Tang Meng, “Woman Marries Ex-Husband’s Uncle To Have a Second Child, Fined 260,000 [yuan] in Social Compensation Fees” [Nuzi wei sheng ertai gaijia qianfu jiujiu bei zheng 26 wan shehui fuyang fei], Southern Daily, reprinted in Sina, 20 March 14.

⁶⁵ Qi Leijie and Luo Xuefeng, “Villager From Qiu County, Hebei Exceeds Birth Quota, Commits Suicide by Poison, Cadres Involved Are Investigated and Punished for Illegal Collection of Funds” [Hebei qiu xian chaosheng cunmin fu du zisha sheshi ganbu weigui shoufei bei chachu], Xinhua, 12 December 13.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ “Lawyer Wu Youshui’s Lawsuit Against Guangdong Provincial Health and Family Planning Commission Successful in First Instance Trial” [Lushi wu youshui su guangdong sheng weijiwei an yi shen shengsu], Southern Weekend, 1 April 14.

⁶⁸ Liu Hongcen, “Guangdong Releases Social Maintenance Fee Audit Findings for the First Time” [Guangdong shouci pilu shehui fuyang fei shenji qingkuang], Caixin, 30 July 14.

⁶⁹ Adam Minter, “China’s Family Planning Commission Forced To Come Clean on Fees,” Sydney Morning Herald, 9 April 14; “Lawyer Wu Youshui’s Lawsuit Against Guangdong Provincial Health and Family Planning Commission Successful in First Instance Trial” [Lushi wu youshui su guangdong sheng weijiwei an yi shen shengsu], Southern Weekend, 1 April 14.

⁷⁰ PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, art. 39(4). According to Article 39, officials are to be punished either criminally or administratively for “withholding, reducing, misappropriating or embezzling funds for family planning or social maintenance fees.”

⁷¹ See, e.g., Sophia Lin, Freedom House, “China’s Population-Control Machine Churns On,” 13 January 14; Lin Shining, “Firing of South China University of Technology Associate Professor for Over-Quota Second Child Draws Attention, Human Resources’ Response—A Verified Over-Quota Birth Cannot Go Unpunished” [Huanan ligong daxue yi fu jiaoshou yin chaosheng ertai bei kaichu yin guanzhu, huagong renshichu huiying—chaosheng shushi, bu fu “buyu chuli” tiaojian], Xinhua, 14 December 13.

⁷² See, e.g., “Five Party Members in Bowang District, Maanshan City Expelled From Party for Exceeding Birth Quota” [Maanshan shi bowang qu 5 ming dangyuan yin chaosheng bei kaichu dangji], Zhongan Online, 24 December 13.

⁷³ See, e.g., “What Has Happened to the Countryside? Population Planning Policy Violators . . . Tear Down [Your] Home!” [Nongcun zhenmela? Weifan jihua shengyu zhe . . . chai fang!], ZhiNews, 18 January 14. For reports of officials destroying or seizing property while implementing population planning policies in previous years, see, e.g., “Perils of Motherhood,” Economist, 16 June 12; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 2, 23. See also CECC, 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 97.

⁷⁴ For reports of officials depriving citizens of their personal liberty with no legal basis in order to forcefully implement population planning policies, see, e.g., Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” Sky News, 4 October 13; “Four Uyghur Women Forced To Abort Their Babies in Xinjiang,” Radio Free Asia, 30 December 13; “Uyghur Woman Forced To Abort Six-Month Pregnancy While Ill,” Radio Free Asia, 13 January 14. For reports of officials imposing arbitrary detention while implementing population planning policies in previous years, see, e.g., Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 2, 19, 23. See also CECC, 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 97.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Mark Stone, “China Couple Speak of ‘Forced Abortion,’” Sky News, 4 October 13; ChinaAid, “Guizhou Family Planning Official Says Woman Should Have Forced Sterilization ‘Because He Told Her To,’” 27 January 14.

⁷⁶ PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, arts. 4, 39. Article 4 of the PRC Population and Family Planning Law (PFPL) states that officials “shall perform their administrative duties strictly in accordance with the law, and enforce the law in a civil manner, and they may not infringe upon the legitimate rights and interests of citizens.” Article 39 states that an official is subject to criminal or administrative punishment if he “infringes on a citizen’s personal rights, property rights, or other legitimate rights and interests” or “abuses his power, neglects his duty, or engages in malpractices for personal gain” in the implementation of population planning policies.

⁷⁷ Li Qian, “2nd Child, If You’re Then Sterilized,” Shanghai Daily, 4 April 14.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., Huang Xiuli, “‘Black Residents’ Born in Excess [of Family Planning Policies]: Living Like Shadows” [Chaosheng ‘heihu’ de rensheng: xiang yingzi yiyang huozhe], Southern Weekend, reprinted in Phoenix Net, 4 June 13; Mu Guangzong, “The Travails of Having a Second Child,” China Daily, 28 May 13. See also Chinese Human Rights Defenders (CHRD), “I Don’t Have a Choice Over My Own Body,” 21 December 10, 13, 26. According to the CHRD report, “The management of the *hukou* system is the domain of the Ministry of Public Security and it refuses to issue *hukous* to children without birth permits, children of unmarried parents, and children whose parents for some reasons have not completed the required procedures. With-

out a *hukou*, a child cannot apply for an ID card and thus does not have a legal identity, is not a citizen and consequently is deprived of the rights accorded to other Chinese citizens.”

⁸⁰“Hard-To-Get Hukous, Who Can Protect the Rights and Interests of Children Born Out of Wedlock?” [Nanluo de hukou feihun sheng zinu de quanyi shei neng baozhang], CCTV2, reprinted in China Economic Net, 18 April 14; Guo Yuanpeng, “[Responsibility of] Processing Hukous for Children Born Out of Wedlock Falls Back on Social Management [System]” [Wei hunwai zinu ban hukou shi shehui guanli de benwei huigu], East Day, 3 December 13.

⁸¹“The Invisible Lives of ‘Illegal Residents’” [“Heihu” de yingxing rensheng], CCTV, 3 April 14; Huang Xiuli, “‘Black Residents’ Born in Excess [of Family Planning Policies]: Living Like Shadows” [Chaosheng “heihu” de rensheng: xiang yingzi yiyang huozhe], Southern Weekend, reprinted in Phoenix Net, 4 June 13.

⁸²Huang Xiuli, “‘Black Residents’ Born in Excess [of Family Planning Policies]: Living Like Shadows” [Chaosheng “heihu” de rensheng: xiang yingzi yiyang huozhe], Southern Weekend, reprinted in Phoenix Net, 4 June 13; “Separate and Unequal,” China Economic Review, 5 April 12; Yan Hao and Li Yanan, “Urban Hukou, or Rural Land? Migrant Workers Face Dilemma,” Xinhua, 10 March 10; Tao Ran, “Where There’s a Will, There’s a Way To Reform,” China Daily, 22 March 10.

⁸³UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, Concluding Observations on the Combined Third and Fourth Periodic Reports of China, Adopted by the Committee at Its Sixty-Fourth Session (16 September–4 October 2013), CRC/C/CHN/CO/3–4, 29 October 13, paras. 39(a), 40(a), 40(b).

⁸⁴“Total Population, CBR, CDR, NIR and TFR in China (1949–2000),” China Daily, 20 August 10.

⁸⁵U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, “The World Factbook—China,” last visited 4 April 14. See also “China’s Total Fertility Rate Grossly Overestimated: Academic,” Caijing, 17 May 11. While China’s National Bureau of Statistics estimated China’s fertility rate at 1.8 in 2007, in May 2011, a group of Chinese academics publicly disputed the number, stating that it had been “grossly overestimated.” These academics estimated in 2011 that China’s total fertility rate more accurately stood anywhere from 1.63 to below 1.5.

⁸⁶“China’s Working-Age Population Drops for a Second Year,” Xinhua, 20 January 14; Yanzhong Huang, “Population Aging in China: A Mixed Blessing,” Diplomat, 10 November 13.

⁸⁷For regulations prohibiting the practices of non-medically necessary gender determination tests and sex-selective abortion, see National Population and Family Planning Commission, Ministry of Health, State Food and Drug Administration, “Regulations Regarding the Prohibition of Non-Medically Necessary Gender Determination Examinations and Sex-Selective Termination of Pregnancy” [Guanyu jinzhi fei yixue xuyao de taier xingbie jianing he xuanze xingbie de rengong zhongzhi renshen de guiding], issued 29 November 02, effective 1 January 03. For discussion of these regulations, see “China Bans Sex-Selection Abortion,” Xinhua, reprinted in China Net, 22 March 03. See also PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, effective 1 September 02, art. 22. According to Article 22, “Discrimination against, maltreatment, and abandonment of baby girls are prohibited.”

⁸⁸National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Several Departments Jointly Uncover Cross-Provincial Case of ‘Two Illegals,’ Strike Hard Campaign Against the Illegal Practice of Medicine and Crimes Against the Law” [Ji bumen lianhe pohan kuasheng “liang fei” xingwie anjian zhong quan daji feifa xingyi weifa fanzui xingdong], 19 January 14; “China Breaks Up Gang Offering Sex-Selective Abortions,” Reuters, 18 January 14.

⁸⁹Shan Juan, “Gang Busted for Illegal Gender Selection Testing,” China Daily, 20 January 14. According to Zhai Zhenwu, a professor at the Renmin University School of Sociology and Population Studies, son preference is the root cause of China’s skewed sex ratio, and “the preference for boys became more intense as the three-decade-old family planning policy restricted most families to just one child.” See also “Preference for Boys by Migrants,” China Internet Information Center, 15 December 11.

⁹⁰“China’s Sex Ratio at Birth Declines Four Years in a Row,” Xinhua, 5 March 13. According to Xinhua, China’s sex ratio at birth in 2012 was 117.7 males for every 100 females.

⁹¹Xu Wei, “Changes Could Balance Gender Ratio,” China Daily, 26 December 13; Peng Xinyun, “Expert: ‘Two Children for Single Only-Child Couples’ Policy May Help Mitigate Male/Female Sex Ratio Imbalance” [Zhuanjia: “dandu lianghai” zhengce youzhu huanjie nannu xingbie bili shiheng], People’s Daily, 4 March 14; Susan Scutti, “One-Child Policy Is One Big Problem for China,” Newsweek, 24 January 14.

⁹²UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, Concluding Observations on the Combined Third and Fourth Periodic Reports of China, Adopted by the Committee at Its Sixty-Fourth Session (16 September–4 October 2013), CRC/C/CHN/CO/3–4, 29 October 13, para. 28.

⁹³“China’s Sex Ratio at Birth Declines Four Years in a Row,” Xinhua, 5 March 13. According to Xinhua, China’s sex ratio at birth in 2012 was 117.7 males for every 100 females, down from 117.78 in 2011, 117.94 in 2010, and 119.45 in 2009. See also “China’s Sex Ratio at Birth Dropping,” North Side Net, translated in Women of China, 12 July 12. According to the North Side Net report, which cites a 2012 National Population and Family Planning Commission Bulletin, “China’s sex ratio at birth in 2011 was 117.78, representing a drop of 0.16 compared to 2010. . . . The ratios of 2008, 2009 and 2010 were respectively 120.56, 119.45 and 117.94.”

⁹⁴UN Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision,” June 2013. According to UN Population Division statistics, China’s sex ratio at birth (SRB) from 2005–2010 was the highest in the world at 117 males per 100 females born. Equally as high was Azerbaijan’s sex ratio at 117, followed by Armenia’s at 115, and India’s and Georgia’s at 111.

⁹⁵See, e.g., Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” Washington Post, Monkey Cage (blog), 30 April 14; Susan Scutti, “One-Child Policy Is One Big Problem for China,” Newsweek, 23 January 14; World Health Organization, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Population Fund, UNICEF, and

UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, “Preventing Gender-Biased Sex Selection,” 2011, 5; Susan W. Tiefenbrun and Christie J. Edwards, “Gendercide and the Cultural Context of Sex Trafficking in China,” *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2009), 731, 752; Therese Hesketh et al., “The Effect of China’s One-Child Family Policy After 25 Years,” *New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol. 353, No. 11 (2005), 1173; Nicholas Eberstadt, “A Global War Against Baby Girls: Sex-Selective Abortion Becomes a Worldwide Practice,” *Handbook of Gender Medicine*, reprinted in *All Girls Allowed*, 1 May 11. According to the Eberstadt article, “Some economists have hypothesized that mass feticide, in making women scarce, will only increase their ‘value’—but in settings where the legal and personal rights of the individual are not secure and inviolable, the ‘rising value of women’ can have perverse and unexpected consequences, including increased demand for prostitution and an upsurge in the kidnapping and trafficking of women (as is now reportedly being witnessed in some women-scarce areas in Asia).”]

⁹⁶Zhu Shanshan, “Shandong Baby Trafficking Ring Taken Down,” *Global Times*, 4 November 11. For domestic reports, see Shi Jingnan and Zheng Liang, “Xinhua Investigation: Resold Several Thousand Miles Away, Changed Hands Seven Times—Tracing the Chain of Black [Market] Baby Trafficking Driven by Huge Profit” [Xinhua diaocha: zhuanmai shu qianli, daoshou da 7 ci—zhuizong baoli qudong xia de heise fanying lian], *Xinhua*, 24 December 12; Zhou Ping, “Two Officials Also Detained for Human Trafficking,” *Global Times*, 26 December 12. For international reports, see Lavinia Mo et al., “Chinese Parents, Trapped in One-Child Web, Give Babies Away on Internet,” *Reuters*, 30 March 14; Chen Weijun, “One Child Policy Leads to Baby Selling,” *Asia News*, 4 January 13; “What Is Fuelling Child Abduction in China?” *Al Jazeera*, 27 December 12.

⁹⁷Erwin Li, “Erwin Li: Finding China’s Missing Children,” *Council on Foreign Relations, Asia Unbound* (blog), 11 August 14; Sharon LaFraniere, “Chinese Officials Seized and Sold Babies, Parents Say,” *New York Times*, 4 August 11.

⁹⁸“Baby-Trafficking Doctor Given Suspended Death Sentence,” *Xinhua*, 14 January 14.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*; Ma Lie and Lei Lei, “Doctor Suspected of Child Trafficking,” *China Daily*, 3 August 13; “China Vows To Seriously Punish Newborn Traffickers,” *Xinhua*, 6 August 13.

¹⁰⁰Lavinia Mo et al., “Chinese Parents, Trapped in One-Child Web, Give Babies Away on Internet,” *Reuters*, 30 March 14; Louise Watt, “Wuhan, China To Fine Unwed Mothers,” *Associated Press*, reprinted in *Huffington Post*, 3 June 13.

¹⁰¹Lavinia Mo et al., “Chinese Parents, Trapped in One-Child Web, Give Babies Away on Internet,” *Reuters*, 30 March 14.

¹⁰²*Ibid.* For additional information on the crackdown, see Bai Tiantian, “Police Save 382 Babies in Trafficking Crackdown,” *Global Times*, 1 March 14.