

POPULATION CONTROL

Findings

- To address demographic concerns and spur population growth, the Chinese Communist Party and government relaxed the one-child policy in 2016 to allow all married couples to have two children. The “universal two-child policy,” however, remained a birth limit policy, and Chinese authorities continued to threaten or impose punishments, including heavy fines, job termination, and abortion, on families for illegal pregnancies and births.
- Chinese authorities implemented the “universal two-child policy” for a fourth consecutive year in 2019, and the latest government statistics showed that the policy’s effect was limited. National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) data showed that the total number of births in 2019—reportedly the lowest since 1961—dropped by 580,000 in comparison to the 2018 figure. In 2019, China’s fertility rate remained around 1.6 births per woman, below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman necessary to maintain a stable population. The birth rate was 10.48 per 1,000 persons, reportedly the lowest since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. The working-age population in 2019 declined for an eighth consecutive year, by 890,000, while the elderly population increased by 4.39 million. China’s overall sex ratio in 2019 was 104.45 males to 100 females, and there were approximately 30.49 million more males than females in China. Some independent demographers dispute the official NBS statistics and claim that China’s total number of births and total population are significantly lower than that listed in the official reports.
- During the 2020 reporting year, central government authorities continued to reject calls to end birth restrictions, despite population experts voicing demographic, economic, and human rights concerns over China’s population control policies. Experts urged the Chinese government to implement policies, including financial incentives and other forms of assistance, to encourage couples to have children. If not adequately addressed, China’s decades-long birth limit policies and resultant demographic challenges could weaken China’s economy and political stability.
- The Chinese government’s restrictive birth limit policies have exacerbated China’s sex ratio imbalance, which reportedly has fueled the demand for foreign women and resulted in human trafficking for purposes of forced marriage and commercial sexual exploitation.
- Four decades of China’s population control policies combined with a traditional preference for sons may have encouraged a black market for illegal adoptions. This past year, the Commission observed a new trend in which pregnant foreign women sold their newborn children in China for illegal adoption.

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Recommendations

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Highlight the looming demographic challenges currently facing China in bilateral meetings with Chinese government officials—including a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and sex ratio imbalance; and emphasize that these demographic trends could harm China's economy if not addressed in a timely manner by ending as soon as possible all birth restrictions imposed on families.
- Use authorities provided in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act Fiscal Year 2000 (Public Law No. 106–113) and the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (Public Law No. 114–328) to deny entry into the United States and impose sanctions against Chinese officials who have been directly involved in the formulation, implementation, or enforcement of China's coercive population control policies, including those who have forced women to undergo sterilizations and abortions.
- Call on China's central and local governments to vigorously enforce provisions of Chinese law that establish legal liability for officials and other individuals who violate citizens' personal rights, abuse their power, or engage in malpractice for personal gain while implementing population control policies.
- Publicly link, with supporting evidence, the sex ratio imbalance exacerbated by China's population control policies with regional humanitarian and security concerns—human trafficking, crime, increased internal and external migration, and other possible serious social, economic, and political problems—and discuss and address these issues in bilateral and multilateral dialogues.

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International Standards and China's Coercive Population Policies

During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, despite continuing calls from experts to end birth limits entirely and encourage more births on both demographic and human rights grounds, the Commission did not observe any policy changes by the Chinese central government. Chinese authorities, under the "universal two-child policy," continued to implement coercive population control policies that violate international standards. Started in 2016, the "universal two-child policy"¹ continues to impose birth limits, as did the previous "one-child policy," as the PRC Population and Family Planning Law and provincial-level regulations restrict married couples to having two children.² Regulations, which vary by province, allow some couples to exceed the birth limit if they, for example, are ethnic minorities, have remarried, or have children with disabilities.³

Coercive controls imposed on Chinese women and their families, along with additional abuses engendered by China's population and family planning system, violate standards set forth in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 1994 Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development.⁴ China was a state participant in the negotiation and adoption of both.⁵ Acts of official coercion committed in the implementation of population control policies contravene provisions of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,⁶ which China has ratified.⁷ [For information on human rights violations aimed at controlling the populations of Uyghur and other predominantly Muslim ethnic groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, see Section IV—Xinjiang.]

Population experts, economists, and human rights advocates warned that China's declining birth rates, which have dropped for the past three years to new lows in 2019, would continue to bring about negative economic and social consequences, including decreases in the number of women of child-bearing age and in the size of the working-age population, a rapidly aging population, and a continued sex ratio imbalance, unless the trend is reversed.⁸ The Commission in this reporting year did not observe any response from the Chinese central government to these concerns. In a public comment made in January 2019, China's National Health Commission (NHC) appealed to President and Communist Party General Secretary Xi Jinping's remarks upholding China's Constitution as the nation's highest legal authority, writing that since "family planning" is written into the Constitution, it would be inappropriate to quickly remove it, but that the relevant department would study the issue.⁹ In the same commentary to the National People's Congress, the NHC reiterated that Chinese officials will continue to impose heavy fines, termed "social compensation fees" (*shehui fuyang fei*), on couples who violate the two-child policy.¹⁰ The Hong Kong-based South China Morning Post noted the absence of any mention of family planning policy during China's 70th anniversary National Day parade in October 2019, an event at which the policy

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had been highlighted as a success in past years, and speculated that the omission could signal a policy change in the future.¹¹

Coercive Implementation and Punishment for Noncompliance

During the 2020 reporting year, the Commission continued to observe the continuation of coercive population control policies. The PRC Population and Family Planning Law contains provisions that prohibit officials from infringing upon the “legitimate rights and interests” of citizens while implementing family planning policies, and establishes legal liability for officials who do so.¹² Some provincial-level and other population planning regulations, however, continued to explicitly instruct officials to carry out abortions—often referred to as “remedial measures” (*bujiu cuoshi*)—for unsanctioned pregnancies.¹³ Some local government authorities in previous years emphasized the need to prevent and control illegal pregnancies and births, and during this reporting year local officials carried out the invasive “three inspections” (intrauterine device (IUD) insertion and pregnancy and health inspections) and “four procedures” (IUD insertion, first trimester abortion, mid- to late-term abortion, and sterilization).¹⁴ In one example, authorities in Xin’an village, Shulan city, Jilin municipality, Jilin province, instructed local officials to carry out the Party’s population and family planning measures handed down from higher levels of government, including the “four procedures.”¹⁵ A government report from Yangjiang township, Qionghai city, Hainan province, said that local authorities carried out in total 1,583 “three inspections” in 2019, reaching 100 percent of their work target.¹⁶

Chinese authorities also continued to use fines to enforce citizens’ compliance with birth limit policies. In accordance with national-level legal provisions,¹⁷ officials punished noncompliance through “social compensation fees” for exceeding legal birth limits.¹⁸ In addition to a fine, officials imposed or threatened punishment for violating birth limit policies, including being fired from one’s job.¹⁹

CASES OF COERCION

In August 2019, authorities in Yunfu municipality, Guangdong province, imposed a fine of 153,000 yuan (approximately US\$22,000) on a couple—Xie Zhengning and Xue Ruiquan—for giving birth to a third child in violation of China’s two-child policy.²⁰ This “social compensation fee” came months after officials dismissed both parents from their respective jobs at Yunfu No. 1 Primary School and the Yunfu Public Security Bureau.²¹ Xie became pregnant in June 2018, and local authorities pressured her a total of 14 times to terminate her pregnancy or face losing her job.²² Xie refused and gave birth to her third child in January 2019.²³ She argued that authorities’ administrative actions were illegal and violated provincial and national laws and regulations.²⁴ After the couple made their case public via social media,²⁵ the Guangdong Province Health Commission told a reporter that although the rule that excess births would result in job dismissal had been amended, “serious” violations would still result in losing one’s job.²⁶

In June 2019, local authorities in Hui’an county, Quanzhou municipality, Fujian province, levied a social compensation fee on

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Chen Ruihong and his wife in the amount of 63,880 yuan (approximately US\$9,200).²⁷ Due to medical expenses for treating their child's acute lymphoblastic leukemia, the couple was unable to fulfill the obligation demanded by the Hui'an County Health and Family Planning Office.²⁸ Authorities had fined the couple for the July 2015 birth of their third child.²⁹ Although authorities told a reporter that the couple may be eligible for a fee reduction, on July 1, 2019, an official told Chen that their fine amount could not be lowered and that the office would seek legal recourse if the couple failed to pay on schedule.³⁰ The couple expressed concern that the fee would make it impossible to fund their child's medical expenses.³¹ As of June 2020, the Commission had not observed any update on the case.

The Universal Two-Child Policy

To address demographic challenges facing China, the Party and government implemented the "universal two-child policy" in 2016 to boost population growth,³² but government and non-government statistics showed that the policy's effect was limited. In 2016, the former National Health and Family Planning Commission had predicted that the "universal two-child policy" would result in population growth,³³ with an estimated total of 17.5 to 21 million children born per year during the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016–2020).³⁴ According to a January 2020 National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) report, however, the number of total births in 2019 was 14.65 million—reportedly the lowest since 1961³⁵—showing a decline of around 580,000 births, or nearly 4 percent, in comparison to the officially reported 2018 figure of 15.23 million.³⁶

Although observers agree with the NBS finding that birth rates have declined for the past three years, population experts have raised questions about the reliability of the Chinese government's population statistics³⁷ and the policies based upon them. For example, Yi Fuxian, a U.S.-based demographer,³⁸ disagreed with the official NBS report, estimating that the total number of births in 2019 was around 10 million instead of the reported 14.65 million.³⁹ He also wrote that China's reported population size of 1.4 billion represented a serious overestimate, and that the actual total population was around 1.279 billion at the end of 2019.⁴⁰ According to Yi's findings, local authorities and schools within the past decade had incentives to overreport population numbers, including the claiming of greater subsidies based on higher numbers of school-children.⁴¹ Officials allegedly used the inflated numbers to justify the country's population control policies.⁴² Yi concluded that "China's economic, social, political, educational and diplomatic policies are all based on false demographic data."⁴³

Experts, as well as an NPC delegate, have expressed concern over the rapid decline in birth rates since the implementation of the two-child policy.⁴⁴ After a short-term "pile-on" effect added 1.31 million births in 2016,⁴⁵ China's birth rate has continued to decline despite government efforts to encourage couples to have two children.⁴⁶ Some have attributed the decline in births to the decreasing number of women of childbearing age,⁴⁷ the reluctance on the part of many married couples to have children due to such concerns as the high cost of rearing a child,⁴⁸ the lack of adequate childcare

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and education options,⁴⁹ and the potential disruption to career development.⁵⁰

The government has made some attempts to incentivize births. Authorities have tried to increase birth rates by establishing a pilot marriage consumption subsidy fund in select cities, offering subsidies to new couples, and by canceling the late marriage leave policy, which was originally intended to encourage later marriages and fewer births under the one-child policy.⁵¹ To add incentives for couples to have a second child, authorities in Jilin province enacted a new policy in late 2019 to encourage employers, kindergartens, and residential communities to set up nurseries for children under the age of three.⁵² In May 2020, the Times (UK) reported that an influential policy advisory body, the China Democratic League, was proposing tax cuts for new parents and subsidies to help cover childcare costs.⁵³

As the “universal two-child policy” failed to boost population growth for a third consecutive year, human rights advocates, population experts, and a National People’s Congress (NPC) delegate, citing demographic, economic, and rights concerns, called on the Chinese government to end birth restrictions imposed on Chinese families.⁵⁴ For example, at the annual meetings of the NPC and the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (Two Sessions) in May 2020, NPC delegate Huang Xihua proposed the cancellation of fines for births in excess of the two-child limit, the addition of subsidies for childcare, and greater job protection for female employees who are pregnant.⁵⁵ She argued that the government would be sending the wrong message by continuing to punish excess births when society is faced with falling birth rates.⁵⁶

Experts and journalists in 2019 noted that China’s decades-long birth limit policies and resultant demographic challenges, which include a rapidly aging population and a shrinking workforce, could threaten China’s economic and political stability.⁵⁷ Falling birth rates in the past three years show that the existing “universal two-child policy” may not adequately mitigate China’s demographic challenges.⁵⁸ They also warned that even if all birth restrictions are removed, that may not stop the trend of a falling birth rate and population decline, especially if such changes are not supplemented by policies that encourage births.⁵⁹ Some urged the Chinese government to provide financial incentives, such as tax breaks, subsidies, and other forms of assistance to encourage couples to have more children.⁶⁰

In addition to demographic concerns, a prominent economist also emphasized that Chinese government authorities should respect the rights of citizens to give birth and raise children.⁶¹ In February 2020, Ren Zeping, vice president and chief economist at Evergrande (Hengda) and former deputy researcher at the Development Research Center of the State Council, co-authored an opinion saying that “raising children is everyone’s fundamental right, and this right should be returned to families; completely relaxing [birth limits] would respect all people fairly, without discrimination.”⁶²

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Demographic and Humanitarian Consequences of Population Control Policies

Four decades of population control policies have exacerbated China's demographic challenges, which include a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and sex ratio imbalance.⁶³ Affected in recent decades by government restrictions on the number of births per couple, China's total fertility rate has dropped from approximately 3 births per woman in the late 1970s⁶⁴ to an estimated 1.6 births per woman for 2020, below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman necessary to maintain a stable population.⁶⁵ In addition, the National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) reported that China's birth rate in 2019 was 10.48 per 1,000 persons in the population, the lowest since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.⁶⁶

China's low fertility and birth rates have contributed to a rapidly aging population and a shrinking workforce. According to NBS, from 2018 to 2019, China's working-age population (persons between the ages of 16 and 59) declined by 890,000 to 896.40 million, continuing a downward trend for an eighth consecutive year.⁶⁷ During the same period, the elderly population (persons aged 60 or older) increased by 4.39 million from 249.49 million in 2019 to 253.88 million, or 18.1 percent of the total population.⁶⁸ According to the State Council National Population Development Plan (2016–2030), China's working-age population is expected to decline rapidly from 2021 to 2030, while the elderly population will increase markedly during the same period and is predicted to reach a quarter of the population by 2030.⁶⁹ A study led by economist Ren Zeping predicted that by 2050, people over age 64 will account for approximately 30 percent of China's total population, up from 7 percent in 2001, increasing at a rate never seen before.⁷⁰ At present rates, the working-age population is predicted to decrease by 240 million to 750 million by 2050, a 24-percent decrease from the number in 2018.⁷¹ These demographic trends may burden China's healthcare, social services, and pension systems,⁷² and could bring adverse effects to China's economy.⁷³

The government's restrictive birth limit policies have also exacerbated China's sex ratio imbalance, which reportedly fueled the demand for foreign women and resulted in human trafficking. Although Chinese authorities continued to implement a ban on "non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion,"⁷⁴ some people reportedly continued the practices in keeping with a traditional cultural preference for sons.⁷⁵ According to a January 2020 NBS report, China's overall sex ratio by the end of 2019 was 104.45 males to 100 females, and there were approximately 30.49 million more males than females in China (715.27 million males to 684.78 million females).⁷⁶ For years experts have expressed concerns that the sex ratio imbalance in China could lead to an increase in crime,⁷⁷ trafficking of women,⁷⁸ and social instability.⁷⁹ This past year, international media reports continued to suggest a link between China's sex ratio imbalance and the trafficking of foreign women—from countries including Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, North Korea, Pakistan, and Vietnam—into China for purposes of forced marriage or com-

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mercial sexual exploitation.⁸⁰ [For more information on cross-border trafficking, see Section II—Human Trafficking.]

Decades of birth limits combined with a traditional preference for sons may also have encouraged a black market for illegal adoptions. Beginning in 2019, the Commission observed a trend in which foreign women sold their newborn children in China for illegal adoption.⁸¹ According to Vietnamese news media reports, Vietnamese authorities investigated and jailed three individuals suspected of moving pregnant women across the border into China to sell newborn children.⁸² [For inconsistencies in the definition of “child trafficking” between Chinese law and international standards, see Section II—Human Trafficking.]

Notes to Section II—Population Control

¹National Health and Family Planning Commission, “2016 nian 12 yue 12 ri Guojia Weisheng Jishengwei lixing xinwen fabuhui wenzi shilu” [December 12, 2016, National Health and Family Planning Commission regular press conference text record], December 12, 2016; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 18.

²*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 18. Article 18 of the PRC Population and Family Planning Law provides that, “the state advocates two children per married couple.” For provincial population regulations that require couples be married to have children and limit them to bearing two children, see, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Fujian Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued April 29, 1988, amended November 24, 2017, arts. 8, 12; Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Guangxi Zhuang Zu Zizhiqu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued March 23, 2012, effective June 1, 2012, amended January 15, 2016, art. 13.

³For provincial population planning provisions that allow these exceptions for having an additional child, see, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Fujian Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued April 29, 1988, amended November 24, 2017, art. 9(1)–(5); Heilongjiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Heilongjiang Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Heilongjiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued October 18, 2002, effective January 1, 2003, amended April 21, 2016, art. 13; Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Guangxi Zhuang Zu Zizhiqu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued March 23, 2012, effective June 1, 2012, amended January 15, 2016, art. 14(1)–(5); Jiangxi Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Jiangxi Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued June 16, 1990, amended January 20, 2016, art. 9(2)–(3).

⁴Yuan Ye, “The Chinese Couple Who Dared to Have a Third Child,” *Sixth Tone*, January 16, 2020; Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women on September 15, 1995, and endorsed by UN General Assembly resolution 50/203 on December 22, 1995, Annex I, paras. 9, 17. The Beijing Declaration states that governments which 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;” (Annex I, para. 9) and “[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 (Annex I, para. 17). Programme of Action adopted by the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development on September 13, 1994, paras. 7.2, 8.25. Paragraph 7.2 states, “Reproductive health therefore implies 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, “In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.”

⁵United Nations, Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, September 15, 1995, 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, Report of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), A/CONF.171/13, October 18, 1994, 271. China was one of the participating States at the ICPD, which reached a general agreement on the Cairo Programme of Action.

⁶Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 39/46 of December 10, 1984, entry into force June 26, 1987, art. 1; UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations on the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 1391st and 1392nd Meetings (2–3 December 2015), CAT/C/CHN/CO/5, February 3, 2016, para. 51. In its 2016 review of China’s compliance with the CAT, the UN Committee against Torture noted its concern regarding “reports of coerced sterilization and forced abortions, and . . . the lack of information on the number of investigations into such allegations . . . [and] the lack of information regarding redress provided to victims of past violations.”

⁷United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), accessed May 14, 2019. China signed the CAT on December 12, 1986, and ratified it on October 4, 1988.

⁸“Chusheng renkou [san lian jiang] daibiao jianyi quxiao shengyu san hai yishang chufa” [Newborn population [sees] “three [years] consecutive decline,” delegate proposes to abolish punishment for having three or more children], *Caixin*, May 21, 2020; “China’s Birthrate Sank to Lowest Level on Record Last Year,” *Bloomberg*, January 16, 2020; Ren Zeping, Xiong Chai, and Zhou Zhe, “Ren Zeping: Jianyi liji quanmian fangkai bing guli shengyu” [Ren Zeping: [We] recommend the immediate and complete opening up and encouraging of childbearing], *Zeping Hongguan* [Zeping Macro], *Xueqiu.com*, reprinted in *Jinrong Jie* [China Finance Online], April 6, 2020; Sidney Leng, “China’s Birth Rate Falls to Near 60-year Low, with 2019 Producing Fewest Babies Since 1961,” *South China Morning Post*, January 17, 2020; Heather Barr, “China’s Bride Trafficking Problem,” *The Diplomat*, October 30, 2019. See also “Zhongguo shengyu lu quanqiu daoshu quanmian kaifang reng yaoyao wuqi (xia)” [China’s fertility rate lowest in the

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world, is the end of family planning policy still distant? (Part 2)], *Radio Free Asia*, January 25, 2019.

⁹National Health Commission, “Dui Shisan Jie Renda Yici Huiyi di 1949 hao jianyi de dafu” [Reply to Thirteenth NPC First Session’s suggestion no. 1949], January 8, 2019.

¹⁰National Health Commission, “Dui Shisan Jie Renda Yici Huiyi di 1948 hao jianyi de dafu” [Reply to Thirteenth NPC First Session’s suggestion no. 1948], January 8, 2019.

¹¹Zhou Xin and Cissy Zhou, “China’s ‘Awkward Silence’ as Lack of Family Planning Slogans from 70th Anniversary Parade Could Signal Policy Shift,” *South China Morning Post*, October 2, 2019.

¹²*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, arts. 4, 39(1–3). Article 4 of the PRC Population and Family Planning Law states that officials “shall perform their family planning work 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 “infring[es] on a citizen’s personal rights, property rights, or other legitimate rights and interests” or “abus[es] his power, neglect[s] his duty or engag[es] in mal-practices for personal gain” in the implementation of family planning policies.

¹³See, e.g., *Qinghai Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Qinghai Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], effective January 1, 2003, amended July 31, 2019, art. 28; *Guizhou Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Guizhou Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], April 1, 2018; Guangxi University of Finance and Economics Trade Union, “Guangxi Caijing Xueyuan Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Guanli Gui” [Guangxi University of Finance and Economics Regulations on Population and Family Planning Management], April 13, 2010, accessed June 9, 2020, art. 9; South China Coal Trade, “Jihua shengyu xuanchuan cailiao (er)” [Family planning materials for dissemination (2)], June 10, 2015, accessed June 9, 2020, art. 8. For information on “remedial measures,” see “Jinzhì xuanzèxìng liúchān yǔ qiǎngzhì duótái” [Prohibit sex-selective abortion and forced abortion], *China Economic Net*, November 11, 2010; He Yafu, “89 ge haizi jiaoxìng tàochū jìshèng mòzhào” [89 children lucky to escape the evil clutches of family planning], *cnpop.org*, July 7, 2013.

¹⁴See, e.g., “Yangjiang Zhen 2019 Niandu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Gongzuo Luoshi Qingkuang Huibao” [Yangjiang Township 2019 Annual Population and Family Planning Work Implementation Situation Report], Qionghai Municipal People’s Government, January 8, 2020; Xin’an Township People’s Government, “Shulan Shi Xin’an Xiang Renmin Zhengfu” [Xin’an Township People’s Government of Shulan City], March 10, 2020; Caochi Subdistrict Office, “Caochi Jiedao Xingfu Cun kaizhan yuling funu mianfei ‘san cha’ huodong” [Xingfu village, Caochi subdistrict, launches free ‘three inspections’ campaign for childbearing-aged women], reprinted in Chengdu Hi-Tech Industrial Development Zone, April 9, 2020. See also “Chen Zhongyi zai Xide xian ducha tuo pin gong jian shi qiāngdiào: Jia kuai anquan zhufang jianshe zhua hao tuchu wenti zhènggāi qiānfāng bǎiji quebao wanchéng niandu jian pin renwu” [Chen Zhongyi inspects [work] on poverty alleviation in Xide county and emphasizes: Accelerate construction of safe housing, focus on rectification of problems, use all means necessary to ensure completion of annual poverty alleviation tasks], *Liangshan Daily*, reprinted in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture Poverty and Immigration Bureau, November 16, 2018; Junan County People’s Government, “Laopo Zhen Jisheng Ban gongzuo zhize” [Laopo Township Family Planning Office job responsibilities], November 27, 2018; Dalu Township People’s Government, “Dalu zhen 2018 Niandu Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao” [Dalu Township 2018 Annual Government Work Report], reprinted in Qionghai Municipal People’s Government, January 23, 2019. For information on the invasive nature of the “three inspections,” see Ma Jian, “Zhongguo nongcun jihua shengyu zhong de ‘san cha’ qingkuang diaocha” [Investigation into the “three inspections” of rural family planning], *Women’s Rights in China*, reprinted in *Epoch Times*, April 15, 2009. For information on rights violations included in the “four procedures,” see Yu Han, “Jihua shengyu qiāngzhì jièzhā renliú hai kǔ le Zhongguo rén” [Chinese people suffer from family planning [policy] forced sterilizations and abortions], *Tencent*, June 15, 2012.

¹⁵Xin’an Township People’s Government, “Shulan Shi Xin’an Xiang Renmin Zhengfu” [Xin’an Township People’s Government of Shulan City], March 10, 2020.

¹⁶Yangjiang Town People’s Government, “Yangjiang Zhen 2019 Niandu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Gongzuo Luoshi Qingkuang Huibao” [Yangjiang Town 2019 Annual Population and Family Planning Work Implementation Situation Report], reprinted in Qionghai Municipal People’s Government, January 8, 2020.

¹⁷State Council, *Shehui Fuyang Fei Zhengshou Guanli Banfa* [Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Compensation Fees], issued August 2, 2002, effective September 1, 2002, arts. 3, 7; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, arts. 18, 41.

¹⁸Yuan Ye, “The Chinese Couple Who Dared to Have a Third Child,” *Sixth Tone*, January 16, 2020; Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Health Commission, *Xinjiang Weiwu’er Zizhi Qu Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations], effective January 1, 2003, amended July 28, 2017, arts. 42–44; Qinghai Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Qinghai Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Qinghai Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], effective January 1, 2003, amended July 31, 2019, art. 41; “2020 Shehui Fuyang Fei Biaozhun” [2020 Social Compensation Fee Standards], *Hualu Net*, March 16, 2020.

¹⁹Yuan Ye, “The Chinese Couple Who Dared to Have a Third Child,” *Sixth Tone*, January 16, 2020; Chen Xuhou, “Minjing chaosheng bei ci shimo: Chaosheng ji kaichu shanchu hou de dingge chufa quan zhèngyi” [The whole story of the public security officer fired for an excess birth: Controversy over the authority to impose the maximum penalty after the “excess birth means dismissal” [rule] is cancelled], *The Paper*, November 13, 2019.

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²⁰Yuan Ye, “The Chinese Couple Who Dared to Have a Third Child,” *Sixth Tone*, January 16, 2020.

²¹Ibid.

²²Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai disan hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

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