

## POPULATION CONTROL

*International Standards and China's Coercive Population Policies*

Chinese authorities continue to actively promote and implement coercive population planning policies that violate international standards. During the Commission's 2016 reporting year, Communist Party and central government authorities adopted a universal two-child policy and amended the PRC Population and Family Planning Law, allowing all married couples to have two children.<sup>1</sup> Authorities continued to place an emphasis on birth limits and adherence to family planning as a "basic national policy."<sup>2</sup> The PRC Population and Family Planning Law and provincial-level regulations limit couples' freedom to build their families as they see fit,<sup>3</sup> and include provisions that require couples be married to have children and limit them to bearing two children.<sup>4</sup> Exceptions allowing for additional children exist for couples who meet certain criteria, which vary by province,<sup>5</sup> including some exceptions for ethnic minorities,<sup>6</sup> remarried couples, and couples who have children with disabilities.<sup>7</sup> Officials continue to enforce compliance with population planning targets using methods including heavy fines,<sup>8</sup> job termination,<sup>9</sup> arbitrary detention,<sup>10</sup> and coerced abortion.<sup>11</sup>

Coercive controls imposed on Chinese women and their families, and additional abuses engendered by China's population and family planning system, violate standards set forth in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action<sup>12</sup> and the 1994 Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development.<sup>13</sup> China was a state participant in the negotiation and adoption of both.<sup>14</sup> Acts of official coercion committed in the implementation of population planning policies<sup>15</sup> contravene provisions of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Convention),<sup>16</sup> which China has ratified.<sup>17</sup> In November 2015, the UN Committee against Torture conducted its fifth periodic review of China's compliance with the Convention.<sup>18</sup> In its concluding observations, the Committee stated its concerns about China's coercive implementation of the population policy, such as coerced sterilization and forced abortion, and the lack of information on investigations into such allegations.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, discriminatory policies against some children whose parents fail to comply with population planning policies<sup>20</sup> contravene the Convention on the Rights of the Child<sup>21</sup> and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.<sup>22</sup> China is a State Party to these treaties and has committed to uphold their terms.<sup>23</sup>

*Policy Revisions and Implementation*

At the Third Plenum of the 18th Party Central Committee held in November 2013,<sup>24</sup> Party authorities issued the Decision on Certain Major Issues Regarding Comprehensively Deepening Reforms, which called for a broad range of reforms,<sup>25</sup> including the provision of an exception to China's population planning policy aimed at addressing the demographic challenges facing China.<sup>26</sup> The exception allowed couples to have two children if one of the parents is an only child (*dandu erhai* policy).<sup>27</sup> The National Health and Family

Planning Commission (NHFPC) had initially predicted that the policy revision would result in approximately 2 million additional births per year.<sup>28</sup>

Government statistics, however, revealed the limited impact of the policy revision. As of October 2015, approximately two years after the policy revision became effective, roughly 1.85 million out of 11 million eligible couples nationwide (16.8 percent) had applied to have a second child.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, data from the National Bureau of Statistics of China showed that the number of total births in 2015 decreased to 16.55 million, 320,000 less than the 2014 figure.<sup>30</sup> An NHFPC official attributed the decline to two main factors: some were waiting to have children in 2016, the Year of the Monkey, which in the traditional zodiac calendar is considered more auspicious for having children than the previous year; and the decline in the number of women of child-bearing age.<sup>31</sup>

As the policy revision failed to meet the intended birth target and amid demographic and economic concerns voiced by population experts and research institutions,<sup>32</sup> central Party authorities issued a decision at the Fifth Plenum of the 18th Party Central Committee in October 2015 to adopt a “universal two-child policy” (*quanmian erhai*), allowing all married couples to have two children.<sup>33</sup> According to an NHFPC statement, the universal two-child policy is the Party’s “major initiative” to “promote balanced population development” and to address demographic concerns currently facing China.<sup>34</sup> The NHFPC noted that the new policy would be conducive to “optimizing the demographic structure, increasing labor supplies, and easing the pressure of an aging population; promoting healthy economic development for achieving the goal of building a moderately prosperous society; and implementing the family planning policy as a basic national policy in order to promote family well-being and social harmony.”<sup>35</sup> Central government officials emphasized repeatedly that family planning policy will “remain” a long-term “basic national policy” (*jiben guoce*).<sup>36</sup>

On December 27, 2015, the National People’s Congress Standing Committee amended the PRC Population and Family Planning Law, which became effective nationwide on January 1, 2016.<sup>37</sup> The NHFPC estimated that approximately 90 million couples nationwide became eligible to bear a second child under the new policy.<sup>38</sup> As of August 2016, at least 29 provincial-level jurisdictions reportedly had revised their population and family planning regulations in accordance with the amended national law.<sup>39</sup> Human rights advocates, demographic experts, and others, however, expressed concerns that the coercive implementation of family planning measures and human rights abuses will persist despite the adoption of the universal two-child policy.<sup>40</sup>

Government officials and population experts differ over the potential impact of the universal two-child policy. The NHFPC predicted that the universal two-child policy, if fully implemented, will result in population growth,<sup>41</sup> with an additional 3 million children born per year<sup>42</sup> and an estimated total of 17.5 to 21 million children born per year within the next five years.<sup>43</sup> NHFPC Director Li Bin also suggested that by 2050 the working-age population will increase by 30 million.<sup>44</sup> Officials also noted an apparent increase in some localities in the number of women making medical or other

appointments linked to pregnancy, giving an indication that more births are expected in 2016.<sup>45</sup>

Population experts, citing the tepid response to the previous policy revision, suggested that the universal two-child policy likely would not lead to significant population growth in the long term.<sup>46</sup> Yao Meixiong, a population expert and Deputy Director of the Fujian Province Bureau of Statistics, predicted that China could see a population decrease by 2025, as the population of women of child-bearing age continues to decline.<sup>47</sup> Some experts noted that the impact of the universal two-child policy would be limited to urban areas, as the rural population was already allowed to have two children under previous policy revisions.<sup>48</sup> Many married couples, however, especially those in urban areas,<sup>49</sup> were reportedly reluctant to have a second child due to a number of factors, including the high cost of rearing an additional child,<sup>50</sup> lack of adequate child care and education options,<sup>51</sup> lack of energy to look after children,<sup>52</sup> disruption to career development,<sup>53</sup> and the perception that having one child is enough due to decades-long government propaganda.<sup>54</sup> To boost population growth, some experts urged central government authorities to introduce supporting policy measures that would encourage couples to have two children.<sup>55</sup> Experts also suggested abolishing “social compensation fees,”<sup>56</sup> further relaxing family planning policies to allow all couples to have three children if the universal two-child policy is ineffective,<sup>57</sup> or ending family planning policies entirely.<sup>58</sup>

Central government authorities pledged to promote “family planning service management reform” (*jihua shengyu fuwu guanli gaige*) and introduce “supporting policy measures” to facilitate the implementation of the universal two-child policy,<sup>59</sup> including efforts to enhance existing public services for women and children’s health care,<sup>60</sup> reproductive health,<sup>61</sup> child care,<sup>62</sup> and education.<sup>63</sup> This past year, government authorities also took steps to further relax the birth registration system, allowing married couples to register their first two children without going through a complicated approval or application process.<sup>64</sup> An approval process, however, is still in place for eligible couples who intend to have a third child, though local family planning authorities are to promote “optimization” and “simplification” of that process.<sup>65</sup>

### *Coercive Implementation*

The amended 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.<sup>66</sup> Despite these provisions, abuses committed during the implementation of family planning policies continued during the Commission’s 2016 reporting year. Some provincial-level population planning regulations continued to explicitly instruct officials to carry out abortions, often referred to as “remedial measures” (*bujiu cuoshi*), for “out-of-plan” pregnancies.<sup>67</sup>

### OFFICIAL CAMPAIGNS

Language used in official speeches and government reports from jurisdictions across China continued to reflect an emphasis on the

harsh enforcement of family planning measures. During this reporting year, as in previous years,<sup>68</sup> official reports from several provinces across China—including Anhui,<sup>69</sup> Fujian,<sup>70</sup> the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region,<sup>71</sup> Henan,<sup>72</sup> Hubei,<sup>73</sup> Hunan,<sup>74</sup> Shandong,<sup>75</sup> and Shanxi<sup>76</sup>—continued to promote “family planning work” that entailed harsh and invasive family planning measures. Phrases such as “fight the family planning work battle” (*dahao jihua shengyu gongzuo de gongjian zhan*),<sup>77</sup> “resolutely implement” (*hen zhua*),<sup>78</sup> and “use all means necessary” (*qian fang bai ji*)<sup>79</sup> appeared in official speeches and government reports, indicating the aggressive nature of these family planning campaigns.

Some local government authorities stated in their reports that the goal of “family planning work” is to “maintain a low birth rate” (*wending di shengyu shuiping*),<sup>80</sup> and touted their successes in meeting this goal by compelling women to undergo the invasive “three inspections” (intrauterine device (IUD), pregnancy, and health inspections)<sup>81</sup> and “four procedures” (IUD insertion, first-trimester abortion, mid- to late-term abortion, and sterilization),<sup>82</sup> and the forcible collection of “social compensation fees” (*shehui fuyang fei*).<sup>83</sup> For example, a December 2015 government report from Wolong district, Nanyang municipality, Henan province, indicated that Wolong authorities had achieved the goal of “maintaining a low birth rate” within the district by carrying out two “high-quality reproductive health service” campaigns in 2015.<sup>84</sup> According to the same report, by the end of November 2015, Wolong family planning authorities had carried out 13,178 “four procedures” operations—11,590 IUD insertions, 169 IUD removals, 915 sterilizations, and 504 abortions.<sup>85</sup>

<b>Representative Cases of Coercion</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• According to a July 2016 report by state-funded news outlet Sixth Tone, government employers in Meizhou municipality, Guangdong province, pressured a remarried couple—a local resident surnamed Zhong and her husband—to have an abortion or face losing their jobs.<sup>86</sup> Both Zhong and her husband were government employees, and each had a child from their previous marriages.<sup>87</sup> Under family planning regulations in Guangdong, a couple in their circumstances are not allowed to have another child,<sup>88</sup> while family planning regulations in other provinces allow such remarried couples to have a third child.<sup>89</sup> Many couples in Guangdong reportedly were facing similar situations.<sup>90</sup> In August 2016, China Business Network reported a similar case in which an employer pressured a remarried couple to undergo an abortion.<sup>91</sup> In its response to the report, the Guangdong Health and Family Planning Commission issued a statement urging employers not to force remarried couples to have abortions or dismiss them from their jobs.<sup>92</sup></li> </ul>

<b>Representative Cases of Coercion—Continued</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In December 2015, women’s rights advocate Sarah Huang (pseudonym) testified before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China regarding official demands to abort her second child.<sup>93</sup> When Huang was four months pregnant in October 2015, government authorities at a school where Huang’s husband worked as a teacher pressured her to undergo a “mandatory health checkup” to ensure that there was no “unlawful pregnanc[y].”<sup>94</sup> Authorities later threatened her with the loss of her husband’s job if she did not have an abortion.<sup>95</sup> Huang expected that they would be fined approximately US\$36,000 in “social compensation fees” if they decided to give birth to the child.<sup>96</sup></li> </ul>



#### PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE

Chinese authorities continued to use various methods of punishment to enforce citizens’ compliance with population planning policies. In accordance with national-level legal provisions,<sup>97</sup> local governments have directed officials to punish noncompliance through heavy fines, termed “social compensation fees,”<sup>98</sup> which reportedly compel many couples to choose between undergoing an unwanted abortion and incurring a fine much greater than the average annual income in their locality.<sup>99</sup> In January 2016, Chinese media outlet Jiemian reported on one such case in which local authorities in Jianli county, Xingzhou municipality, Hubei province, demanded that Wang Mali (pseudonym) pay “social compensation fees” in the amount of 97,800 yuan (approximately US\$15,000) for the May 2015 birth of her second child, which violated national and local family planning regulations.<sup>100</sup> The fine imposed on Wang reportedly was nearly 10 times the annual average income in her locality.<sup>101</sup> Hubei’s provincial family planning regulations, however, mandated a much lighter fine based on local average income.<sup>102</sup> On January 18, 2016, Wang filed a lawsuit against the county population and family planning bureau.<sup>103</sup> According to the same report, local family planning and public security officials subsequently went to Wang’s home, pressuring her to pay “social compensation fees” and to delete her microblog posts that denounced local family planning authorities’ alleged “illegal actions.”<sup>104</sup> On January 25, 2016, the Jianli County People’s Court accepted Wang’s lawsuit, the first such lawsuit in Hubei in 2016.<sup>105</sup> The court tried her case on April 28, and announced that it would issue a verdict at a later date.<sup>106</sup> As of July, the court had not issued a verdict.<sup>107</sup>

This past year, National People’s Congress delegates, family planning officials, and experts from demographic, legal, economic, sociological, civil society, media, and other fields called on central government authorities to abolish “social compensation fees.”<sup>108</sup> Some experts questioned the need to continue collecting “social compensation fees,” expecting very few policy violators after the universal two-child policy is implemented.<sup>109</sup> According to a February 2016 China Business News report, approximately 5 percent (800,000) of the total newborn population in 2015 were third children born in violation of family planning policies, a number many experts considered too low to justify the significant costs associated

with collecting “social compensation fees.”<sup>110</sup> A National Health and Family Planning Commission (NHFPC) official also predicted that “fewer and fewer families will violate family planning [policies] in the future.”<sup>111</sup>

NHFPC officials, however, repeatedly emphasized that “social compensation fees” will not be abolished,<sup>112</sup> saying that the fines will remain in place to “restrict” policy violations<sup>113</sup> and that abolition would be “unfair to those who comply with family planning policies.”<sup>114</sup> Local authorities are to collect fines from policy violators who give birth to a second child prior to the January 1, 2016, effective date of the universal two-child policy,<sup>115</sup> as well as from policy violators who give birth to more than two children after the same effective date.<sup>116</sup> During this reporting year, some women reportedly attempted to postpone the delivery of their second child until after January 1, 2016, in order to avoid large fines.<sup>117</sup>

In November 2014, the State Council issued the draft Regulations on the Collection and Management of Social Compensation Fees (Regulations) for public comment.<sup>118</sup> The draft Regulations marked several significant changes from the 2002 Measures for Collection of Social Compensation Fees, including the proposal of a unified national collection standard that limits the amount of fines authorities may collect to no more than three times the local average annual income.<sup>119</sup> As of August 2016, the Commission had not observed reports of the Chinese government issuing the Regulations.

#### **Hukou Reform Addressing the Issue of “Illegal Residents”**

During this reporting year, authorities in some areas withheld household registration (*hukou*) from children whose parents violated local family planning policies—including children born in excess of birth quotas and children born to unmarried parents—demanding that their parents first pay the necessary “social compensation fees” associated with their births in order to obtain *hukou*.<sup>120</sup> People who lack *hukou* in China are commonly referred to as “illegal residents” (*heihu*)<sup>121</sup> and face considerable difficulty accessing social benefits typically afforded to registered citizens, including health insurance, public education, and state welfare.<sup>122</sup> According to 2010 national census data, there were approximately 13 million “illegal residents” in China,<sup>123</sup> of whom over 60 percent were children born in violation of family planning policies.<sup>124</sup> Discriminatory *hukou* policies preventing parents from registering their children violate the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which China is a State Party.<sup>125</sup>

**Hukou Reform Addressing the Issue of  
“Illegal Residents”—Continued**

This past year, central authorities took steps to address the issue of “illegal residents.” On December 9, 2015, the Chinese Communist Party’s Central Leading Group for Comprehensively Deepening Reforms, chaired by President and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping, issued an opinion to “delink family planning policies from *hukou* registration, to strengthen the management of *hukou* registration, [and] to comprehensively resolve the issue of *hukou* registration for individuals without *hukou*.”<sup>126</sup> On January 14, 2016, the State Council General Office issued the Opinion on Resolving Issues of Hukou Registration for Individuals Without Hukou.<sup>127</sup> The opinion called for “safeguarding the legitimate right of every citizen to register for *hukou* according to law,” and prohibited “the establishment of any preconditions that are not in conformity with *hukou* registration regulations.”<sup>128</sup> The opinion also specified eight types of “illegal residents” newly eligible to register for *hukou* without preconditions, including those born in violation of family planning policies and those without birth certificates.<sup>129</sup> Unregistered individuals whose parents failed to pay “social compensation fees,” however, were not included in this list.<sup>130</sup> At a January 2016 press conference, an NHFPC official claimed that “the issue of 13 million [illegal residents] has largely been addressed,” and that “very few people still lack *hukou* due to factors related to family planning policies.”<sup>131</sup>

Provincial-level authorities also made efforts to address the issue of “illegal residents” by loosening *hukou* registration requirements. The Party-run media outlet Legal Evening News reported that as of November 2015, at least 13 provincial-level jurisdictions had removed “social compensation fee” payments as a precondition for obtaining *hukou*.<sup>132</sup> For example, Guangdong province authorities no longer require “social compensation fee” payments from family planning policy violators as a precondition for obtaining *hukou*;<sup>133</sup> instead, authorities will collect “social compensation fee” payments after *hukou* registration.<sup>134</sup> Some parents, fearing that authorities might forcibly collect “social compensation fees” from them retroactively, remain deterred from registering their children who were born in violation of family planning policies.<sup>135</sup> Some provincial-level jurisdictions, including Beijing and Shanghai municipalities, continue to require “social compensation fee” payments<sup>136</sup> and family planning paperwork<sup>137</sup> as preconditions for *hukou* registration. [For more information on China’s *hukou* system, see Section II—Freedom of Residence and Movement.]

In addition to fines, officials imposed or threatened other punishments for family planning violations. These punishments included job termination,<sup>138</sup> arbitrary detention,<sup>139</sup> and abortion.<sup>140</sup> The PRC Population and Family Planning Law prohibits and provides punishments for officials’ infringement on citizens’ personal, property, and other rights while implementing population planning policies.<sup>141</sup> In June 2015, the UN Committee against Torture asked the Chinese government to provide information for the Committee’s fifth periodic review of China’s compliance with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, including on “the total number of investigations or prosecutions launched against officials and other persons

responsible for resorting to coercive and violent measures, such as forced sterilization and forced abortions, to implement the population policy . . . [and] details as to the types of punishment and disciplinary measures applied, and any relevant redress provided.”<sup>142</sup> In its October 2015 response to the Committee, however, the Chinese government did not provide all the relevant data the Committee requested.<sup>143</sup>

### *Demographic Consequences of Population Control Policies*

The Chinese government’s population planning policies continue to exacerbate the country’s demographic challenges, which include a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and sex ratio imbalance. Affected in recent decades by government restrictions on the number of births per couple, China’s total fertility rate has dropped from 6 births per woman in the early 1970s<sup>144</sup> to an estimated 1.4 to 1.6 births per woman in 2016,<sup>145</sup> below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman necessary to maintain a stable population.<sup>146</sup> The fertility rate is even lower in some major cities, such as Shanghai municipality, which has a fertility rate of approximately 0.7 births per woman, reportedly one of the lowest in the world.<sup>147</sup>

China’s low fertility rate has contributed to a rapidly aging population and a shrinking workforce. According to a January 2016 National Bureau of Statistics of China report, from 2014 to 2015, China’s working-age population (persons between the ages of 16 and 59) declined by a record 4.87 million people to 910.96 million,<sup>148</sup> continuing a downward trend from the previous year.<sup>149</sup> Experts expect the working-age population to rapidly decline further in the next several decades.<sup>150</sup> At the same time, the elderly population (persons aged 60 or older) increased by approximately 9.58 million in 2015 to 222 million people, or 16.1 percent of the total population.<sup>151</sup> According to a 2015 blue book on aging published by research entities affiliated with the Party and government, China’s elderly population is estimated to reach 371 million, or approximately a quarter of the population, by 2030.<sup>152</sup> A People’s Daily report suggested that the elderly population will reach 483 million by 2050, approximately one-third of China’s total population.<sup>153</sup> These demographic trends are likely to burden China’s health care, social services, and retirement systems,<sup>154</sup> and may weaken China’s economy as labor costs rise and its competitiveness erodes, according to demographic expert Yi Fuxian.<sup>155</sup>

The Chinese government’s restrictive family planning policies also have exacerbated China’s sex ratio imbalance.<sup>156</sup> Although Chinese authorities continue to implement a ban on “non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion,”<sup>157</sup> some people reportedly continue the practice in response to government-imposed birth limits and in keeping with a traditional cultural preference for sons.<sup>158</sup> According to a National Bureau of Statistics of China report, China’s sex ratio at birth in 2015 was 113.51 males to 100 females (compared with a normal ratio of 103 to 107 males per 100 females).<sup>159</sup> The overall sex ratio in 2015 was 105.02 males to 100 females, and there were approximately 33.66 million more males than females in China (704.14 million males to 670.48 million females).<sup>160</sup>



International and domestic demographic experts have expressed concerns that the sex ratio imbalance in China could lead to “anti-social behavior,”<sup>161</sup> “violent crime,”<sup>162</sup> “sex crime,”<sup>163</sup> “prostitution,”<sup>164</sup> and “trafficking of women and children.”<sup>165</sup> This past year, international media reports continued to suggest a link between China’s large number of “surplus males” and the trafficking of foreign women—from countries including Cambodia,<sup>166</sup> Burma (Myanmar),<sup>167</sup> Nepal,<sup>168</sup> North Korea,<sup>169</sup> and Vietnam<sup>170</sup>—into China for forced marriage or commercial sexual exploitation.

Reports also indicate that decades of birth limits under China’s population planning policies combined with a traditional preference for sons have helped create a black market for illegal adoptions.<sup>171</sup> In January 2016, authorities in Henan province executed Tan Yongzhi, the head of an illegal adoption ring, for his involvement in acquiring and selling more than 20 infants, and 17 buyers also received criminal punishments.<sup>172</sup> As of February 2016, authorities had not been able to locate the parents of these children.<sup>173</sup> Chen Shiqu, Director of the Ministry of Public Security Anti-Trafficking Office, expressed optimism that the implementation of the universal two-child policy would prevent “trafficking of children” by reducing the “demand for purchasing children.”<sup>174</sup> [For more information on cross-border trafficking and the Chinese government’s conflation of child trafficking with illegal adoption, see Section II—Human Trafficking.]

### Notes to Section II—Population Control

<sup>1</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15; Peng Xiaofei et al., “China To Adopt the Universal ‘Two-Child’ Policy” [Woguo quanmian fangkai “erhai” zhengce], Beijing Youth Daily, 30 October 15; National People’s Congress Standing Committee, Decision Regarding the Population and Family Planning Law [Quanguo renda changweihui guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding], issued 27 December 15; PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, art. 18.

<sup>2</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15; Yang Qingshan, “NHFPC Responds to the Timeframe of the Family Planning Policies: To Persist for at Least 20 Years” [Wei jiwei huiying jihua shengyu guoce shixian: qima haiyao jianchi 20 nian], China Youth Net, 11 January 16; “State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16.

<sup>3</sup>PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, art. 18; National People’s Congress Standing Committee, Decision Regarding the Population and Family Planning Law [Quanguo renda changweihui guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding], issued 27 December 15. Article 18 of the Population and Family Planning Law stipulates, “the state advocates two children per couple.” For provincial-level regulations limiting how many children married couples may bear see, e.g., Guangdong Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangdong sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 February 80, amended 17 May 86, 28 November 92, 1 December 97, 18 September 98, 21 May 99, 25 July 02, 28 November 08, 27 March 14, 30 December 15, effective 1 January 16, reprinted in Huazhou City Health and Family Planning Bureau, art. 18; Zhejiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Zhejiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Zhejiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 3 September 02, amended 28 September 07, 13 January 14, 14 January 16, reprinted in Zhejiang Province Health and Family Planning Commission, art. 17; Sichuan Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Sichuan Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Sichuan sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 July 87, amended 15 December 93, 17 October 97, 26 September 02, 24 September 04, 20 March 14, 22 January 16, art. 13.

<sup>4</sup>PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, art. 18. For provincial population policies that require couples be married to have children and limit them to bearing two children, see, e.g., Guangdong Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangdong sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 February 80, amended 17 May 86, 28 November 92, 1 December 97, 18 September 98, 21 May 99, 25 July 02, 28 November 08, 27 March 14, 30 December 15, effective 1 January 16, reprinted in Huazhou City Health and Family Planning Bureau, art. 18; Zhejiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Zhejiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Zhejiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 3 September 02, amended 28 September 07, 13 January 14, 14 January 16, reprinted in Zhejiang Province Health and Family Planning Commission, arts. 17, 41(4); Sichuan Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Sichuan Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Sichuan sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 July 87, amended 15 December 93, 17 October 97, 26 September 02, 24 September 04, 20 March 14, 22 January 16, arts. 13, 34.

<sup>5</sup>National People’s Congress, “Answering Journalists’ Questions ‘Regarding the Decision of Amending the Population and Family Planning Law’” [“Guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding” da jizhe wen], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 27 December 15. For provincial population planning provisions that allow exceptions for having an additional child, see, e.g., Guangdong Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangdong sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 February 80, amended 17 May 86, 28 November 92, 1 December 97, 18 September 98, 21 May 99, 25 July 02, 28 November 08, 27 March 14, 30 December 15, effective 1 January 16, reprinted in Huazhou City Health and Family Planning Bureau, art. 19; Zhejiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Zhejiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Zhejiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 3 September 02, amended 28 September 07, 13 January 14, 14 January 16, reprinted in Zhejiang Province Health and Family Planning Commission, art. 18; Sichuan Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Sichuan Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Sichuan sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 July 87, amended 15 December 93, 17 October 97, 26 September 02, 24 September 04, 20 March 14, 22 January 16, art. 13.

<sup>6</sup>See, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Fujian sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 29 April 88, amended 28 June 91, 25 October 97, 18 November 00, 26 July 02, 14 December 12, 29 March 14, 19 February 16, art. 9(4–5); Heilongjiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Heilongjiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Heilongjiang sheng renkou

yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 18 October 02, amended 13 December 13, 22 April 14, 17 April 15, 21 April 16, art. 13.

<sup>7</sup>National People's Congress, "Answering Journalists' Questions 'Regarding the Decision of Amending the Population and Family Planning Law'" ["Guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding" da jizhe wen], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 27 December 15. For provincial population planning provisions that allow exceptions for having an additional child, see, e.g., Zhejiang Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Zhejiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Zhejiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 3 September 02, amended 28 September 07, 13 January 14, 14 January 16, reprinted in Zhejiang Province Health and Family Planning Commission, art. 18(1-4); Sichuan Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Sichuan Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Sichuan sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 July 87, amended 15 December 93, 17 October 97, 26 September 02, 24 September 04, 20 March 14, 22 January 16, art. 13(1); Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People's Congress Standing Committee, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangxi zhuangzu zizhiqu renkou he jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 23 March 12, amended 13 January 14, 15 January 16, art. 14(1-5); Jiangxi Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Jiangxi sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 16 June 90, amended 30 June 95, 20 June 97, 29 July 02, 27 March 09, 16 January 14, 20 January 16, reprinted in People's Daily, art. 9(2-3).

<sup>8</sup>See, e.g., Kiki Zhao, "Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules," New York Times, 8 February 16; Julia Glum, "As China's One-Child Policy Ends, Parents Protest Fines Charged for Additional Kids," International Business Times, 5 January 16; China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>9</sup>See, e.g., Kiki Zhao, "Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules," New York Times, 8 February 16; China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>10</sup>See, e.g., China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>11</sup>See, e.g., China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist; Wang Lu and Long Feihu, "Take Multiple Measures To Attack 'Two Unnecessary Procedures'" [Duocuo bingju daji "liang fei"], Jingzhou Daily, reprinted in Hanfeng Net, 1 April 16. See also Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, "Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan" [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15.

<sup>12</sup>Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 95, endorsed by UN General Assembly resolution 50/203 of 22 December 95, paras. 9(Annex 1), 17. The Beijing Declaration states that governments which participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women reaffirmed their commitment to "Ensure 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).

<sup>13</sup>Programme of Action adopted by the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development, 13 September 94, paras. 7.2, 8.25. Paragraph 7.2 states that, "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."

<sup>14</sup>United Nations, Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, 27 October 95, 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, 18 October 94, chap. II, sec. C; chap. VI, sec. 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.

<sup>15</sup>China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist; Wang Lu and Long Feihu, "Take Multiple Measures To Attack 'Two Unnecessary Procedures'" [Duocuo bingju daji "liang fei"], Jingzhou Daily, reprinted in Hanfeng Net, 1 April 16. See also Zhima Township People's Government, "2015 Population and Family Planning Work Report" [2015 niandu renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo qingkuang tongbao], 17 January 16; Dongshahe Township People's Government, "Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service" [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16; Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, "Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan" [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15.

<sup>16</sup>UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 39/46 of 10 December 84, entry into force 26 June 87, art. 1; UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations of the Committee against Torture: China, adopted by the Committee at its 864th Meeting (3–21 November 2008), CAT/C/CHN/CO/4, 12 December 08, para. 21. In 2008, the UN 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).”

<sup>17</sup>United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, last visited 8 July 16. China signed the Convention on December 12, 1986, and ratified it on October 4, 1988.

<sup>18</sup>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, 3 February 16.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., para. 51.

<sup>20</sup>Zhou Xiaoyang, “Feature Story: China’s Illegal Residents” [Texie zhongguo heihu], Jiemian, 27 January 16; Kiki Zhao, “Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” New York Times, 8 February 16; “Chinese Parents With Two Children Petition To Have Second Registered,” Associated Press, reprinted in Japan Times, 5 January 16.

<sup>21</sup>Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 89, entry into force 2 September 90, arts. 2, 7–8, 24, 26, 28. Article 2 of the CRC calls upon State 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”; and that “State Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parents’ or legal guardian’s race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.” Article 24 sets forth the right of the child to access health care; 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. United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, last visited 8 July 16. China signed the CRC on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992.

<sup>22</sup>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 3 January 76, art. 10(3). Article 10(3) calls upon States Parties to recognize that “Special 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.” United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, last visited 8 July 16. China signed the ICESCR on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001.

<sup>23</sup>Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 89, entry into force 2 September 90; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, last visited 8 July 16. China signed the CRC on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 3 January 76; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, last visited 8 July 16. China signed the ICESCR on October 27, 1997, and ratified it on March 27, 2001.

<sup>24</sup>Chinese 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; “China To Ease One-Child Policy,” Xinhua, 15 November 13.

<sup>25</sup>Chinese 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.

<sup>26</sup>Chinese 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; National 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 Dandu Erhai Two-Child Policy” [Guojia weisheng jisheng wei fu zhuren wang peian jiu jianchi jihua shengyu jiben guoce qidong shishi dandu erhai zhengce da jizhe wen], 16 November 13; Marcus Roberts, “Why Aren’t Chinese Couples Keen To Have More Children?” MercatorNet, 6 February 15; Elizabeth C. Economy, “Time for Xi To Reform His Reforms,” Forbes, 6 February 15.

<sup>27</sup>Chinese 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,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 16 December 13.

<sup>28</sup>Lu Nuo, “Relevant NHFPC Officials Interpret Adjustment to the Family Planning Policy” [Weisheng jishengwei xiangguan fuzeren jiedu jihua shengyu tiaozheng zhengce], Xinhua, reprinted in PRC Central People’s Government, 6 December 13; Liu Yang, “Two Million Additional Births Per Year After Implementation of ‘Dandu Erhai [Policy]’” [“Dandu erhai” shishi hou nian

zeng xingsheng er yue 200 wan], Beijing Youth Daily, reprinted in Xinhua, 18 April 14; Huang Wenzheng and Liang Jianzhang, “NHFPC, Please Do Not Continue To Mislead Policy Making” [Qing weiji wei buyao jixu wudao juece], Caixin, 14 January 15; “Scholar: Official Figure Incorrect, ‘Dandu Erhai [Policy]’ Will Have Very Limited Impact on the Number of Births” [Xuezh: guanfang shuju bu zhun “dandu erhai” dui chusheng renshu yingxiang shen wei], Phoenix Net, 11 February 15.

<sup>29</sup>Wang Ling, “Two Children for Only-Child Couples Policy Ineffective, the Number of Births Last Year Did Not Increase but Decreased” [Dandu erhai yu leng qunian chusheng renkou bu zeng fan jiang], China Business Network, 19 January 16; “Beyond the Ifs and Buts of Fertility Rate,” China Daily, reprinted in China News Service, 21 December 15.

<sup>30</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “National Economy Moved in the Direction of Steady Progress in 2015” [2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao], 19 January 16, sec. 15; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Department of Community Family Planning Official Answers Questions From Health News and China Population Daily Journalists Regarding the Number of Births in 2015” [Zhidaosi fuzeren jiu 2015 nian chusheng renkou shu da jiankang bao, zhongguo renkou bao jizhe wen], 20 January 16.

<sup>31</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Department of Community Family Planning Official Answers Questions From Health News and China Population Daily Journalists Regarding the Number of Births in 2015” [Zhidaosi fuzeren jiu 2015 nian chusheng renkou shu da jiankang bao, zhongguo renkou bao jizhe wen], 20 January 16; “Sub-Anchor: Number of Chinese Newborns Drops in 2015,” CCTV, 24 January 16.

<sup>32</sup>Xu Heqian and Zhao Han, “One-Child Policy Said To Change Because Earlier Easing Failed,” Caixin, 30 October 15; Wang Ling, “Population Report to the Decision-Making Level, Proposes To Immediately Implement Universal Two-Child Policy” [Renkou baogao shangdi juece ceng jianyi liji fangkai quanmian sheng erhai], China Business Network, 16 October 15; Olivia Lowenberg, “Why China Is Shifting to a ‘Two-Child’ Policy,” Christian Science Monitor, 21 October 15.

<sup>33</sup>Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, “Chinese Communist Party 18th Party Congress Fifth Plenum Announcement” [Zhongguo gongchandang di shiba jie zhongyang weiyuanhui di wu ci quanti huiyi gongbao], 29 October 15; Peng Xiaofei et al., “China To Adopt Universal ‘Two-Child’ Policy” [Woguo quanmian fangkai “erhai” zhengce], Beijing Youth Daily, 30 October 15.

<sup>34</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>“Xi Stresses Adherence to Family Planning Policy,” Xinhua, 19 May 16; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “First National County-Level Family Planning Bureau Directors’ Training Class for Studying and Implementing the Central Government’s ‘Decision’ Held in Chengdu” [Quanguo xianji weisheng jishengwei zhuren xuexi guanche zhongyang “jueding” peixun ban (di yi qi) zai chengdu juban], 26 May 16; Yang Qingshan, “NHFPC Responds to the Timeframe of the Family Planning Policies: To Persist for at Least 20 Years” [Weiwei huiying jihua shengyu guoce shixian: qima haiyao jianchi 20 nian], China Youth Net, 11 January 16; “State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16; “Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15.

<sup>37</sup>National People’s Congress, National People’s Congress Standing Committee Decision Regarding the Population and Family Planning Law [Quanguo renda changweihui guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding], 27 December 15; PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16.

<sup>38</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16.

<sup>39</sup>Wang Ling, “Guangdong Two-Child Policy Rules for Remarried Couples Still Not Issued, Pregnant Woman Plans To Get an Abortion in Order To Keep Her Job” [Guangdong zaihun erhai zhengce xize chi wei chutai yunfu wei bao gongzuo ni yinchan], China Business Network, 1 August 16.

<sup>40</sup>China’s New “Two-Child Policy” & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist; Mairead McArdle, “Chinese Human Rights Activist on Two-Child Policy: ‘Now They Will Kill Any Baby After Two,’” CNS News, 3 November 15; Bob Unruh, “Media Hiding Horror of Continued Forced Abortion,” WND, 1 January 16; Maya Wang, Human Rights Watch, “Dispatches: Ending the One-Child Policy Does Not Equal Reproductive Freedom in China,” Dispatches (blog), 29 October 15; Sheng Keyi, “Still No Dignity for Chinese Women,” New York Times, 10 November 15; “Two Kids’ Not ‘Two Pregnancies,’ Those Who Rush To Have Additional Baby Will Be Fined, Scholar Doubts the Necessity of ‘13th Five-Year Plan’” [“Erhai” fei “ertai” qiang sheng yao fakuan xuezh zhiyi “shisanwu” guihua biyaoxing], Radio Free Asia, 30 October 15; Masahiro Okoshi, “Outlook Hazy for Approaching 2-Child Pol-

icy,” Nikkei Asian Review, 22 December 15; Tom Phillips, “China Ends One-Child Policy After 35 Years,” Guardian, 29 October 15.

<sup>41</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16.

<sup>42</sup>“Chinese Officials Say, Three Million Additional Births per Year With the Universal Two-Child Policy” [Zhongguo guanfang shuo, kaifang ertai meinian duo sheng sanbaiwan ren], Radio Free Asia, 10 November 15.

<sup>43</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Department of Community Family Planning Official Answers Questions from Health News and China Population Daily Journalists Regarding the Number of Births in 2015” [Zhidaosi fuzeren jiu 2015 nian chusheng renkou shu da jiankang bao, zhongguo renkou bao jizhe wen], 20 January 16.

<sup>44</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; “Family Planning Policy To Stay for Now,” Xinhua, reprinted in Shanghai Daily, 9 March 16.

<sup>45</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Department of Community Family Planning Official Answers Questions from Health News and China Population Daily Journalists Regarding the Number of Births in 2015” [Zhidaosi fuzeren jiu 2015 nian chusheng renkou shu da jiankang bao, zhongguo renkou bao jizhe wen], 20 January 16; Desiree Sison, “Beijing Expects 300,000 Newborns in Year of the Monkey,” China Topix, 19 February 16; “China Focus: Hospitals Under Pressure Amid New Year Baby Boom,” Xinhua, 3 March 16.

<sup>46</sup>Wang Ling, “Two Children for Only-Child Couples Policy Ineffective, the Number of Births Last Year Did Not Increase but Decreased” [Dandu erhai yu leng qunian chusheng renkou bu zeng fan jiang], China Business Network, 19 January 16; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “Yi Fuxian, Critic of China’s Birth Policy, Returns as an Invited Guest,” New York Times, Sinosphere (blog), 24 March 16. See also Stuart Gietel-Basten, “Two-Child Policy Alone Can’t Fix Aging Problem,” China Daily, 3 February 16; Li Dandan, “China To Implement Universal Two-Child Policy, Experts Suggest Formulating Policy To Encourage [Having Two Children]” [Woguo quanmian fangkai erhai zhuanjia jianyi zhiding guli zhengce], Beijing News, 29 October 15.

<sup>47</sup>Wang Ling, “Two Children for Only-Child Couples Policy Ineffective, the Number of Births Last Year Did Not Increase but Decreased” [Dandu erhai yu leng qunian chusheng renkou bu zeng fan jiang], China Business Network, 19 January 16. See also Li Dandan, “China To Implement Universal Two Child Policy, Experts Suggest Formulating Policy To Encourage [Having Two Children]” [Woguo quanmian fangkai erhai zhuanjia jianyi zhiding guli zhengce], Beijing News, 29 October 15.

<sup>48</sup>Dong Le, “China Officially Announced the End of Over Three-Decades-Long One-Child Policy” [Zhongguo zhengshi xuanbu jieshu 30 duo nian de yitai zhengce], BBC, 29 October 15; “He Qinglian: What Is the Relationship Between the Universal Two-Child Policy, Pension Policy and Labor Supply?” [He qinglian: quanmian fangkai erhai yu yanglao ji laodong li gongji youhe guanxi], Voice of America, 2 November 15. See also Heilongjiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Heilongjiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Heilongjiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 18 October 02, amended 13 December 13, 22 April 14, art. 13; Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Fujian sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 29 April 88, amended 28 June 91, 25 October 97, 18 November 00, 26 July 02, 14 December 12, 29 March 14, art. 10(3).

<sup>49</sup>Tang Shuxin, “Understanding China’s ‘Two-Child Policy,’” CCTV, 6 November 15; “He Qinglian: What Is the Relationship Between the Universal Two-Child Policy, Pension Policy and Labor Supply?” [He qinglian: quanmian fangkai erhai yu yanglao ji laodong li gongji youhe guanxi], Voice of America, 2 November 15; Amy L. Nathan, “Why China’s New ‘Two Child’ Policy Means Zero in Its Big Cities,” Huffington Post, 1 November 15.

<sup>50</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; Amy L. Nathan, “Why China’s New ‘Two Child’ Policy Means Zero in Its Big Cities,” Huffington Post, 1 November 15; Tang Shuxin, “Understanding China’s ‘Two-Child Policy,’” CCTV, 6 November 15; “Lack of Caregivers Biggest Obstacle to Second Child: Survey,” Xinhua, 22 March 16.

<sup>51</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; Amy L. Nathan, “Why China’s New ‘Two Child’ Policy Means Zero in Its Big Cities,” Huffington Post, 1 November 15; “Lack of Caregivers Biggest Obstacle to Second Child: Survey,” Xinhua, 22 March 16.

<sup>52</sup>Luo Bin, “‘Two-Child’ Policy To Be Released Next Year,” China Radio International, 22 December 15.

<sup>53</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; Luo Bin, “‘Two-Child’ Policy To Be Released Next Year,” China Radio International, 22 December 15; Liu Lili, Central Party School, “Abolishing China’s One-Child Policy Won’t Help,” East Asia Forum, 20 November 15; Alexis Villarias, “Having Second Child Worries Many Chinese Women,” China Topix, 27 February 16.

<sup>54</sup>Yimian Wu, “Asia Faces Fertility Crisis,” U.S. News & World Report, 11 November 15.

<sup>55</sup>Deng Qi, “Expert: ‘Post-70s Generation’ To Benefit the Most From the Universal Two Child Policy” [Zhuanjia: quanmian fangkai erhai “70 hou” shouyi zui da], Beijing News, 29 October 15; Li Dandan, “China To Implement Universal Two Child Policy, Experts Suggest Formulating Policy To Encourage [Having Two Children]” [Woguo quanmian fangkai erhai zhuanjia jianyi zhiding guli zhengce], Beijing News, 29 October 15; Wang Ling, “Two Children for Only-Child Couples Policy Ineffective, the Number of Births Last Year Did Not Increase but Decreased” [Dandu erhai yu leng qunian chusheng renkou bu zeng fan jiang], China Business Network, 19 January 16; Li Yan et al., “Two-Child Policy Won’t Bring Desired Baby Boom, Experts Say,” Caixin, 13 November 15.

<sup>56</sup>Li Dandan, “China To Implement Universal Two Child Policy, Experts Suggest Formulating Policy To Encourage [Having Two Children]” [Woguo quanmian fangkai erhai zhuanjia jianyi zhiding guli zhengce], Beijing News, 29 October 15; Luo Ruiyao and Sheng Menglu, “One-Child Policy Ended, but Violators Still Need To Pay Fines” [Dusheng zinu zhengce meiyu le, dan weifan zhengce de ren reng yao fu fakuan], Caixin Weekly, reprinted in AsiaNews, 10 March 16; Luo Ruiyao, “Scholars Collectively Suggest Overhauling the Population and Family Planning Law, Call for Abolishing Social Compensation Fees” [Xuezhe jiti jianyan da xiu jisheng fa yu feichu shehui fuyang fei], Caixin, 7 December 15; Zhou Xin, “China Must Scrap Remaining Birth Control Policies To Avert Demographic Crisis, Says Medical Researcher,” South China Morning Post, 4 May 16.

<sup>57</sup>Peng Xiaofei et al., “China To Adopt Universal ‘Two-Child’ Policy” [Woguo quanmian fangkai “erhai” zhengce], Beijing Youth Daily, 30 October 15.

<sup>58</sup>Dong Le, “China Officially Announced the End of Over Three-Decades-Long One-Child Policy” [Zhongguo zhengshi xuanbu jieshu 30 duo nian de yitai zhengce], BBC, 29 October 15; Peng Xiaofei et al., “China To Adopt Universal ‘Two-Child’ Policy” [Woguo quanmian fangkai “erhai” zhengce], Beijing Youth Daily, 30 October 15.

<sup>59</sup>Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, Decision Regarding the Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Service Management [Guanyu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de jue ding], issued 31 December 15, sec. 2(5); “Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15; National People’s Congress, “Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding the Decision of Amending the Population and Family Planning Law” [“Guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding” da jizhe wen], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 27 December 15.

<sup>60</sup>National People’s Congress, “Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding the Decision of Amending the Population and Family Planning Law” [“Guanyu xiugai renkou yu jihua shengyu fa de jue ding” da jizhe wen], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 27 December 15; “Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15; Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, Decision Regarding the Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Service Management [Guanyu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de jue ding], issued 31 December 15, sec. 3(10).

<sup>61</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15.

<sup>62</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Implement the Universal Two-Child Policy, Promote Balanced Population Development” [Shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce, cujin renkou junheng fazhan], 29 October 15.

<sup>63</sup>“Text Record of Director Li Bin and Others Answering Journalists’ Questions Regarding ‘The Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy’” [Li bin zhuren deng jiu “shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce” da jizhe wen wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 8 March 16; Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, Decision Regarding the Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Service Management [Guanyu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de jue ding], issued 31 December 15, sec. 3(10).

<sup>64</sup>Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, Decision Regarding the Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Service Management [Guanyu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de jue ding], issued 31 December 15, sec. 3(8); National Health and Family Planning Commission, “January 15, 2016, NHFPC’s Regular Press Conference Text Record” [2016 nian 1 yue 15 ri guojia weisheng jisheng wei lixing xinwen fabu hui wenzi shilu], 15 January 16. Previous birth registration reform allowed married couples to register their first child without going through an approval or application process. CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 145.

<sup>65</sup>Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, Decision Regarding the Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Service Management [Guanyu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de jueding], issued 31 December 15, sec. 3(8).

<sup>66</sup>PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, arts. 4, 39.

<sup>67</sup>For some specific examples, see Jiangxi Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Jiangxi sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 16 June 90, amended 30 June 95, 20 June 97, 29 July 02, 27 March 09, 16 January 14, 20 January 16, art. 15; Shenzhen Municipality People's Congress Standing Committee, Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Population and Family Planning Regulations [Shenzhen jingji tequ renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 30 October 12, amended 24 December 15, art. 18; Hubei Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 1 December 02, amended 29 November 08, 30 July 10, 27 March 14, 13 January 16, art. 12.

<sup>68</sup>CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 146; CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 104; 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.

<sup>69</sup>Guichi District Commission for Discipline Inspection, "Tangxi Township 2015 Work Summary and 2016 Work Plans" [Tangxi zhen 2015 nian gongzuo zongjie he 2016 nian gongzuo jihua], last visited 28 March 16.

<sup>70</sup>Zhima Township People's Government, "2015 Population and Family Planning Work Report" [2015 niandu renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo qingkuang tongbao], 17 January 16.

<sup>71</sup>Beishi Township People's Government, "2015 Beishi Township Government Work Report" [2015 nian beishi zhen zhengfu gongzuo baogao], 22 January 16; Li Shengwen, "Xu Gui Attends Municipal Health and Family Planning Work Meeting" [Xu gui chuxi quanshi weisheng jisheng gongzuo huiyi], Qinzhou Daily, reprinted in Qinzhou Municipality People's Government, 14 March 16.

<sup>72</sup>Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, "Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan" [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15.

<sup>73</sup>Yunyang District Health and Family Planning Bureau, "District Health and Family Planning Bureau Regulates Family Planning Firmly" [Qu weisheng ju zhengzhi shengyu zhixu bu shouruan], 1 December 15; Yiling District Women and Children Hospital, "District Women and Children Health Family Planning Center's Work Affirmed by the Assessment Team of the District Health and Family Planning Commission" [Qu fubao jisheng zhongxin ge xiang gongzuo shou dao qu weiji ju kaohe zu kending], 7 January 16.

<sup>74</sup>"Yongding District Carries Out Inspection for Spring Family Planning Centralized Service Activity" [Yongding qu kaizhan chunji jihua shengyu jizhong fuwu huodong ducha], Zhangjiajie Online, 25 February 16.

<sup>75</sup>Dongshahe Township People's Government, "Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service" [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16.

<sup>76</sup>Gu County Makes Efforts To Create an Advanced County in National Family Planning Quality Service" [Gu xian zhuoli chuangjian guojia jihua shengyu youzhi fuwu xianjin xian], Gu County News, 5 March 16.

<sup>77</sup>Lei Ming, "Countywide Family Planning Work Promotion Meeting Requirements: Fight Well the Family Planning Work Battle and Quickly Reverse the Passive Situation" [Quan xian jihua shengyu gongzuo tuijin hui yaoqiu: dahao jihua shengyu gongzuo gongjian zhan xunsu niuzhuan beidong jumian], Luotian News, 12 May 16. See also Liu Weiping, Yongfeng Township People's Government, "Yongfeng Township Comprehensively Coordinates Work Regarding Population and Family Planning and Opinion Polls" [Yongfeng zhen quanmian bushu renkou yu jisheng ji mindiao gongzuo], 7 April 16.

<sup>78</sup>"Gu County Makes Efforts To Create an Advanced County in National Family Planning Quality Service" [Gu xian zhuoli chuangjian guojia jihua shengyu youzhi fuwu xianjin xian], Gu County News, 5 March 16.

<sup>79</sup>Dongshahe Township People's Government, "Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service" [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16; Li Shengwen, "Xu Gui Attends Municipal Health and Family Planning Work Meeting" [Xu gui chuxi quanshi weisheng jisheng gongzuo huiyi], Qinzhou Daily, reprinted in Qinzhou Municipality People's Government, 14 March 16.

<sup>80</sup>Yunyang District Health and Family Planning Bureau, "District Health and Family Planning Bureau Regulates Family Planning Firmly" [Qu weisheng ju zhengzhi shengyu zhixu bu shouruan], 1 December 15; Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, "Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan" [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15; Zhima Township People's Government, "2015 Population and Family Planning Work Report" [2015 niandu renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo qingkuang tongbao], 17 January 16; Dongshahe Township People's Government, "Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service" [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16.

<sup>81</sup>Yunyang District Health and Family Planning Bureau, "District Health and Family Planning Bureau Regulates Family Planning Firmly" [Qu weisheng ju zhengzhi shengyu zhixu bu shouruan], 1 December 15; "Gu County Makes Efforts To Create an Advanced County in National Family Planning Quality Service" [Gu xian zhuoli chuangjian guojia jihua shengyu youzhi fuwu xianjin xian], Gu County News, 5 March 16. See also Ma Jianwen, "Investigation Into the



“Three Inspections’ of Rural Family Planning” [Nongcun jihua shengyu zhong de “san cha” qingkuang diaocha], *Women’s Rights in China*, reprinted in Boxun, 15 April 09.

<sup>82</sup>“Gu County Makes Efforts To Create an Advanced County in National Family Planning Quality Service” [Gu xian zhuoli chuangjian guojia jihua shengyu youzhi fuwu xianjin xian], *Gu County News*, 5 March 16; Guichi District Commission for Discipline Inspection, “Tangxi Township 2015 Work Summary and 2016 Work Plans” [Tangxi zhen 2015 nian gongzuo zongjie he 2016 nian gongzuo jihua], last visited 28 March 16; Yunyang District Health and Family Planning Bureau, “District Health and Family Planning Bureau Regulates Family Planning Firmly” [Qu weishengju zhengzhi shengyu zhixu bu shouruan], 1 December 15; Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, “Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan” [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15; Zhima Township People’s Government, “2015 Population and Family Planning Work Report” [2015 niandu renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo qingkuang tongbao], 17 January 16; Dongshahe Township People’s Government, “Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service” [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16. See also “Chinese People Suffer From Family Planning [Policy’s] Forced Sterilizations and Abortions” [Jihua shengyu qiangzhi jieza renliu hai ku le zhongguo ren], *Tencent*, 15 June 12.

<sup>83</sup>Yunyang District Health and Family Planning Bureau, “District Health and Family Planning Bureau Regulates Family Planning Firmly” [Qu weisheng ju zhengzhi shengyu zhixu bu shouruan], 1 December 15; “Gu County Makes Efforts To Create an Advanced County in National Family Planning Quality Service” [Gu xian zhuoli chuangjian guojia jihua shengyu youzhi fuwu xianjin xian], *Gu County News*, 5 March 16; Zhima Township People’s Government, “2015 Population and Family Planning Work Report” [2015 niandu renkou he jihua shengyu gongzuo qingkuang tongbao], 17 January 16; Dongshahe Township People’s Government, “Dongshahe Township: Solidify the Family Planning Foundation, Improve Service” [Dongshahe zhen: hangshi jisheng jichu tisheng fuwu shuiping], 28 January 16. “Social compensation fees” are also known as “social maintenance fees.”

<sup>84</sup>Wolong District Population and Family Planning Commission, “Wolong District 2015 Family Planning Work Summary and 2016 Work Plan” [Wolong qu renkou jisheng gongzuo 2015 nian zongjie ji 2016 nian gongzuo guihua], 25 December 15.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup>Ni Dandan, “Guangdong Families Told To Have Abortion or Lose Job,” *Sixth Tone*, 22 July 16.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*; Guangdong Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangdong sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 February 80, amended 17 May 86, 28 November 92, 1 December 97, 18 September 98, 21 May 99, 25 July 02, 28 November 08, 27 March 14, 30 December 15, effective 1 January 16, reprinted in Huazhou City Health and Family Planning Bureau, art. 19. Article 19 of the Guangdong Province Population and Family Planning Regulations allows a couple to have an additional child if their child(ren) dies, or if a couple meets other criteria that conform to laws and regulations.

<sup>89</sup>Ni Dandan, “Guangdong Families Told To Have Abortion or Lose Job,” *Sixth Tone*, 22 July 16. For provincial family planning regulations that allow remarried couples to have an additional child, see, e.g., Zhejiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Zhejiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Zhejiang sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 3 September 02, amended 28 September 07, 13 January 14, 14 January 16, reprinted in Zhejiang Province Health and Family Planning Commission, art. 18(1–3); Jiangxi Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Jiangxi sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 16 June 90, amended 30 June 95, 20 June 97, 29 July 02, 27 March 09, 16 January 14, 20 January 16, reprinted in *People’s Daily*, art. 9(3). See also Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People’s Congress Standing Committee, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations [Guangxi zhuangzu zizhi renkou he jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 23 March 12, amended 13 January 14, 15 January 16, art. 14(1–5).

<sup>90</sup>Ni Dandan, “Guangdong Families Told To Have Abortion or Lose Job,” *Sixth Tone*, 22 July 16.

<sup>91</sup>Wang Ling, “Remarried Pregnant Woman Plans To Get an Abortion in Order To Keep Her Job, Guangdong Health and Family Planning Commission Issues a New Statement” [Zaihun yunfu wei bao gongzuo ni yinchan guangdong sheng weijiwei zuo zuixin biaotai], *China Business Network*, 2 August 16; Wang Ling, “Guangdong Two-Child Policy Rules for Remarried Couples Still Not Issued, Pregnant Woman Plans To Get an Abortion in Order To Keep Her Job” [Guangdong zaihun erhai zhengce zize chi wei chutai yunfu wei bao gongzuo ni yinchan], *China Business Network*, 1 August 16.

<sup>92</sup>Wang Ling, “Remarried Pregnant Woman Plans To Get an Abortion in Order To Keep Her Job, Guangdong Health and Family Planning Commission Issues a New Statement” [Zaihun yunfu wei bao gongzuo ni yinchan guangdong sheng weijiwei zuo zuixin biaotai], *China Business Network*, 2 August 16; Zheng Caixiong, “Couples Not Waiting for 2nd-Child Rule,” *China Daily*, 3 August 16.

<sup>93</sup>China’s New “Two-Child Policy” & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist. See also June Cheng, “Pro-Life Activist Faces Pressure To Abort,” *World News Group*, 26 October 15.

<sup>94</sup>June Cheng, “Pro-Life Activist Faces Pressure To Abort,” *World News Group*, 26 October 15.

<sup>95</sup>China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>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. See also PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, arts. 18, 41.

<sup>98</sup>See, e.g., Fujian Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Fujian sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 29 April 88, amended 28 June 91, 25 October 97, 18 November 00, 26 July 02, 14 December 12, 29 March 14, 19 February 16, art. 42. In Fujian province, individuals in violation of local population planning regulations can each be fined up to six times the amount of the average income of a resident in their locality, sometimes more, based on the number of children born in violation of local regulations and their income compared to the local average disposable income of the previous year. See also Hubei Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 1 December 02, amended 29 November 08, 30 July 10, 27 March 14, 13 January 16, art. 37; "Who Do the Social Compensation Fees Actually 'Support?'" [Shehui fuyang fei jiujiang "yang" le shei?], People's Daily, 22 September 13; Chuan Jiang, "National Health and Family Planning Commission: Social Compensation Fee Arrears To Be Dealt With by Local Governments" [Zhongguo weijiwei: shehui fuyangfei qiankuan you difang zhengfu chuli], BBC, 11 January 16.

<sup>99</sup>"Forced Abortions Alive and Well in China," Malta Today, 5 May 16; Shen Lu and Katie Hunt, "China's One-Child Policy Goes but Heartache Remains," CNN, 31 December 15. For provincial regulations that mandate the collection of social compensation fees, see, e.g., Fujian Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Fujian sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 29 April 88, amended 28 June 91, 25 October 97, 18 November 00, 26 July 02, 14 December 12, 29 March 14, 19 February 16, art. 42. In Fujian province, individuals in violation of local population planning regulations can be fined up to six times the amount of the average income of a resident in their locality, sometimes more, based on the number of children born in violation of local regulations and their income compared to the local average income of the previous year. Hubei Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 1 December 02, amended 29 November 08, 30 July 10, 27 March 14, 13 January 16, art. 37.

<sup>100</sup>Zhou Xiaoyang, "Feature Story: China's Illegal Residents" [Texie zhongguo heihu], Jiemian, 27 January 16.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.; Hubei Province People's Congress Standing Committee, Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 1 December 02, amended 29 November 08, 30 July 10, 27 March 14, 13 January 16, art. 37.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>Zhou Xiaoyang, "Feature Story: China's Illegal Residents" [Texie zhongguo heihu], Jiemian, 27 January 16.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Zhou Xiaoyang, "First Case of Non-Single-Child [Parent Having Out-of-Plan Birth] Being Fined Social Compensation Fees' Tried in Court Today, Court To Issue Verdict at a Later Date" ["Fei du qiang sheng shehui fuyang fei di yi an" jinri kaiting fayuan jiang zeri xuanpan], Jiemian, 28 April 16.

<sup>107</sup>Fu Yao, "What Now for China's 13 Million 'Illegal Residents?'" [Zhongguo 1300 wan "heihu" de zuihou hequ hecong?], China Newsweek, reprinted in Chuansong, New Fortune, 10 July 16.

<sup>108</sup>Wang Ling, "Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?" [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16; Luo Ruiyao, "Scholars Collectively Suggest Overhauling the Population and Family Planning Law, Call for Abolishing Social Compensation Fees" [Xuezhe jiti jianyan da xiu jisheng fa yu feichu shehui fuyang fei], Caixin, 7 December 15; Luo Ruiyao and Sheng Menglu, "One-Child Policy Ended, but Violators Still Need To Pay Fines" [Dusheng zinu zhengce meiyou le, dan weifan zhengce de ren reng yao fu fakuan], Caixin, reprinted in AsiaNews, 26 February 16.

<sup>109</sup>Wang Ling, "Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?" [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16; Wang Ling, "China Remains at Long-Term Low Fertility Level, Last Year Only 800,000 Third Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas" [Zhongguo yi changqi chuyu di shengyu lu shuiping qunian sanhai yishang chaosheng renkou jin 80 wan], China Business Network, reprinted in Caijing, 1 February 16; "Does the Collection of Social Compensation Fees Still Need 'Regulations?'" [Zhengshou shehui fuyang fei hai xuyao "tiaoli" ma], Beijing Youth Daily, 28 February 16.

<sup>110</sup>Wang Ling, "China Remains at Long-Term Low Fertility Level, Last Year Only 800,000 Third Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas" [Zhongguo yi changqi chuyu di shengyu lu shuiping qunian sanhai yishang chaosheng renkou jin 80 wan], China Business Network, reprinted in Caijing, 1 February 16; Wang Ling, "Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?" [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16.

<sup>111</sup>Wang Ling, "China Remains at Long-Term Low Fertility Level, Last Year Only 800,000 Third Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas" [Zhongguo yi changqi chuyu di shengyu lu

shuiping qunian sanhai yishang chaosheng renkou jin 80 wan], China Business Network, reprinted in *Caijing*, 1 February 16.

<sup>112</sup>Wang Ling, “Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?” [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16; Luo Ruiyao and Sheng Menglu, “One-Child Policy Ended, but Violators Still Need To Pay Fines” [Dusheng zinu zhengce meiyou le, dan weifan zhengce de ren reng yao fu fakuan], *Caixin*, reprinted in *AsiaNews*, 26 February 16; “State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16.

<sup>113</sup>“State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16.

<sup>114</sup>Luo Ruiyao and Sheng Menglu, “One-Child Policy Ended, but Violators Still Need To Pay Fines” [Dusheng zinu zhengce meiyou le, dan weifan zhengce de ren reng yao fu fakuan], *Caixin*, reprinted in *AsiaNews*, 26 February 16; Wang Ling, “Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?” [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16.

<sup>115</sup>“State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16; Wang Ling, “Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?” [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16.

<sup>116</sup>Wang Ling, “Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?” [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16.

<sup>117</sup>“Women Pregnant With Second Children Defer Delivery Date To Break ‘Policy Gate’” [Erhai yunfu tuo yuchanqi chuang “zhengce guan”], *Beijing Times*, 3 January 16; Lee Min Kok, “Pregnant Woman Lies Motionless for 5 Days To Avoid Giving Birth Before China’s Two-Child Policy Took Effect,” *Straits Times*, 7 January 16; “Pregnant Woman Delays Birth To Avoid 500,000 Yuan Fine,” China Internet Information Center, 6 January 16.

<sup>118</sup>Wang Ling, “Reporter Observations: Why Are Regulations on the Management of Social Compensation Fee Collection Not Issued?” [Jizhe guancha: shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli weihe nanchan?], China Business Network, 17 February 16.

<sup>119</sup>“Regulations on the Collection and Management of Social Compensation Fees, Soliciting Comments and Proposing Unified Collection Standards” [Shehui fuyang fei zhengshou guanli tiaoli zhengqiu yijian ni tongyi zhengshou biao zhun], *People’s Daily*, 20 November 14, art. 6; Zhang Ran, “Fines for Second Child Not To Exceed Three Times the Per Capita Income of One’s Hukou Locale” [Chaosheng ertai fakuan bu gao yu huji di sanbei renjun shouru], *Beijing Times*, 21 November 14; Wen Ru, “Social Compensation Fees Expected To Lower in Beijing” [Beijing shehui fuyang fei you wang jiangdi], *Beijing News*, 22 November 14.

<sup>120</sup>Tang Lihan et al., “Obtaining Hukou for Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas: 9 Provinces and Municipalities Require Social Compensation Fee Certificate” [Chaosheng luohu 9 sheng shi xuyao shehui fuyang fei zhengming], *Legal Evening News*, 24 November 15; Zhou Xiaoyang, “Feature Story: China’s Illegal Residents” [Texie zhongguo heihu], *Jiemian*, 27 January 16; Chen Wei, “Careless, Fearless,” *News China*, February 2016.

<sup>121</sup>Tang Lihan et al., “Obtaining Hukou for Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas: 9 Provinces and Municipalities Require Social Compensation Fee Certificate” [Chaosheng luohu 9 sheng shi xuyao shehui fuyang fei zhengming], *Legal Evening News*, 24 November 15; Wang Mengyao, “Hukou Application Planned To Be Opened to ‘Illegal Residents’” [Hukou banli ni xiang “heihu” kaifang], *Beijing News*, 3 December 15; Zhou Xiaoyang, “Feature Story: China’s Illegal Residents” [Texie zhongguo heihu], *Jiemian*, 27 January 16.

<sup>122</sup>Liu Jingyao, “Resolving ‘Illegal Resident’ Problem Manifests People-Oriented Concept” [Jiejue “heihu” wenti zhangxian yi ren wei ben linian], *Xinhua*, 15 January 16; Chen Wei, “Careless, Fearless,” *News China*, February 2016; Zhou Xiaoyang, “Feature Story: China’s Illegal Residents” [Texie zhongguo heihu], *Jiemian*, 27 January 16; Stephanie Gordon, “China’s Hidden Children,” *The Diplomat*, 12 March 15.

<sup>123</sup>Tang Lihan et al., “Obtaining Hukou for Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas: 9 Provinces and Municipalities Require Social Compensation Fee Certificate” [Chaosheng luohu 9 sheng shi xuyao shehui fuyang fei zhengming], *Legal Evening News*, 24 November 15; Wang Ling, “Barriers to Resolving the Problem of Illegal Residents: Some Areas Require Social Compensation Fee Back Payments Before Obtaining Hukou” [Jiejue heihu wenti yu zu: bufen diqu yaoqiu bu jiao shehui fuyang fei cai neng luohu], China Business Network, 10 March 16.

<sup>124</sup>Wang Ling, “Barriers to Resolving the Problem of Illegal Residents: Some Areas Require Social Compensation Fee Back Payments Before Obtaining Hukou” [Jiejue heihu wenti yu zu: bufen diqu yaoqiu bu jiao shehui fuyang fei cai neng luohu], China Business Network, 10 March 16.

<sup>125</sup>Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 89, entry into force 2 September 90, arts. 2, 7–8, 24, 26, 28; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, last

visited 8 July 16. China signed the CRC on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992. See also UN 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, 40(a–b). In September 2013, 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 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 the birth of their children” and “abandon the *hukou* system in order to ensure birth registration for all children . . .”

<sup>126</sup>Jiao Ying, “Family Planning Policies To Be Delinked From Hukou Registration, To Comprehensively Resolve the Issue of ‘Illegal Resident’” [Jihua shengyu deng zhengce jiang yu hukou dengji tuogou quanmian jie jue “heihu” wenti], China National Radio, 10 December 15.

<sup>127</sup>State Council General Office, Opinion on Resolving Issues of Hukou Registration for Individuals Without Hukou [Guanyu jie jue wu hukou renyuan dengji hukou wenti de yijian], issued 31 December 15.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., sec. 1(2–3); Liu Jingyao, “Resolving ‘Illegal Resident’ Problem Manifests People-Oriented Concept” [Jie jue “heihu” wenti zhangxian yi ren wei ben linian], Xinhua, 15 January 16.

<sup>129</sup>State Council General Office, Opinion on Resolving Issues of Hukou Registration for Individuals Without Hukou [Guanyu jie jue wu hukou renyuan dengji hukou wenti de yijian], issued 31 December 15, sec. 2.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., sec. 2.

<sup>131</sup>“State Council Information Office Holds Press Conference on Situation Related to Implementation of the Universal Two-Child Policy and Reform and Improvement of Family Planning Services Management: Text Record” [Guoxinban jiu shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce gaige wanshan jihua shengyu fuwu guanli de youguan qingkuang juxing fabuhui wenzi shilu], reprinted in National Health and Family Planning Commission, 11 January 16.

<sup>132</sup>Tang Lihan et al., “Obtaining Hukou for Children Born in Excess of Birth Quotas: 9 Provinces and Municipalities Require Social Compensation Fee Certificate” [Chaosheng luohu 9 sheng shi xuyao shehui fuyang fei zhengming], Legal Evening News, 24 November 15.

<sup>133</sup>“Delinking Hukou and Family Planning Policies, Still Need To Pay Fee for Having Excess Children” [Luohu yu jisheng yi tuogou chaosheng reng yao jiaofei], Southern Metropolitan Daily, 15 January 16; Kiki Zhao, “Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” New York Times, 8 February 16.

<sup>134</sup>“Delinking Hukou and Family Planning Policies, Still Need To Pay Fee for Having Excess Children” [Luohu yu jisheng yi tuogou chaosheng reng yao jiaofei], Southern Metropolitan Daily, 15 January 16.

<sup>135</sup>Wang Mengyao, “Hukou Application Planned To Be Opened to ‘Illegal Residents’” [Hukou banli ni xiang “heihu” kaifang], Beijing News, 3 December 15; Wang Ling, “Barriers to Resolving the Problem of Illegal Residents: Some Areas Require Social Compensation Fee Back Payments Before Obtaining Hukou” [Jie jue heihu wenti yu zu: bufen diqu yaoqiu bu jiao shehui fuyang fei cai neng luohu], China Business Network, 10 March 16.

<sup>136</sup>Wang Ling, “Barriers to Resolving the Problem of Illegal Residents: Some Areas Require Social Compensation Fee Back Payments Before Obtaining Hukou” [Jie jue heihu wenti yu zu: bufen diqu yaoqiu bu jiao shehui fuyang fei cai neng luohu], China Business Network, 10 March 16.

<sup>137</sup>“Commentary: China Registers Individuals Without Hukou, Showing a People-Oriented Concept” [Shuping: zhongguo wei wu hukou renyuan yifa luohu zhangxian yiren weiben linian], Xinhua, 14 January 16; Chuan Jiang, “China Allows 8 Types of ‘Illegal Residents’ To Register for Hukou Without Conditions, Delinking [Hukou] From Family Planning Policies” [Zhongguo yunxu 8 lei “heihu” wu tiaojian shang hu yu jisheng tuogou], BBC, 14 January 16.

<sup>138</sup>Kiki Zhao, “Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” New York Times, 8 February 16; China’s New “Two-Child Policy” & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>139</sup>China’s New “Two-Child Policy” & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid. See also Wang Lu and Long Feihu, “Take Multiple Measures To Attack ‘Two Unnecessary Procedures’” [Duocuo bingju daji “liang fei”], Jingzhou Daily, reprinted in Hanfeng Net, 1 April 16.

<sup>141</sup>PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, arts. 4, 39. 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 “infringe[s] on a citizen’s personal rights, property rights, or other legitimate rights and interests” or “abuse[s] his power, neglect[s] his duty, or engage[s] in malpractice for personal gain” in the implementation of population planning policies.

<sup>142</sup>UN Committee against Torture, List of Issues in Relation to the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 54th session (20 April–15 May 2015), CAT/C/CHN/Q/5/Add.1, 15 June 15, para. 26.

<sup>143</sup>UN Committee against Torture, China’s Responses to the Committee against Torture’s List of Issues [Zhongguo guanyu jinzhi kuxing weiyuanhui wenti dan de dafu cailiao], CAT/C/CHN/Q/5/Add.2, 1 October 15, para. 26.

<sup>144</sup>Martin King Whyte, “The True History of China’s Disastrous One-Child Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 5 November 15; “Another One on the Way,” *China Daily*, reprinted in *The Star*, 3 May 15.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*; Chen Wei, “China Commentaries: Universal Two-Child Policy Facing Challenges” [Dianping zhongguo: quanmian lianghai shengyu zhengce mianlin de tiaozhan], BBC, 8 February 16.

<sup>146</sup>Zhu Changjun, “Raising Fertility Rate Is Never an Easy Task” [Tisheng shengyu lu conglai bu shi jian dan shi], *China Youth Daily*, 21 January 16; Karen Zraick, “China Will Feel One-Child Policy’s Effects for Decades, Experts Say,” *New York Times*, 30 October 15.

<sup>147</sup>Brook Larmer, “The Long Shadow of China’s One-Child Policy,” *New York Times*, 6 November 15; “To Adopt Universal Two-Child Policy, Fines Must Be Imposed for Violation of Birth Quota” [Quanmian fangkai erhai shengyu chaosheng fakuan bu neng mian dan], *Radio Free Asia*, 15 January 16.

<sup>148</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “National Economy Moved in the Direction of Steady Progress in 2015” [2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao], 19 January 16; Laurie Burkitt, “China’s Working-Age Population Sees Biggest-Ever Decline,” *Wall Street Journal*, *China Real Time Report* (blog), 22 January 16.

<sup>149</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “China’s Economy Realized a New Normal of Stable Growth in 2014,” 20 January 15; Laurie Burkitt, “China’s Working-Age Population Sees Biggest-Ever Decline,” *Wall Street Journal*, *China Real Time Report* (blog), 22 January 16.

<sup>150</sup>“China Facing Labor Shortage Due to One-Child Policy,” *Xinhua*, reprinted in *Shanghai Daily*, 21 October 15; “China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], *China Business Network*, reprinted in *Boxun*, 20 October 15; Luo Juan, “What Is the Impact of Delaying Retirement?” [Yanchi tuixiu yingxiang ji he?], *Workers’ Daily*, reprinted in *Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security*, 26 July 16; “China’s Working Age Population To Fall 23 Percent by 2050,” *Xinhua*, 22 July 16.

<sup>151</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “National Economy Moved in the Direction of Steady Progress in 2015” [2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao], 19 January 16; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “China’s Economy Realized a New Normal of Stable Growth in 2014,” 20 January 15.

<sup>152</sup>“As First Domestic Blue Book on Aging Suggests, the [Need] for Developing Suitable Living Environment for the Elderly Is Imminent” [Guonei shou bu laoling lanpi shu tichu, laonian yiju huanjing jianshe pozai mei jie], *Xinhua*, 24 February 16.

<sup>153</sup>“Development Report on Suitable Living Environment for Chinese Elderly Issued” [Zhongguo laonian yiju huanjing fazhan baogao fabu], *People’s Daily*, 25 February 16.

<sup>154</sup>Will Martin, “China’s Rapidly Ageing Population Is an Economic Ticking Timebomb,” *Business Insider*, 4 May 16; “China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], *China Business Network*, reprinted in *Boxun*, 20 October 15.

<sup>155</sup>Zhou Xin, “China Must Scrap Remaining Birth Control Policies To Avert Demographic Crisis, Says Medical Researcher,” *South China Morning Post*, 4 May 16. See also “China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], *China Business Network*, reprinted in *Boxun*, 20 October 15; Laurie Burkitt, “China’s Working-Age Population Sees Biggest-Ever Decline,” *Wall Street Journal*, *China Real Time Report* (blog), 22 January 16.

<sup>156</sup>National Health and Family Planning Commission, “Interpretation of the ‘Circular on Strengthening the Fight, Prevention, and Control of Fetal Gender Identification by Blood Test’” [“Guanyu jiaqiang daji fangkong caixue jiangding tai’er xingbie xingwei de tongzhi” wenjian jiedu], 21 January 15; Sun Xiaobo, “Price of Women Driven Up by Gender Imbalance,” *Global Times*, 27 February 16; “Why 30 Million Chinese Men Could End Up as Perpetual Bachelors,” *CCTV*, 26 January 16.

<sup>157</sup>For national regulations prohibiting the practices of non-medically necessary gender determination testing and sex-selective abortion, see PRC Population and Family Planning Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renkou yu jihua shengyu fa], passed 29 December 01, amended 27 December 15, effective 1 January 16, art. 35; National Health and Family Planning Commission et al., *Regulations on Prohibiting Non-Medically Necessary Sex Determination and Sex-Selective Abortion* [Jin zhi fei yixue xuyao de tai er xingbie jiangding he xuanze xingbie rengong zhongzhi renshen de guiding], passed 28 March 16, issued 12 April 16, effective 1 May 16. For provincial regulations that ban non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion, see, e.g., Hubei Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations* [Hubei sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 1 December 02, amended 29 November 08, 30 July 10, 27 March 14, 13 January 16, art. 31; Sichuan Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Sichuan Province Population and Family Planning Regulations* [Sichuan sheng renkou yu jihua shengyu tiaoli], issued 2 July 87, amended 15 December 93, 17 October 97, 26 September 02, 24 September 04, 20 March 14, 22 January 16, art. 23.

<sup>158</sup>See, e.g., China’s New “Two-Child Policy” & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 3 December 15, Testimony of Sarah Huang, Activist; Frank Fang, “Chinese Woman, Pregnant With a Girl, Dies After 9th Abortion Because Her Mother-in-Law Wants a Grandson,” *Epoch Times*, 1 March 16; Wang Lu and Long Feihu, “Take Multiple Measures To Attack ‘Two Unnecessary Procedures’” [Duocuo bingju daji “liang fei”], *Jingzhou Daily*, reprinted in *Hanfeng Net*, 1 April 16.

<sup>159</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “National Economy Moved in the Direction of Steady Progress in 2015” [2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao], 19 January 16; United Nations Population Fund, Population and Development in Viet Nam, last visited 11 May 16; United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, The World’s Women 2015 Trends and Statistics, last visited 11 May 16; “Gender Imbalance in China Causing Many Men ‘Difficulty in Finding Wives’” [Zhongguo dalu nan nu bili shiheng ling daliang nanxing “hunpei nan”], Radio Free Asia, 19 January 16.

<sup>160</sup>National Bureau of Statistics of China, “National Economy Moved in the Direction of Steady Progress in 2015” [2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao], 19 January 16; “Gender Imbalance in China Causing Many Men ‘Difficulty in Finding Wives’” [Zhongguo dalu nan nu bili shiheng ling daliang nanxing “hunpei nan”], Radio Free Asia, 19 January 16.

<sup>161</sup>“China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], China Business Network, reprinted in Boxun, 20 October 15; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” Washington Post, 30 April 14.

<sup>162</sup>Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” Washington Post, 30 April 14.

<sup>163</sup>“China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], China Business Network, reprinted in Boxun, 20 October 15; “Gender Imbalance in China Causing Many Men ‘Difficulty in Finding Wives’” [Zhongguo dalu nan nu bili shiheng ling daliang nanxing “hunpei nan”], Radio Free Asia, 19 January 16.

<sup>164</sup>“Study: China To Enter ‘Era of Bachelors’ in Five Years,” CCTV, 30 September 15; Ryan Kilpatrick, “China Begins Countdown to ‘Bachelor Crisis’ as Over 33 Million Extra Men Come of Age,” Hong Kong Free Press, 2 October 15; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” Washington Post, 30 April 14.

<sup>165</sup>“Study: China To Enter ‘Era of Bachelors’ in Five Years,” CCTV, 30 September 15; Ryan Kilpatrick, “China Begins Countdown to ‘Bachelor Crisis’ as Over 33 Million Extra Men Come of Age,” Hong Kong Free Press, 2 October 15; “China’s Demographic Crisis Already Apparent, Problems in Labor Shortage, Finding Wives, and Elderly Retirement May Explode in 5 Years” [Zhongguo renkou weiji yi xian zhaogong quqi yanglao nanti huo 5 nian hou baofa], China Business Network, reprinted in Boxun, 20 October 15; Wang Ling, “China’s Bachelor Crisis May Explode in 2020: Over 10 Million Bare Branch Men” [Zhongguo guanggun weiji 2020 nian huo quanmian baofa: guanggun nanxing shang qian wan], China Business Network, 29 September 15; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” Washington Post, 30 April 14.

<sup>166</sup>Alice Cuddy and Neil Loughlin, “Weddings From Hell: The Cambodian Brides Trafficked to China,” Guardian, 1 February 16; Saing Soenthrith and Aria Danaparamita, “Trilateral Agreement Signed To Combat Human Trafficking,” Cambodia Daily, 18 January 16.

<sup>167</sup>Akkyaw, “Trafficking Hits 10-Year Peak,” Eleven, 7 January 16.

<sup>168</sup>Gopal Sharma, “Rise in Nepali Women Trafficked to China, South Korea—Rights Commission,” Reuters, 27 April 16.

<sup>169</sup>Human Rights Watch, “North Korea: Events of 2015,” 27 January 16; Sylvia Kim and Yong Joon Park, European Alliance for Human Rights in North Korea, “Invisible Children: The Stateless Children of North Korean Refugees,” 6 December 15; Elizabeth Shim, “More North Korean Women Risking Arrest, Abuse To Sneak Into China for Work,” United Press International, 19 November 15.

<sup>170</sup>Saing Soenthrith and Aria Danaparamita, “Trilateral Agreement Signed To Combat Human Trafficking,” Cambodia Daily, 18 January 16; Soc Trang, “Three Vietnamese Jailed for Trafficking Women to China,” Thanh Nien News, 26 January 16.

<sup>171</sup>Xie Wenting, “2-Child Policy To Ease Kid Snatching,” Global Times, 4 November 15; Lucy Hornby, “FT Seasonal Appeal: China’s Missing Children,” Financial Times, 2 December 15; “More Than 40 Percent of Trafficked Children Sold by Biological Parents” [Chao sicheng bei guaimai ertong xi bei qinsheng fumu suo mai], Southern Metropolitan Daily, 13 October 15.

<sup>172</sup>Xing Shiwei, “The Main Criminal Who Trafficked 22 Children in Henan Executed” [Henan guaimai 22 ming ertong zhufan bei zhixing sixing], Beijing News, 30 January 16; Wang Bing and Zhao Lei, “Updates on Tang Yongzhi’s Execution for Child Trafficking: Unable to Locate the Parents of 27 Trafficked Victims” [Tang yongzhi guaimai ertong huo sixing houxi: 27 ming bei guai zhe fumu wei zhaodao], CCTV, reprinted in China News Service, 1 February 16.

<sup>173</sup>Xing Shiwei, “The Main Criminal Who Trafficked 22 Children in Henan Executed” [Henan guaimai 22 ming ertong zhufan bei zhixing sixing], Beijing News, 30 January 16.

<sup>174</sup>Xie Wenting, “2-Child Policy To Ease Kid Snatching,” Global Times, 4 November 15.