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**Unpacking the differential impact of family planning policies in
China: Analysis of parity progression ratios from retrospective
birth history data, 1971-2005**

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1 **Summary.** Although China's family planning programme is often referred to in the singular,
2 most notably the 'one child policy' in reality there have been a number of different policies in
3 place simultaneously, targeted at different sub-populations characterised by region and socio-
4 economic conditions. This study represents the first attempt to systematically assess the
5 differential impact of China's family planning programmes over the past 40 years. To achieve
6 this, the paper examines the contribution of parity progression ratios to fertility change
7 among different sub-populations exposed to various Family Planning Policies (FPP) over
8 time. Cross-sectional birth history data from six consecutive rounds of nationally
9 representative population and family planning surveys from early 1970s till mid-2000 are
10 used, covering all geographical regions of China. Four sub-populations exposed to
11 differential FPP regimes are identified. The analyses provide compelling evidence of the
12 influential role of FPP in reducing higher parity progression ratios across different sub-
13 populations, particularly in urban China where fertility dropped to replacement level even
14 before the implementation of the one-child policy. The prevailing socioeconomic conditions
15 in turn have been instrumental in adapting and accelerating FPP responses to reducing
16 fertility levels across China.

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1 **Introduction**

2 The scale and population impact of the Family Planning Policies (FPP) in China has been
3 widely documented in the demographic and social science literature ever since it was
4 introduced (Tien 1980, 1984; Bongaarts & Greenhalgh 1985; Greenhalgh 1986, 2003; Hardee
5 & Banister 1988; Liang & Lee 2006; Zeng 2007; NPFPC 2007; Zhai & Li 2014). Although
6 typically referred to as the ‘one-child policy’ elsewhere, in reality the FPP in China has been
7 implemented in various phases differentially across various sub-populations based on
8 socioeconomic, geographic and population criteria. There has been little demographic
9 analysis that has systematically disentangled how FPP, implemented over time and
10 differentially across sub-populations, contributed to sustained fertility reduction in China.
11 The analysis of sub-populations characterised by very different socioeconomic conditions is
12 critically important to ascertain the impact of FPP on fertility behaviours, and in particular, to
13 understand how the recent structural changes - reflected in terms of rapid social and
14 economic development - have mediated the influence of FPP in triggering fertility change
15 over time and place.

16 This study integrates cross-sectional birth history data from successive rounds of
17 nationally representative population and family planning surveys, from the early 1970s till
18 mid- 2000, to evaluate the underlying influence of FPP on fertility change in China, including
19 the post-transitional period. The study further seeks to decompose the contribution of parity
20 progression ratios to total fertility change among different sub-populations subject to
21 differential FPP over time and characterized by different socioeconomic attributes. Two inter-
22 related research questions are addressed in this study. First, how did FPP evolve across
23 different sub-populations and over time in China? Second, how did the differential FPP,
24 implemented across different sub-populations, contributed to overall fertility reduction in
25 China? Our findings go beyond previous studies to offer a more in-depth understanding of
26 how FPP contributed to triggering fertility transition among different sub-populations in
27 China, and help to unpack the role of the FPP in the face of rapid economic and social
28 development.

29 **Three phases of FPP and fertility transition in China**

30 In the early 1950s, the attitude of the Chinese government was actively pro-natalist,
31 encouraging births. The results of the first census in 1953 delivered a surprise, with the
32 population larger than anticipated, and stimulated the government to rethink population issues.

1 During the late 1950s and 1960s, efforts were increasingly focused on disseminating the ideal
2 of small family size and reinforcing contraceptive supplies, with such efforts being primarily
3 concentrated in urban areas. Starting from 1970s onwards, a range of intensive FPP have
4 been formulated to reduce population growth (Wang 2012). These policies have varied in
5 their nature and the mode of implementation across time and social context, and can broadly
6 be divided into three key phases.

7 The first phase of ‘Later, longer, fewer’ FPP (1973–1979), also known as ‘*wan, xi,*
8 *shao*’ FPP, emphasized delayed marriage, long intervals between births and fewer births
9 overall. The age at first marriage was encouraged to be at least 23 years for females and 25
10 years for males. Women were encouraged to give birth at age 24 or older. An interval of at
11 least 3 years between births was recommended and the total number of children
12 recommended per couple was no more than two. This was followed by the ‘one-child’ FPP
13 (1979–1984). In 1979, recognizing rapid population growth was putting considerable strain
14 on the socioeconomic development and considering birth control to be an essential
15 prerequisite for sustainable development, China began to promote ‘one couple, one-child’
16 which became the most controversial FPP in the entire human history (Greenhalgh, 2003).
17 However, four years of strict implementation of the draconian policy caused considerable
18 dissent, especially in rural areas, leading to the third phase of ‘differentiated’ FPP (1984
19 onwards).

20 In 1984, the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the State
21 Family Planning Commission issued a Central Document 7, which allowed a second birth for
22 rural couples with ‘practical difficulties’, as long as the couples adhered to regulations
23 outlined in the local plan. This document led to divergences in policy implementation across
24 provinces. From the mid-1980s, the provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities) under
25 the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, were empowered to assess local
26 socioeconomic conditions and develop context-specific population and family planning
27 regulations.

28 The differentiated FPP can be broadly sub-divided into four types based on the
29 number of children (total fertility rate) allowed per couple: ‘one-child’, ‘one and half
30 children’, ‘two children’ and ‘three children’ policies (Greenhalgh 2003; Gu et al. 2007;
31 NPFPC 2007). The central features of each policy, along with the provinces covered and
32 associated population coverage, are listed in Table 2 and illustrated geographically in Figure

1 1. In November 2013, the new leadership of the Chinese Communist Party announced a
2 ‘softening’ of the strict family planning policy: families were allowed two children if one of
3 parents is the only child. In October 2015, the government announced it would further relax
4 the rules to allow all couples to have two children, signalling a new era in China’s FPP.

5 Fertility in China was high in the 1950s and 1960s with a total fertility rate (TFR) of
6 about 6 children per woman. From 1970 onwards, fertility declined rapidly to an average of
7 about 2.7 children per woman in 1980 and it further fell below replacement level in 1990
8 with 2.0 children per woman (Peng & Guo 2000). There is a general consensus from the
9 literature that although rapid socioeconomic development across different regions contributed
10 to boosting fertility transition in China, the effect was largely attributed to the ‘Later, Longer,
11 Fewer’ policy and the subsequent more strict FPP implemented by the Chinese government
12 (Tien 1984; Bongaarts & Greenhalgh 1985; Wolf 1986; Feeney & Yu 1987; Poston & Gu
13 1987; Yang & Chen 2004; Retherford et al 2005; Chen et al 2009). There is also, however,
14 evidence to suggest that the onset of fertility transition and the recent trend towards very low
15 fertility in China have both been driven by socioeconomic development. Birdsall and Jamison
16 (1983) argued that China’s fertility decline was correlated with income growth, even before
17 the one-child policy was implemented. Similarly, Lavelly & Freedman (1990) reported that
18 urban fertility in China began to fall before the commencement of strict family planning
19 programme, attributed primarily to high contraceptive use among better educated and urban
20 elites. More recently, Cai (2010) demonstrated that the current below-replacement fertility in
21 Jiangsu and Zhejiang province is a response to rapid social and economic development. Thus
22 the relative role of policy versus socioeconomic development remains somewhat contested.
23 Using birth history data from a series of cross-sectional population and family planning
24 surveys, this research examines these issues and presents more systematic and refined
25 evidence of the impact of FPP on sub-populations across time and space, applying
26 decomposition techniques to understand the contribution of changes in parity progression
27 ratios to overall fertility decline in China.

28 **Data**

29 Data are drawn from six consecutive National Population and Family Planning cross-
30 sectional surveys conducted in 1982, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2006 respectively by the
31 former State Family Planning Commission of China. The main purpose of the series of
32 surveys was to document fertility, contraceptive use and other reproductive health issues of

1 the population. Retrospective birth history information is available for all births in five of the
2 six surveys; with the exception of 1992 survey which recorded birth histories of only last four
3 children. These surveys were designed to be nationally representative, except for the
4 exclusion of Tibet in 1982 and 2006 surveys. For the purposes of this study, Tibet is excluded
5 from the analysis and the 1992 survey is not considered in the calculation of parity based
6 fertility measures. A systematic assessment of the data indicated generally good quality and
7 consistent records of marriage and birth history information (Coale 1984; Qin 2016). Further
8 information about the surveys and data quality is reported in several academic studies (Coale
9 & Chen 1987; Feeney & Yu 1987; Feeney & Wang 1993; Feeney & Yuan 1994; Zhang &
10 Zhao 2006; Morgan et al. 2009) although this is the first to use data from all six.

11 Data from 1982, 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys were self-weighting. The dataset
12 from the 1988 survey provided sample weights based on the sampling fraction of each
13 province. Comparing the outcome of TFR_{ppr} (total fertility rates based on parity progression
14 ratios) calculated from un-weighted and weighted data, the discrepancies of TFR_{ppr} in most
15 years from 1977 to 1987 were all less than 2 per cent. Given that the influence of sample
16 weights was trivial, this paper reports calculations based on un-weighted data. Data on rural-
17 urban residence and province were used to construct a typology to classify individuals in
18 various sub-populations exposed to different family planning policies.

19 **Sub-population I** are those urban residents nationwide; **sub-population II** are those
20 rural residents in 6 provinces (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Sichuan and Chongqing);
21 **sub-population III** are those rural residents in 19 provinces (Hebei, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia,
22 Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Jiangxi, Shandong, Henan, Hubei,
23 Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou, Shaanxi and Gansu); and **sub-population IV** are
24 those rural residents in 5 provinces (Hainan, Yunnan, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang).

25 This classification was motivated by the main types of differentiated FPP
26 implemented from 1984 onwards listed in Table 1. Although sub-populations I and II were
27 regulated by the ‘one-child policy’, it is important to differentiate between these two because
28 of the substantial differences between the rural and urban context in China. It should be noted
29 that even though, before 1984, the ‘later, longer, fewer FPP’ and ‘one-child FPP’ were
30 theoretically applied nationwide without differentiating sub-populations, the compliance with
31 the policies and subsequent fertility behaviour varied considerably among different
32 population groups (Merli & Herber 2002). Therefore the same sub-population classification

1 through the whole study period (1971-2005) was adopted to examine the differential impact
2 of FPP on fertility. In general, the socioeconomic conditions of sub-populations I, II, III, and
3 IV can be ranked sequentially. Sub-population I represent areas with relatively better
4 socioeconomic circumstances, with the lowest levels of illiteracy and the highest household
5 income, whilst sub-population IV represent the poorest in terms of education and household
6 income. Sub-population IV also has the highest representation of Non-Han ethnicity. Tables
7 1a, 1b and 1c show the distribution of Non-Han ethnicity, illiteracy and household income
8 among different sub-populations based on data from the surveys held from 1982 to 2006.

9 **Methods**

10 The full birth history data was used to calculate total fertility rates from parity progression
11 ratios (TFR_{ppr}) based on the methods proposed by Feeney & Yu (1987), Bhrolcháin (1987)
12 and Hinde (1998). To obtain the fertility rates up to the year of each survey, a synthetic parity
13 cohort approach was considered. Although age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) are widely
14 used, period parity progression based measures of fertility are better suited for examining the
15 policy influence on fertility behaviour. This is because FPP in China have always had clear
16 focus on parity and birth spacing (Feeney & Yu 1987). For each survey, the parity
17 progression ratio (PPR) was estimated as the proportion of women who have had an
18 additional birth within ten years. The assumption has been made that women who had not had
19 a $(j+1)^{th}$ parity within ten years after their j^{th} parity were unlikely to progress to next parity.
20 PPRs up to the ninth birth order for 1982 and 1988 surveys and up to the fourth birth order
21 for 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys were examined. The records were truncated at a woman's
22 49th birthday at the time of survey. Women's marriage age was truncated at age 30, because
23 first marriages after age 30 were rare. According to 1982 Population Census and 2005
24 Population Survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics, the proportion of women
25 unmarried for the age group 30-34 was around 1 percent in the 1982, and over 2 percent in
26 2005 (Lu & Zhai 2009). Therefore the potential contribution of marriage beyond age 30 on
27 the total fertility rate is not expected to be large. In the analysis, multiple births were recoded
28 as second or later birth.

29 For the calculation of parity progression ratios, we first estimated a series of proportions
30 (q_x) for woman who had their j^{th} birth in the x^{th} year before the particular year and had their
31 $(j+1)^{th}$ birth in the particular year. x ranges from 0 to 10.

$$q_x = \frac{\text{number of women who had their } j\text{th birth in the } x\text{th year before the current year} \\ \text{and had their } (j + 1)\text{th birth in the current year}}{\text{total number of women who had a } j\text{th birth in the } x\text{th year before the current year} \\ - \text{number of these women who have already had their } (j + 1)\text{th birth before the start of the current year}}$$

1 The parity progression ratio (p_j) based on the $(j+1)^{th}$ births occurring in a particular year
2 to woman who had their j^{th} births in a range of 0-10 during previous years is calculated as

$$3 \quad p_j = 1 - \{(1 - q_0) \times (1 - q_1) \times (1 - q_2) \times \dots\}$$

4 The progression ratio from birth to the first marriage is calculated in the similar way. For
5 any given year, let p_M denote the period ratio for progression from birth to first marriage, p_0
6 the period ratio for progression from first marriage to first birth, and p_j 'the period ratio for
7 progression from j^{th} to $(j + 1)^{th}$ birth, $i = 1, 2, \dots$. The statistics p_0, p_1, p_2, \dots are period parity
8 progression ratios and TFR_{ppr} , an index of total fertility, is calculated as:

$$9 \quad TFR_{ppr} = p_M \times p_0 + p_M \times p_0 \times p_1 + p_M \times p_0 \times p_1 \times p_2 \times \dots$$

10 Using the survey year and the retrospective birth history data, period TFR_{ppr} were then
11 calculated for each sub-population, as well as for the whole nation.

12 In order to examine the contribution of marriage and each successive PPRs on fertility
13 change ΔTFR_{ppr} , ΔTFR_{ppr} was decomposed following the principles outlined by Ogawa and
14 Retherford (1993). For any given time period year A to year B, to calculate the contribution
15 of marriage progression Δp_M to ΔTFR_{ppr} , firstly, a standardized value called $TFR_{ppr}(M)$ was
16 calculated using year B value of p_M but the year A values of the remaining PPRs (Period
17 Parity Progression Ratios). The contribution of Δp_M to ΔTFR_{ppr} was $TFR_{ppr}(M) - TFR_{ppr}$
18 (year A).

19 To calculate the additional contribution of Δp_0 to ΔTFR_{ppr} , again a standardized value
20 of $TFR_{ppr}(M,0)$ was calculated using the year B value of p_M and p_0 and the year A values of
21 the remaining PPRs. The additional contribution of Δp_0 to ΔTFR_{ppr} was $TFR_{ppr}(M,0) -$
22 $TFR_{ppr}(M)$. Following the same method, the contributions from $\Delta p_1, \Delta p_2, \Delta p_3, \Delta p_4$ and so on
23 were calculated. The last contribution added to ΔTFR_{ppr} was calculated as the difference
24 between TFR_{ppr} (year B) and TFR_{ppr} (year A).

25 Survey data in 1982, 1988, 1997, 2001 and 2006 were analysed independently.
26 Annual PPRs and TFR_{ppr} were calculated for up to 10 years prior to each survey. For
27 instance, fertility estimates in 1971-1981 were calculated from the 1982 survey, estimates in
28 1977-1987 from the 1988 survey and so on. Thus, for some years there were more than one

1 estimates: 1977-1981 from the 1982 and 1988 surveys respectively; 1986-1987 from the 1988
2 and 2001 surveys respectively; 1990-1994 from the 1997 and 2001 surveys respectively;
3 1995-1996 from 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys respectively, and 1997-2000 from 2001 and
4 2006 surveys respectively. Theoretically, any duplicated annual estimate for the analysis was
5 acceptable because each survey was designed to be nationally representative. In practice for
6 those duplicated annual estimates the annual fertility estimates for 1977-1981 from the 1982
7 survey, estimates in 1986-1987 from the 1988 survey, estimates in 1990-1996 from the 1997
8 survey, and estimates in 1997-2000 from the 2001 survey were used.

9 It should be noted that non-marital fertility is rare in China (Banister & Harbaugh
10 1994; Lu & Zhai 2009) and generally data on pre-marital births are either ignored or not
11 published in official statistics. Marriage continues to be universal and childbearing within
12 marriage is a social norm across China.

13 **Results**

14 This section first presents fertility trends and differentials by FPP, followed by the results
15 showing fertility decomposition during the different FPP regime periods.

16 *Fertility trends and differentials*

17 Table 3 and Figure 2 show TFR_{ppr} and PPPRs for China as a whole from 1971 to 2005. These
18 trends are consistent with the patterns expected during the implementation of the ‘later,
19 longer, fewer’ policy in the 1970s and the introduction of the strict one-child policy in 1979.
20 After 1984, when the strict one-child policy was gradually relaxed, the PPPRs at parity 1
21 stopped declining rapidly. Progression ratios from first to second birth were high and stable
22 during 1970s, and dropped sharply in 1981 following the introduction of the one-child FPP
23 and continued to decline ever since. Progression ratios to third and higher births declined
24 significantly during the 1970s when the practice of ‘later, longer, fewer’ FPP was encouraged.
25 From 1980 onwards, all higher parity progression ratios declined sharply, reflecting the
26 effective implementation of one-child FPP. These patterns are highlighted in red boxes (see
27 Table 3). TFR_{ppr} reached a plateau from 1977 to 1979, just before the introduction of the one-
28 child FPP. Period parity progression ratios also showed similar trends.

29 Now move to examine the trends in differential fertility amongst the sub-populations
30 of women, regulated by different FPP. Figure 3 presents the TFR_{ppr} by sub-populations
31 regulated by different FPP. The substantial fertility decline in China since 1970s is reflected

1 in decline in fertility of all sub-populations. Interestingly, however, there are marked
2 differences in the initial level of fertility in 1975 across sub-populations. The TFR_{ppr} of urban
3 women regulated by ‘one-child FPP’ was lower than those of rural women who were
4 regulated by ‘one and half children FPP’, which in turn was lower than those regulated by
5 ‘two children FPP’ at all observed point in time. Over time, the gaps between the sub-
6 populations regulated by different FPP have narrowed, and have remained constant in recent
7 years.

8 The trends in PPPRs for each sub-population are shown in Tables 4a-4d and
9 graphically illustrated in Figures 4a-4d. All sub-populations share similar patterns in terms of
10 progression from first marriage to first birth, suggesting that both marriage and transition to
11 first birth remain universal across China. Thus the following results will be on the rest of
12 parity progressions, particularly those making transitions from parity 1-2 and parity 2-3 in the
13 different FPP periods.

14 **1971-1979 (later, longer, fewer FPP):** During the period of the ‘later, longer, fewer’ policy,
15 the progression from parity 1-2 among sub-population I who lived in urban areas of the
16 whole country dropped from 0.97 to 0.81; among sub-population II, the figures declined
17 slightly from 0.98 to 0.96; among sub-population III and sub-population IV, the progression
18 rate remained high around 0.98. The results indicate that during this period a small share of
19 urban residents started to control their fertility to less than two children, even though the FPP
20 did not restrict the family size less than two children.

21 For the parity progression from 2 to 3, the ratios declined sharply from 0.78 to 0.26
22 and 0.97 to 0.45 among sub-population I and sub-population II respectively. Among sub-
23 population III, the ratio decreased from 0.98 to 0.84, while among sub-population IV, the
24 ratio remained high around 0.96 during this period. The results indicate that ‘later, longer,
25 fewer’ FPP was effective and widely accepted among sub-populations I and II. However, this
26 FPP was not well accepted by the other two sub-populations. During the 1970s, in sub-
27 population IV, about 96 per cent of women who had second birth went on to have a third
28 birth. Although there was some reduction among sub-population III, still about 84 per cent of
29 women who had a second birth have had their third birth by 1979.

30 For higher parity progression in sub-population I, only 17 per cent of women who had
31 a third birth had the fourth birth by 1979, and only 14 per cent of women who had their fourth
32 birth had their fifth birth among sub-population I. The corresponding ratios were 26 per cent

1 and 19 per cent respectively among sub-population II, 62 per cent and 44 per cent among
2 sub-population III, and 86 per cent and 73 per cent among sub-population IV. Again, these
3 results reflect a wider acceptance of FPP in sub-populations I and II accompanied by overall
4 better socioeconomic conditions when compared to sub-populations III and IV.

5 **1979-1984 (one-child FPP)** Among sub-population I, the progression from parity 1-2
6 declined sharply, from 0.81 in 1979 to 0.19 in 1984, which suggest that the strict one-child
7 FPP was implemented very effectively among sub-population I. Among sub-populations II,
8 III and IV, the ratios declined from 0.96 to 0.39, 0.99 to 0.85 and 0.98 to 0.96 respectively,
9 highlighting that although the policy had an effect, it was not universally adopted. Even in
10 sub-population II (rural residents of the 6 ‘developed’ provinces of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai,
11 Jiangsu, Sichuan and Chongqing), about 39 per cent of women who already had a first birth
12 did not follow the one-child FPP and this was 85 per cent amongst rural residents in the other
13 parts of the country (sub-population III) and 96 per cent (sub-population IV). This provides
14 clear and compelling evidence of the level of non-compliance of the one-child policy which
15 subsequently led to the differentiated family planning policy that continued until 2013.

16 The period 1984-1986 was not considered in the decomposition analysis since the
17 majority of provincial regulations were still under process of formulation during this period.

18 **1986-2005 (differentiated FPP):** During this period, the progression from parity 1-2
19 declined significantly from 0.25 to 0.14 and from 0.66 to 0.21 respectively among sub-
20 populations I and II, both of which were subject to the ‘one-child only’ FPP. The progression
21 ratio from parity 1-2 and parity 2-3 among sub-population III, who were subject to the ‘one
22 and half children FPP’, decreased from 0.91 to 0.63 and 0.49 to 0.01 respectively, reflecting
23 that the policy was effective in reducing third births to virtually zero, and second births were
24 curtailed. Among sub-population IV, who were subject to ‘two children FPP’, the progression
25 from parity 1-2 and parity 2-3 reduced from 0.95 to 0.66 and 0.92 to 0.30 respectively, again
26 highlighting the effectiveness of the policy in reducing third births. Actual fertility amongst
27 each sub-population was slightly higher than that implied by the differentiated FPP targets,
28 reflecting the fact that there were some exceptions or non-compliance for each type of FPP.
29 Nevertheless, the results demonstrate evidence that all four types of FPP were effective and
30 widely implemented.

1 ***Decomposition of fertility change***

2 Table 5 shows the results of decomposition of TFR_{ppr} by different FPP period for the national
3 and sub-populations. TFR_{ppr} reached a plateau during 1977-79. To examine this trend, we
4 divided the decomposition of later, longer, fewer FPP periods into 1971 to 1977 and 1977 to
5 1979. Over the entire period from 1971 to 2005, the TFR_{ppr} declined by 4.6 children per
6 woman, with substantial reduction in the 1-2 and 2-3 parity progressions accounting for 98
7 per cent of the overall decline.

8 **1971-1977 (early stage of later, longer, fewer FPP):** During the first six years of the 'later,
9 longer, fewer' policy, the TFR_{ppr} declined by 2.7 children per woman from 6.04 to 3.29. This
10 decline was largely attributed to a decrease in higher parity progression ratios, with
11 approximately 94 per cent of the change being due to reduction in parity progressions at three,
12 four, five and six. The results reflect that the 'later, longer, fewer' FPP was being effectively
13 implemented among the general population as a whole during this period.

14 **1977-1979 (later stage of later, longer, fewer FPP):** In the latter years of the policy,
15 however, the TFR_{ppr} remained almost constant. The drop of 0.1 in the TFR_{ppr} mainly resulted
16 from a decline in progression to parity three, four and five. However it appears that the policy
17 had run its course and further reductions in total fertility proved difficult to achieve,
18 stimulating a change in course and the introduction of a more stringent policy.

19 **1979-1984 (one-child FPP):** During the period of strict enforcement of the one-child policy,
20 the TFR_{ppr} dropped from 3.2 to 2.1. The decomposition of fertility change showed that a
21 reduction of progression from parity 1-2 contributed significantly to the overall decline in
22 fertility at the national level, accounting for 69 per cent. In addition, reduction of progression
23 from parity 2 to 3 contributed 23 per cent. The results are broadly consistent with the
24 expected impact of FPP during this period of time.

25 **1986-2005 (differentiated FP policies):** During this period, when different policies were
26 applied in different parts of the country, the national TFR_{ppr} continued to decline from 2.2 to
27 1.4 children per woman. The decomposition analysis illustrates that 74 per cent of fertility
28 decline during this period was attributed to a reduction of progression from parity 1 to 2 and
29 33 per cent attributed to a reduction from parity 2 to 3.

30 Overall the results provide clear evidence of the influence of family planning policy on
31 fertility decline in China. The later, longer, fewer FPP was effective in reducing higher parity

1 births, and fertility reaching plateau at the late stage of this policy possibly led to the
2 initiation of one-child FPP.

3 **Discussion**

4 The prevailing socioeconomic conditions were instrumental in adapting and
5 accelerating FPP response to reducing fertility levels across China. The classification of FPP
6 based sub-populations is a reflection of the socioeconomic conditions taking into account of
7 mainly the composition and distribution of ethnic groups. As a result, it is difficult to
8 accurately differentiate the independent effects of FPP and socioeconomic factors associated
9 with reduction in total fertility and parity progression rates. A key contribution of this
10 research is the evidence highlighting different trajectories of parity transitions and
11 convergence of total fertility rates across sub-populations which have had different
12 socioeconomic conditions.. Our study found that the fertility differentials explained by the
13 FPP remain convincing in the transitional and post-transitional stage, providing an alternative
14 view at the macro level to that of Cai (2010) and others. However, the disaggregation of
15 fertility change amongst different sub-populations indicates that social economic conditions
16 have played an important role for policy implementation. Women living in the geographical
17 regions regulated by the ‘one and half children FPP’ tend to have higher fertility than those
18 regulated by the ‘one-child FPP’; and those regulated by ‘two children FPP’ tend to have
19 higher fertility than those regulated by ‘one and half children FPP’. The implication of this
20 finding is that FPP remains an important determinant of China’s overall level of fertility. Tsui
21 (2001) and McNicoll (1975, 2001) affirm a potential direct effect of policy on fertility
22 transition through improving access to fertility-regulation methods and through diffusion of
23 supportive ideas. The Chinese government was indeed proactive in mobilizing resources and
24 programme coordination aimed at reducing fertility through a variety of strategic top-down
25 administrative approaches, such as stringent legislation, wider dissemination of family
26 planning information, provision of incentive-oriented and extended contraceptive services
27 and political control . Over time, the role and influence of national FPP interventions and
28 programmes have been differentially implemented across sub-populations, with the national
29 policies (such as later, longer, fewer and the one-child policy) being more readily adopted by
30 those who were relatively better off in terms of socioeconomic development than their
31 counterparts. By the time the differentiated policy was introduced in 1986, fertility in urban
32 areas was already below replacement level. The results suggest that socioeconomic
33 conditions expedited the extent and speed of FPP response across China.

1 The findings reconfirm the overall patterns of fertility change in China, which are
2 broadly consistent with evidence reported elsewhere, for example, Feeney & Yu (1987),
3 Luther, Feeney & Zhang (1990), Feeney & Wang (1993), Freedman & Wang (1993), Feeney
4 & Yuan (1994), Zeng (1996) and Retherford et al (2005). This paper adds new evidence on
5 PPPRs among sub-populations differentially exposed to FPP and how these contributed to
6 policy impact on TFR_{ppr} across time and place. The classification of sub-populations defined
7 by different FPP enables us to understand the dynamics and heterogeneity of fertility trends
8 and variations across China.

9 More recently, there has been a series of public debates about the implications of FPP
10 on future population challenges in China particularly on issues related to labour shortages,
11 population ageing and skewed sex ratios. The Chinese government has already taken new
12 steps to reform the FPP. The most recent FPP reform by all means is a cautious step, relaxing
13 the policy to two children rather than removing the policy altogether, warranting concerns
14 that the relaxation might trigger a baby boom (Basten & Jiang 2015). On the other hand,
15 findings from recent fertility intention surveys point towards a TFR far below replacement
16 level in the foreseeable future (Zhuang et al. 2014, Zheng et al. 2009). Mao & Lu (2013)
17 argue that physiological factors and practical pressures will take precedence over fertility
18 intention and preferences in reducing the actual fertility rate even lower than predicted.
19 Alongside, with the increasing women's education and participation in economic activities, it
20 is likely that the fertility increase might not be as large as is often assumed.

21 There is evidence that socioeconomic factors have mediated the influence of FPP on fertility
22 change over time and place, with high compliance in the most urban, industrialized areas and
23 weaker acceptance among women living in the poorest rural areas. This research confirms
24 potential impact of FPP throughout the fertility transition process, including the persistent
25 role of policy in the post-transitional stage at a very low fertility level. Given the current
26 changes in FPP, follow-up research is needed to monitor reproductive preferences and future
27 trends in fertility especially in urban areas and among different socioeconomic groups.

28 Although marriage remains widespread both socially and culturally across China, younger
29 generation tend to delay marriage increasingly towards late twenties. According to 2010
30 census, there is also gradual trend in the proportion of women remaining single, estimated at
31 little over 5 percent (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012). Future research may
32 consider truncation of age at first marriage beyond 30 to reduce potential underestimation of
33 marriage effect on parity progressions and the total fertility rate.

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4

1 **Table 1a.** Percentage of Non-Han ethnic women aged 15-49 by sub-population, 1982-2006.

Sub-population	1982	1988	1992	1997	2001	2006
I	2.3	6.9	1.9	5.4	6.7	8.1
II	2.5	2.6	4.7	2.6	1.5	1.3
III	5.9	8.2	5.6	8.4	8.2	9.5
IV	47.7	43.7	42.7	57.0	59.9	52.5
Overall (China)	6.7	10.5	6.5	9.1	9.4	10.9

2 Note: calculations based on data from 1982, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys

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Table 1b. Percentage of women aged 15-49 by level of education and sub-population, 1982-2006

	1982			1988			1992			1997			2001			2006		
Sub-population	None	Primary	More than primary	None	Primary	More than primary	None	Primary	More than primary	None	Primary	More than primary	None	Primary	More than primary	None	Primary	More than primary
I	7.3	20.5	72.2	7.9	17.6	74.5	3.7	12.1	84.2	9.6	35.8	54.6	3.1	9.3	87.6	1.6	9.2	89.2
II	41.2	32.6	26.2	36.0	32.4	31.6	22.6	39.8	37.6	36.5	32.1	31.4	19.7	36.4	43.9	6.3	30.3	63.4
III	43.2	32.5	24.3	43.2	32.8	24.0	25.6	39.3	35.1	35.6	32.1	32.3	20.6	34.3	45.1	11.1	34.8	54.1
IV	53.2	30.4	16.4	56.2	26.2	17.6	35.5	39.2	25.3	41.0	15.2	43.8	32.9	42.7	24.4	15.6	41.0	43.4
Overall (China)	37.3	30.4	32.3	35.1	28.5	36.4	21.2	33.8	45.0	29.9	32.2	37.9	16.6	28.6	54.8	7.7	26.0	66.3

Note: calculations based on data from 1982, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 1c. Mean annual household income (*Renminbi*, Yuan) by sub-population, 1982-2006

Sub-population	1982	1988	1992	1997	2001	2006
I	494	1187	2026	5151	6860	11442
II	349	837	1277	3273	4039	6400
III	267	521	750	2034	2272	3426
IV	240	501	694	1512	1793	2672
Urban China	535	1180	2027	5160	6860	11760
Rural China	270	545	784	2090	2366	3587

Estimated from National Bureau of Statistics (2010)

Table 2. Description of the main types of differentiated FPP

Type of FPP	Regions/ provinces covered	Nature/ features of the policy	Percentage of population covered
One child	Nationwide urban <i>Hukou</i> residents Rural <i>Hukou</i> residents in six provinces (municipalities): Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Sichuan and Chongqing	Couple can have only one child	36
One and half children	Rural <i>Hukou</i> residents in nineteen provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities): Hebei, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Jiangxi, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou, Shaanxi, Gansu.	If the first child is a girl, then a second child is permitted	53
Two children	Rural <i>Hukou</i> residents in five provinces (autonomous regions): Hainan, Yunnan, Qinghai, Ningxia, Xinjiang	Couple can have two children	10
Three children	Ethnic minority farmers in Qinghai, Ningxia (mountainous areas) and Xinjiang; ethnic minority farmers in Hainan and Inner Mongolia whose first two children are girls; ethnic minority farmers in Yunnan border areas and sparsely populated minority residents in Yunnan and Heilongjiang.	Couple can have three children	2

Table 3. Period parity progression ratio-based total fertility rates (TFR_{ppr}) and period parity progression ratios: China 1971-2005

Year	TFR _{ppr}	Period parity progression ratios									
		p _M	p ₀	p ₁	p ₂	p ₃	p ₄	p ₅	p ₆	p ₇	p ₈₊
1971	6.04	0.982	0.980	0.983	0.949	0.887	0.857	0.853	0.810	0.807	0.830
1972	5.41	0.984	0.979	0.978	0.928	0.843	0.816	0.790	0.743	0.746	0.753
1973	4.82	0.974	0.977	0.977	0.916	0.812	0.743	0.701	0.683	0.668	0.667
1974	4.45	0.985	0.987	0.980	0.886	0.778	0.672	0.626	0.596	0.545	0.552
1975	3.88	0.985	0.986	0.968	0.834	0.696	0.589	0.528	0.501	0.485	0.476
1976	3.56	0.983	0.987	0.968	0.793	0.635	0.506	0.480	0.450	0.400	0.427
1977	3.29	0.987	0.985	0.960	0.742	0.564	0.470	0.411	0.385	0.363	0.310
1978	3.24	1.000	0.989	0.960	0.716	0.530	0.457	0.374	0.357	0.312	0.309
1979	3.23	0.995	0.992	0.963	0.704	0.544	0.435	0.423	0.335	0.332	0.275
1980	2.73	0.998	0.989	0.909	0.578	0.430	0.327	0.291	0.275	0.303	0.245
1981	2.67	0.998	0.992	0.866	0.564	0.440	0.376	0.376	0.305	0.364	0.284
1982	2.67	0.999	0.991	0.815	0.586	0.445	0.506	0.441	0.444	0.433	0.447
1983	2.19	0.997	0.987	0.674	0.490	0.386	0.470	0.382	0.340	0.345	0.405
1984	2.09	0.996	0.988	0.624	0.486	0.387	0.457	0.370	0.334	0.365	0.361
1985	2.05	0.997	0.982	0.644	0.446	0.335	0.435	0.363	0.330	0.322	0.367
1986	2.19	0.997	0.985	0.713	0.470	0.359	0.327	0.369	0.376	0.402	0.329
1987	2.33	0.997	0.989	0.748	0.502	0.401	0.376	0.385	0.392	0.423	0.435
1988	2.20	0.998	0.995	0.741	0.469	0.371					
1989	2.16	1.000	0.991	0.723	0.465	0.371					
1990	2.08	0.996	0.998	0.723	0.387	0.312					
1991	1.74	0.998	0.989	0.581	0.266	0.199					
1992	1.66	0.998	0.991	0.538	0.218	0.194					
1993	1.55	0.981	0.978	0.489	0.218	0.201					
1994	1.52	0.997	0.968	0.467	0.193	0.153					
1995	1.46	0.999	0.982	0.421	0.141	0.152					
1996	1.44	1.000	0.981	0.384	0.183	0.202					
1997	1.43	0.994	0.982	0.392	0.172	0.152					
1998	1.45	0.991	0.982	0.424	0.130	0.168					
1999	1.41	0.997	0.974	0.377	0.169	0.225					
2000	1.43	0.997	0.981	0.411	0.111	0.148					
2001	1.41	0.990	0.958	0.401	0.165	0.247					
2002	1.38	0.993	0.968	0.382	0.123	0.179					
2003	1.37	0.993	0.946	0.400	0.113	0.196					
2004	1.44	0.998	0.966	0.440	0.117	0.118					
2005	1.43	0.999	0.969	0.437	0.081	0.071					

Note: calculations based on data from 1982, 1988, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 4a. Period parity progression ratios for sub-population I: China 1971-2005

Year	TFR _{ppr}	Period parity progression ratios					
		P _M	P ₀	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
1971	3.17	0.976	0.972	0.966	0.784	0.551	0.492
1972	3.07	0.983	0.989	0.939	0.735	0.519	0.465
1973	2.92	0.982	0.984	0.935	0.699	0.499	0.325
1974	2.60	0.980	0.984	0.922	0.582	0.351	0.252
1975	2.38	0.979	0.984	0.875	0.492	0.308	0.248
1976	2.21	0.983	0.978	0.853	0.385	0.297	0.202
1977	2.10	0.958	0.968	0.852	0.391	0.213	0.162
1978	2.04	0.952	0.987	0.859	0.293	0.206	0.133
1979	1.98	0.982	0.980	0.807	0.261	0.168	0.142
1980	1.59	0.977	0.967	0.619	0.102	0.092	0.051
1981	1.34	0.994	0.987	0.344	0.062	0.073	0.004
1982	1.44	0.986	0.986	0.386	0.177	0.259	0.267
1983	1.22	0.982	0.982	0.221	0.165	0.221	0.271
1984	1.20	0.983	0.983	0.192	0.187	0.229	0.296
1985	1.20	0.973	0.973	0.215	0.198	0.211	0.270
1986	1.28	0.979	0.979	0.250	0.238	0.271	0.292
1987	1.29	0.980	0.980	0.261	0.240	0.235	0.293
1988	1.28	1.000	1.000	0.215	0.231	0.323	
1989	1.18	0.993	0.978	0.169	0.208	0.333	
1990	1.22	0.989	0.997	0.227	0.026	0.333	
1991	1.09	0.998	1.000	0.089	0.032	0.000	
1992	1.17	0.996	1.000	0.167	0.050	0.250	
1993	1.07	0.961	0.925	0.153	0.177	1.000	
1994	1.07	0.986	0.937	0.129	0.130	1.000	
1995	1.02	1.000	0.951	0.056	0.313	0.000	
1996	0.97	1.000	0.908	0.067	0.034	0.000	
1997	1.08	0.980	0.981	0.120	0.064	0.000	
1998	1.09	0.976	0.974	0.134	0.084	0.000	
1999	1.01	0.977	0.936	0.100	0.077	0.167	
2000	1.03	0.987	0.953	0.088	0.059	0.167	
2001	1.12	0.966	0.963	0.181	0.088	0.285	
2002	1.11	0.988	0.974	0.137	0.092	0.056	
2003	1.04	0.989	0.934	0.116	0.068	0.071	
2004	1.10	0.997	0.966	0.137	0.058	0.111	
2005	1.10	0.983	0.971	0.142	0.058	0.000	

Note: calculations based on data from 1982, 1988, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 4b. Period parity progression ratios for sub-population II: China 1971-2005

Year	TFR _{ppr}	Period parity progression ratios					
		P _M	P ₀	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
1971	4.34	0.983	0.983	0.981	0.969	0.884	0.855
1972	4.00	0.972	0.980	0.986	0.939	0.796	0.741
1973	3.72	0.974	0.977	0.988	0.909	0.684	0.661
1974	3.64	0.980	0.994	0.982	0.869	0.662	0.592
1975	3.41	0.988	0.992	0.972	0.796	0.615	0.538
1976	3.13	0.997	0.984	0.974	0.730	0.510	0.401
1977	2.88	0.986	0.989	0.978	0.669	0.387	0.261
1978	2.59	0.997	0.995	0.936	0.547	0.282	0.149
1979	2.49	0.996	0.996	0.955	0.448	0.258	0.189
1980	2.02	0.997	0.989	0.780	0.302	0.131	0.133
1981	2.14	0.999	0.993	0.756	0.406	0.233	0.270
1982	1.96	0.993	0.993	0.751	0.239	0.255	0.352
1983	1.60	0.991	0.991	0.509	0.187	0.198	0.304
1984	1.45	0.990	0.990	0.390	0.183	0.219	0.196
1985	1.53	0.985	0.985	0.463	0.199	0.213	0.262
1986	1.89	0.992	0.992	0.663	0.316	0.187	0.265
1987	1.77	0.990	0.990	0.637	0.207	0.229	0.215
1988	1.76	0.976	1.000	0.635	0.241	0.100	
1989	2.05	1.000	0.995	0.725	0.377	0.224	
1990	1.84	1.000	1.000	0.606	0.314	0.222	
1991	1.52	0.986	0.954	0.496	0.237	0.050	
1992	1.47	0.977	1.000	0.441	0.129	0.071	
1993	1.40	0.980	0.968	0.396	0.189	0.091	
1994	1.38	1.000	0.987	0.357	0.128	0.000	
1995	1.47	1.000	1.000	0.444	0.069	0.000	
1996	1.27	1.000	0.969	0.283	0.098	0.053	
1997	1.23	0.979	1.000	0.233	0.074	0.083	
1998	1.24	1.000	0.974	0.262	0.043	0.000	
1999	1.25	1.000	0.967	0.263	0.106	0.056	
2000	1.23	0.994	0.983	0.236	0.082	0.125	
2001	1.10	0.978	0.966	0.108	0.508		
2002	1.14	1.000	0.959	0.153	0.217		
2003	1.16	0.977	0.985	0.161	0.244		
2004	1.24	1.000	1.000	0.192	0.231		
2005	1.25	1.000	0.986	0.210	0.289		

Note: calculations based on data from 1982, 1988, 1997, 2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 4c. Period parity progression ratios for sub-population III: China 1971-2005

Year	TFR _{ppr}	Period parity progression ratios					
		P _M	P ₀	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
1971	4.54	0.986	0.983	0.989	0.979	0.940	0.902
1972	4.39	0.991	0.978	0.985	0.966	0.908	0.841
1973	4.20	0.975	0.978	0.983	0.960	0.888	0.759
1974	4.16	0.990	0.986	0.988	0.949	0.861	0.658
1975	3.85	0.994	0.986	0.982	0.908	0.766	0.540
1976	3.67	0.988	0.989	0.984	0.889	0.697	0.463
1977	3.50	0.991	0.984	0.976	0.851	0.638	0.468
1978	3.49	0.996	0.988	0.982	0.834	0.619	0.463
1979	3.53	0.998	0.992	0.988	0.841	0.620	0.444
1980	3.04	0.999	0.990	0.975	0.697	0.465	0.338
1981	2.97	1.000	0.988	0.957	0.671	0.460	0.364
1982	3.02	1.000	0.993	0.949	0.691	0.483	0.375
1983	2.60	0.999	0.989	0.877	0.565	0.396	0.312
1984	2.54	0.999	0.990	0.853	0.554	0.390	0.305
1985	2.43	0.999	0.986	0.871	0.482	0.324	0.280
1986	2.53	0.999	0.987	0.910	0.490	0.368	0.305
1987	2.67	0.999	0.993	0.941	0.525	0.396	0.331
1988	2.62	1.000	0.993	0.953	0.528	0.367	
1989	2.53	1.000	0.995	0.928	0.503	0.319	
1990	2.45	1.000	0.988	0.919	0.466	0.314	
1991	2.04	0.994	0.990	0.777	0.321	0.207	
1992	1.90	0.999	0.979	0.720	0.269	0.164	
1993	1.82	1.000	0.982	0.674	0.224	0.187	
1994	1.81	0.990	0.985	0.668	0.233	0.179	
1995	1.72	0.993	0.987	0.609	0.201	0.225	
1996	1.68	0.999	0.984	0.588	0.168	0.217	
1997	1.63	0.998	0.979	0.559	0.165	0.148	
1998	1.62	0.997	0.984	0.576	0.109	0.161	
1999	1.60	1.000	0.982	0.524	0.164	0.189	
2000	1.58	0.997	0.978	0.558	0.103	0.128	
2001	1.59	0.999	0.967	0.542	0.167	0.144	
2002	1.56	1.000	0.966	0.536	0.129	0.147	
2003	1.56	0.998	0.954	0.567	0.116	0.112	
2004	1.67	1.000	0.974	0.634	0.115	0.071	
2005	1.61	1.000	0.968	0.626	0.060	0.061	

Note: calculations based on data from 1982,1988,1997,2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 4d. Period parity progression ratios for sub-population IV: China 1971-2005

Year	TFR _{ppr}	Period parity progression ratios					
		P _M	P ₀	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
1971	4.24	0.982	0.948	0.962	0.936	0.975	0.923
1972	4.31	0.984	0.972	0.966	0.936	0.960	0.879
1973	4.06	0.974	0.943	0.978	0.952	0.871	0.864
1974	4.42	0.985	0.980	0.990	0.961	0.925	0.855
1975	4.33	0.985	0.985	0.973	0.965	0.911	0.814
1976	4.26	0.983	0.975	0.984	0.973	0.884	0.778
1977	4.06	1.000	0.950	0.977	0.961	0.831	0.746
1978	4.18	0.997	0.974	0.978	0.942	0.879	0.732
1979	4.20	0.996	0.974	0.984	0.957	0.863	0.733
1980	3.88	0.999	0.978	0.983	0.886	0.783	0.639
1981	3.92	0.997	0.979	0.986	0.913	0.758	0.663
1982	3.96	0.998	0.986	0.982	0.893	0.785	0.686
1983	3.56	0.997	0.981	0.974	0.827	0.682	0.570
1984	3.44	0.995	0.986	0.963	0.789	0.665	0.550
1985	3.13	0.998	0.977	0.940	0.737	0.562	0.490
1986	2.91	0.910	1.000	0.952	0.920	0.424	
1987	3.31	0.997	1.000	1.000	0.802	0.647	
1988	2.26	1.000	0.864	0.838	0.602	0.551	
1989	2.85	0.811	0.966	0.949	1.000	0.778	
1990	2.79	0.988	0.947	0.967	0.678	0.550	
1991	2.27	0.966	0.878	0.967	0.542	0.363	
1992	2.41	1.000	0.962	0.959	0.370	0.534	
1993	2.40	0.986	1.000	0.906	0.470	0.251	
1994	2.43	0.990	0.981	0.883	0.514	0.373	
1995	2.38	1.000	0.961	0.961	0.429	0.262	
1996	2.35	1.000	0.968	1.000	0.408	0.054	
1997	2.31	0.997	1.000	0.847	0.469	0.193	
1998	2.07	0.999	0.883	0.903	0.394	0.262	
1999	2.11	1.000	0.988	0.705	0.487	0.248	
2000	2.33	0.996	0.988	0.819	0.585	0.143	
2001	1.76	0.999	0.912	0.664	0.333	0.234	
2002	1.85	1.000	0.953	0.788	0.189	0.037	
2003	1.96	0.998	0.975	0.831	0.195	0.136	
2004	1.77	1.000	0.953	0.677	0.249	0.100	
2005	1.79	1.000	0.962	0.656	0.296	0.045	

Note: calculations based on data from 1982,1988,1997,2001 and 2006 surveys

Table 5. Change in the period parity progression ratio-based total fertility rate (TFR_{ppr}) and shares of that change attributable to changes in period parity progression ratios: China, 1971-2005

Period	Starting TFR _{ppr}	Ending TFR _{ppr}	Percentage contribution to change in TFR _{ppr} from change in										Total
			p _M	p ₀	p ₁	p ₂	p ₃	p ₄	p ₅	p ₆	p ₇	p ₈	
Whole population													
1971-1977	6.04	3.29	1.1	1.0	4.3	32.2	32.9	19.6	9.4	2.7	0.8	0.2	100.0
1977-1979	3.29	3.23	42.8	38.5	9.1	115.2	37.2	33.0	4.7	7.8	1.4	0.4	100.0
1979-1984	3.23	2.09	0.5	1.2	69.4	22.8	7.1	0.4	0.4				100.0
1986-2005	2.19	1.43	15.4	7.0	74.3	32.9	1.8						100.0
1971-2005	6.04	1.43	2.3	1.6	61.5	36.6	2.5	0.2					100.0

Note: the negative signs refer to percentage contribution in the opposite direction of change.

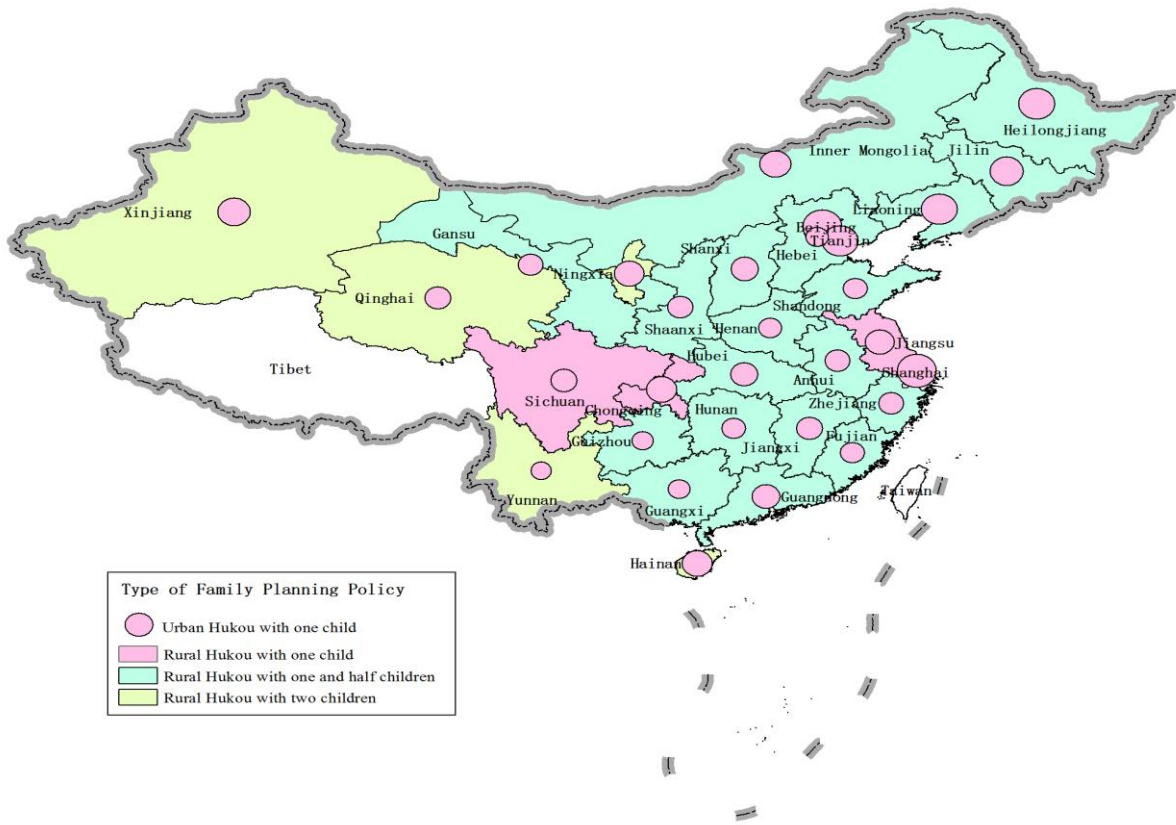


Fig. 1. Map of China illustrating different types of family planning policy by geographic areas

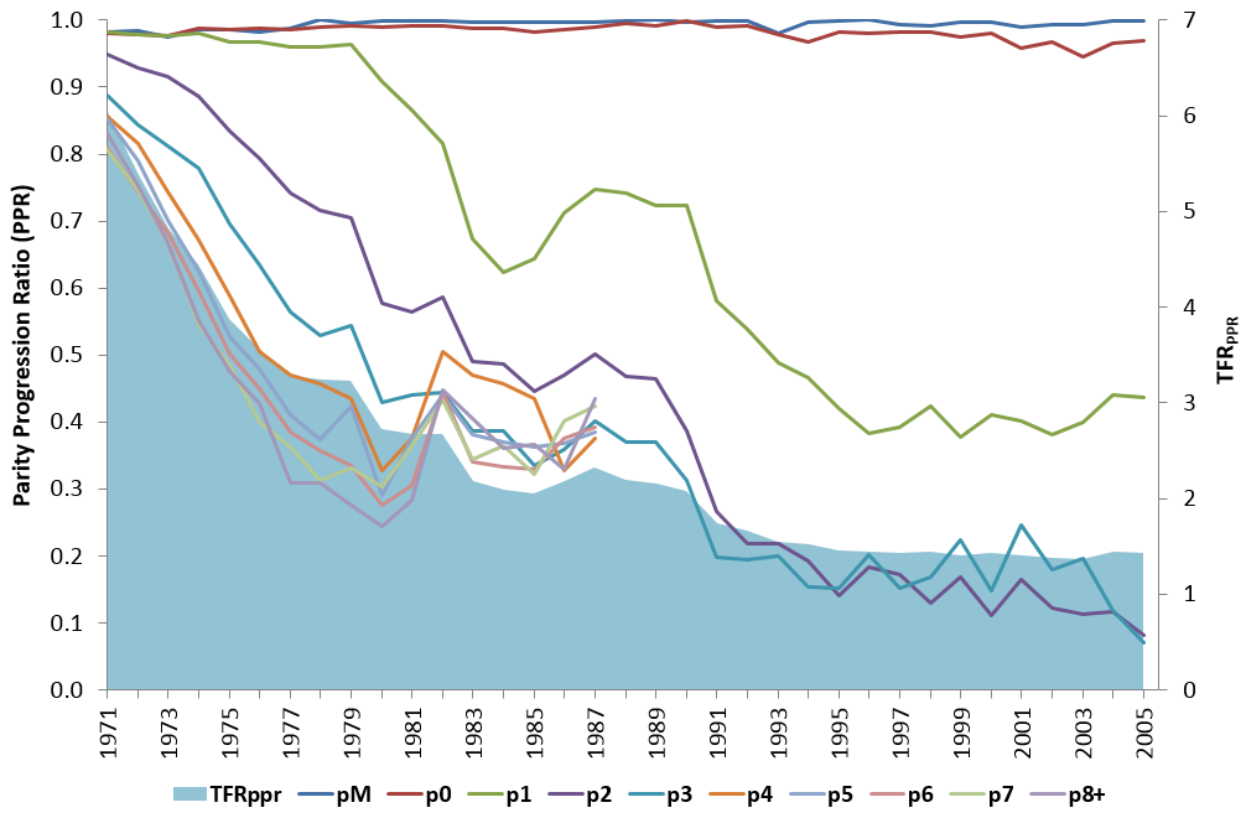
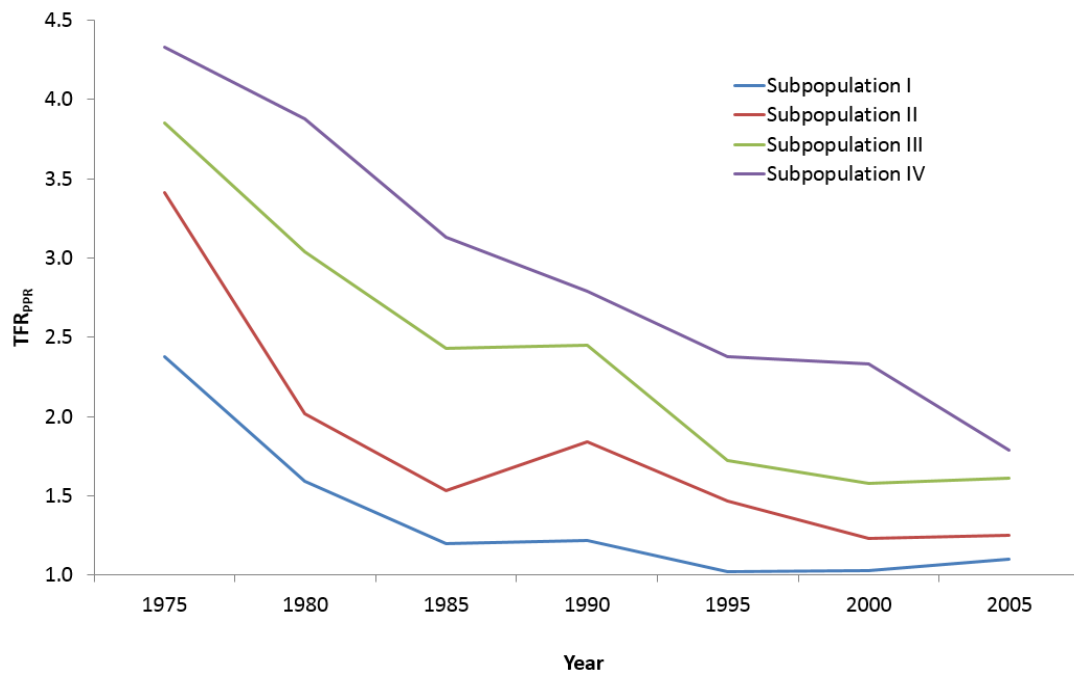


Fig. 2. Period progression ratios and TFR_{ppr}: China, 1971-2005



Note: calculations based on data from 1982,1988,1997,2001 and 2006 surveys

Fig. 3. TFR_{ppr} among different sub-populations

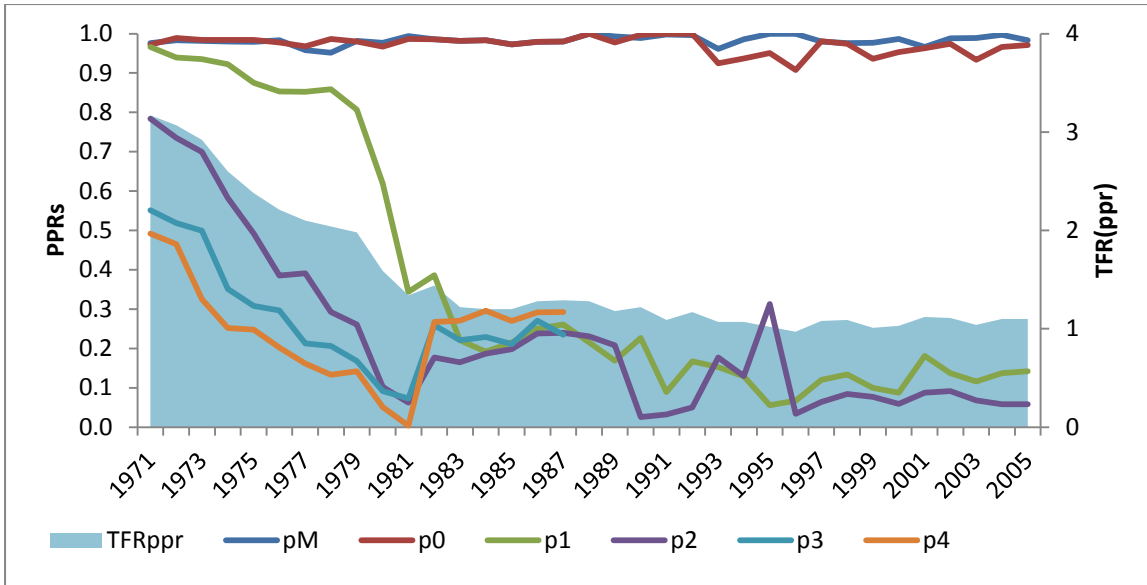


Fig. 4a. Period progression ratios and TFR_{ppr} for sub-population I: China, 1971-2005

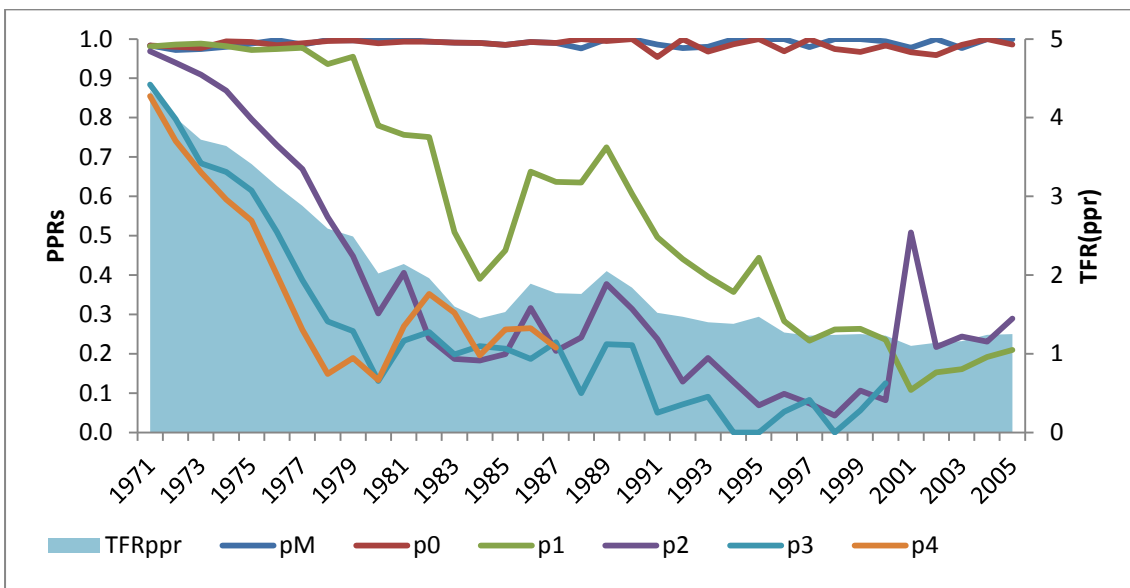


Fig. 4b. Period progression ratios and TFR_{ppr} for sub-population II: China, 1971-2005

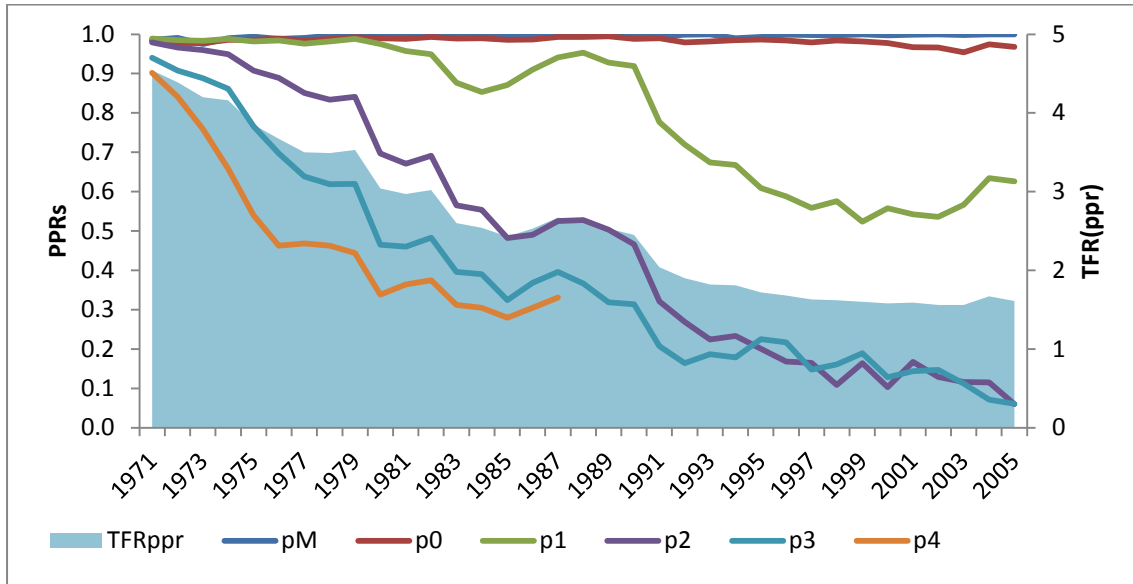


Fig. 4c. Period progression ratios and TFR_{ppr} for sub-population III: China, 1971-2005

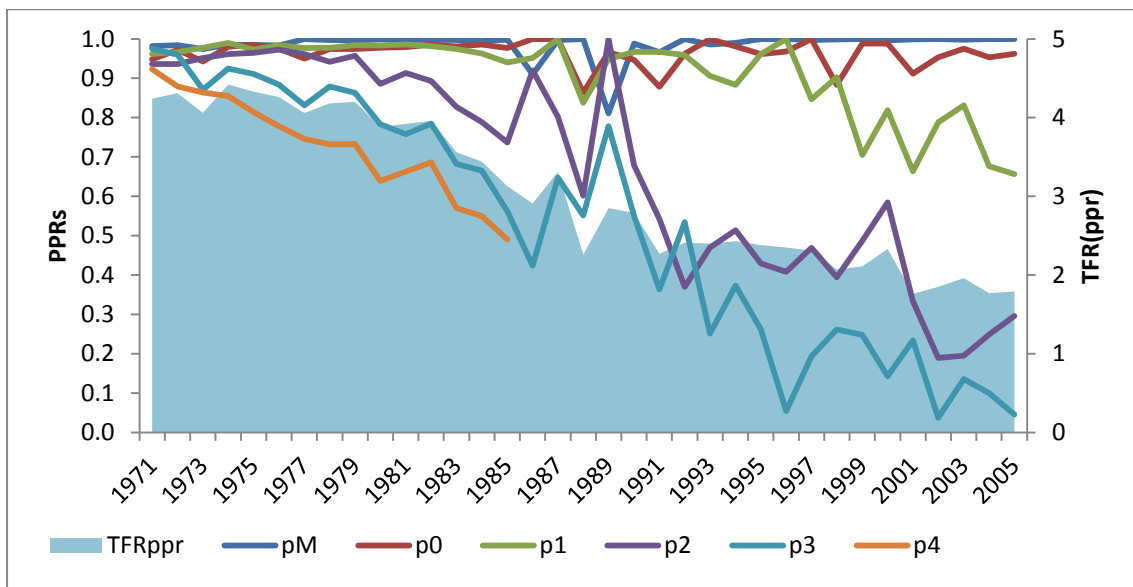


Fig. 4d. Period progression ratios and TFR_{ppr} for sub-population IV: China, 1971-2005

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Conflict of interest

None.