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**Reproductive experiences of women with unapproved birth under one
child policy in G city in China**

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Abstract

In China, after implementing the family planning policy in 1979, a huge group of women with unapproved birth were formed. However, the academic research on them are very limited. For women with unapproved birth, sacrificed the most under this “magical” that eliminated hundreds of millions of people in China, but their reproductive practices and experiences are being neglected and ignored.

Focusing on the reproductive experiences of women with unapproved birth under the one child policy, this thesis uses a qualitative method and conducts 10 interviews with women with unapproved children. Their reproductive experiences show that the one child policy hugely shaped their reproductive life psychologically, physically, socially and economically. Their experiences also illustrate the delicate dynamic between the state and people. In the local level, the silent majority was not passively accepting and internalizing the state power invading in their private life. Their willingness and desire inspired wisdom to help them take back control of their private life. In addition, due to family planning policy, the traditional mechanism that women’s reproductive behavior was decided within extended family collapsed. It did bring a certain autonomy on reproduction to women, the autonomy of having fewer children. And with education on the modern reproductive knowledge and birth control measures, it helped separated sex and reproduction, the importance of intimacy and affection has risen for women. Nuclear family becomes more and more important and the self-awareness is strengthening.

Key words: Family planning policy, one child policy, reproductive experiences.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

From the very first human born and reproduction generation over generation, it is a very long and challenging history of human reproductive experiences. Reproduction is not only the foundation of human continuity, but also the strength of prosperity. Meanwhile, since the industrial revolution, the rapid booming of population also threatens limited resources and the environment on earth. Reproduction is not just about the destiny of human beings. For women who have children or plan to have children, it also represents happiness and joy, diseases and danger, chain and suffering.

The reproductive experiences for women is always a timeless topic. In the history of human reproduction, women rarely have the right to make decisions and control the freedom of reproduction. On the contrary, human reproduction is always under a specific social structure. People's reproductive perception, practices and experiences are influenced by religion, the state, politics, family, kinship, reproductive technology and so on.

After entering the late 20 century, followed by a huge reform in China, the implementation of a universal and compulsory family planning policy, completely changed the reproductive activity for Chinese women. Starting from the 1980s, the Chinese population completed the transition from “high birth rate, low mortality rate, high natural growth rate” to “low birth rate, low mortality rate, low natural growth rate”. (national bureau of statistics, 2019) This reform is not only shown in population transition. In the private sphere, the state played an important role in pushing the transition in people's private lives. (Hesketh, 2005) This policy significantly changes in couples' intimacy relationship, reproduction, and reproductive perception and behavior. The reproductive experiences of women were changed according to it. For example, the family planning policy had strict restrictions on reproductive number, time and gap years, so birth control and contraception became a very important topic between couples' lives. In addition, due to gender preference in China, gender identification and selection widely

existed but were strictly forbidden, which directly led to women with unapproved pregnancy moving from place to place to avoid the control of authority, women experiencing mandatory abortion and the punishment of unapproved birth... In this social transition with a strong state control, women's reproductive experiences were put on a lot of focuses.

Reproductive issues are always a topic in demography study. From a demographic perspective, reproductive issues can affect the national economy and people's livelihood and an ideal society should have a suitable and stable reproductive situation. Therefore, demographic study emphasizes more on transition of reproduction and its effect on a macro level, which means it focuses on the results of family planning policy. It is a pity that from a demographic perspective, women are abstract, so reproduction is also abstracted as a result and described by numbers. Under this mandatory reproductive policy, that followed the principle of "minor principles should be subordinated to major ones", the reproductive practice and experiences of women have always been neglected. Even less study focuses on reproductive practice and experiences of women on a micro level.

Unapproved birth is a product of state practice, which is also influenced and restricted by various structural factors of the transiting society in China. As a country that has massive and compulsory control of reproduction, according to the a former director of national population and family planning commission, Zhang (2006), up to the end of 2005, it is assumed that family planning policy has eliminated at least 400 million births in China. "China has created a miracle of world population development that eliminated 300 million of population in 30 years." (Xinhua Net, 2009) However, these public statements from the national population and family planning commission were quite controversial. There is not a unified statement on how much people China has reduced due to family planning policy. Some scholars believe that the population effect brought by family planning policy is very significant. According to the report from "the effect and investment of family planning research project" (2000) funded by family planning commission, with a trend analysis approach, it was calculated that between 1971 and 1998, there were overall 338 million of people reduced in China. Another demographic

research used time series analysis approach and ARMA model and calculated that between the years 1971 to 1998, 405 million of population was reduced due to family planning policy in China. (Chen & Zhang, 2004) Economist Wang (2006) also calculated that at least 264 million to 320 million of the population was reduced. However, most of the calculation approaches have their own limitations, and it is hard to effectively eliminate the huge impact of economic, social and cultural changes on people's reproductive behavior since the opening-up reform in China, which means that family planning policy might not have that big effect as calculated. Wang and Cai (2010) pointed out that between 1970 to 1979, this was the decade when the reproductive rate in China reached the biggest drop and this was the time before the actual implementation of family planning policy. They further calculated that from 1979 to 2009, approximately 200 million was reduced. (Wang & Cai, 2010) It still has not reached an agreement on how effective the family planning policy was.

Nevertheless, behind this “miracle” after the implementation, some issues were gradually following by it, such as unapproved birth, mandatory abortion and selection of gender. Behind these population issues, a large group of population was constructed, women who experienced unapproved birth. Even though there is no public record of how large this population is, some scholars have tried to calculate this number. Liang (2010) calculated the difference between the population of 1.5 children per woman and the actual population in 2012, and found that in 2010, 200-300 million people had unapproved birth and were against the family planning policy. He further predicted that the actual number was way bigger than this. (Liang, 2010) The population of unapproved birth was so large, but few studies focus on this group of people. For the women who experienced unapproved pregnancy, they are the group that pays the highest price behind the great “miracle” of family planning policy. On one hand, this unprecedented, comprehensive, planned birth control has reshaped the reproductive environment of every woman, rewriting their perception, practice and experience of reproduction. On the other hand, strict supervision and punishment mechanisms have brought both psychological and physical burden to women with unapproved birth, and their families were also in the state of being structured and deprived. However, their reproductive experiences are being

neglected and ignored, which is a pity. Through this huge population control reform, the political significance of reproduction has been infinitely strengthened, while the individual, social and cultural significance of reproduction are ignored and hidden on purpose. Reproduction has never been this heavy for women. For women with approved pregnancy. As the violator and fighter of this strict policy, what are their experiences and feelings?

The reproductive history of humans is the history of political, economic and cultural development. In this thesis, the period from 1979 to 2010 is specifically focused on, because this period was the period that society was undergoing dramatic transition and the implementation of the family planning policy is the most stringent. In addition, this period was also the period when the experiences of women reproduction showed how the private sector was intervened by the state. Based on these, this research focuses on, from 1979 to 2010, women with unapproved birth, as the violators of family planning policy,

1. How does the family planning policy shape women with unapproved birth's reproduction experiences?
2. How does this policy change women with unapproved birth economically, socially and psychologically?

Chapter 2: Development of family planning policy and the change of reproductive environment

Among the great reform experienced by Chinese society, the changes in the reproductive environment are profound. On the one hand, socialist China came up with a comprehensive plan on reproduction. The comprehensive improvements in health and medical technology make reproductive control possible. Before the People's Republic of China, Women's reproductive concept and behavior were mainly influenced by traditional Chinese reproductive culture. Women's reproductive decisions were mostly discussed within families and clans. Meanwhile, women's reproductive practices were largely influenced by local knowledge and local medical practices. After the People's Republic of China formed, the state policy emphasizing collectivism infiltrated all aspects of social life. This was especially shown in the reproductive field. The state separated the individual reproduction from traditional culture and local institutions. Instead, it was incorporated into the national planning system. The state had a strong control on whether individuals want birth control and how to use birth control. This was especially shown after the implementation of family planning policy. Not only the number of reproduction was strictly controlled, but also the gap year of reproduction was the same. At the same time, Medicalization is also the driving force behind profound transition in the reproductive environment. The state placed reproduction in the medical system, and with the medical help, the will of the state had been successfully invaded into the reproductive field of everyone. The changes in the reproductive environment have rewritten the history of women's reproduction. In order to understand the reproductive experiences of women with unapproved birth, it is important to first analyze the change of reproductive environment after the 1950s.

In the chapter, the development of family planning policy will be introduced to examine how the family planning policy changes the reproductive environment based on traditional Chinese culture. The development of family planning policy will be concluded into 4 period as above, including the start of birth control (1949-1970), birth control and

planned reproduction. (1970-1979), one child policy (1979-2010) and two children policy and three children policy (2010-present)

2.1. The start of birth control (1949-1970)

The traditional Chinese thinking emphasized that “a large population is needed to enrich the country and strengthen the army, and inherit generation by generation”. Influenced by this thinking, population policy had always been encouraging reproduction and increasing population. Contraception and birth control are the result of industrialization. Therefore, in the early 20 century, advertisements about birth control appeared in some newspapers in Shanghai. (Liang, 2010) It was not until 1945 that the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese national party officially recognized birth control by people as legal. (Tang, 2005) Although after the establishment of the People Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, there was no specific policy related to birth control. The speech by formal president Mao expressed the prevailing thought related to population at the time that “Among all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, any miracle on earth can be achieved”. (Mao, 1965) In addition, at the early stage of People's Republic of China, a series of laws and regulations adopted were mainly about restriction on birth control and forbidden on abortion. The manufacture and sale of contraceptives is also strictly regulated. (Hemminki, 2005) Therefore, for couples at their childbearing age, especially those living in rural areas, the practice of contraception or termination of birth was dangerous and difficult. At this time, sex often means reproduction. However, according to the census in 1953, the overall population in China was way more than the 475 million that Mao expected in 1949. (Wu & He, 2015) At that time, there was scarce arable land with a huge population depending on agricultural population. In addition, there was limited industrial equipment and a rapidly increasing urban population whose natural population growth rate was as high as 20%. These had shocked the communist party and its leader in China. (Tang, 2005) Meanwhile, in order to meet the needs of the young population for contraception and birth control, the department of health started to reflect on past attitudes toward birth control, and pointed out that “Contraception is the people's democratic right and should be used freely by the people.

The government should prepare all conditions to guide and solve the needs of the people for contraception” (Peng, 1997) The central government also brought up that “For the benefit of the country, the family and the new generation, our party is in favor of proper birth control”. (Document Research Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1993) After these, between 1954 and 1957, there was a popular debate on population issues. In this debate, an opinion was agreed by most of the people, that advocating late marriage and birth control among the society should be closely linked to solving the problems of overpopulation and rapid growth. This opinion set the foundation for family planning policy in China. In the 1960s, the population environment for birth control was further enhanced. One the one hand, “the great leap forward” action rapidly increased urban population in China, thus strengthening between population and food support. On the other hand, after three years of economic hardship, the Chinese population reached a compensatory high reproduction. In 1963, the natural growth rate reached 33.33%, with the total fertility rate being 7.5. (National Bureau of Statistic, 1991) Huge population base and high population growth rate had become a heavy burden for economic development. In 1962, Prime Minister Zhou for the very first time brought up birth control population policy. He believed that Places with a large population should advocate for birth control, while places with a small population should increase the population. (Document Research Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1993) In December, 1962, the general office of state council officially public “the instruction on advocate for family planning” which stated that “Advocating birth control not only meets the requirements of the general public, but also meets the requirements of the planned development of socialism in our country” (Document Research Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1997) Up to this point the atmosphere of advocating late marriage and birth control was gradually created.

In conclusion, after the establishment of PRC, China experiencing a short period of restriction on birth control, due to the need to ease the population pressure and the needs of the general public. Starting from the mid-1950s, the population concept of birth control has reached a certain consensus among the leaders in communist party. In this

period, birth control was mainly focusing on educating people about health and contraception, publicizing birth control and providing birth control technology in the city. There was no certain institution or laws formulated. Therefore, in the 1960s, the thinking of control on population and birth control was created, the general public especially for people living in rural areas, their reproductive environment did not fundamentally changed,

2.2. Birth control and planned reproduction. (1970-1979)

By 1969, the overall population in China reached 800 million, and this heavy population pressure affected more and more on economic development. (Wu & He, 2015) According to Tang (2005), under the premise of the planned economy at that time, the implementation of planned reproduction was to make the population development plan compatible with the social and economic development plan. Therefore, planned control of population growth has increasingly become the consensus of communist party. In 1971, the National Development Planning Commission officially put population development in the fourth five years plan for national economic development. In 1973, the National Development Planning Commission officially put the population planning indicator brought by the state council in the plan of social and economic development. This indicator stated that “in the period of the fourth five year plan, the population growth rate needs to decrease year by year. By 1975, it will decrease about 10% in the city and 15% in the rural areas.” (National Development Planning Commission, 2021)

In order to match the reproductive practice of people and the planned indicator for reducing the population growth rate, more specific and detailed reproductive regulations started to be formulated. In 1972, the national health commission brought up the thought of “marry late, long gap year, and born less”. This thought was officially brought up in the first National family planning report conference. “Marry late” meant that men can get married after 25 years old, and 24 for women, and women can have children after 24 years old. “Long gap year” meant the gap year between two reproductions need to be more than 2 years. Lastly, “Born less” stated each couple cannot have more than 2 children. In order to implement this, the requirements for promoting comprehensive

contraception measures for couples were becoming stricter and stricter. Meanwhile, The State Council approved the establishment of a family planning leading group and its offices, and family planning institutions in local areas were also established successively. In this period, although there were specific and detailed family planning policies, it emphasized more on advocacy and promotion, and it was not coercive. At that time, there were not only no corresponding legal restrictions at the central government, but also the central government did not agree that local communities and governments formulate regulations to force the people to follow it. (Liang, 2010) In 1973, the family planning group leader of the state council criticized that “We must start with publicity and education to change people's thinking and understanding, not to formulate rules and regulations, and not to have force orders” (Liang, 2014)

The implementation of the “marry late, long gap year, and born less” policy represented the start of the state planned on birth control. The main measures of it were education on contraception and birth control and promotion of its technology. Between 1970 and 1979, it was called the golden age of family planning in China, because this period was the decade with the largest drop in China's reproductive rate. Therefore, even before the implementation of “one child policy”, the reproductive rate in China had already had a significant drop.

According to the information above, in the 1970s, the reproductive environment for women was gradually changing. On one hand, with the promotion of contraception, there was a new change in the experiences of women's bodies. On the other hand, the thought of family planning, birth control and contraception started to get into the daily life of people and the traditional concept of reproduction was being shaken. For the general public, family planning means nothing more than contraception, birth control, and the planned control of population growth. It was after the 1970s that the political implications of reproduction were really starting to transcend their socio-cultural meanings. As Liang, member of national family planning commission and researcher from Shanghai Academy of Social Science said (2014), “From 1949 to 1979, PRC gradually established and strengthened the socialist planned economic system. It was also the period when the new

regime actively adjusted and changed the traditional concept of population, and established the contraceptive and birth control system on the basis of voluntariness.”

2.3. One child policy (1979-2010)

Before 1979, family planning mainly focused on education and advocacy of birth control and contraception. It was after 1979 that the state required reproductive behavior of the public to obey the will of the state. In January, 1979, on the national family planning offices conference, the family planning group leader of state council Chen pointed out that “We must be aware of it, conduct work, control multiple births, encourage one birth, and reduce the population” (Peng,1997) At the beginning of 1979, the vice chairman of national people congress Chen made a public speech related to family planning policy that “we need to be tougher, and clearly state that only one child is allowed, even being cursed of dying without descendant. If we do not do it now, the future would be a disaster.” (Chen, 1986) Therefore, in the middle of 1979, the work of family planning changed from “encouraging only having one child” to “each couple can only have one child regardless of city or rural area”. From this time, the family planning office actually implemented a one child policy already. In September, 1980, the central government public “An Open Letter to All Communist Party Members and Communist Youth League Members on Controlling Population Growth”, in which clearly stated that “In order to control Chinese population within 1.2 billion by the end of this century, the State Council has issued a call to the people of the whole country to advocate that each couple can only have one child.” (Peng, 1997) In addition, the state gave advantage for single child families on admission to school, medical treatment, employment, housing and allocation of housing in rural areas. This represented that the one child policy was officially introduced and universally implemented. This also represented that the reproductive environment had a fundamental reform since the establishment of PRC.

If the “marry late, long gap year, and born less” policy had met the reproductive needs of the public to a certain extent, this “universal one child policy” totally ignored the public reproductive desire especially for people living in rural areas. In the practice of local level, the local family planning office and government universally required each couple

to have only one child and unapproved birth must be terminated. In addition, due to the pressure from assessment based on indicators, the working approach of local government was direct and crude in practice, which led to often occurrences of human right violations, hence intense tension between local government and public. (Hesketh et al, 2005) From 1980 to 1984, the total fertility rate in rural areas was 2.91, 3.32, 2.78 and 2.70 respectively. (Xinhua Net, 2013) This data explained that the one child policy lacked public support. Under this stricter and stricter policy, the reproductive environment of ordinary women have fundamentally reformed and their reproductive stories were comprehensively rewritten.

In February, 1982, The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed the current birth policy that urban residents can only give birth to one child per couple, while families in rural areas can give birth to one more if the first child is a girl, and ethnic minorities can have a more exemption. (Peng, 1997) At this point, the family planning policy was loosened compared to the universal one child policy in 1979, so it was called “compromise and adjustment of one child policy”. (Liang, 2010) However, this was opposed by the local department. In 1988, the political bureau of the central committee further stated the main content of family planning policy. First is advocating late marriage and childbearing, fewer and better births, and advocating that each couple have only one child. Second, if people in rural areas who have practical difficulties, including single-girl households, require to have a second child, they can have a second child after a certain gap year. Third, under no condition can anyone have a third child. Lastly, family planning policy should also advocated among ethnic minority and specific requirement and practice should be formulated according to local condition. (Peng, 1997)

2.4. Two children policy and three children policy (2010-present)

After 3 decades of universal one child policy, the age structure in China was significantly changed. Following the decrease of the birth rate and increase of life expectancy, the working population in China started to decline. By the beginning of the 21st century, the total fertility rate of the country's population was far below the internationally recognized level of generational replacement. In order to solve this issue, a selective two child policy

was implemented in 2011. At this time, only the condition when both parents are the only child, can the couple have a second child. However, this policy did not help much in increasing the population. According to “the report on National Economic and Social Development statistics in 2012”, for the first time in a very long time, the working age population from 15-59 years old, had an absolute drop, declining 3.45 million from previous years. (National Bureau of Statistic, 2013) At that time, Chinese economic growth rate has slowed down significantly. Although this was because of factors such as short-term decline in export demand, demographic dividends are factors that cannot be ignored. Therefore, the selective two children policy was further opened. In 2013 in the third plenary session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, it was introduced that only one side of the parents being single child, can the family have two children. (Xinhua Net, 2013) This was further opened by a universal second children policy in 2016. However, the universal two children policy was a little too late to fundamentally change the demographic situation. From 2016 to 2018, the number of children born in the hospital was reducing every year, which means that the cumulative effect of universal second child policy has been basically released, and the continued decline in the fertility rate has become a high probability event. (Pan, 2021) Chinese population has begun to change from low birth, low growth to low birth, zero growth or negative growth. In addition, the number of women in reproductive time has decreased, the age of marriage and childbearing has been delayed and people’s willingness to have children has declined, which brought huge influences on population, social and economic development in China. In August 2021, the National People’s Congress passed the decision on the revision of the Population and Family Planning Law, allowing and encouraging each couple to have three children.

Looking back at the development of family planning policy, it is the process of the state gradually putting its hand to people's private lives and taking control of reproduction of women. The reproduction of women serves as a tool to help the state reach its goal. This research specifically focuses on the one child policy period (1979-2010). This was the time when the state determined people’s reproductive behavior was finally formed, by

using strict and mandatory methods. This has never happened in any country any time that the state takes full control of reproductive behavior. The form of family planning policy represented fundamental reform of women's reproductive environment. Following stricter and stricter measures, the reproductive history of people was rewritten and women's reproductive practice and experiences faced new changes. When the political significance of reproduction has been infinitely strengthened, facing this reform, what were women feeling and how did they cope with this reform?

Chapter 3: Literatures review

“Unapproved birth” means the reproductive behavior that does not meet the time requirement, quantitative requirement and certain gap year requirement by the family planning policy. This is the side effect of the implementation of the family planning policy. Even though this population is quite huge, there were few studies focusing on the population of it or this group of people. Even less studies were about women who experienced unapproved birth. The reproductive decisions usually were made within the family and couples are the main bodies of reproduction, but only women were the actual bearers of reproduction and took most of the responsibility. In the actual practice, they were the main control targets of the local family planning office and they were the subjects who received the strictest punishment due to unapproved birth. In order to better understand their reproductive life, previous study related to reproductive issues could serve as an important logic model. Reproductive behavior of humans is not only a physical process, but also a sociodemographic phenomenon. Therefore, the reproductive perception and behavior of a couple in a specific society are closely related to corresponding reproductive policies and norms in the society.

In this chapter, previous studies related to how reproductive policies in China affect the reproductive practices of women with unapproved birth would be reviewed. Because there are very limited literatures related to experiences of women with unapproved birth, this literature review would focus on women experience under both traditional culture and family planning policy to understand the dynamic between traditional reproductive culture and family planning policy in the actual practice, that can a full picture on women’s reproductive environment.

3.1. Traditional reproductive culture and women’s reproductive experiences

A famous demographic Gu (1998) believes that reproductive behavior of an individual first depends on her reproductive willingness, which is determined by their social and cultural environment. A set of regulations, norms and cultural environment related to

reproduction in society create the foundation for women's reproductive perception, behavior and experiences. According to Li (2003), a sociologist and a social activist, this set of concepts, beliefs, customs, habits and behaviors are called reproductive culture. Anthropologist Malinowski (2005) believes that the role of reproduction in human society has its own cultural system. The need for human continuity is not satisfied by human's physical action and function, but is the result of a set of traditional rules and related material and culture. (Malinowski, 2005) In addition, cultural factors play an important role in the process of demographic transition. According to Coale (2005), one of the foremost demographers in America, there might be an inherent correlation between reproduction and culture, and the impact of purely cultural factors on the decline in fertility cannot be ignored. Similar conclusion was drawn by Freedman (1974), an international demographer. In regions with similar culture, there are similar reproductive patterns, and even with different levels of economic development, sub-regions with a common culture tend to have similar patterns reproductive decline. (Freedman & Coombs, 1974)

Fei was the very first man who studied Chinese women's reproduction in cultural perspectives. He believes that the driving force of fertility was not determined by biological factors or the amount of food, but by the nature of the social structure. The reproductive decisions, attitudes and behaviors of couples are all within a set of specific reproductive systems. (Fei & Malinowski, 2013) Traditional reproductive cultures are based on traditional social structure and norms. The traditional reproductive culture in China, such as "early marriage early fertility", "more sons more blessing", "preference on boys over girls" and "preference on quantity over quality" are consistent with the social production mode, social structure and religious concept at that time. In traditional Chinese culture, marrying a wife and having children is an important symbol for a man to establish a career. It is a family mission to have boys to carry on the family line. Highly valuing on reproduction and boy are the main content of traditional reproductive culture. (Zheng, 1999) Therefore, the aim of marrying is reproduction and the aim of reproduction is having boys to keep the family line. After interviewing different women over 75, Zheng (2007) found that all the women believed that "according to traditional

Chinese culture, it needed to give birth to boys. One boy is not secured. It is needed at least two to finish their mission as a woman, so that the family doesn't end because of them. In addition, compare to boys, girls are not necessary." This clearly shows that in tradition reproductive culture, for women, giving birth to boys is their mission, and their family status is highly based on it. Therefore, after the implementation of family planning policy, there was a huge resistance in China. The reproductive culture weakened the positive effect of family planning, and sociocultural factors began to show a trend of exceeding the economic and political factors, which might become the main driving force of reproductive behavior. (Ge, 2000) Therefore even under such a strict family planning policy, there were still a huge amount of people who violated it.

From 1979 to 2010, women's reproductive environment had a great reform, and social factors also played an important role in the decision-making process of couples.

Therefore, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of women who experienced unapproved pregnancy, it is important to have an in-depth analysis of the active political and social factors in the social life of people.

Li (2003), a sociologist and a social activist in China conducted qualitative research to examine how the village culture where people live shaped their reproductive conception and behavior. She found out a value based on reproduction, that "Fertility itself is a pillar of the villagers' values. In addition to the belief that comes from the heart, fertility is also the criterion for evaluating others. Therefore, the driving force of fertility is a group power in the village"(Li, 2003) For women, giving birth to boy also reflected on their social status. Women would be looked down upon in the village if she could not give birth to boys. Li believed that in 66a village regarding reproduction as the core value, the two major inhibitory factors of reproduction are social and economic development and family planning policy, among which the family planning policy played a more significant and powerful role. (Li, 2003) However, between the reproduction culture and two major inhibitory factors, what made women to have more children or follow family planning policy that only had one child? Based on her research, Wu et al (2017) tried to examine what was the main factor for women to have more children. They found that "when the demands of policy and institution conflict with the demands of the cultural

norms, people resort to various weapons of the weak to prioritize how they will meet the cultural demands, through maneuvers, negotiation, and a mutual construction with the institution to avoid institutional constraints, guard the cultural boundaries, and comply with their fertility bottom line. When the institution is too strong, and there are a series of supporting institutions to regulate the individual behaviors, and fulfill or compensate for the functional role of the original culture, the original cultural norms of the community will be reset and replaced and a new community culture will be formed in accordance with the institution's demands.””(Wu et al, 2017)

Some of the scholars focused on the transition of reproductive culture under the background of socialist reform in China. Different from understanding the reproductive behavior of people from a cultural perspective, these scholars analyzed these new reproductive concepts, behavior and practice as a new reproductive culture in China. Zheng (2007), a sociologist in China believes that the modern factors, such as reproductive and contraception technology, the government management approach, family planning management approach and the level of modernization, were pushing people from “natural reproduction” before to a new reproductive culture “less and better born” as the will of the state. His research emphasized on analyzing the changing of reproductive concepts and behavior under the social structure reform in China, but it did not go into the subjective emotional world of people to reveal the most direct experiences, feelings and attitude under the background of social change.

In conclusion, previous studies above provides some inspirations to understand reproductive experiences of women who had unapproved birth. First is that it is important to understand the influence of reproductive culture on women's reproductive willingness, concept and behavior. Second, under socio-economic reform, which also led to a great reform of the reproductive field, reproductive concept and behavior had a complete change. Therefore, it is important to recognize the processes, mechanisms and characteristics of reproductive reform as well as the women’s reproductive experience in this reform.

3.2. Family planning policy and women's reproductive experience

There is no doubt that unapproved birth is a product of family planning policy and it is a result of social construction. Therefore, when studying reproduction of women, we cannot ignore this huge social reform, family planning. Study about the process of implementation of family planning policy and exploring how this policy changes the daily life of women are very necessary references to understand the reproductive experiences of women who had unapproved birth.

3.2.1. The relationship between state power and people

Greenhalgh (1994), a professor focusing on anthropology and Chinese society, believed that in the reproductive field in Contemporary China, the state controlled almost everything, leaving few choices for individuals. Her research conducted in Shaanxi showed that the process of implementation of family planning policy is a fighting and negotiating process of individuals, which created a compromising effect between the state, local government and individuals. (Greenhalgh, 1994) According to Yan, a professor of social anthropologist in University of California, Los Angeles (2006), in the process of implementing family planning policy, there were two ways of action between the state and people. Family planning policy is an important approach for the state to reconstruct a new family structure and new family life, but under this strict policy, people still could find rooms to negotiate. In this process, a new reproductive concept and value was created. (Yan, 2006) At this point, informal rules were created to meet people's desires and the local measures were significantly deviated from national ones. (Potter & Potter, 1990)

Therefore, the implementation of family planning policy is the process of state power strongly intervening into people's private life, while individuals use their own strategy to fight under limited room. Although the state power is constructed and strengthened through bureaucracy, permeability, social category and control at the local level, when implementing the state power, the cultural nexus of power cannot be ignored, such as

religious and beliefs, interpersonal relationships, human emotions, local cultures and values. (Duara, 1991)

After the open up reform in 1978, the people's commune system was abandoned and the power of local government was constructed. Some believed that the abandonment of people's commune system represented state power withdrawing in a local level, while the other believed that this was the new system in which the state power worked at the local level. Wu (2007), a Chinese anthropologist, examined the confrontation between local government and peasants about grain levies in the central area of China, he found out informal operation of formal power. In reality, local resources, such as kinship, people's relationship, self-esteem were joint in this confrontation. Therefore, in the implementation of policy, it cannot be assumed that the state has the full control and ignores the power of local society. This power from local society often emerges in a way or language externally needed. People in the society were far from just passive receivers of policy, they have their own demand, desire and fighting strategy in their life.

Overall, when studying the process of implementation of family planning policy in China, more attention is focused on the dynamic between the state and the people. On the one hand, this is because the state had stated that the family planning policy was a fundamental policy of China and needed to be implemented to every couple in their reproductive age. This is a long term process instead of one specific event, people need to live in this situation in the long run. On the other hand, because the family planning implementation is serious and penetrated in people's daily life, the main fighting approach of them was hidden in their daily life. One common form of their hidden resistance was to conceal a pregnancy from local officials, have the pregnancy in a distant hospital and then either hide it at home or place it in care of relatives elsewhere for a few months or years. (Greenhalgh, 2003) Their approaches were hidden and varied. If there is no attention to daily life, it is impossible to understand the hidden power dynamic between the family planning officer and local individual.

3.2.2. Experiences of women with unapproved birth

For women at reproductive age, family planning policy was not just a period or event. It was a long-term circumstance they were living in. In this circumstance, women who had unapproved pregnancy were experiencing and practicing. In a way, family planning policy made them have a collective emotion and behavior. However, very few literatures are related to women's reproductive experience under this policy. There are still some studies are focusing on their daily life.

In Yan's study (2003), he focused on personal life and experiences, and found that between the dynamic of the state and individual under family planning policy, the state played an important role in restructuring women's personal life. However, in his study, the interviewees were mainly men, so it cannot represent the experience of women. In Greenhalgh's (2003) study, very detailed examples were given on how women resisted family planning policy. One common form of their hidden resistance was to conceal a pregnancy from local officials, have the pregnancy in a distant hospital and then either hide it at home or place it in care of relatives elsewhere for a few months or years.

Second group is "excess-birth guerrillas" which means they fled their home areas and moved elsewhere, often to locations along provincial borders or the peripheries of large cities. A third group is evaders married and had children before reaching the legal age. (Greenhalgh, 2003)

These resistance also brought bad influences on women, putting their bodies at risk. According to Hemminki (2005), a researcher focusing on public health, the number of abortions increased rapidly after the introduction of the 1979 population policy. It is suggested that women may have been forced to have an abortion if unapproved pregnancy occurred. Applying pressure to undergo sterilization was apparently even more common. (Hemminki, 2005) In addition, statistics showed that women with unapproved birth were facing the child's death or their own death from reproduction, because they were eligible to receive welfare benefits, such as free prenatal care and postnatal care from the government. (Ni & Rossignol, 1994) Similar result was found by Doherty et al (2001) due to economic punishment and social pressure from family

planning policy, women with unapproved pregnancy tended to repress the knowledge of their condition, hesitate to confide in others, delayed pregnancy confirmation and had less access to obstetric care.

Another interesting opinion from Greenhalgh's (1994) study is that family planning empowered women. "Although women are victims of family planning policy, they are not only just victims. They are also the agents who, acting for themselves, their families, actively contested the elements they did not like, forcing local cadres to negotiate the terms of policy implementation. Through their action, villagers protested many of the formal rules, compelling negotiations over issues that they desired. The result was the informal rules partly accommodating their desire." (Greenhalgh, 1994) By advocating for themselves and family, women were empowered in the policy making process.

However, their resistance also strengthened social subordination of women, since they still advocate for the policy that favored men, patriarchy system and their sons.

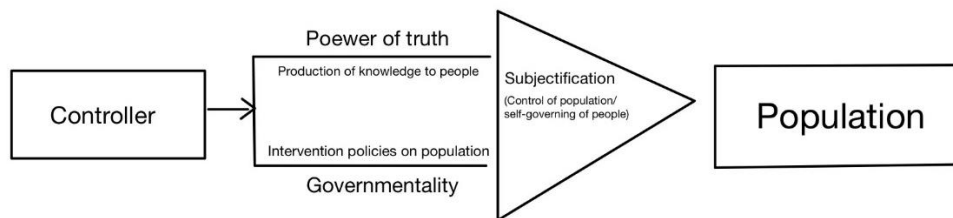
In conclusion, it is very difficult to find studies about women reproductive experiences, but there are still few studies showing daily life and the difficulty women might facing. These studies are very precious on understanding the background of women with unapproved birth. Family planning policy is a reform that completely changed the reproductive history of women in China. Women at reproductive age were not only the target of the reform, but also the main body participating in it and practicing it every day. For women who had unapproved birth, it was a pity that their experiences and their feelings are missing in the history narrative. They are being ignored and represented.

Chapter 4: Theoretical framework

The foundation of population planning policy was women's reproductive behavior needs to meet the requirement of the state, which means the state has the control of women's body. Michel Foucault is the pioneer who studied the body and politic. (2007) He connected power with body and politics, and believed that power is deep into people's conscious, subconscious and even into people's body, where he brought up body politic. The origin and its continued restructured process is deeply connected with human's bodies. The metaphysical subject of knowledge is replaced by the body, or the subject is no longer decisive, but a product of power. (Foucault, 2007) Highly emphasizing on disciplinary power, and using the panopticon as an analogy, Foucault makes a comprehensive reckoning of the physical disciplinary mechanism and strategic plan implicit in human society. A docile body (one that is both productive and disciplined) has since become the best indicator of the effects of physical discipline (Foucault, 2007) Compared with the body control of the traditional society, the body control of the modern society emphasizes the indirectness, comprehensiveness and non-violence of control. Its biggest shift is that disciplinary power is more of a submission to the inner discipline of self-control.

Foucault further explains it in "the history of Sexuality" (2019). He brought up the concept of "biopolitics" that extended the state power from body to population. This focuses on population-intensive. As long as individual is being disciplined, which includes their desire and sexual behavior, then the whole population, including the reproduction of population and number of population, is under controlled. Classical bloody society shifts into sexual society which means instead of using blood (violence) to represents a depressed power, the sexual society actually represents the right of produce. It is not only production of human or body, but also the production of power. (Foucault, 2019) How to do it? In Foucault's "biopolitics" theory, there are three kinds of intervention mechanism. (graph 1) First is the production of knowledge and truth. Power and knowledge are directly linking together. Though the construction and accumulation

of new knowledge, it amplifies the effect of the power. The knowledge can be produced though law and regulations, education, media and so on that can guide people's mind. (Foucault, 2019) Second is governmentality which is mostly though policies, measures or spatial planning formulated by the controller aimed at controlling, regulating and guiding the population. Through specific policy interventions, spatial practices, or the use of laws, disciplines, surveillance, or action, the realization of state reason in the production of population knowledge to guide people's behave in reality. (Zhang et al, 2019) Third is subjectification, which refers to a learning and internalized process though the external discipline and internal guide. Individuals and groups are influenced by the classification, opinions and regulations generated by population knowledge and governmentality. (Foucault, 2019)



Graph 1

Women have their own experience of power. Sandra Lee Bartky (2020), a professor of philosophy and gender studies further analyzed Foucault's theory in modern society. She believed that compared to the ancient time, they are not limited in the family but have more mobility. (Bartky, 2020) However, in modern patriarchy society, male's discourse still dominates the whole society and it still overemphasizes women's behavior and characteristics. (Bordo, 2020) Instead of regulated by the family, this disciplinary power becomes more dispersed and anonymous. More and more invasive apparatuses of power are produced to enforce stricter social and psychological control. The effect of power "circulate through progressively finer channels, gaining access to individual themselves, their bodies, their gestures and all their daily action"(Bartky, 2020) An philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler (2002) compared the strict norms from the soldiers described in the Foucault's book "Discipline and punish" and the social norms for women in modern society. She analyzed that the strict social norm for women's body in

the society, including their, facial expression, gestures, behavior and so on, are not from women self-consciousness and these are the modern patriarchy power imposing to women. (Butler, 2002) These social norms are not imposed to women in the form of enforcement, but through the internalization of power. The image of panopticon returns: knowing that he can be observed from the tower at any time, the inner takes over the job of policing himself. (Bartky, 2020) This discipline power is faceless and pervasive. It does not need weapon or violence. All it needs is gaze, a supervision gaze. Everyone will become obedient under the heavy pressure of this gaze, and she will become her own jailer. Therefore, what might look like is top-down surveillance against women, might actually be imposed by women themselves. The gaze becomes a useful tool to make women consciously obey in patriarchal society. Women used various methods to achieve the “standard” women’s character and body and shape the so-called “femininity”. Women not only become the images they keep watching themselves, but also transform themselves into a kind of object, an object of visual image and a building. Women themselves establish a self-examination mechanism that based on patriarchy social norms. Such self-examination mechanism would always ensure that women are being watched regardless of whether men are present or not. As Simone de Beauvoir said in her book “the second sex”: One is not born, but rather becomes a woman. (Beauvoir, 2022)

Foucault’s theories would be useful to understand the family planning policy implementation and women’s experience under it in China. By specifically looking into the power of truth, governmentality and subjectification in the process of Chinese government implementing One Child policy through women’s experiences, it can better understand the interaction and intervention between the state, local government and women, as well as how the power works at a micro aspect. Women with unapproved birth, as a violator and fighter of one child policy, there is no doubt that their lives faced huge changes. Under the spread of one-child knowledge and strict discipline at that time, how did they escape from the Panopticon and fight for their reproductive right? What was the state’s role in this process? They should be the teller of their own stories.

Chapter 5. Methodology

5.1. Research method

This research chose women with unapproved birth in the period of 1980 to 2010 as main subjects. According to the population planning policy during this period, unapproved birth refers to more births than allowed by the one child policy, birth that was not meeting the approved birth interval, and birth between a married person and a third party. Since this research aims at studying women's reproductive experiences, a qualitative method was adopted. Individual interviews for women who had unapproved births in the period of 1980 to 2010 will be conducted to review the history of women with unapproved birth in the background of family planning policy and social transforming. As participants and fighters of family planning policy, women with unapproved birth witnessed a completely different reproduction transition in Chinese history. They were facing a strong intervention on their reproductive decision, their bodies, their careers, their contraception... And they are supposed to be the speaker and explainer of this policy. Therefore, it is important to get first hand data from them.

Snow-balling sampling was used as a sampling-collecting method. The reason snow balling sampling was used is because this topic was quite sensitive in China, people tend to not receive an interview on this topic to a person they don't trust, so starting from people that have already had a bond with me is a quick and efficient way. Starting from family friends that is close to me, I have conducted in-depth interview on 10 different women in G city in China. Because of the Covid restriction, it is hard for me to go back to China to conduct the interview in person, online interviews were conducted though a Chinese telecommunication application Wechat. Due to most of the interviewees were not comfortable their faces being recorded, all the interviews were sound recording. Before the interviews, all the interviewees signed the inform consent about this research. All the recording was transcribed into Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) and translated into English. Both Chinese transcript and English translation are shown in the appendix.

The interviews were conducted from 40 minutes to 60 minutes. A semi-structured method was adopted in the interview. In the interviews, I invited the interviewees to talk about their own experiences under the one child policy, as well as how it shaped their reproductive experiences. The intention of all the interviews' question was to describe and explain the world that interviewees experienced. (Entwistle, 1997) The interview started with "What is your very first impression of family planning policy" as guiding question. The interviews developed based on interviewees' discourse and her response to the semi-structured question. I tried my best to not guide the interviewees' responses, discussion and explanation. I tried to focus on the phenomenon as experienced by the interviewee and form a relaxed interpersonal relationship as well as a feeling of individual freedom. (Barnard, 1999)

After transcribed and translated the recording, open coding was used to analyze the data. It can help the themes to emerge from the data analysis itself. (Ho et al., 20) Based on the themes, related data of themes can be generated that illustrated these specific themes. These related data would be further read and analyzed in the context on the specific themes. (Ho et al., 20) The focus of the analyses was how the women narrow their experiences under family planning policy and the dynamic among the women, local enforcement and the family planning policy.

Since this interview was based on their memory and narrative, there are some drawback based on this. First, memories and narratives were processed information from the women, so it might not restore a full picture of what really happened. And as the years go by, the feeling and experiences that they felt very strong at the moment, have gradually become unfamiliar. Secondly, because the sample method is snow-ball sampling, instead of random sampling, these ten stories from women with unapproved children can only represent a small area. It cannot represent or derive to the stories of the whole china. However, the reproductive change during 1980-2010 was a miniature of how the state invaded in personal life in China. Their reproductive experiences and histories are

precious and typical, which can serve as a reference of women reproductive history in the late 20 century to early 21 century.

5.2. Ethical considerations

According to Act on ethical review of research involving humans (Department of Education, 2022)

Section 16 Research person must be informed about

- *the overall plan for the research,*
- *the purpose of the research,*
- *the methods that will be used,*
- *the consequences and risks that the research may entail,*
- *who is the principal of the research,*
- *that participation in the research is voluntary, and*
- *the research subject's right to cancel their participation at any time.*

Based on this, after selected the interviewees, I conducted a short phone call with each of them to inform them the research information, the consequences and risks, as well as the rights during this research. I also sent the inform consents form to each of them to make sure that they knew about the research information and their right in participating in this research. The inform consent form was written in both English and Chinese, which was shown in the appendix. After receiving the inform consent form with their signatures on from email or Wechat, I started to conduct the interview with them. Before the interview question, I also stated again their right in the interview process, including confidentiality and anonymity, as well as their permission to record and they can withdraw anytime they want without explanation.

Because this topic is quite sensitive in China, in order to eliminate the potential risks and consequences to participates, all the data would be only used in this research. It is also important to ensue the confidentiality and anonymity, especially when handling the sensitive and possibly identifiable information. (Israel, 2015) In addition, all the recordings and raw data would be delated after this research is completed. These are also

written in the inform consent form. However, because it was conducted online, it still had a small risk that the information was saved by the server that I don't have access to, which was also informed to participant.

Another potential risk and consequence was that since this is an in-depth interview, some participants might be triggered from their own experiences. This was informed to the interviewees in the short phone call before the interview to make sure they made a conscious decision on whether they join this research. However, sometimes the interviewees don't know whether they would be triggered before the actual interview. Therefore, after the interview, I provided my private contact and helpline in China to the participants in case they got triggered and needed to talk to a professional.

Chapter 6: Reproductive practice of women with unapproved birth

In 1973, The State Council of People's Republic of China officially placed family planning into national economic and social development. In July, 1973 the State Council also approved to establish family planning leading group and its office. Following by this, family planning agency in different level gradually established. In 1980, Regulation of population and family planning of Guangdong province was officially approved, which stated that family planning leading group in G city to lead the family planning in the whole city.

For an agriculturally dominated country, family planning is not only a reform that changed thousands of years of reproductive culture in China, it also represents that for the very first time family control and women's reproductive practice were placed at the center of national work and as a public topic. Starting from 1980s in G city, the intervention of family planning in the private life of people was becoming more and more comprehensive. In the process of the subsidence of state power, the grassroots practice, which was the most direct and closely related to women's reproduction became a very active force. This force directly rewrote reproductive story of women. Especially for women with unapproved birth, because they tried to break through the shackles of policy, they became top priority in the local practice. In this chapter, the story of women with unapproved birth will be uncovered to understand how the policy go in to their life and the dynamic between them and local authority.

6.1. The shaping of women's reproductive experience

6.1.1. The art of propaganda: the political and economic aspect in slogan

The family planning work in local level started with promote the thought of late marriage and contraceptive measures. Propaganda is a very effective way. The advantages of it are of low cost, spreading quick and easy to understand. This was widely used to promote family planning in the local level. During the interviews, most of the women remembered a few slogan that made a deep impression for them. These slogan normally were easy to understand and very catchy, for example, “One person is ligated, the whole family is glorious” (一人结扎, 全家光荣), “If wanting to be rich, have fewer children and plant more trees” (要想富, 少生孩子多种树), “family planning, merit in the present, benefit in the future” (计划生育, 功在当代, 利在千秋) and so on. These slogans were not only easy to understand, but also are rigorous. They were both intellectually inspiring and emotional moving. These slogans played an important role in the guidance and dissemination of the public. In addition, these short and direct slogan showed the mind of the state and represented the nature of social and economic system at that time. This also owed the spirit of a generation and civilization of the society at that time. Although it is difficult to evaluate how much this slogan affected on the public, it truly represented the presence of the state power in daily life of people. This state power is gentle. It “exercises its power at a minimal cost” and at the same time, “maximized the effect and amplified it as much as possible”. (Foucault, 2007) The use of propaganda represented the change of the state governance and it was a landscape and symbol showing that the state power was everywhere.

Putting reproductive issue in the discussion of political environment, is one of the persuasive way to maximize the effect of family planning slogan. A lot of slogans implicit with political logic.

First, it connected the reproductive issue with political life of people. For example the slogan “One person is ligated, the whole family is glorious” (一人结扎, 全家光荣),

implicit that the birth control related to how much a person support the communist party. It took the reproductive issue away from people's private life and put it in their political life. At that time in China, how much a person supported the communist party and its policy were directly and strongly affected their living environment, education and employment. Therefore, ligation mean following the lead of communist party.

“At the very beginning it was very honorable to take the initiative to sterilize. People would beat gongs and sound drums. And also they would be rewarded.”

(Tian)

Secondly, it linked the birth control of an individual to social governance and the law. For example, the slogan “if not getting ligation when you should, you'll be arrested” (该扎不扎，见了就抓) “arrest” means not getting ligation was against the social governance regulation and the local government had the right to use their power to punish people. This kind of slogan left an impression to public that birth control is absolute, and people had no right to decide. If not getting ligation, punishment was a nature thing.

The slogan used indisputable tone politically to demand reproductive behavior of people, including reproductive process, number of children, gap time between two pregnancy and the gender. For example, “pregnancy with license, birth with license” (见证怀孕，持证生育), “education on one child, control two children, and eliminate three children” (普及一胎，控制二胎，消灭三胎), “resolutely fight against abortion on girls” (坚决打击流产女婴) and so on.

I remember there was one banner on the wall of village team (local authority), saying “minor principles should be subordinated to major one, small inhumanity exchanges for big humanism”. Individual obeyed the collective which was absolute without any doubt. If you were not following the policy and government wanted to punish you, just let them punish you. There was nothing to say. (Xing)

These slogans were relatedly gentle and focused on education on family planning policy, but there were also some slogans were cold and rude, or even blatant violation of human

right, such as “rather have the family perish than the country” (宁可家亡，不可国亡), “rather blood flowing like a river than having one unapproved child”(宁可血流成河，不可多生一个). This kind of slogans were cold and impersonal. Although it showed how serious and urgent family planning policy was, it easily caused public resentment and resistance, thus more conflicts. More importantly, these impersonal slogans also reflected the poor legal awareness of local government and the violent way when implementing the policy. In G city, during the most severe period of policy enforcement, this kind of slogans were quite common in the communities and streets. For ordinary people, these slogans just showed the severity of the family planning policy. As long as people not violating it, it would not have any influence on daily life, but for women with unapproved birth and its family, these slogans gave them heavy psychological burden.

“Even though it was catchy, they were not kidding. They were really going to do what they said. They would arrest people and lock them up. They would give people’s food there and would not beat people. We didn’t kill people or set fire. And we never steal anything from other. All we want was a child. Why do we need to be anxious about it?” (Xing)

In addition to persuading public in a political perspective, another strategy of local government was persuading people in an economic perspective. For example, the slogans “if wanting to be rich, have fewer children and more pigs” (要想富，少生孩子多种树), “fewer children less burden, family planning gets rich quicker” (少生孩子少拖累，计划生育快致富), and “if not getting ligation when you should, house collapses; if not getting abortion when you should, confiscate house and cows” (该扎不扎，房屋倒塌；该流不流，扒房牵牛) and so on. These slogans were very direct to tell public the advantages of having fewer children and emphasized on the bad consequence of unapproved children. Connecting reproduction with economy of family actually worked very well. In G city, these slogans promoted the thought of “it is not worthy having more children” and “having boys or having girls can have the same happiness”. In local practice, this slogans was not just to intimidate people. It was actually put in implement.

“They were really going to destroy the house and took away all the valuable things in the house, making people worried all the time. Even you kowtow, it did not work to them.”(Xing)

“They really would demolish the house, and remove all the valuable thing in your house, just to make you felt that it was not worth to have one more child.”(Tian)

From these, we can tell that the slogans of family planning policy were very direct and persuasive way to promote new knowledge to people and the state holds the power of this “truth”. It had a huge influence on changing reproductive perception and raising awareness of birth control. However, some cold and impersonal slogans also implanted violence and rudeness in daily life of people, leaving a huge burden for women with unapproved children and their families. Realizing on this issue, in August, 2007, the national population planning commission started to clear and take off all the punitive and impersonal slogans on the streets, and at the same time, it regulated the format of the slogans to a more harmonious way, which represented the family planning policy was shifting from administrative mandatory to be service-oriented.

6.1.2. The story of birth control: IUD and ligation

Starting from 1959, the state has consciously promoted and educated birth control nationally. It was mainly focusing on voluntary birth control and education on birth control technology. In 1963, limiting multiple births became the priority of birth control. From this on, the state strongly promoted the contraceptive measures. Starting from 1980s, the mandatory measure of “one child getting intrauterine device (IUD), two children getting ligation”, which means women with one child must be implanted IUD, and those with two children must be ligated, started to strictly enforced.

In G city, although the education on IUD and ligation appeared in 1970s, it was after 1980s that it was strictly and mandatory enforced. Starting from that, the top-down administration system of family planning started to establish. Based on setting indicator on different administrative level, the birth control measures of “one child getting intrauterine device (IUD), two children getting ligation” implemented very quick.

“Women were demanded to put in IUD or get ligation. But at that time, family planning policy still weren't very strict. So I said, who wants to do it, then do it, I won't do it anyway. My second daughter passed away just a few month after she was born. Finally, I just gave born to a boy, but he wasn't that healthy. What if he could not live long as well? So I rather die than get a ligation. Later, they arrested my husband, so I have no choice but to put in an IUD. I gave born to my second son in 1985. They came to mobilize me to get a ligation again. They said that I have two sons already and according to policy, I must get ligation now. I said that I wouldn't have child anymore...So I went to the health clinic and get the ligation” (Li)

“Women who had given birth should have their IUD checked regularly, as well as the gynecological examination. This was to see if the IUD was still in their bodies. If you did not have it in your body. You would be put in an IUD right away.”(Tian)

The quick and strict implanting of sterilization operation had huge negative impact on women both physically and psychologically. In addition, the local enforcement system faced huge pressure due to their evaluation based to indicator, leading to “one-sized-fit - all” measures in the local practice, which hugely increased the chances of side effect of birth control measure. Not only this, in a lot of medical centers in G city, the medical condition at that time were related poor and the technology and hygiene did not meet the requirement, especially in rural area. The education on contraceptive measures after the operation did not deliver to women, for example how long can an IUD stay in women's body or what the abnormal reaction were after implanting the IUD. For these reasons, a lot of women suffered from side effect after the operation, leading to huge damage on women physically and psychologically.

In the late 1990s, the state realized disadvantage of massive implement of “one child getting intrauterine device , two children getting ligation”, since women's physical and mental health was not guaranteed. The national family planning commission brought up

“priority on three aspects” (family planning based on education, birth control and the frequent work). However, because the state had very strict demand on family planning work based on indicator, and central government clearly stated that the family planning needed to be directly in charge of by leader of each province and use “one vote veto” system, in the local practice, the measure of one child getting IUD, two children getting ligation” did not stop until the “second child period” in 2010.

6.1.3. The transition of the reproduction: looking for reproductive opportunity in the crack

“When I had my second daughter, the one who passed away. Her grandparents always had that attitude toward me. At that time, I was having her in Qigan (location). When I was 6-month pregnant, we knew it was a daughter, but I was unwilling to get an abortion. I mean she was my daughter in my body. I was thinking I suffered a little bit more but it would worth it. (After giving born of her) I only gave her one-week of breast milk. She was hungry to cry and I suffered from too much milk in my breast, but there was no choice. I have to stop giving her breastmilk. The policy has been implemented for more than half year. I still need to continue to give born of boy. My second daughter was really weak. She only lived for five months. I didn't know if this was because I stopped giving her breastmilk too early. I just wanted to shorten the breastfeeding time so that I can get pregnant quicker. I have another one later very quick.” (Li)

“At the beginning, we didn't have this thought. And my family was too poor. We had this idea later was influenced by other...At that time, it was impossible to not have a boy in the family. My sister had a friend, who is one year younger than me...She found someone in Aotou (location) to take off the IUD... Although it damaged to body, but since she could do it, why not me too...The second day after I had this thought, I when to Aotou to take off my IUD. It took 200 yuan. It was not even 2 month after that I found out I was pregnant. I was worried when people asked to check the IUD, so I went back there and put the IUD back. I always thought that as long as IUD inside me, I would not be afraid. In fact, I

didn't know. I should have pee before. Then it should only found the IUD not the baby. At that time, Yang Xiaohong was the women director, and she hunted for women with unapproved pregnant every day, so I couldn't let anyone find out...I hide in Jiekou(location). Later it wasn't safe there, so I escape to Hunan (location)" (Tian)

"I have three children. Actually I had four... In order to have a son, they couldn't stay with me. It was fine for the first daughter, because she was the first one. However, for my second daughter, I had to send her to my sister until she could walk and then I gave it to my mother-in-law in the city to raise. Later, I had one more daughter, I gave her to other and never saw her again. Two years ago, my aunt heard about her family and wanted to arrange us to meet but she refused. She thinks that we abandoned her. I had no choice at the time...They arrested me once when I was pregnant with my son, so I was scared to stay there and escape to my parents-in-law place in the city...I was too scare to go out until he's born."(Liu)

These are three stories from women with unapproved birth, which are quite representative in the reproductive experiences of women with unapproved birth from 1980 to 2010. These intense and strict birth control campaign completely liberated women's reproductive behavior from traditional reproductive culture and local knowledge, but their reproductive behavior was put into national system. However, even women were in this panopticon of reproduction, they still can find the reproductive opportunity in the crack of the policy. This planned and mandatory family planning policy represented the state power invaded in private life of people comprehensively. Following the implement in full swing, there was a huge transition of reproductive practice in China.

First of all, there was a profound change on the process of how people made their reproductive decision. In tradition Chinese culture, reproduction is one of the most important issue within the family. Reproductive decision of women happen with the

whole extended family or even clan. There is very limited freedom of women choosing not to have baby. Following with the improvement of women's social status and family planning policy promotion and implement, women has more freedom on choosing not to have baby, although family still plays an important role on reproductive decision making. This is to say that women reproductive willingness is changing. Although some of the women has strong believe on "more sons more blessing", for those who prefer to have less child, family planning policy justify their behavior of not following reproductive decision within the extended family or clan. However, for women with unapproved child, the reasons that initiate the idea of having more children are complex, including special feeling of being a mother, traditional culture of "more sons more blessing", expectation from the elderly, peer's influence and so on. With the family planning policy, there are new factors mixed in their reproductive decision, for example, if their family could afford huge amount of financial punishment; how much it hurts their body to take away the IUD and gives birth to baby in a clinic without a license; if they could manage to avoid the seasonal IUD check; if they could suffer from the physical and psychological pain of abortion when the pregnancy is identified as a female, what would they do if other people knew it and so on. Because of all these concerns, having more baby became a matter of finding opportunity in the crack of state surveillance.

"It was not about if you want child. The premise was you actually could give born a baby. You needed to make up your mind to hide and escape inside the mountain or other cities. After birth, it was a life and there was nothing they can do any more. The maximum they could do was giving you a fine."(Yuan)

Secondly, under the strong state surveillance, for the family with unapproved birth, "personal choice and plan become the foundation of having a new life in the family". (Yan, 2003) Traditional reproductive perception was changed by birth control, sterilization and abortion. On one hand, although there is relatively low possibility of fertilize with IUD. If it really happens, they could just keep the baby without telling anyone. As long as they could manage to avoid the seasonal IUD checking, they can decide if they would keep the baby after six-month pregnancy, when it could identify the

sex of baby. On the other hand, taking off the IUD became an important mean for women fighting against family planning policy. Since there was financial benefit, a lot of individuals or agents that were illegal and without license secretly helped women take off their IUD. In addition, with the improvement of medical technology, people started to use medical technology to intervene the sex of the baby. Especially for women with unapproved child, because they were taking a lot of risk to have one more child, it was common to terminate pregnancy when they knew the baby is a female.

“You need to be smart to avoid examining the IUD. When I was pregnant with the young son, it was in the first month of the year. In the spring, when examining the IUD, the child was only two or three months in my belly, the IUD was always on my body. At that time, it used the scanning to examine. People just needed to stand in front of the machine. As long as the IUD was inside the body, it would not be suspected. When I was 6 months pregnant, they have to check it again. I went to Jiekou (location) to find a doctor there. I had a B-ultrasound while the hospital was resting at noon and I knew it was a son. I was relieved. After the scanning is done, the IUD was still on the body. After the IUD was checked, I needed to do gynecological examination and the doctor would press the stomach. There was no way to hide from this. I remember that there were several people who went with me to examine the IUD. After I scanned the IUD, I pretended to be in a hurry to help my second mother carry fertilizer. When they went to the gynecological examination, I asked them to take attendant for me. This was how I hid pregnancy from them. Later, I went to Lvtian (location) until the labor. In the autumn when I needed to examine again, I had already gave birth to the child.” (Li)

“She was cruel to herself. She found someone in Aotou (location) to take off the IUD. She was pregnant after that. Later, when she found out that it was a girl in her 6 month pregnancy, she gave an abortion. Later, she had child again. It turned out it was a girl again, so abortion again. And then finally she gave birth to a boy. It was because of her that I wanted to have one more child.” (Tian)

Thirdly, with the comprehensive intervention of family planning with medical technology, women body also experience fundamental changes. Although before the 1970s in Guangzhou, the education on birth control had started, in perception of people, implanting IUD, sterilization and abortion still were recognized as cutting off their posterity. Knowledge and practice of active contraception were very limited. Meanwhile, there is no contraceptive measure can 100% guarantee to be successful. The success rate of using IUD is about 85% to 90%, which means 10% to 15% of the women might be pregnant even with IUD. There is no statistic showing how much women got pregnancy with IUD, but in the 10 interviews I conducted, 2 women decided to have unapproved child because they was pregnancy even with IUD. In the interview process, a few women also mentioned “a friend” they know got pregnancy with IUD and kept the baby.

Although theoretically speaking, the rate of fertilizing with IUD is not high, this is not uncommon among women with unapproved birth. This brought a whole new experience for women. In the early stage of pregnancy, abdominal pain and vaginal bleeding might occur. In the cases of pregnancy with IUD, there is higher possibility of miscarriage, postpartum hemorrhage, stillbirth and premature birth. IUD might also oppress and affect fetal development, leading to fetal malformation. All these new issue and concern were changing the reproductive experiences of women. In addition, secretly taking off IUD became choice for women to take back their reproductive right. Regular hospital and medical organization were not allow to take off women’s IUD, unless women had certificate that their body was not suitable for IUD. However, if people have relationship inside the hospital, they could secretly take off the IUD in the hospital. For most of the women without relationship in regular hospital, they turned to individual or agent without license. *“I have heart that there was one women in Aotou (location) who can help people to put in or get out the IUD. She was a midwife before but gradually had no business, so she especially helped people do this at that time. I went to Aotou to take the IUD out very soon after I put it in. I secretly sneaked there at night. She set up a place at her home to do it. There was no anesthetic needed. She just used a thing and put it in. Very soon it was done. It was not like in the hospital... No one noticed whether she was sanitized or not... When I was pregnant with the young son, examining the IUD happened to be*

stricter...If I was found out, I would be caught and forced to get an abortion. So I went back to the woman and ask her what to do. She helped me put the IUD back. It didn't take a lot of trouble. After putting the IUD back, I still went to work as usual for my labor point. (Li) Due to the widely implement of “one child getting intrauterine device, two children getting ligation”, for women with unapproved child, it is quite common to implant and take off the IUD, so they do not worry much. As for the side effect from implanting and taking off IUD, such as abdominal pain, low-back pain and vaginal bleeding, they also did not worry, because a lot of them had done it a couple times and got used to it already. *“They did all these things on your body, it was normal to have some minor problem on the body.”(Tian)*

Therefore, the mandatory family planning policy change reproductive practice of women. For women not meeting the requirement to have more children, reproduction was not an issue on their private sphere. And if they could have another baby was highly dependent on if they could manage to hide form the state surveillance.

6.2. Social, psychological and economic change on women

6.2.1. Hiding and “excess-birth guerrillas”: change of social environment

For women with unapproved birth, getting pregnant was just a very first step. No matter what they had experienced before the pregnancy, pregnancy has a huge influence on them. It not only represents that a new life was nurtured in their body, which made women more sensitive due to hormones, but also brought changes to their bodies, such as having pregnancy reaction, swollen belly and so on. The reaction of bodies may reveal signs of pregnancy to other, which brought great risk for women and their babies. Besides on the birth control campaign, the local family planning office also needed to figure out all kinds of ways to stop unapproved pregnancy.

In G city, the seasonal examination the IUD inside women’s body and gynecological examination were very important and serious work. In the community and villages, family planning officer and women directors were at the present to count the number of

women and confirm identity. This was to avoid substitution for examination. If they found out women were escape to other communities or cities with have unapproved pregnancy, different measure would be utilized to force women to come back to examine. For women in their reproductive period, seasonal checking of their body was a new power exanimating on their body and this power invaded in their daily life comprehensively, which changes their reproductive experiences completely.

In addition, this seasonal checking was a serious political mission. Women who absented would face deduction of their working point, which affected their work and salary. Also, they would get suspected by local family planning office.

“At the very beginning, for examining the IUD, you just needed to stand in front of a machine. The machine could know if you have the IUD inside the body just by a very quick scan of the body. Normally, as long as the IUD still inside the body, it would not need to worry that much. But there were cases when people get pregnant even with the IUD inside the body, just like me. Later, they required people to conduct ultrasound. It means you needed to lie down there, and they would put something on your stomach, something a little cold. And they used a thing moving around on by stomach. This could not hided the baby from this, so I started to escape after they found out that I was pregnant.... I did not feel anything special about it. The state wants to plan the population and family. You belong to the country. Of course your body must obey the country too. There was no doubt having unapproved child is wrong and not justified, but even it is wrong, to be honest, everyone still wanted to have more children.” (XING)

In the 1980s, collective work assigned by the government were quite common. Therefore, gaining working point was directly related to their salary. Deduction of working point would face a fine. A lot of people did not have extra money to pay for the fine. Collective work also made women with unapproved pregnancy very difficult to hide. Athat time, communities and villages in Guangzhou were typical acquaintance society. Gossip spread fast. As long as the local family planning officer and woman

director paid attention on this issue, it was not difficult for them to find out unapproved pregnancy. Lastly, in order to eliminate the unapproved birth, the local government used financial reward to encourage reporting among neighbors. The local family planning office linked family planning to the interests of everyone. In this background, hiding their pregnant bodies was not easy. Facing these surveillance net set up by local family planning office, the bodies of women with unapproved pregnancy was being comprehensive examined.

“At that time I couldn't hide at home without going out. My family had to provide two laborers. In the morning, the team leader called everyone to go to work. When I was pregnant with my young son, it happened that we were going to pick up the river as a group (relying on manpower to build canal). I was weak and skinny at that time, no one wanted to be a group with me...I could only keep doing it. I could slack off if I was lucky. It was all good at the beginning, but gradually my belly became bigger and bigger. And I did not have enough clothes. Every time I wanted to vomit, I needed to pretend I wanted to go to toilet. My mother-in-law was really worried that we can't hide it and I would be dragged to get an abortion, so she said I couldn't go to work anymore. And my body could not handle the hard work anymore. She asked me to go to lvtian” (location) (Li)

“When belly got bigger, I was afraid of being found out...Normally, We started selling meat 5 January in lunar calendar. In that year when someone asked me, I would say after 5 January. Killing pigs and selling meat was physical work. Getting up at two or three o'clock in the morning to kill pigs and chopping meat all the time was too much for me. On the early morning 5 January, my husband and I escaped to Jiekou (location). He found a job there, and I hid at my sister's place. Later, it was not safe to hide in Jiekou, so I went to Hunan.(province) (Tian)

“I was scared and didn't dare to stay at home so I hid in each of my relatives' house for a while. I felt like I had hiding all the time. Later, I felt embarrassed

because I had stay in almost all my relatives' house. I went home...I hid in the basement that stored food in my house. I had no choice, otherwise I would be drag to have abortion.” (Wang)

I was reported by other, so I escape to live with my mother-in-law instead. I was reported again by someone there. People from family planning office came to investigate. They had reward for those who report other. Reporting one person could get 5000 yuan. (Zheng)

Therefore, when people having unapproved pregnancy normally means cutting off the outsidess connection, even to close friends, and they needed to move from place to place where they knew no one to keep the baby. It is clear that in the local practice, for women with unapproved pregnancy, the warm society in the past had become a panopticon described by Foucault. In this panopticon, women in reproductive period were being watched and other were the watchers. In this society, women with unapproved pregnancy and their families were put in the center in the society. Although the expression of the power were gentle, through this model, power can be exercised through the simple fact that in a collective, anonymous gaze, in which people are seen and things are known. (Foucault, 2007)

The feeling and emotion of pregnancy were covered by examined bodies. Hiding and “excess-birth guerrillas” became what most of the women did.

“I was staying a few days at this relative's house and a few days at that relative's house. I was feeling sorry to stay at one relative's house for too long. At that time, everyone was poor, so I could not just stay there and did nothing. I did laundry and cooked for them. I ate whatever they ate...: It cannot say being stuck with fear. It was just tired, extremely tired hiding around. And no one know if the child was a boy or daughter. I just wanted to stay up to my six-month pregnancy and go checked up. It would be more encouraged and comforting if knowing it was a boy... I was too scare to write letter back home. Later, my brother-in-law came to me and told me that they arrested my husband. We really could not stand the

stress from those people. At that time, (people from) the local family planning office came to our place every day. They wanted to destroy our house. They wanted this and they wanted that. And lastly, they arrested my husband and father-in-law. Eventually, my father-in-law said that just get an abortion, since we still could have a baby next year. He was crying, so was I.” (Xing)

“excess-birth guerrillas” (超生游击队) refers to their practice of fleeing their home areas and moving elsewhere, often its location along provincial borders or the peripheries of large city. (Greenhalgh, 2003) Apart from the anxiety and inconvenience living outside, the news from their family was their biggest concern.

Hiding and escaping were the most common way to resist the family planning policy. According to White (2010), there were mainly two way to avoid the examination of their bodies, the independent type and dependent type. Independent type means that women resist the policy without the help of local authority, while dependent type means that women resist the policy with the help of local authority. Normally, women only escaped when they had to, such as being arrested or reported by other. The reason why some women could successfully hide until their children were born is closely related to the tacit understanding and skillful cooperation of some local authority. For example, in the opinion of local family planning officer, escaping to another city of women actually relieve their work pressure. Moreover, depending on relationship and the among of bribe, local authority could not only help women avoid the checking, but also providing information to escaping couple and applying milder punishment to women’s family members. Therefore, women are not simply just victim of the policy and the relationship between them and local authority are not just obeying or resistance. Women had their own strategy toward the policy and the secret cooperation of the local authority member is an important key for them to success.

6.2.2 Mandatory abortion: physical damage and psychological trauma

“When I did the abortion, I was so scared and almost passed out, so I did not remember who was with me at that time, except that the woman director was

there...I did the abortion when it was 7 month and 20 days pregnant. I did the injection for abortion at 9 o'clock in the morning. (Do you remember if there was any narcotic?) I don't remember if there was any narcotic. I just remember I was very scared when I saw that needle. It was really long and injected in my stomach. I remember I was watching a lot people standing there. I was too scared and almost passed out. At that time, after the injection for abortion, the baby supposed to not move any more. However, after 72 hours of it, it still had not come out. This was the time I scared the most and really worried. I had heard that stillbirth was the most painful. My mom was worried the most. She was scared to cry at that time. We did not know what to do. I had a cousin and she had heard that there was an old woman living in Baiyun (a location). She could help people deliver baby, which means even the baby was not old enough, she still could help deliver the baby earlier. What my cousin mean was that it would not help anything when we were just waiting here so we just went there and tried. In fact, now that I think about it, it was too dangerous to do this, but who would know anything then. I was already scared to death. I just did whatever people said... That was, at night, it happened to be the months of farming, so there was no one in the obstetrics and gynecology department in clinic. After 5 o'clock, I asked for a leave and said I would go home to take a bath. After that, I went there and told her the situation. The child was already below the belly... She put on the gloves. She put her hand into my uterus and slowly touched it from the top. In fact, it was making the baby in a right direction, so that the child could be easier be born...and the old woman said it was better to go to the hospital to get some oxytocin. At that time, I didn't even think that the child would survive. I always thought that the child would be dead. Still, I wanted to try it with oxytocin, in case the injection needle for abortion didn't go in the child's head. After getting a bottle of oxytocin, the amniotic sac all went out. My sister said it would be better if I could give birth to the child at the hospital in the city, but we still went back to the clinic in the village. I was escaped from there, so I could not let anyone know that. Now I think about it, it was very dangerous. It took two hours go back and

all I had was a blanket. I knew nothing at that time and not care about all those things like people right now. To be honest, as long as my child was safe, I was more than happy... I went back at about 8 in the night. My belly started to hurt at about two in the afternoon the second day. After hurting for a while it became super painful. My sister went out and got the doctor. The child was born very soon. The child was crying when he was born. I was shocked, (almost) shocked to death. He really was alive. My sister used to pants to wrap up the child. She called for a car and directly took the child the hospital in the city, to rescue... I feel like I suffered a lot every time I think of it. I was really regret suffering this. When my son was just born, he was really not well. He lived in hospital for half month after he was born. He had gastric ulcer and hemorrhage. I don't have (breast) milk for him, so I asked my friend to buy milk powder from Hong Kong, until he was one.” (Xing)

This was the story of Xing, a woman who gave birth to an unapproved child in 1992. She experienced late termination of pregnancy due to unapproved pregnancy. Although it has been more than 20 years and the unapproved child has grown up, she still felt miserable and regret of what happened. According to the policy at the time, she reached her gap period in 1993, but due to the failure of IUD, she got pregnant in 1992. She decided to follow what her parents-in-law said and kept the baby. She kept hiding until she was 7-month pregnant. *“We really could not stand the stress from those people. At that time, (people from) the local family planning office came to our place every day. They wanted to destroy our house. They wanted this and they wanted that. And lastly, they arrested my husband and father-in-law.”* (Xing) In July, 1992, she decided to terminate her pregnancy and ended her months of concern. The abortion operation conducted in village clinic with a lot of people presented. She was very scared. When the doctor injected the long needle in her belly, she also almost passed out due to scariness. For women, late termination of pregnancy means not only danger and damage to the body, but also means a psychological trauma to a mother-to-be. After all, the baby had lived in her belly. *“I already attached to the baby. It was in my belly for seven month. Giving birth at 7 month,*

he already can be alive. I really reluctant to have an abortion, but I had no choice.”

(Xing) More than 2 decades later, the first thing she remembered about that was that she was scared, painful and very regretful. However, the injection did not seem to work on the abortion. With the help of her family, she secretly slipped out from the clinic, and found midwife to help give birth of the baby. At that time, she was only 22. She did know the danger behind late termination of pregnancy and giving birth with a midwife who is illegal and without a license. Luckily, regardless of the risk and pain for both Xing and her child, she was successfully have premature birth of a boy.

From 1980s to the beginning of 2000s, mandatory abortion was quite common. During the interview, almost everyone could recall that either their friends or relatives was forced to do it. *“It was quite common for them to be forced to have an abortion... Some were found by IUD check, some were (found by) big mouths, and others were reported by people in the same village... At that time, the propaganda said that unapproved pregnancies must be aborted. Giving an abortion early was not that harmful to the body. When pregnancy was longer, the pregnant woman would suffer more by herself. Although there were not many cases of abortion in late pregnancy, there were still quite a few, and it had a great damage to the body of pregnant women.”*(Tian) However, not every woman could be as luckily as Xing, for most of the women with unapproved pregnancy, when they was found out pregnancy, it mean that they would be forces repatriation and mandatory abortion without negotiation. There is not concrete record on how much women experienced it, but almost everyone knew either their family members or friends experienced it.

“She (Woman director) came to my neighbor’s house as soon as she had heard something about it. She said my neighbor must get an abortion. Either she went there herself or she would be dragged there by someone from the leading team. (Local authority). She also could choose not to do it, but the house they were building would be destroyed and not allowed to build it again. So she went to get abortion by herself and came back on her own bicycle. During that time, she wiped her tears every time she talked about it.” (Li)

Take my third uncle as an example... He has 4 sons and one of his daughter-in-law was pregnant. His youngest son was building the house. At that time, it was important to have a house for marriage, and the roof and the wall were done already. However, his oldest son's wife was having unapproved pregnancy. The people from the leading team knew it and wanted her to have abortion. She escaped and hid in my place. She was 7 month pregnant at that time. People from the leading team directly talked to my third uncle that if she still wanted this child, they would destroyed this almost finished house and never let him build it again. There was no choice, so my third uncle came and begged her to have an abortion. Later, she went to have abortion. She was 7 month pregnant already. If giving birth at that time, the kid was already alive. (Wen)

The “mandatory” mainly showed in two aspect. First is that the inevitability of abortion. For local government, once there was unapproved birth in their administrative area, it needed to be terminated. Secondly, local family planning office had its own means to deal with the family who did not cooperate. Although the central government kept emphasizing no violence is allowed in the enforcement of family planning office, as well as damaging property, in the actual practice, gentle enforcement did not work. In order to complete the quota, it was common for local family planning office to “arrest people”, “use collective punishment”, “take away all the furniture” and “destroy the house”. If women refused to terminate pregnancy, mandatory measures would be conducted to take woman to the clinic or hospital. However, normally, women had already hidden or flee. In these cases, “collective punishment” would be used. For example, the local family office would frequently “invited” the husband and their other family members to have “a long conversation”; or took away anything valuable in the house and destroy the house. In G city, destroying houses due to unapproved birth still lingers in people’s memory.

“The main purpose was to scare you and make you uncomfortable. They would lift the roof of people's houses. How could they live in a house without a roof, right? If a pregnant woman and the family didn't have a house, they would lift the roof of her relative's house. I remember one time I went to a family in the

same village for dinner. At that time, his wife was also pregnant with a third child. When we left, their motorcycles and tricycles were pushed into the river.”(Tian)

Mandatory abortion is the most direct manifestation of the state power invading people’s private life. Under this strictly planned policy, individual reproductive rights, right to life of fetus and right to health of pregnant women. People’s reproductive perception and practice are always centered on the will of the state. Otherwise, they will be punished. The establishment and implementation of the discipline system is the most essential manifestation of state power. The purpose of discipline is to tame. According to Foucault (2007), in the society, discipline system should be viewed in the context of politic and economy of the body. Although they use benevolent measures and do not use harsh or bloody discipline, at the end, it is always about the bodies and its power, as well as its availability of taming and conquering. (Foucault, 2007) When it comes to reproduction in China, people have no autonomy. Their physical experience is manipulated and the body is tamed, due to intervention of the policy and its local practice, their bodies became heavy and wounded.

6.2.3. Collective memory of discipline: economic damage

With the strict social surveillance system, based on the number of women with unapproved child, a lot of women still cleverly escaped the watching of family planning office and had their children. At that time when family planning was a very important political mission, discipline of family with unapproved child could not only showed sacredness and seriousness of this fundamental national policy, but also represented a ceremony of power, which means that “the advanced” people influence “the outdated” person. In these process, new identity order was set up.

Starting from 1980, the “family planning regulation in G city Province” stated that every family who violated the policy needed to pay for the social maintenance fee. “Employees are charged the monthly wages of both men and women separately, which will be deducted from their own wages by the company or organization; Rural commune members are respectively charged 10% of the labor points of both men and women,

which will be deducted from their total labor points when the commune works..” (People’s Government of Guangdong province, 2021) Despite for the financial punishment, the amendment act of this regulation in 2009 implemented more severe administration punishment, which even deprived civil right of women with unapproved pregnancy. It not only gave the right for the company to fired women with unapproved child, but also demanded that “Within five years, state institutions, state-owned enterprises, state-owned holding enterprises, and community collective enterprises cannot recruit and hire women with unapproved child.”, “no public medical benefits for seven years” “not allowed to enjoy the dividend and other benefits from the cooperative” and so on. Nevertheless, in 2007, family planning commission together with other 11 government department made a joint statement that they consider to include the situation of resident’s unapproved children into the national credit system. Family with unapproved child would be harder to take a loan.

The punishment had a huge influence on family with unapproved child. In the actual practice, local government enjoyed the benefit with the fee. Due to there was no certain number of the social maintenance fee, the local family planning office asked for the price whatever they wanted, bring huge finical pressure for the people.

If you knew someone, you could have a discount, 20% off... There would be more discount if you knew the right person. I knew a friend who had 25% off. She only needed to pay 70 thousand yuan. (Zheng)

In addition, in order to deal with the issue that no one actually would like to pay for this fee, local authority developed a lot of violent way, which not only provoked the conflict between local authority and people, but also interfere with the normal life of the family with unapproved child.

“The fines were based on the economic situation of each household. We sold pork so it belonged to households with other economic incomes. That was why the fines were relatively high. After the second child was born, a person came to our house and asked for 18 thousand yuan... I didn't expect this much. At that time, our

monthly salary was 200 yuan...and we also had to pay a large part of the grain to the state. Where did we get so much money? They all said that they wanted to raise a son, but how much would it cost to raise a son! We borrowed from places to places to get a total of 10,000 yuan. In the end, it was fined 15,000 yuan in total. It took several years to pay off the money.”(Tian)

In G city, collecting the social maintenance fee was a tough job for local authority. On one hand, this fee was huge and more than normal family could afford. On the other hand, there was no a uniform standard of the fee. In the actual practice, the social maintenance fee was various based on different community or occupation. Some women could even get a discount if they knew “someone”. Women with unapproved child were very not happy about these, not to mention to cooperative with the local family planning office. Therefore, the local family planning office, developed a lot of measures to deal with this group of people.

“If you didn’t pay it, they would raid your home and remove all the valuable things in your home...At that time, the government could check your deposits in credit unions or banks, and if you didn’t pay a fine. Your deposit slips would pay. For some poor family which didn’t have money for it, they would arrest and lock up people for a few days. In the end, the family would be no way but to hand over the money. Anyway, they had various methods.”(Li)

The meanest measure was destroying people’s house, one of the most important property of a family. In G city, house getting destroyed because they cannot afford the fee, became collective memory.

“We inducted a living baby, and it was a premature birth. We were sent to the hospital for half a month after birth. Before even reaching a full month, the person who collected the fine came to our house. I was very unconvinced. The government asked for an abortion. We did it as they wanted... It was not our fault that the abortion was not successful. Why should we pay the fine? Although the fine was only 3,000 yuan...At that time, the family was poor. We couldn't even

earn that much in a year. And I really don't want to pay at all. The people from village team came to the house a few times, but we didn't have the money to pay, so they arrested my father-in-law for a few days. Later, the government sent someone to demolish the house. I was angry and hated. My mother-in-law was timid, so I went to my mother's house to borrow money. Just for 3,000 yuan, it was really not worth it just letting them destroy the house.”(Xing)

“At that time, my husband and I went to work early in the morning and were not at home. When we came back at noon, half of the house was demolished. The front and back of the house were surrounded by people. His grandmother and I was crying, and the child was suffering. I was thinking, forget it, just pay for 20,000 yuan, and everything would be fine. Later the house was completely demolished, and the homestead was gone. My husband said, we would rent a house in the town, and we would build or buy a house in the city when we had money. Fortunately, my husband also has a few good friends. Later, when our children went to school, they also helped a lot. So far no fines have been paid. But our good house is gone, and I can't help but feel sad when I think of these things back then.” (Li)

Except for the financial punishment, for those who did not pay the social maintenance fee, the local authority would intervene the family normal life, For example, family members got fired, including the child's uncles and grandparents, or the child could not register. Every year, in G city, some of unapproved children could not register because their family could not afford the fee. Without registration, the children cannot enjoy any civil right, including going to school. The punishment of unapproved child was not one time for good. It would probably took years for family with unapproved child suffering from the punishment. Every friction between local family planning offices implied a social conflict, which was also a kind of hurt to the family with unapproved child.

Chapter 7. Conclusion and discussion

This thesis looks back to the reproductive story of women with unapproved child from 1980 to 2010. By placing women's reproductive practice in the context of a macro society and social transition, it is not hard to find out that after the establishment of People's Republic of China, with the state stronger and stronger control on women's reproduction, autonomy of women's reproduction is gradually lost, and reproduction of women is integrated into national planning system. The implementation of family planning policy in which the state decides reproduction of women, has completely changed the living environment of women and rewrote the history of women reproduction. Meanwhile, the state has also played an important role in driving the transition of the private life of women.

7.1. Conclusion

This thesis first reviewed the changes of reproductive policy and the transition of reproductive environment for women in China. By reviewing the history of family planning policy and its implementation, we can tell that starting from 1979, a fundamental change had taken place. Before 1979, family planning inherited the tradition of birth control after the industrial revolution, and people's autonomy on reproduction has not been lost. After 1979, the reproductive environments of women had fundamental reform with higher and higher demand from the state to population. Since then, the reproduction bears new meaning, in which the state took full control of people's reproduction and population growth. The state played a key role in driving the reform. G city is a topical city from south of China. Every step of reform of family planning fell into the local practice in G city. Therefore, these 10 stories of women with unapproved child are quite typical. Their story can represent reproductive history of women with unapproved child from 1980 to 2010. After the 1980, the state driving reproductive reform of women shows in following aspect:

- a) The propaganda of family planning has integrated into collective memory of people. Some the slogans were gentle while some of those were extreme and violent, building cruelty and coldness in people's daily life.
- b) The perception of birth control and contraceptive measure are deep into people's mind. The movement of "one child getting intrauterine device, two children getting ligation" not only brings a whole new experience to women but also brings severe physical and psychological damage to women.
- c) Comprehensive family planning policy creates many obstacles for women trying to have unapproved child. Their reproductive decision-making process and mechanism has changed. In the process of trying to get pregnant, they had to create a new life in the expense of hurting their own bodies.
- d) Due to their bodies being examined and watched comprehensively, hiding and fleeing become their most common strategy to cope with local authority.
- e) For women who failed to escape from local authority, mandatory abortion was the most brutal pain they have ever experienced both psychologically and physically. Even so, they still have courage to risk their lives to seek for medical help, for the safety of the unborn children.
- f) The heavy discipline have a huge influence on the daily life of family with unapproved child. Raided home and destroying house become their collective memory.

These are the real story of women with unapproved child from 1980 to 2010. Though their story of women's reproductive reform, we have a chance to reflect on local implementation of the state power and what state power bring to people.

7.2. Discussion: change of the state, family and private life

Family planning policy is a reform that changes reproductive culture lasting for thousands of years in China. It is also a giant experiment that pours out women's reproduction from local relationship net and local knowledge, and puts into national planning system. When family planning rewrites the history of women's reproduction, it also plays an important role on changing and restructuring private life of women. Women

in their reproductive age, are not only the target but also the main body in this experiment. The aim of this thesis is not only restore the stories in their special period. More importantly, through these reproductive stories, we can explore the dynamic among state, family and private life of people, under family planning policy and social reform.

7.2.1. State and individual

During the time when family planning policy implementing, there were a huge change on national management system. It experienced the end of people's commune system, collective economy and cancel of agricultural tax. The family, especially the nuclear family, as the basic economic unit was increasingly showing. All these factors brought new topic in grassroots governance. Over these years, the family planning, as a fundamental national policy, increasingly invaded in private life of people in all aspect. In the process of implementation of it, based on the micro intervention between local government and people, the dynamic between the state and the individual became more vivid and concrete.

For women with unapproved child, family planning policy is a reform that changed their living environment. At the same time, it is also a historical process, and a real life scenarios that they have been immersed in for a long time. In this sudden and long-lasting reproductive reform, the vertical management system and effective power operation ensure the implementation of the national will in a local level. By using creating new "truth" and implementing strict policy, the state did control the population to some extent. However, a large amount of women with unapproved children shows that people are not just objects that completely follow state's control. Foucault's theory does work to a large extent but it also ignored the willingness and desire of people. Even under strong state control, people would still have their willingness and desire that make them to be creative and utilize their wisdom to get what they want. The implementation of family planning policy is a case that shows the delicate dynamic between the state and society has emerged. In the local level, the silent majority is not passively accepting and internalizing the state power invading in their private life. Their willingness, demands and expectations can inspire infinite wisdom to help them take back control of their

private life even they still thought it was wrong. Under the intervention of state power, by taking advantage of the system, such as bribery and “excess-birth guerrillas”, people are still able to actually combat strategies within a limited space for action, to achieve their goal.

7.2.2. Walking out of the family: change of private life

The change of family in China is not starting after the family planning policy. It is a continuing historical process even before the policy. After the establishment of People's Republic of China, President Mao believed that families are bound to be destroyed. Joining the army and entering the factory are major destruction. They need to walk out of their family. (Mao, 2014) In a series of socialist movements after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, family reform was steadily advancing, although this was the side effect of socialist movements, instead of the main goal. The implementation of family planning is a big step forward of family reform, especially for women. The implementation of family planning is a reform that free women's reproduction from family relationship network and local knowledge. Family planning has changed the traditional Chinese family structure and completely changed the private lives of Chinese people. (Yan, 2006)

In traditional Chinese culture, reproduction of women is completely decided within the extended family. A set of vague knowledge, perceptions and behaviors of reproduction were nurtured and taught within the family. Why women's reproduction is a behavior within the family? First, before the family planning policy, due to the backward birth control knowledge and technology, sex and reproduction had not been separated. The meaning of sex was mostly to have children and to carry on the lineage. The tradition perception such as “only boy carrying on the lineage” and “more son more blessing” carried on generation by generation. A woman who could not have children or only had daughter would be looked down upon by their family members and peers. Therefore, women had little autonomy to have fewer children. More births and more boys were family expectations and the only way for women to change family status. Secondly, before the popularization of modern reproductive knowledge and technology, oral

transmission within the family was the only way for women to acquire reproductive custom and knowledge. Therefore, on reproductive issue, women were highly dependent on order family members in the family.

Nevertheless, with the popularization of family planning and modern birth control technology, the mechanism that families entirely decided to women's reproductive behavior gradually collapsed. On one hand, although the reproductive decision of women still decided within the family and the will of older generation still have big influence, the traditional perception such as “more son more blessing” cannot gain legitimacy within family planning policy and the desire to have more son could not be fulfilled though legal way. To certain extent, family planning did bring a certain autonomy on reproduction to women, the autonomy of having fewer children. Of course, this autonomy was very limited. Women who just broke from the chain of traditional reproductive culture, fell into the strict control of national planning system. On the other hand, the implementation of family planning helped spread the modern reproductive knowledge and birth control measures. This weakened the women’s dependence on traditional family causing that the authority of the elder generation was not as strong as before. This situation kept enhancing with the higher education of women and modernization of the society. More importantly, due to the technology of birth control, the intimacy between couples has undergone huge changes. The traditional culture is suppressed by the national policy. With the separation of sex and reproduction, the importance of intimacy and affection has risen for women. Nuclear family becomes more and more important and the self-awareness is strengthening. It promoted a new perception of reproduction centered on personal happiness in the nuclear family rather than carrying on family lineage. In this new family life, the personal emotions and desires, and the pursuit of freedom are not only justified, but also have become an integral part of everyday life. (Yan, 2006)

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