

Appendix

Interview recording translated in English	1
Liu	2
Xing	10
Li	18
Tian	24
Yuan	30
Wang	35
Lian	41
Zheng.....	47
Wen	52
Zhang.....	58
Original interview recording in Chinese	63
Consent Form for Interviews	115

Interview recording translated in English

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
1	Liu	61	Housewife	3(4)

Interview recording:

Interviewer: Hello, aunty. I am year. I have contacted you before about the interview.

Liu: Yeah. I remember you said something about it.

Interviewer: I sent you a inform consent before, which includes your right in this interview and the information about this interview. Have you read it?

Liu: Yeah. I have seen you. There is no problem.

Interviewer: Is it possible you can sign it and send it back to me?

Liu: Sure. I asked Yang Min (her oldest daughter) to do it after she comes back.

Interviewer: Sure. Thank you very much. Let's start now then.

Interviewer: Can you first introduce your family information?

Liu: I have three children. Actually I had four. This is because family planning policy. I gave birth to three daughter before. In order to have a young 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 it to other and never heard from her again. Two years ago, my aunt heard about their family and wanted to arrange us to meet but she refused. She thinks that we abandon her. I had no choice. I just let this go after that. I have three kids and it is very busy already, so I never bother to think about it again. I couldn't raise them with me, or my father-in-law would lost his job.

Interviewer: Do you remember when did the family planning policy start at the very beginning?

Liu: I remember when I had my first birth Yang Min, it already had it.

Interviewer: After the first birth, how do you think it affected your life?

Liu: they didn't care about you if it was your first birth, but it was very important if you had second or third child. That was why I was very scared to have Yang Jian (Second child) around me and let my parents-in-law to raise her in the city. When I had Yang Zijian (the youngest son), it was horrible. When I was pregnant, I was reported unapproved pregnancy by other in the same village. They arrested me once. These people had mission.

Interviewer: what do you mean they have mission?

Liu: People in the leading team said they had mission. That was why they needed to arrest people. They had quota and number something like that. Before, when I was pregnant with Yang Zijian, I still lived old house inside the village. The people from village committee came in the middle of night with a bunch of people and arrested me. At the beginning, they wanted money. We didn't have that much money so we raised money from other.

Interviewer: They ask a fine when you were still pregnant?

Liu: Yes. How much money was up to them. It was like few hundred or a thousand yuan. There was no a certain standard. People paid whatever they said. At that time, my husband went raise money. When he managed to raise it, they said they didn't want the money any more. They wanted the body count. So I was locking in the local government. It was really horrible.

Interviewer: What did it for?

Liu: Just locked me up there for one night. The other day, if you knew someone, you could go out. If you didn't know someone and didn't give the money, they would drag you to have abortion. It was unapproved pregnancy. There was reproductive gap time and

a lot of things. If there was no people you knew or money, they would drag you to have abortion. At that time, I was 3 or 4 month pregnant.

Interviewer: If not paying them or knowing someone, they would drag people to have abortion?

Liu: yes. Just like when my sister-in-law had unapproved pregnancy. At that time my brother was working in local government. When she had the abortion, it was a boy with hair already. He was a human already. They didn't care she was 7-month pregnant and drag her to have abortion. I don't why, but people didn't have humanity at that time.

Interviewer: That sounds extreme.

Liu: A lot cases like this before. At that time, those people wanted to have promotion, and wanted to be senior government official. They did it a lot. Those people working in village committee, they knew every family. They wouldn't do it themselves. They used other to do it. They brought a bunch of people with equipment. Those people would break a big hole on the roof and take away all the valuable things in your family. It was terrible. At that time, a lot of people still lived in tile houses. They would use things to smash it. People could not live in it anymore. It was to force you to come back. And at that time, there was also collective punishment, just like they were king. For example, when your brother was in family with unapproved pregnancy, they would force all your family member to force him back. Force people back to have abortion. At that time, people could do very extreme. Now people can't any more.

Interviewer: You mean if you hide to somewhere else when you have unapproved pregnancy, they would use all kind of measures to force you back?

Liu: Yes, it was like this. They regard this as their mission. They were like this. Escaping them was like escaping Japanese people (in world war II). Some people just went to the store or went to play, they would arrest people halfway. These people were everywhere.

Interviewer: Then people couldn't go out.

Liu: Who could go out when they had unapproved pregnancy? All of them were hiding around. Some of them even hid inside the mountain. There were orchard and small houses in the mountain. They hid there.

Interviewer: Does it mean they knew the situation of every family?

Liu: They knew it. They had record on everything. Who you are; where you came from; how many children of each family. They knew it all.

Interviewer: Were there other effect except for this?

Liu: At that time, everyone was demanded to put in IUD. This was to make sure the gap between two reproductions, in case people would give birth too often. There were a lot of trouble. Who had time to do all these? The leading team required all the people who had one or more than one birth to put IUD in. That was why when they gave you fine, there was also a gap fine, which means punishing you not taking enough gap time. It needed 4 years. But at that time, as long as you know someone, you could secretly take it off.

Interviewer: Did you put in IUD at that time?

Liu: No, I didn't put it in. At that time, I went to Long Gang clinic to put in IUD. He said I couldn't put it in, so I didn't. My husband didn't get ligation either. However after I gave birth to Yang Zijian, I went to get ligation myself. Otherwise, they would regarded you as a target and bothered you all the time. It was annoying. They knew everything and they had record on everything. If you worked in an institution, they would examine your IUD all the time. They would notified you when you needed to examine. If you had IUD inside you, they wouldn't care. If you didn't have it, they just put one in. This was to not allow you to be pregnant that fast. If you were in a village and had unapproved pregnancy, they would arrest you.

Interviewer: What made you to have more children after giving birth to the first one?

Liu: This was not my decision. It was my husband and my mother-in-law decided. Giving birth to a girl, we were not satisfied. In the village, it needed to have an offspring, a son. That was why I kept having unapproved children until Yang Zijian. At that time, the thought was different. We preferred son a lot. Even if we lost all the money, we still kept

giving birth until having a son. People had that perception to have at least a son. At that time, the government would take back the land from a woman who married to a husband, but the government would give land to a guy who married a woman. It was divided like this. If you did not have a son, you would be looked down upon. People made every effort to have a boy.

Interviewer: So you got your litigation after your youngest son got born.

Liu: Yes. This was to have a son.

Interviewer: What happened after you were pregnant?

Liu: When I was pregnant with Yang Zijian, I was hiding in my mother-in-law place in Jiekou. When I was about 3 months pregnant, I had also been arrested once, so I didn't dare to stay in the village. The issue was only working institution of my father-in-law. He was so scared to be found out because he would lose his job. That was why at the time our door was always closed. And I was locked there and could not go out. I went back after he was one month old.

Interviewer: Where did you give birth to him?

Liu: In order not to be found out, I could not go to the hospital. I gave birth in the clinic inside the Chengnei, Jiekou. There were an old midwife there. We used money to take care of it. Other three daughters were born at home, only he was born in the clinic. At that time, there was a midwife in the village. When your belly hurt, you called them to help. After giving birth, when you needed to register the baby, they would know whether you had an unapproved child or not. They would give you a fine if it was an unapproved child.

Interviewer: What do you mean by register the child?

Liu: By registering the child, they knew how much kids you had. There were a lot of people in the village, and they knew everything. If you wanted your kid to go to school, it needed to be registered. If you have an unapproved child, you needed to pay for the fine before the registration. You needed to find someone you know to help you. Of course you needed to pay them. At that time, the policy was like if you paid people, you can take

care of everything. As long as you gave money to the, they can take care of registration or any certificate. If you didn't have money, nothing worked on you.

Interviewer: Only money worked. What if someone was without money?

Liu: It was very horrible for those without money. Their house would be demolished and they were too poor to eat. Some of them went to the village committee and sat there. The people from village committee was scare that they would be starve to death. Well, the people from village committee forced people without a place to live. All the family members of the people was not at home, because all of them went to somewhere else to hide for unapproved pregnancy. So when they didn't have money to eat, they would went to the village committee to protest, and eat at their canteen. Otherwise, these people would report the local government. They was too poor to eat and their family were not here. Local government did not dare to starve people to death or the local government would be punished. You couldn't get people completely poor and their house completely empty even you were implementing family policy, right? At that time, quite a lot people went there to protest.

Interviewer: That sounded bad.

Liu: Yeah, that was why later, it was not that extreme. At that time, the policy could force people to death, or force people to lose their family. There was these cases. Those old people in the village, their family all hide in different place to have unapproved pregnancy. No one took care of them and their family also left the kids for old people to take care. They was too poor to eat even before this. Now, everyone was hiding could not farm or work. All their furniture was taken away. Their house was empty. Of course they stayed at the local government office, eating there and sleeping there.

Interviewer: How about you? Did you get any punishment at that time?

Liu: At that time, they gave me a fine of 3000 yuan. It was a lot at that time. My husband was working at the water plant. We were all dependent on his salary. He was not getting pay every month. We didn't have that much income every year at that time. 3000 yuan as a fine was a lot. When my children went to school, there was another fine. They have all kinds of fine. Those people were very bad.

Interviewer: How they decided on you paying 3000 yuan?

Liu: It was different depending on different people. At that time, my father-in-law was working in national patriotic health office. If we was reported by other, he would lose his job. We can let his working place to know it. That was why, those who had a job, were really scared to lose their job, so they were scared to have unapproved child, just like your mother. If both side had jobs, having one more child means no food to eat anymore, like my grandmother said. That was why later, when my mother-in-law only wanted my husband's brother's wife to have one child, because both of them worked for the government. In village, those who didn't have job, could give born of more and tried their best to have a son.

Interviewer: It even affected the jobs of family members.

Liu: My older generation was a lot worse. Their bed or everything was smashed by other. They used all these mandatory measures to force you to come back. When you not home, they took away everything, even TV. You house was empty. Those family planning people made a fortune. They made a lot of money just depending on selling these.

Interviewer: Is it worth it just to have one more child?

Liu: Of course it was worth it to have one more child. At that time, a lot of people who worked in government institution, like teacher, quit their jobs just because they wanted a boy. Or some of them found someone from other province to have a child with, their wife could not say anything about it. When there was a son, the man just brought it home. He just wanted the son not the woman.

Interviewer: It was like surrogacy.

Liu: It was surrogacy! Just wanting the son not the mother. Both sides agreed with that. Finding this woman just for having a son. He had a wife and now his son was adult now. His wife agreed to it too. At that time, he worked for the government institution. Doing this he didn't lose his job and the wife got the money and didn't need to suffer from reproduction. Why not? It was his husband's son anyway. It was not like he was going to marry that woman. And they never argued about it. The wife couldn't have any opinion

in it, because she couldn't give born to a boy. He worked for the government, so he couldn't have unapproved child. It was like this.

Interviewer: How do you think these policy affected your relationship?

Liu: It didn't have that huge influence. It just at that time, all the relatives were very scared you to come to their places, when you had unapproved child. They didn't like it. Just like my sister. She was hiding in my other sister place when having unapproved pregnancy. Mother-in-law of another sister didn't like it, so she reported to the local government. Some people were just really mean. They worried it would affect them negatively and thought this was too much trouble. When local government knew it, they would come and arrest people.

Interviewer: People would report each other?

Liu: Yes. Some people were really bad. When they knew it, they would report it.

Interviewer: Overall, How did you think this policy affected your life?

Liu: It had a huge influence to our family. We couldn't operate like normal and we couldn't live like normal. We were so scared and worried all the time. They came to our house all the time. I was very scared every time I saw them. Not just one or two persons, they came with a bunch of people, like 10 or 20 people. When they came, the house was full with people. I was so scared. They were like bandit. They came to ask for money and everything. It was terrible to have unapproved children at that time.

Interviewer: That was all I wanted to know in the interview. Thank you so much today!

Liu: It was fine. I have a stroke and stay at home right now. I couldn't go out now and it's good to have someone to talk to.

Interviewer: Ah. When did it happen? Is it serious?

Liu: It was a few months ago. I was suddenly sent to hospital. I can't even walk until now. I only can sit or lie there.

Interviewer: please, take care of yourself!

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
2	Xing	52	Housewife	2

Interview record:

Interviewer: Hello. I am Yan a student from Lund University. I contacted you before about my research information and interview.

Xing: yeah, I remember. You can just ask me.

Interviewer: There is something I would like to say before the interview. This interview is completely voluntary. It is totally okay for you to just withdraw during the interview. Or even after the interview, you still can withdraw all your interview information. It is totally okay. And I will record this interview entirely, as for the usage of recording, it mentioned in the informed consent form I sent to you before.

Xing: yes. LianLian (Xing's daughter) has shown me before. There is no problem. I agree all, you can ask me.

Interviewer: I am very glad that you would like to do this interview. Let's start it now.

Interviewer: Could you first talk about your family's information?

Xing: I am 52 this year. I don't have a job. My husband is 58. He works as a guard in a kindergarten. It is a very easy job. All he needs to do is sitting there. I have one daughter and one son. My older daughter Lianlian, you knew her. She is currently working in Guangzhou University. And my son, who was the unapproved child, he just transfer to work in a bank. It was because of the family planning policy, it was very hard when I gave birth of time.

Interviewer: Do you remember when exactly family planning policy started?

Xing: It was at about the 1980s. At that time, everyone was talking about it, but we were not sure. It was until my husband went to the village team (local authority) and had a meeting there, that it started. They said at that time, it was only allow to have one child. If having more children already, it was not allowed to give birth anymore. Since then, it started to be very strict. They would actually arrest people if having more children. At

that time, there were a lot of banners about family planning on the wall in the village. 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. They were really going to destroy the house and took away all the valuable things in your house, making you worried all the time. Even you kowtow, it did not work to them.

Interviewer: what would they did to women who already gave birth to child or children?

Xing: They needed to put on intrauterine device (IUD). Everyone could not meet the requirement according to the policy, needed to put on the IUD.

Interviewer: what kind of women does not meet the requirement by the policy?

Xing: That means who already have more than one children need to put on IUD, including those who already given on child. If you give birth to the child in regular hospital or health clinic, after giving birth to baby, the doctor just directly put the IUD inside your body. They don't even need to ask you. Moreover, everyone who have given birth to child or children, needed to go to examine the IUD and conduct gynecological examination. At that time, every season, which means every three months, the village team (local authority) organized all the women, we either went to the health clinic in the village, or the village team rented buses to take every one to hospital in the city to examine the IUD. Everyone needed to go and there was no choice of not going. They needed to match the name. I remember there was a time that it was very strict. It was at about the middle of 1980s. There was a gust of wind. It required everyone who had two or more than two children needed to get ligated. I put on IUD at that time too.

Interviewer: how does it make you feel putting on IUD and getting examining regularly?

Xing: I did not feel anything special. 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.

Interviewer: what made you decide to have a second child at that time?

Xing: To be honest, at that time, we had no intention to have more children. It was mainly because the IUD fell off and I did not know. That was why I got pregnant. Moreover, my parents-in-law especially insisted on giving birth to the child.

Interviewer: you mention before that every season, women needed to be examined IUD and conduct gynecological examination. What were your experience after getting pregnancy?

Xing: Yes. At that time, every one needed to be examined IUD and conduct gynecological examination. 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. However, 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 hid the baby from this, so I started to escape after they found out that I was pregnant. 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.

Interviewer: it felt like being stuck with fear at that time.

Xing: 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.

Interviewer: Do you have any connection with your family member at that time?

Xing: 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. At that time, I knew it was a boy after doing the ultrasound. 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.

Interview: So you decided to have an abortion.

Xing: yes.

Interviewer: Do you remember who were being there for you during the abortion.

Xing: 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.

Interviewer: Can you describe this abortion?

Xing: 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.

Interviewer: Do you remember if there was any narcotic?

Xing: 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 inject 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 still birth 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 that we were just waiting there and we could just go there and try. 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.

Interviewer: So you found that old woman to help you have the abortion.

Xing: Yes.

Interviewer: can you describe that experience?

Xing: 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. That was, at night, it happened to be the months of farming, so there was no one in the obstetrics and gynecology department. 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 stomach, 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 on the head. After getting a bottle of oxytocin Huangpu (location), 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 from Huangpu to go back and all I had was a blanket. I knew nothing at that time and not care about all those things that much like people right now. To be honest, as long as my child was safe, I was more than happy,

Interviewer: How did you feel at that time?

Xing: scared. I was truly scared. I had never experienced anything like than before. I didn't even know what happen to my belly at that time, as well as my child in my belly. I was not dare to think about it.

Interviewer: when did you give born to the child?

Xing: 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.

Interviewer: Looking back at the whole process of the reproduction of your child, how did you feel right now?

Xing: 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 healthy. 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 for him, until he was one.

Interviewer: After you gave birth to your son, everyone knew you had one more child. What was your experiences after that?

Xing: 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. Adult and child had suffered so much because, and it was not our fault that the abortion was not successful. Why should we pay the fine?

Interviewer: Do you still remember how much was the fine?

Xing: It was 3000 yuan. Although the fine was only 3,000 yuan, the 3,000 yuan at that time was completely different from the 3,000 yuan now. 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. The money was all borrowed. And the child and I were really weak after he went out of hospital. At that time, even the money for milk powder was borrowed from other.

Reproductive experiences of women with unapproved pregnancy under one child policy in China

Interviewer: I feel like the whole process of these were really scary. It was not easy for you to give birth and raise two children. You are very brave.

Xing: At that time, everyone was like this. There was no choice. This is how the policy worked.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. This is all I want to know about. Thanks so much for you time.

Xing: You are welcome.

Number	Name	Age	Occupation	Number of children
3	Li	68	Domestic help	3

Interview record:

Interviewer: Hello. I am Yan, a student from Lund University. I am very glad that you are willing to do this interview. This interview is mainly about your reproductive experience.

Li: okay. You can ask me anything.

Interviewer: Before I start, there is something I would like you to know first. This interview is completely voluntary. It is totally okay for you to just withdraw during the interview. Or even after the interview, you still can withdraw all your interview information. It is totally okay. And I sent you an informed consent form before, did you receive it?

Li: Yeah. I have read it. There is no problem for me.

Interviewer: That is good. If it is convenient, can you sign it and send it back to me?

Li: Can I just directly sign it through my phone.

Interviewer: Yeah, sure.

Li: Okay.

Interviewer: Let's start the interview now.

Interviewer: Can you just simply introduce your family information?

Li: Sure. I am 68 years old this year. I have three children, one daughter and two sons. Two of my sons were born after the implementation of family planning policy, which means they were unapproved children. At that time, it was horrible. Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you remember when the family planning started to implement?

Li: I started to hear about it gradually in the mid-1970s, but it didn't do much at that time. It was really strict in the 1980s. At that time, people were talking about it a lot in the meeting in village.

Interviewer: Do you remember how the atmosphere was in the village at that time?

Li: It was very strict. Everyone knew it and they made sure that everyone knew it. Later, the family planning slogans started to be everywhere. It was very catchy of the slogan, like "if wanting to be rich, plant more trees and have fewer children" or "one birth intrauterine device (IUD), two births ligation, three births four births kill kill kill". They were really catchy and all over the village. But even though it was catchy, they were not just 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 child. Why do we need to be anxious about it?

Interviewer: Do you remember when you have your first child?

Li: my older daughter was born in 1978.

Interviewer: At the very beginning, how did the family planning policy affect you?

Li: After I gave born to my older son, people in the village start to mobilize us to put in IUD.

Interviewer: When was that?

Li: It was 1982. At that time, women were demanded to put in IUD or get ligation. But at that time, family planning policy still were not 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 give born to a boy, but he was not that healthy as well. What if he could not live long as well? So I rather die than get a ligation at that time. Later, they arrested my husband, so I have no choice but to put in an IUD. I gave born to my younger son in 1985. They came to mobilize me to get a ligation again. They said that I have two sons already and according to the family planning policy, I must get ligation. I

said that I won't have child anymore. If you want me to get ligation, just do it. So I went to the health clinic and get the ligation after I gave born to my second son.

Interviewer: You just mentioned that it was really strict of family planning policy starting from 1980. What made you decide to continue giving born to children?

Li: At that time, it was not working if you did not give born of son in the family. His grandfather and grandmother would not agree with it. It was not like the time right now.

Interviewer: How did they express they were not agree with it? Did they directly talk to you?

Li: You wouldn't know back then. Talking about this, when I had my second daughter, the one who passed away. Her grandfather and grandmother 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 just 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 breast milk. The policy has been implemented for more than half year. I still need to continue to give born of boy. My second daughter's body 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 very quick.

Interviewer: That was very sad. I am very sorry for it.

Li: It is okay. It is the pass now.

Interviewer: I remember you just mentioned that you put on IUD after your first son. How did you have a second son when you still have IUD inside your body?

Li: At that time, I have heard that there was one old women in Aotou (location) who can help people to put in or get out the IUD. I have heard that she was a midwife before but gradually no one ask for her to help deliver baby, 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.

Interviewer: Do you remember when she was doing these, was she sanitized?

Li: No one noticed whether she was sanitized or not. When I was pregnant with the young son, examining the IUD happened to be stricter. I was very afraid to be found out. 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 ring back, I still went to work as usual for my labor point.

Interviewer: After putting in the IUD, they needed to examine it?

Li: Of course they needed. Everyone needed to be examined. It happened once in every season.

Interviewer: How did you deal with it at that time?

Li: If you wanted to avoid examining the IUD, you had to be very clever. 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 old 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 will basically 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 my son. I was relieved. After the scanning is done, the IUD was still on the body. After the IUD is 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 hid in Lvtian (location) until the labor. In the autumn when I needed to examine again, I had already gave birth to the child.

Interviewer: I remembered at that time, it was not allowed to check the sex of the child.

Li: Anyone could do it as long as they gave some money to that doctor. Everyone did that at that time. I chose to go there during their lunch break on purpose. There was no one there at that time so that no one would find out.

Interviewer: Did you still go to work when you were pregnant? Was there the collect work from people's commune?

Li: yeah, it was collective work. At that time they needed to keep note of people's labor point and people got money based on this labor point.

Interviewer: After you got pregnant, the belly would get bigger. How did you hide this when you went to work?

Li: At that time I couldn't hide at home without going out, and 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.

Interviewer: What did you do then?

Li: 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 any clothes. Every time I wanted to vomit, I needed to say 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 or it would be found. And my body could not handle the hard work anymore. She asked me to go to lvtian (location)

Interviewer: What would happen if it was found out?

Li: I had a neighbor lived next door before. Her mother-in-law had a big mouth and told someone about she was pregnant. Somehow the women director knew it. At that time, the woman director was so much stricter compared to now. She 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 needed to 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 secretly wiped her tears every time she talked about it.

Interviewer: It was very strict at that time. Do they allowed to do it?

Li: yes. What they did was very extreme at that time.

Interviewer: if they found out after giving born already, what would they do?

Li: After giving birth, you would be fined, and the fine would follow immediately after registering the child. If you didn't pay it, you would raid your home and remove all the valuable things in your home. They would not afraid if you didn't take the money to redeem it. For example, 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.

Interviewer: How about your family? What was your experience?

Li: At that time, our family refused to pay the fine and they demolished the house. 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.

Interviewer: I can't imagine the discomfort at that time, when you found that half of the house was gone. I think you are very brave back then.

Li: It was not brave. It was more like forced by the policy.

Interviewer: That's about all I want to know. I think your story, Auntie, is very interesting. Thank you for chatting with me today!

Li: No problem. It is good to talk to young people.

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
4	Tian	65	Pork seller	2

Interview recording:

Interviewer: Aunty Tian. Hello. Nice to see you. I am Yan.

Tian: hello. My surname is Tian.

Interviewer: I have told you before the main content about this interview and the general privacy protection. I also received the informed consent that you signed. Thank you very much.

Tian: yeah. I asked Xiang to send it to you. It is okay. You can just start asking.

Interviewer: Do you remember when was family planning started at the very beginning?

Tian: It started at around late 1970s. At that time it started all in a sudden and everyone started to talk about it.

Interviewer: Do you still remember how you knew about it at the very beginning?

Tian: I don't remember exactly. At that time everyone was talking about it. After all, you know the Chinese traditional thinking that "more children more blessing". Everyone wanted to have more children. How could everyone just be willing to give birth to just one child? Later, there were some slogan on the wall in the village about the family planning policy, such as "One person is ligated, the whole family is glorious" or "If wanting to be rich, have fewer children and grow more trees". At the very beginning it was very honorable to take the initiative to sterilize. People would beat gongs and sound drums. And also there would be reward. But gradually it was so much stricter. And some of the slogans became more exaggerated, like "rather blood flowing like a river than having one unapproved child".

Interviewer: That sounds extreme.

Tian: yeah. It was extreme. And they were really strict, this was not a joke, 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.

Interviewer: When did you have your first child?

Tian: it was in 1985. My first child is a girl.

Interviewer: At that time the family planning policy had already started.

Tian: yeah, it was.

Interviewer: After having the first child, how did the family policy affect you?

Tian: At that time, everyone who had their first child needed to be put on IUD.

Interviewer: How about ligation?

Tian: Unless women was proven not suitable for IUD, then the man got ligated. How could a man get ligated? It doesn't make sense. Women who had given birth should have their IUC 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.

Interviewer: How to put in an IUD?

Tian: It was very quick. You just needed to lie there and the doctor put it in. It was done. It did not even take 5 minutes.

Interviewer: how was you feeling after putting it in?

Tian: It was not very comfortable. It was painful at first. After putting it in, it bled for a few days. Later, it bled from time to time. In addition, I don't know why but my lower back also hurt from time to time. well, they did all these things on your body, it was kinda normal to have some minor problem on the body.

Interviewer: Was there any education about IUD when you put it in? For example how does it work on your body or how long can it be in your body?

Tian: No. they were really quick. Just took them a few minutes to put it in and then next one. They wouldn't talk to you much.

Interviewer: How often was the IUD checking?

Tian: It was about every three month.

Interviewer: After having the first child, you had already put in IUD. What made you to have one more child?

Tian: At the beginning, we didn't have this thought. And my family was too poor. We had this idea later was also influenced by other. At that time, it was not like how it is now. It was impossible to not have a boy in the family. My sister had a friend, who is one year younger than me. 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. Although it damaged to body, but since she could do it, why not me too?

Interviewer: when was that?

Tian: It was 1991 when I had this thought. 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 at that time. I should have pee before. Then it should only found the IUD not the baby. At that time, the woman Yang Xiaohong was the women director, and she tried to force people to have abortion every day, so it couldn't let them find out.

Interviewer: Do you remember did you have anesthesia when taking off and putting back the IUD?

Tian: I don't remember that now. No one would notice about that at that time.

Interviewer: How about the disinfection? Do you remember if she had disinfection before she did that?

Tian: It should have it at that time.

Interviewer: Was there anything happen after you got pregnant again?

Tian: At that time, I had to hide and couldn't let anyone know about it, especially the people from leading team.

Interviewer: how did you hide it?

Tian: It was easy when my belly was small, but when it got bigger, I was afraid of being found out. I mean if you have a big belly dangling in front of them, this was forcing them to drag you to abortion. Actually it was hard for them too. If you went out and hid, they could say they couldn't find you. We started selling meat every year after the fifth day of the first lunar month but that we started to sell at the tenth day after the lunar month.

When someone asked me, I also kept saying that it was after the fifth day of the first lunar month. 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 of the fifth day of the first lunar month, my husband and I went to Jiekou (loction). He went to work, and I hid at my sister's house. Later, it was not safe to hide in Jiekou, so I went to Hunan.(province) At that time, the information was not as developed as it is now that they could see all the information when they checked, but at that time they couldn't control all the way Hunan.

Interviewer: It sounds really hard you need to worry and think about all that when you were pregnant.

Tian: yeah, at that time, I didn't think about it that much. All I thought about was that as long as my baby can deliver safely, I was satisfied. Now the life is so much better. When I thought about the time back then, it was really hard to have one more child.

Interviewer: what would happen if people got found out to be pregnant?

Tian: I was lucky to hide early. It was quite common for them to be forced to have an abortion, unlike now, the human body is so precious. Some were found by IUD check, some were (found by) big mouths, and others were discovered by people in the same village and told the leading team. 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 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.

Interviewer: How would the pregnant women be willing to have the abortion?

Tian: They wouldn't care about whether they were willing or not. They would demolish the house. It was not like really destroyed the house. People lost too much if destroying house. They would be afraid that too much people complaining. 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.

Interviewer: That was way too much.

Tian: They had done crazier things. At that time, they said family planning, then everyone needed to follow. As long as it met their quota, there was nothing they couldn't do. Whatever they did was justified.

Interviewer: what did you experience after giving birth to second child?

Tian: At that time there was a fine. I also paid the fine.

Interviewer: Do you know how they decided the amount of the fine?

Tian: 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 are relatively high. After the second child was born, a person came to our house and asked for 18 thousand yuan. I knew I would be fined, but I didn't expect this much. At that time, our monthly salary was 200 yuan, and the annual income from farming and raising pigs was less than 1,000 yuan, and we also had to pay a large part of the grain to the country. 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, he was fined 15,000 yuan in total. It took several years to pay off the money.

Interviewer: Except for this financial punishment, was there any influences on other aspect?

Tian: No, it was fine from other aspect. It just too much of this fine.

Interviewer: This was all I wanted to know about. Thank you very much aunty Tian for today.

Tian: No problem. If you have anything more to know about, you can just call me.

Interviewer: Thank you. I am appreciated that.

Number	Name	Age	job	Number of children
5	Yuan	55	Free lancer	2

Interview recording:

Interviewer: Hello aunty Yuan. This is Yan. Can you hear me clearly?

Yuan: yeah, you can just ask.

Interviewer: Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Yuan: No. It is okay, you can just ask.

Interviewer: Can you first simply describe your family background?

Yuan: I am Yuan. I am 55. My husband is working with building houses right now. I have two daughter. Both of them are working now.

Interviewer: Do you remember when the family planning started at the very beginning.

Yuan: It started at around 1988, 1990, 1992, I think.

Interviewer: Do you still remember how you know about family planning policy at the very beginning?

Yuan: It was more than 30 years ago, yeah. That was a long time ago. At that time, unapproved birth was very strict. Let me think about it. I think I heard from other 30 year ago. At that time, you could have two births if the first one was a girl. Then you can wait for 4 years and have a boy. It was not that strict when I gave birth. It was stricter before.

Interviewer: When did you have your first kid?

Yuan: I have two daughters. The older one was born in 1988, and the younger one was born in 1990. The older one was born just after the lunar New Year.

Interviewer: After giving birth to you older daughter, how does the family planning policy affect your life?

Yuan: At that time, it was required to put in IUD, but the policy was not the strict, so I did not put in IUD at that time. I put in IUD when I had my second daughter. We were still lived in the village after I gave birth to the first kid. We were registered as rural household. At that time, the unapproved birth was like this. They (people from the leading team) came to your house every day. If you want to have a boy; if you want to have the third births or fourth births, they would just come to your house and sit there to force you to get an abortion. A lot of people hid and escaped from them. Until they almost gave birth of the child, they came back and secretly gave birth of the child at home. At that time, it was like this. It had to give born to a boy. Some of them hid in the mountain; some of them hid in their relative's house, until they almost given born. They wouldn't go to the hospital to give birth of the baby. They would hire some older midwife to help labor in their own house. The problem was not if you want child. The premise was that you actually could make it to give born of the baby. You needed to actually 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. The maximum they could do was giving you a fine. It was like this back then, so when I was pregnant with XinXin (younger daughter) we went to the city to find a job. After all, in the village where everyone know each other, it was easier being reported and being dragged to have abortion.

Interviewer: So your husband and you leave your home and went to city to find a job after you was pregnant.

Yuan: Yeah, later I change my registration to "rural to urban"

Interviewer: What made you want to have a second child at that time?

Yuan: My first child was a girl. At that time if people did not have a boy, they would be looked down upon by other. Without a boy, it was like no one helped you to farm. In January in lunar calendar, if there was no boy going to the temple and worship to the god, it means there was no backbone in the family, which would be looked down upon at that

time. Having one more boy was gaining face. Having a girl would be looked down upon. This was how it was back then. The older generation valued boys. So even it needed to hide and escape everywhere to have a boy, it was still worth it. They didn't even dare to go to the hospital, so they hired old midwife to come to the house to labor.

Interviewer: You just mention that people were required to put in IUD, did you put it in after the second child?

Yuan: Yes. I put one in when Xinxin was two and then I didn't have kid any more. The IUD is very good. It just stayed in my body, until Xinxin was older. I took it out when I ended my period at around 50 year old.

Interviewer: Does it affect your daily life?

Yuan: No there was no effect.

Interviewer: When you put in the IUD, did the doctor told you any knowledge about the IUD? For example, how long can it stay in the body?

Yuan: No, it was quite at that time and he didn't say anything. It was like this at that time, we know nothing at that time. Every day was very busy. As long as you help me put it in, I never changed it in 30 years until Xinxin was an adult and I was 50. Just in a blink of eyes and it was more than 30 years now, I was so busy every day and have no time to change it.

Interviewer: After you put it in, have you experienced examining it?

Yuan: Only people with work needed to go to examine. It was like once in three month. People like me who didn't work and lived in the city but not registered, no one cared. And we did not have that awareness to do it.

Interviewer: How the policy affect you after you gave birth to second child except for putting in IUD?

Yuan: At that time, they said I need to wait until my older daughter 4 year old then I could have another one, but the policy was not that strict, so I have it in her two years old. They said there would be some fine but they never came, so I didn't pay any at that time.

At the beginning, it didn't matter if I registered for the child or not, but when she reached the time to go to school. I had to pay the fine so that she could registered and go to school. So we paid like 300 or 400 yuan. At that time we was too poor and could not pay more than this.

Interviewer: How did they decide on this number?

Yuan: It was certain. Everyone needed to pay this much. That was it. It was a set amount. At that time, the annual income so really little and we didn't have any money left in a year. At that time, people lived very poor. Sometime, we lived a tight life even we work from the morning to the evening. I remember when I was young, the annual income was just more than 100 yuan. 100 year needed to be used for the whole year. How could this be enough? It was really hard to image right now. To be honest, it was better that we didn't have a job back then. If we had a job, both of us would be fired and go home. You couldn't work if you have unapproved child.

Interviewer: Overall, what do you thing this family planning policy affect you?

Yuan: It didn't have that much effect on us who work part-time or have unstable job. We didn't have time. We were so busy every day. And it has been more than 30 years just a blink of eyes. Time flies quickly and we were busy making money every day.

Interviewer: You think it doesn't affect you much.

Yuan: We registered as rural household at that time. We could not have one more boy any more. At that time, we really wanted a boy, but two of them were a heavy burden, since neither of us worked then. It was really hard for us to look for job at that time. With family planning, it only has one child, it would be better and lighter burden. Since both of us didn't work, it was really hard to raise two children. When they was younger, whenever we went, we took them. We moved from place to place. They were really jealous of single child. They can eat and wear whatever they want. Therefore, they tried their best to study and find a good job. Giving birth to two child, I feel like I had been sneaky all my life. It was really hard. I have to work during the day. At night, I needed to take bath and wash clothes for my children. Sometime, I just got a little sleep, then I had

to rush to work again. It was really not easy. Now it was so much better. Both of my children are about. It was so much better.

Interviewer: Life was so hard back then. It is very good that with your hard work, life is so much better and they live a good life now.

Yuan: Yes. Now it was so much better for my family. Now my salary can reach to 100 yuan each day. Life is so much better compared to before. Both of my children are working now. And I have a grandson in my family now.

Interviewer: Then it is triple happiness right now.

Yuan: Yes, hahaha. Now I just look forward my younger daughter could get married soon and also have a grandson that I could help raise.

Interviewer: hahaha. Aunty Yuan. That is all I want to know about. Thank you so much for today.

Yuan; No problem, hahaha.

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
6	Wang	50	Lawyer	3

Interview record:

Interviewer: Hello, aunty Wang. This is Yan.

Wang: Hello. You're calling for the interview right?

Interviewer: yes. I want to ask you about your reproductive experience and family planning at that time.

Wang: Okay. There is no problem. You can just ask.

Interviewer: Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Wang: I have no question. You can just ask.

Interviewer: Do you remember when the family planning start?

Wang: I don't remember it exactly, but when I had my first child in 1989, it already had it.

Interviewer: do you remember how the atmosphere was at that time?

Wang: when I gave birth to children, it was in around 1990s. I think this is the generation that the family planning policy affect the most. Back then, I could always hear some slogan about family planning and people around me always talked about family. At that time, China was not that developed and the economy was very bad. Some of the people around me felt very scared about family planning; some of them really wanted to get rid of family planning policy. I gave birth to my kids under this kind of reproductive atmosphere.

Interviewer: what was the first impression of family planning policy at the very beginning?

Wang: At that time, there were slogans on the wall in the village. there were also flyer from the leading team. "It is better to have one birth" or "Boy and girl are the same" like these. I think this slogans were very irony. In the place where my family was from, the situation of preference on boys over girls were very serious. There was also one special policy. I didn't know if it was only my village had it. we called it "one child and a half" policy, which mean if the first birth was girl, you could have one more birth, but if the first birth was boy, it was not allow to have more kid. That is why I think "boy and girl are the same" is very irony. The policy itself was promoting preference on boy over girl.

Interviewer: Yean. I sound like it.

Wang: there were also some very classic slogan like "if wanting to be rich, born less and build the road first" or "born less and plant trees". At that time, people still thought men were the main labor force, so people wanted boys more. But even the first one was boy, people still wanted to have one more girl. We all thought one boy one girl were the best. Moreover, the culture and custom were regarded very importantly in my hometown. They valued man to provide for the elderly and host their funeral. According to the culture, after people die, it needs a person to carry the sail. This person needs to be the man in the family. If you died and no man in your family carry the sail for you, you couldn't go to a good place after you died.

Interviewer: You just mentioned that you had your first daughter in 1989. What was the influence after you gave birth to the first child?

Wang: It didn't affect much at the time. Because my first child is a daughter, according to the policy, I still could have another child. It started when the second child was born. I remember that it was at that time when I required to put in IUD. At that time, there were a group of women who collectively took the bus to the city to putt on IUD. It was arranged by the local government. There was also regular examination. If they found out that you didn't have IUD, they would immediately put one inside your body. That was like this at that time. What I remember the most was that at that time, we would gather

together to talk in the village. Some of the women would talk about them having problem after putting in the IUD, such as allergy or some discomfort and even gynecological diseases.

Interviewer: How about you? How did it affect you?

Wang: They put it in after I gave birth to my second daughter. And then it was when my daughter was 20 year old, she accompanied me to go to hospital and took it off. It was very painful at that time and scary. The IUD and my body had grown together. It was very painful to separate them. That was the first time felt like IUD was persecuting people.

Interviewer: When you put it in, did they tell you about any knowledge about IUD?

Wang: There were a lot of people going with me at that time. We didn't get to have that much communication with the doctor. It was more like the production line. People went in and out very quickly. There was hardly any conversation. And we didn't know anything at that time. All we knew was the state wanted you to do it, you must do it.

Interviewer: how does putting in IUD made you feel?

Wang: very uncomfortable. Because of this this thing, I had gynecological diseases. But I had no choice. I couldn't take it off back then. It needed to be examined. And taking it out also had the risk of getting pregnant. No one could take it off. No hospital would like to do this for you.

Interviewer: How was examining the IUD like?

Wang: People went it one by one. There was that kind of machine that can detect the IUD. It was like the machine like metal detector. It was conducted once every season. They asked people to go all the time. They worried people getting pregnant too. But a lot of people still got pregnant even with the IUD in.

Interviewer: What made you to have one more child?

Wang: There were a lot of reasons combining. My first birth was daughter. After she was born, my family was very disappointed. My mother-in-law really wanted a boy. She talked to me about it all the time. More importantly, I, myself also preferred boy over girl

at that time. Everyone around me was like this. They kept persuading me too. If I didn't have a boy, they would talk behind me like "who would carry the sail for me? What happened if you getting old". Also the elderly in the family would give pressure to me. They made me felt like not having a boy was something very serious. They used all kinds of measure to persuade me. At the very beginning, I didn't want to have one more because I didn't want to have unapproved child. We all knew the consequence of having unapproved child at that time. But everyone kept persuading me, so I had a very long discussion with my husband and still thought that if there was no boy, the life was not complete. Later I had my youngest son.

Interviewer: So the whole decision-making process happened in the family.

Wang: mostly. There was still a little part from the environment. Everyone around me wanted to have a boy. I was also put in this kind of thought. And people in the village, they were more competitive at that time, maybe they were comparing and showing off on the children too.

Interviewer: What happened after you got pregnant with the son?

Wang: I was very scared back then. When I had my youngest son, I worried that I would drag to have abortion. At that time, they did not care how long you were pregnant, they would just drag you to get an abortion. A lot of women could not have children anymore because of it. 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. At my house, there was basement that we used to store food. I hid in the basement every time people from family planning office came. I had no choice, otherwise I would be drag to have abortion. At that time, I was pregnant for over 6 month. It would hurt my body a lot if getting abortion. What I remember the most was when I was hiding around my relatives' places, I didn't see my daughters that much. My daughters were really surprised when I came back and they asked me if I didn't want the little brother. After I came back, there was those people come to check at the middle of the night. They knocked on the window. It was very scary. They did it when you were in deep sleep and woke you up all a sudden. I had a panic and then started to hide in the basement. Very scared.

Interviewer: Who were those people?

Wang: People from the leading team and family planning office. They came together with a bunch of people, which made you felt very scared. It was like I committed very serious crime and they were going to arrest me.

Interviewer: Did they already know you were pregnant?

Wang: No matter how well you tried to keep it as a secret, everyone would know eventually. Because you haven't gone out for a long time, your neighbor would get suspicious. People would discuss it together. If people from the leading team heard about it or someone reported it, people from the leading team would come and confirm it. If they found out you were not at home when they came. They would be sure that you were having unapproved pregnancy and kept looking for you. If they failed to find you, they would threaten your husband that they would arrest him and lock him down. This was how they threatened my husband.

Interviewer: It was very strict.

Wang: I think they had some kinds of punishment system. If they found out one person but didn't do something, they would get punishment or lose the job.

Interviewer: What did you experience after giving born the son?

Wang: After I gave born to my son, for a long time I didn't register him. Because of unapproved child, he could not register. There was no choice. So later, I registered him under my sister, which led to my son always asked why it was like this. He also lived with my sister for a while. We couldn't let anyone get suspicious. I think it had a certain negative influence on my son. I could not live with his own family. Later, if we wanted to register back to our own family, we needed to pay for a fine.

Interviewer: How much was the fine?

Wang: It was like a few thousand yuan. I didn't remember it exactly, but it was quite a lot to my family. At that time, we couldn't earn any money the whole year.

Interviewer: Did it affect your job?

Wang: Not really. I didn't have a job at that time and my husband was farmer back then. I got a job after finishing college. It was a long time after this. But if you worked for the government insinuation, they would have a lot trouble. They would lose the job right away and got other punishment. I would say there were more negative influence on my son. It was a lot of trouble in his situation. There were so much to do to register for him. For a long time, he didn't register. He didn't have health care or receive education.

Interviewer: How did it change your relationship with other?

Wang: I would say it affect my children more. I think my son has a strong identity problem. He didn't have a sense of belonging for a long time. He kept questioning me back then, such as he didn't know whose son he was. I also think it affected my daughters a lot. They saw how much effort I put on to have their little brother. I think they also felt stressed about it.

Interviewer: Overall, how do you think family planning affects you?

Wang: For me, at the beginning, I really didn't understand. A part of it was for the mandatory measures. For example, dragging people to have an abortion even when they were late pregnancy like 6 or 7 month. And also I really didn't understand those measures against humanity. For example, dragging people to hospital to examine the body or coming to your house to examine at the middle of the night. These made people feel scary. It was like going back to ancient time. And also I didn't understand about people's thought. Those thought really was deep in to people's mind. I have thought about it a lot. Why we must have a boy? I felt like this had a huge influence on me psychologically. It made me reflect on my life and my choice a lot. Now, sometime I felt like I had ignored my two daughters a lot just to have a son. I felt sorry for them.

Interviewer: aunty. I think you have done a very good job. Just you reflecting on your own education to your children has already better than a lot of people. I am sure they would understand you. That was all I wanted to know for the interview. Thank you so much for today.

Wang: it was fine.

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
7	Lian	53	Domestic helper	2

Interview recording:

Interviewer: hello. Aunty. This is Yan. I am calling to interview you about your reproductive experience and the family planning policy back then. We had talked about it before.

Lian: I know. You can just ask me.

Interviewer: Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Lian: I don't have any question. You can begin.

Interviewer: Ok. I begin now. Do you remember when did the family planning start?

Lian: it was at around 1980s I think. At that time, it was already only allowed to have one child.

Interviewer: How did you know about the family planning policy at the very beginning?

Lian: It was a long time ago. At that time everyone was talking about it for a long time. There were a lot of slogan on the wall at that time.

Interviewer: Do you remember the content of these slogans?

Lian: I don't remember now. It was like boy and girl are the same I think. I am not sure, but it was all about family planning.

Interviewer: Do you remember when did you have your first birth?

Lian: it was in 1990. It was the time when the family planning policy was the strictest.

Interviewer: How it was like at that time?

Lian: Before I married, I have heard about only studying and getting a good job in the city could change the registration as urban household. My husband had urban household before we married and I registered as rural household. I was curious about why he would choose someone from the rural area. So I asked him, why it was so hard to get an urban household, why you still choose someone from the rural area? He answered me that if he chose someone with an urban household, and they had a daughter, then this was forever. If he married someone registered as a rural household, he could have one more birth and 50% of chance more to fight for having a boy. That was what he said.

Interviewer: So at that time, with a rural registration, if the first birth was a girl, people still could have one more birth. If people had an urban registration, it only allowed to have one child.

Lian: yes. Actually, when I gave birth to my first child, everyone no matter rural or urban household, could only have one child. But we didn't know when we married.

Interviewer: that sounded like a lot of pressure.

Lian: yes. I had quite a lot pressure at that time. It proved that he certainly wanted a son. He stated it very clear. It was because of family planning policy that he decided to choose me. I worried a lot. It was mainly the first birth. If the first one was boy, I didn't need to worry if the second one anymore. If it was a daughter, according to the tradition that prefer boy over girl, I needed to continue to give born until we had son.

Interviewer: Was your first birth boy or girl?

Lian: The first one was boy. At that time he was transverselie.

Interviewer: what is transverselie?

Lian: When he was still in my belly, he was holding his hands and sitting there. His head was at the top and butt was at the bottom. He could not change to the position. When I was labor, his butt was still sitting there. This was the most dangerous. I was like listening to whatever doctor said at that time. What I worried the most was still if it was a boy or a girl. At that time it was like that. When I got into the delivery bed, I was really

lucky. I heard the nurse said Wow, it was real. Then I was smart enough to know that she saw the sex of the baby. I had so much more energy after I heard that. When your grandma was still a doctor, I knew it from her that I could natural delivery. The weight of the baby was not very big, so I thought I could fight for a natural delivery. At that time, normally people would choose a natural delivery because this was the first birth. I didn't know if I still needed to have more birth since I didn't know the sex yet. If I conducted the caesarean section, I needed to wait for a couple of years to have another one, but with natural delivery, I could have baby whenever I wanted. Just having an approved child, I didn't need to wait for that long.

Interviewer: Since you had the son, did you lighten your pressure?

Lian: Yeah. The first one was boy. I was relieved a lot.

Interviewer: What happened after you gave birth?

Lian: At that time, it needed to put in IUD. It was demanded as long as you didn't get a ligation. It was mandatory. There were people going to your house and checking it all the time. They check all the certificates about reproduction.

Interviewer: What certificates they needed to check?

Lian: Marriage certificate, birth approved certificate, birth certificate, family planning certificates...there were a lot. This was to check if you had unapproved children. When you gave birth to your first child, someone would come to check and asked you to show all the certificates. There was no choice. Either choosing to put in the IUD or going to women and children hospital to get a ligation. This was mandatory. If you didn't go they would just drag you there.

Interviewer: Who would drag people there?

Lian: people from the government and family planning office as well as the village committee. They would go in your house and drag you. If you hid or escape, they would smash your house. They would break everything. It was very serious back then. If it was in the village, they would destroy houses and take away everything they saw in your house. Those family planning people was like bandit.

Interviewer: What made you decided to have second child?

Lian: At that time, I really didn't think about to have second child. The IUD was still inside me. I really didn't know I still could be pregnant.

Interviewer: how often did it happen to be pregnant with the IUD inside the bodies?

Lian: this situation actually happened a lot. Some people had a big mouth and told other about it. Later they would be drag to have abortion.

Interviewer: How did you find out you was pregnant at that time?

Lian: it was in February. I didn't feel well. I was having a headache and throwing up a lot, so I went to hospital to take medicine and get the infusion. Later, I asked the doctor why my period didn't come after taking the medicine. She said, that was not right and asked me if I was pregnant. I didn't dare to say anything at that time. The other day, I talked to my relative and she told me to get a check-up. I was really pregnant. Although I didn't prepare for one more child, the child came and I couldn't get rid of it. That was thinking that it didn't matter if it was a boy or girl. It was also good to have a boy and a girl.

Interviewer: What happened after you got pregnant?

Lian: there was nothing special after I found out. At that time I moved to live with my husband in the city already. It was not like in the village that everyone knew each other. At that time, my husband needed to work. He only came back once in every two week. I didn't have a job. As long as I stayed at home, no one could find out that I was pregnant. As long as no one found out, it would be fine.

Interviewer: were you staying at home and not going out until your labor?

Lian: Yes and later when I gave birth, I invited a midwife to my house to do it. Since it was unapproved pregnancy, I couldn't go to the hospital, so I invited midwife to my place to help me labor. If I went to hospital, it was not like that they were not going to help me labor. Since your water was broke, they couldn't get an abortion at that time, but they would get a ligation after helping your labor. At that time, people would secretly

have one birth or second birth without anyone knew it. Some people who worked in government institution and had a son would hide the son and let someone else to raise it.

Interviewer: Let someone else to raise it?

Lian: Yeah, a lot cases like that. Some giving birth to a few girls and just gave them to other. When you were having unapproved child and wanted to continue having more, it was hard for you to take care of that much children. Some of them needed to hide to the mountain; some of them needed to hide in the relatives' places. Some people would report if they saw unfamiliar faces. There was reward to report other. If people had no choice, they would just hide in the mountain. It was very difficult to be found there. Some people in the village would just gave away their daughters in order not to be found out. The only raised their son.

Interviewer: I see. Do you think how did it change your relationship with other?

Lian: it did have changes, but it was not because of unapproved children. It was more like I needed to take care of two sons. I put all my time and effort on them. Before marriage, I would still go out with my friends some time. After marriage, I needed to take care of my two sons and parents-in-law. I didn't have time to go out with them anymore.

Interviewer: Overall, how do you think family planning affects you?

Lian: At that family planning time, I was terrified and scared all the time. It was not just me. Everyone was like this. I knew some family which both sides worked for the government. And she gave birth to a girl. The man just divorced her and found some one else, because he could have one more chance to fight for having a son. It was like that back then. This was where the pressure came from. Basically in this case, the girl was following the mother side. The man didn't want the mother and daughter. I also knew some didn't get divorce but they also had illegitimate child.

Interviewer: It sounds like you guys having a lot of pressure, especially at the first labor.

Lian: Yeah. People of my age was like these. This is the traditional thought. There must be a son to carry on the lineage. First is the cultural issue. And the other is the overall environment was like this so all the pressure was on women. For men, as long as they had

ability, they don't need to think too much, especially for those working for the government institution. Some of the men worked for the government hooked up with some women in order to have a son. They didn't want the wife who gave birth to girl. They would only stay with women that gave birth to a son.

Interviewer: that was all I wanted to know in the interview. Thank you so much for today.

Lian: it is okay. I hope it could help you. Let me know if you have any question later.

Interviewer: thank you so much. It help a lot today.

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number of children
8	Zheng	54	Chef	2

Interview recording:

Interviewer: Hello. This is Yan. Can you hear me?

Zheng: Just wait a second. I needed to go out. It was too much noise here...It was quieter here. You can speak now.

Interviewer: Okay. Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Zheng: No. you can just start directly.

Interviewer: Sure. Do you remember when the family planning policy started at the very beginning?

Zheng: It started in the late 1980s. At that time those people started to focus on unapproved pregnancy. I think there was family planning policy at the beginning of 1980s too. At that time, it was not allowed to have second child for those who worked for the government intuition, but even if they gave birth, they only needed to pay for the fine. When it was 1990s, it became very strict. The strictest time was 1997-2000. At that time, there was fine and if they couldn't find the woman with unapproved pregnancy, they would destroy the house. In the village, they would destroy the house; in the city, they would have closing order for the apartment. When it was 1998 and 1999, it started to have collective punishment. For example, if I had unapproved child at that time, it would affect my brother-in-law and his wife. They would be fired from the government. At that time Conghua (location) ranked the first to have unapproved children over the whole city. Everyone knew it. So there were some very strict measures following it. It was very terrible and sad to have an unapproved child at that time.

Interviewer: What was the family policy like at that time?

Zheng: People registered as urban citizens could only have one child. People registered as rural citizens could have a second child if the first child was a girl. That was why my older son was legal and the second one was unapproved child, which needed to pay for the fine. At that time, the propaganda was promoting good prenatal and postnatal care or “boys and girls are the same”. At that time, there were a lot of shows and slogans on the roadside. It was mostly about one couple can only have one child or something like this. These was everywhere.

Interviewer: What were the content of the shows and slogans?

Zheng: I don't remember exactly. It was mostly about “it is good to have only one child” and “good prenatal and postnatal care”.

Interviewer: When did you have your first child?

Zheng: I had my first child in 1994. It was a boy.

Interviewer: What happened after you gave birth to the first child?

Zheng: After I gave birth to the first one, at first they wanted to drag me to put in IUD. But it was not that strict at that time, so I found someone I knew and spent some money. That was how I avoided to put in IUD. At that time I was not sure if I still wanted to have one more child. What if I wanted one more child later? If I put in IUD, I couldn't have it anymore. At that time, every season, it needed to examine the IUD too. If you didn't do it, they would come to your house. If you missed two of them, you would get mandatory ligate, because after 3 season the child could already get born. As long as you missed 2 times, you would get ligation mandatorily. It was very scary.

Interviewer: How about you? Did you get it eventually?

Zheng: I am actually very smart. I went to put in IUD myself. I went to put in IUD after I gave born to my second son. It was not putting in IUD. It was getting a ligation directly instead. I didn't want to give born again. It was really expensive to have three children. For example, the Zhang Yimou's (Chinese celebrity) family receive a 700 thousand fine.

If you were rich, you would be asked for a lot of money. 700 thousand was a lot of money at that time. It could buy a lot of houses.

Interviewer: That was really a lot. What made you decide to have one more child?

Zheng: At that time, I was thinking I didn't have a government job. Why not? Although my husband worked as a teacher at that time, he already wanted to do something else at the time. So we had a conversation and decided to have a second child. He resigned. My mother-in-law also really wanted it. More children more blessing. After my youngest son was born, she was very happy. He was married a couple month.

Interviewer: What happened after you found out you was pregnant?

Zheng: if it was in the village, like your aunt, it was not that strict, but for people registered as urban citizens in the city, it was stricter. Before my youngest son was born, we was still living in the school (dormitory). I was reported by other, so I escape to live with my mother-in-law instead. I was reported again by someone. People from family planning office came to investigate. They had reward for those who report other. Reporting one person could get 5000 yuan.

Interviewer: They have reward to report people?

Zheng: Yes. That's why I tried to stay inside after that. After I got reported in my mother-in-law place. I went to your father's apartment upstairs of Huatian company. I can't go out. I can't see the sun. I didn't dare to go home so I stayed at your dad's apartment until labor.

Interviewer: why it couldn't let other to find out?

Zheng: they would drag people to get an abortion. At that time, a lot of people like reporting other. Every report can have 5000 yuan. I wouldn't do this thing that are against humanity, but other people, especially those living in dormitory of government intuition liked doing it. Those people didn't feel fair. Why you could have more children and they couldn't? At that time, people was like this. If your relatives were nice, you went to your relatives. If your relatives was bad, you hid in the Lichi orchard. They just build a simple shed in the orchard to avoid family planning people. They also may be reported even

living in there. When people saw the shed they had never seen before, they would report. It was very terrible, but there was no choice. People wanted a son. If you got caught, you would be dragged to have an abortion even in late pregnancy. You said how sad it was. Your mother was smart on this. She choose to not have one more and save her job.

Interviewer: What happened after the reproduction?

Zheng: My second son was born in 1997. At that time, it was fine, but after 2000, it was a lot of fine. It was 80-100 thousand.

Interviewer: That was a lot.

Zheng: yes. When they knew you had unapproved pregnancy, they would come and drag you to have an abortion. If they failed to do so, there would be a fine. After your child was born, he needed to get registered to get health care and education. If you knew someone, you could have a discount, 20% off. If the fine was 150 thousand, it would become 120 thousand. When I had the youngest one, it was just 1997, so in 1998, we needed to pay 30 thousand. It would be so much more expensive after 2000. The fine was so much. 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.

Interviewer: How did they decide the fine?

Zheng: there was no uniform standards. If you registered as an urban citizen, it would be higher and lower for rural citizens. At that time actually it was whatever number that said. After 2000 before the second children policy, those people didn't want more children, because the fine was way too high and also it was hard to teach the child too.

Interviewer: So they decided the fine according to their registration.

Zheng: Actually people from the family planning office decided on your family financial situation. If you could not even have 30 thousand, what could they do? They couldn't just take your life, right. If you couldn't afford the fine, in the city, they couldn't destroy the whole building, but they would get a closing order of your apartment. In the village, they would could actually destroy your house because the whole house was yours in the village. And also, they limited the education of your child. At that time, the family

planning situation needed to be reviewed every year. Every family had family planning certificate. If you didn't have family planning certificate, your child could not receive education. You couldn't even register, how could you go study?

Interviewer: It needed to check the family planning certificate to receive education?

Zheng: yes, otherwise the school didn't dare to hire you. It had this kind of policy. How could you go study in this situation? It was very sad.

Interviewer: Was there any other punishment except for the fine?

Zheng: no except for the financial punishment. I paid for the fine at that time mainly because of the family planning certificate. With the certificate, there was no problem to study. It needed to be checked every year. It was very horrible at that time. In the village, the fine was only 3000 yuan with three births. I only had two births and it took me 20 thousand already. Paying the fine just for the school. There were a lot of trouble at that time. It called something like social maintenance fee.

Interviewer: Overall, how do you think this policy affect you and your life?

Zheng: I was just fine. It was very not good, but not that serious actually. As long as you paid for the fine, it would be okay. At that time, in China, it was like that. It was very dark of family planning policy. When it was serious, it even caused people's death. The government also wanted to have more income. There was a lot of corruption in implementing the family planning policy. Some government people also was very greedy and corrupted the fine.

Interviewer: That was all I wanted to know for today. Thank you so much for today.

Zheng: it was fine. When will you come back to China?

Interviewer: I am not sure yet.

Number	Name	Age	Work	Number of children
9	Wen	52	Housewife	2

Interview recording:

Interviewer: Hello. Aunty. This is Yan

Wen: yes. Is this about the interview? You can just ask me.

Interviewer: Okay. Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Wen: I didn't have any question. You could just ask directly.

Interviewer: do you remember when you first heard about family planning policy?

Wen: The first time I heard about family planning was in 1980. Yes. I remember it very clearly because the daughter of my elder sister was born in 1979. At that time I was only 10. At that time, my sister and me was rural citizens. There was production team at that time. They went to the team and have a meeting about family planning policy, which was that everyone can only have one child. I was holding my niece when my sister came back from the meeting. I remember I told my niece that now your mother could only have you. It was my sister so I remember that well. If it was someone else, I wouldn't remember this well. I was only 10 at that time.

Interviewer: How was the family planning policy like at that time?

Wen: everyone could only have one child. Only if the first child have some kinds of disabilities, then you could have a second one. Other cases were not allowed. If you had unapproved child, there would be a fine. It was like this. But it was not that strict after a while in about 2000, for people registered as rural citizens, if they had girl at their first birth, they could have one more, but this was not implemented in the 1980s and 1990s.

Interviewer: So after 2000, people from the village could have a second one if their first child was girl.

Wen: yes, but in 1990s, no matter city or village it could only allow to have one child.

Interviewer: When did you give born to your first child?

Wen: I had my first child in 1992.

Interviewer: What did you experience after giving born of the first child?

Wen: After three month I gave born to the first one. People from the family planning office came and asked me to put in IUD. If you gave birth to second child, they would ask you to have ligation.

Interviewer: Could you choose other birth control measures at that time?

Wen: No I couldn't at that time or people from the local government would come to your house at that time. At that time, it only could put in IUD. After I put in IUD, I didn't get used to it. There was blood and something. So I manage to take it out and figure something else to have birth control.

Interviewer: did you experience the IUD examination?

Wen: At that time, after I put in the IUD, I went to the city to work, so I have never had examine once. Normally, if you lived in the village, they required you to examine once in three month, but I was not there. I didn't stay at home much, so I didn't experience it.

Interviewer: Where did you take out the IUD?

Wen: I found someone I knew and she helped me to take it out. The hospital and public clinic would not do this for anyone. If you want to find someone to do it, you needed to keep it as secret. It couldn't let anyone to know it. Actually if you didn't feel they could help you take it off, but it needed you to have the certificate to prove that your body was really not suitable for the IUD. They would give you the certificate if you really didn't feel well, but that was too much trouble.

Interviewer: What did you feel after you put in the IUD?

Wen: My back was sour and painful. And I was bleeding (in vaginal). It was bleeding from time to time in half month. I can't tell very clearly what that was. It was like blood but not like blood. It was red, very light red. It looked like yellowish red. It was like leucorrhea but not leucorrhea. There was no other way but to take it off.

Interviewer: What made you decide to have one more child?

Wen: My first child was a daughter and I still wanted a son in my mind at that time, so I thought about to have one more. When I was pregnant with my second child. I did a check-up and I knew it was a girl again. I was 7 month pregnant at that time. I wanted to have an abortion at that time, but her grandparents told me not to. At that time, they didn't believe in technology, but I believe in it. They said I would be really regretful if it was boy, but I was very certain it was a girl. I believed in science. At last they said, it was still good if it was a girl. Two girls were still good. That was how I gave born to Yuanyuan. There was a lot of troubles to give born to her.

Interviewer: what were the trouble?

Wen: first, you needed to have connection, to take off the IUD. Second, when you were pregnant, you couldn't stay at your home, because it was not okay to let anyone see it. People would go a little farer to their relatives' places. And also needed to be careful not to be found out there too. It needed to hide. When people saw it, they would report to local government. However, I was working outside my village, so everyone knew that I was not at home most of the time. That was why no one intervene me. I wouldn't work if I stay at home.

Interviewer: What would happen if they found out?

Wen: If they found out, they was not like persuading you. They would directly drag you to have abortion. It was not persuasive. It was mandatory. Take my third uncle as an example. He was the brother of my father. He has 4 sons and one of his daughter-in-law was pregnant. My third uncle, the third son of him was building the house. At that time, it was important to have a house, and the roof and the wall was 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. At that time, the policy was very...

Interview: it sounded very strict at that time.

Wen: yeah, it was quite extreme. There was no choice. It was like that at that time. Getting an abortion in 7-month pregnancy, I couldn't even image how that felt. That was why I didn't stay at home much. Another thing was that I transfer my registration. I was rural citizen before and I and my first daughter transferred from rural citizen to urban citizen. Because I am urban citizen and her dad was rural citizen, they could only control her dad. At the last, when I gave birth to my second daughter, they could only punished half of us which mean punishing her dad instead of me. Because my registration category was non-agriculture and I didn't have a job, there was no person in the city to punish me either. And it was also because we didn't have an apartment at that time in the city. Yuanyuan was born in 1996. At that time we didn't have apartment or job in the city, they couldn't control. Back then, the personal information was not that detailed like right now. With the internet now, they know everything as long as entering the ID number. Back then, there was no technology like that, so I escape it.

Interviewer: What would happen if it was in the city?

Wen: In the city, if you wanted to have unapproved child, you would lose the job. They just made your work place to fire you. In the village, if you wanted to have unapproved child, you needed to be rich to pay for the fine. If you were poor, you experienced differently in different time. In the 1980s, the fine was about 1000 yuan. Because all of my family, such as my three sisters and brothers, had unapproved children, the fine was all about 1000-1300 yuan for them to have their second child. When it was my generation, which was in the 1990s, the fine was quite different. If you had money, you needed to pay at least 4000 yuan. If you didn't have money, they would take away all your pigs, cows, your food and furniture. They would make your house family. It was

like that. At that time the furniture was very useful and they could use it to exchange money. If you didn't have it, where did you put your cloths and sleep? They needed these things.

Interviewer: How did they decide the amount of the fine?

Wen: At that time, it was a certain amount. When Yuanyuan was born in 1996, because they only punish half of the side, the fine was only 1800 yuan. In 1990s, they raised the price. If I was in the village too, the fine would be about 4000. At that time, People in the village didn't have any income. People just did farming. They didn't have any income. It was hard to evaluate. It was like getting salary every day.

Interviewer: Was it a lot or little of the fine at that time?

Wen: The fine was pretty high at that time. The meat was only 0.2 or 0.3 yuan each 0.5 kilogram. You could calculate yourself how much it was at that time. 1000 yuan was very different at that time. If both side was from the village, where did you even find 1000 yuan. At that time, when you farmed, you needed to give part of the grain to the state, no matter it was wheat, rapeseed or rice, it needed to hand it in to the state. At that time, there was the grain station, all the grain was put in there. You couldn't take this money back. There was also agricultural tax. As a labor to the state, you needed to give a lot of money and grain to the state every year. With the land, there was a lot of money to hand in to the state. Sometime, after giving the grain to the state, it still didn't enough, we need to also use our saving to make it up. It was really hard to make money at that time.

Interviewer: Are you talking about the time when the state was implementing "fix farm output quotas for each household".

Wen: Yeah, it was at that time when the land was divided by the state and the state collected fix farm output from each household, in 1982. You had to give the state that much. It was a lot to hand in at that time. And the grain we planted was not enough and our own saving needed to make it up for it, such as raising some chicken or selling pig to make it up. This was to give it to the state.

Interviewer: it was better not to have the land. Then it didn't have to hand anything to the state.

Wen: Yes, it was staying like these for a long time after 1982. You couldn't get married and your land couldn't be returned. When you had a wife and a kid, there was no land, just like us. But you still was an adult, you still had to give a certain amount of money to the state. To avoid these stuffs, that was why I transferred to urban citizen. To be honest, the policy was indeed unbearable at that time.

Interviewer: Overall, how do you think family planning affects you?

Wen: For myself, I couldn't have baby whenever I could. I still think that it was not acceptable to have only one child. Two or three children would be better. At that time in the village, it needed man to farm and everything. Overall, it was still preferring boys over girls. This Chinese tradition culture was still insisted. Overall it was still like this. However, people right now was a lot different. Before, people still wanted to have the second child and they couldn't stand to have only one child, no matter it was boys or girls. One child was not bearable.

Interviewer: That was all I wanted to know for today. Thank you so much for accepting my interview.

Wen: No problem.

Number	Name	Age	Job	Number
10	Zhang	43	President of kindergarten	2

Interview record:

Interview: Hi. Doctor Zhang. This is Yan. I contacted you before about the interview.

Zhang: yeah I know. No problem. Just say it.

Interview: Before you started, first I need to tell you about your right during this interview. This is a voluntary interview. It is okay if you want to withdraw in anytime during the interview. Or after the interview if you want to withdraw the information you provided, it is totally okay too. This interview would also be recorded, but your information will be kept strictly confidential. Do you have any question up to now?

Zhang: I don't have any problem. I have seen something about it on the paper you sent me.

Interview: That's nice. Then we just started. Do you remember when the family planning policy started?

Zhang: I don't remember when exactly, but I remember it started very early. There was family planning policy when I was in middle school or high school. At that time there was those propaganda, like the shows in school and the slogans in the roadside. It was all about family planning and equality between boys and girls.

Interview: Do you remember what the family planning policy was like at the very beginning?

Zhang: It was mainly about that people could only have one child. My husband was working for government institution. They was very strict for people worked for the government. If people was found to have unapproved pregnancy, both sides needed to be fired. It was very strict at that time. Before the second child policy, it was so much harder to have unapproved child. It had a feeling that this was not about myself. It was about the whole extended family. It was collective punishment at that time. For example, if I had

unapproved child, not only me and my husband would lose job, but also my father-in-law would lose his job.

Interview: When was your first child born?

Zhang: My very baby was born in 6, march in 2003, when I was 24. It was quite troublesome when I had him. How to say it. I gave born of him in the city hospital. A day before the labor, I fell down. I was sent to hospital right away. The doctor wanted to conduct a caesarean section for me, but there was an accident during the caesarean section.

Interview: What accident?

Zhang: At that time, I was being painful in the hospital for a day and two nights, and then decided to have a caesarean section. The doctor was a very good friend of me so I trust her a lot. She suggested me to have nature delivery. At that time the caesarean section was not that popular and I worried I couldn't have children again. However, my contraction was too slow and I was out of energy, so I finally decided to have caesarean section. There was also issue during the caesarean section. The influence of the anesthesia was bad and I had haemorrhage. I remember I was delivered 800cc of blood. Actually it was not that serious. The pain I felt was actually bearable. It was for a while and as long as you insisted, you could feel the happiness afterward. After I gave born to baby, I quit my job and focused on taking care of the baby.

Interview: Is the first one boy or girl?

Zhang: My first child is a boy. At that time, we didn't think about if it was a boy or a girl. My husband and I just let it came naturally. However, my mother-in-law really wanted me to have a daughter. My husband and all his family gave born to babies before us. They are all boys, so my mother-in-law really wanted me to have a girl, but eventually, we still had a son. I didn't have any thought at that time. Boys and girls were fine for me.

Interview: What happened after the first child was born?

Zhang: At that time, it needed to put in IUD. It was mandatory. Every season, it needed to go to hospital and check it. They would call you and rushed you to do it if you forgot

once. There were a lot of policies following by it, such as calling your work place. They really worried you having unapproved child.

Interview: How did it feel put on IUD.

Zhang: It was painful. It would be fake if I said it was not, but it was bearable. It was definitely not as painful as giving born to a child. It was not extremely painful. It was more like being tight all a sudden and you felt a part of your body was strangled. It was painful because there was blood. There was blood both putting it in and taking it off. After all it was still a human's organ. But it was not too exhausting.

Interview: What made you decided to have another baby?

Zhang: To be honest, after I gave born to my son, because I had a haemorrhage. My husband didn't agree me to have one more. I did think about having another one but the family planning was very strict. After a while, I did think about having another one since my son has grown up. Over these years, my husband still didn't agree. He probably still scared of what happened before. Later, a lot of my coworker and classmates before all had another children. I could see how hard it was for them. More importantly, because my father-in-law worked for the government, he had heart about the second child policy was almost implemented. Although we didn't know when exactly, the government inside talked about it, which mean it was going to be soon, either this year or next year. So I discussed with my husband that we were probably going to have one son.

Interview: Did you still have IUD in you at that time?

Zhang: Yeah. It was still inside me. Later I and my coworker went to see the doctor. We knew the doctor very well, so she helped us to take off the IUD. The doctor asked me to come back again in three months. My coworker felt very not well, so we went back to doctor in two months. I was happened to mentioning to the doctor that I didn't have my period this month. The doctor said this was quite normal after taking off the IUD, but since I was there, I should have a check-up. This was how I found out I was pregnant again. After around 1 month I took off the IUD. I was quite lucky. I wanted to have baby but didn't expect at this time. I was planned to have it after the second child policy implemented.

Interview: How old were you at that time?

Zhang: I was more than 30 years old. Yeah. I was not young any more. That was why I kept worried my baby would not be healthy. I did as much as check-up I can to feel safe. I paid for a lot of them. It was more than 5000 yuan at that time. A lot of check-up was quite expensive. I just wanted the baby to be safe. Meanwhile, the doctor gave me some medicine but I never ate them.

Interview: that was still before the family planning policy. How was the family planning like at that time?

Zhang: At that time, the second child policy still haven't implemented, but it was close, so they didn't come to arrest me. So I actually feel quite lucky. Before, when they had unapproved child, they needed to escaped and hide all around. I didn't experience any of that. However, when I had my second daughter, I was working for the kindergarden but I took sick leaves all the time. I felt very bad all the time. My husband quit my job for me because I couldn't eat and wanted to sleep all the time. I didn't feel that at all when I had my first son. When I had my son, I still went to climb the Fengyun mountain at 7-month pregnancy. It was so much harder having the daughter. I threw up very bad. Whatever I ate, I threw up. I didn't know if I was getting older.

Interview: When did the child get born?

Wen: He was born in 2010 before the policy implemented. The policy started in 2011. But when I was born I knew the policy would be implemented in 2011.

Interview: Then it was still an unapproved child. Did you experience any punishment?

Wen: To be honest, not at all. At that time, everyone knew the second child policy would implement in 2011, so the family planning office was not that strict anymore. And they didn't come and give me a fine too. It was mainly because at the beginning, we didn't registered out daughter. After all, she was still an unapproved child. Although it was not strict, we didn't know if it would affect my husband's job as well as my job. We knew that it didn't at that time but we didn't know about the future. So we waited for a few

month and register my daughter until 2011. Technically, it doesn't count as unapproved child.

Interview: hahaha, that was quite lucky. Overall, how do you think family planning affects you?

Wen: For me, I think opening up for a second child policy or third child policy was really good. For a lot of people, especially for those born in 1970s, I think the family policy owned them. A lot of people like us, we still wanted kids a lot but because of the age or something else, they couldn't have child any more. I knew a lot of my friends really wanted to have one more child but they can't anymore. However, I also think a lot of people right now doesn't want to have kid like our generation any more. The social and economic development are not inordinate. For example our housing price and the salary are not matching at all. That is why a lot of young people right now don't want to have child due to too much economic pressure. With too much economic pressure, the future they are see is not clear so they wouldn't dare to try new thing. Right now, the education and all the other thing are linked with economy, so they feel pressure. I think the economy is related to social competitive. After people work, they will find out, especially in these two years, the economic was very bad. A lot of people lost their job. If getting married at this time and without a stable income, it was really hard to raise a child. The milk powder was quite expensive. It tool at least 200 yuan. People can't even buy much milk powder with their one-month salary. Right now, if people choose to have more child is related to economy, instead of people's willingness. A lot of people think having child would lose their identity, so they would like to enjoy their own like more. Every generation have different thought.

Interview: That was all I wanted to know about. Thank you so much for talking to me, doctor Zhang.

Wen: It is okay. It also gives me a chance to reflect on my past.

Original interview recording in Chinese

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
1	刘	61	家庭主妇	3 (4)

采访记录:

采: 你好, 阿姨, 我是小彦, 我之前和你联系过有关采访的。

刘: 我记得你说吧。

采: 我之前有发过一份知情同意书给你, 里面包含了你在这次采访的权利包括这次采访的内容, 你有看了吗?

刘: 我看过了, 没问题的。

采: 方便之后能签一下名发给我吗?

刘: 好, 我晚点等杨敏回来让她弄。

采: 好的, 麻烦你啦。那我们就直接开始吧。

采: 能先简单介绍一下你的情况吗?

刘: 我叫刘惠兴。我有三个孩子, 其实是四个。唉, 就是因为计划生育, 我之前生了三个女儿, 为了生个小儿子, 她们不能在身边的带在身边不行的。大女儿还行, 因为第一胎。第二胎, 杨建刚出生就给我姐姐养了, 到会走路就送去成城里给我婆婆养大。后来又生了个女儿, 就送人了, 给别人养, 没联系过, 最后才生了个儿子。前两年我姨妈打听到她, 想认回来, 她觉得我们当时不要她不愿意, 我就算了, 反正我也有三个孩子有的忙了, 就没再理他。不能带在身边的, 不然公公工作就没有了。

采: 你还记得计划生育是什么时候开始的吗?

刘: 我第一胎杨敏 90 年出生就有了。

采: 生了一胎之后, 政策是怎么影响你的生活的啊?

刘：你生一胎他是不理你的，但是你要生两胎三台那就最紧要了。所以到杨建出生以后不敢带，就送去城里给你婆婆公公带了。跟住生杨子健的时候就怕被人抓，就藏在街口。怀了杨子健的时候太惨了我觉得，怀着的时候又怕别人抓，杨建给了你婆婆带。怀了这个的时候又被人抓了一次，给围村那些村干部举报，同村的人举报，那些人想往上爬，在镇政府做官那些，去到村委举报我们出来，他们有任务的嘛。

采：他们有任务？

刘：对啊，大队的人说他们有任务，所以要抓人，要有多少数字的这样的。之前我怀着杨子健的时候，我们还住在里面，旧楼那里住，村委那些工作人员，晚上上来抓人，睡觉的时候来抓，带着一帮人来。他一开始的时候他说要钱，就说筹钱给他把，那时候又没那么多钱。

采：还在怀孕的时候他们就开始要罚款？

刘：对啊。多少钱都是由他说的，那时候又不多一千几百都可以。没有统一标准的。他们说多少就多少，那时候我老公去筹钱，筹到回来，他们又说不要钱了要人数。连夜抓了我去那边镇政府那边关着，哎呀，好惨的。

采：关着你做什么？

刘：就关着你在那边过了一晚上，第二天如果你有认识人的话你就可以出来，如果你不认识人的话，你没有交钱，就抓你去打了你的（堕胎）。那你计生嘛，你是超生，又说要间隔期什么的，好多鬼马东西。筹不到钱又没有熟人就抓你去打胎。那时才有了三四个月。

采：如过不交钱，不认识人他们就抓怀孕女性去打胎？

刘：对啊。像我嫂子超生，那时候我大哥在镇政府做，他堕胎出来的时候他的儿子已经很多头发之类，他已经都成人了，七个多月都不理你，一样抓你去堕胎。那时候的人，不知道为什么，没有人性的。

采：那做得好极端啊。

刘：很多这样的，那时候的人搏上位，搏上高官，很多都这样的。那些人去到村干部，他都知道哪一家是哪一家了，他自己不出手，就指别人去那里抓，或者带一些捞头，湖南头拆楼，什么都做得出的。他们带一车人过来，带上工具，从楼顶咋个大窟窿，搬走你家所有值钱的东西，很恐怖的，那时候很多都是瓦屋，他们就用东西戳烂它，怎么住啊？就是要逼你们回来，那时候还要株连九族，好像皇帝的时候那样。好像你的大哥或者是弟弟是超生对象这样，他就逼你大哥回来，让你的家人逼他回来，就是要抓你去做计生。那时候的人很下的手的，现在的就不行了。

采：你的意思是如果你超生怀孕了，躲到别的地方，他们就会用各种手段，像砸楼，连坐，逼你们回来这样吗？

刘：是呀，是这样的。他们是当这些是任务，他们是这样的。那时候抓计生就像躲日本鬼子那样。有些突然去墟（集市），去哪里玩啊，就突然半路被人截了去不知道的，那些人无处不在的。

采：那不就是不敢出门了？

刘：走计生还敢出门口？都是藏来藏去的，有些还藏在山上面。那些人山上面的屋子或者果园那些，藏在那里。

采：他们是知道每个人家庭情况所以才抓的吗？

刘：他们知道的，他们都是又底的。谁是从哪里回来，谁生了都少个，都知道的。

采：除了这个以外，还有别的影响吗？

刘：那时候还要求大家上环，上环就是要间隔，不准你生的那么密集，有些人就是费事，不做那些东西。农村，谁那么有空做这些。大队要求生了第一胎都去上环。所以一罚款，也要罚你间隔费，不够间隔所以也罚你。要四年的。不过那时候，只要你认识人，都能偷偷去取了的。

采：你那时后有去上环吗？

刘：那时候我没上环，那时候我去龙岗卫生院上环，那时候他说我不能上，我就没有上了。他老公也没去结扎。不过那时候我生了杨子健哥哥就自己去结扎了。不然你就是他的针对对象，整天过来烦你，很烦的。他们什么都知道的，他们什么都有记录。如果你有单位的就会经常查你的，农村的是如果你超生的话，他一直到就抓人。像有单位的，他们到时到候就通知你们去查环，你带了环的话，没人管你的，你没有的话，就继续拉你去上环，是不给你那么快怀孕的。

采：是什么让你决定在一胎之后继续生孩子的呀？

刘：不是我决定的。是婆婆我老公决定的。生个女儿，又不愤，农村要出个后，要个孩子，所以就一直走，走到杨子健。那时候的思想不同的，重男轻女的思想很重的，就算家空物净都要生个儿子为止。那时后农村意识都是要孩子的。那时候嫁出去的女儿政府要收回地的，取回来的媳妇才能分地，这样分摊下来。那时候又觉得没有了儿子会被人看不起的，千方百计都要生个儿子。

采：所以你一直生到最后一个儿子才结扎。

刘：对啊，就是为了要儿子咯。

采：那你之后怀孕有经历什么吗？

刘：就是生杨子健的时候，没出世，就躲在了街口婆婆那里，大着肚子的时候就被人抓了一次就不敢回农村了。他们没人找到我。就是城里面公公的单位，有人知道。你公公又怕死，又怕人拱他出来，就经常出入关门不敢给别人知道。不敢出街的，一直关在那里，直到他满月了才回去。

采：生产的时候是去哪里生的啊？

刘：为了不给别人发现，可以不去医院生的，那时候去街口城内的卫生院生的。那里有个婆婆是接生的，又是用钱搞掂的。其他三个都是在家生的，只有他是在卫生院生的。那时候，农村有接生人员的嘛，肚子痛的时候就叫他们来接生。生了之后入户口他们就会知道你是不是超生了，超生就罚钱。

采：入户口？

刘：就是上户口知道你有多少个小孩，村子里面人来人往，都知道的，或者你去读书啊，要户口的。超生要罚钱才能上户口的，要找些熟的人帮你搞，也要给钱熟人的，那时候那些政策给钱就能帮你搞定的，你有钱给到他，他就可以帮你搞定什么户口本啊，证件之类的。反正没钱什么都行不通。

采：要有钱才能办，如果没钱怎么办？

刘：没钱那些更惨啊，那些屋被人家砸烂了，没饭吃，去村委那里坐着。村委又不敢饿死他。他们逼得他没屋住，他们家人又不在家，家里人都躲计生出晒去了。他们就每天去村委抗议，蹭饭吃，去他们食堂吃，不给吃就举报你上去，都没饭吃了，子女又不给吃，他又不敢饿死人，出了问题要问责的嘛。搞计生不能搞到人家空物净的嘛。那时候还不少人去的。

采：那时候那么夸张。

刘：所以之后，政策就没那么夸张了。就是那时候政策逼死人，逼的人家家破人亡都是有的。那些老年人，子女都去躲计生了，没人管，留下老人小朋友在家。他们养几个小朋友，本来就没饱饭吃了，走计生又什么都做不到，而且家里面的东西又被人搬空了，不去找政府要饭吃去哪里嘛。

采：那你呢？你当时有怎么被罚呀？

刘：当时罚了三千多，那时候算多了，一个月才靠老公在外面水厂，也不是每个月都有工资的，一年都没多少收入，三千块多了，就超生费，到读书的时候又罚你超生费，读书又罚，很多各种各样的费的，很坏的那些人。

采：这个三千块是怎么定的啊？

刘：超生对象不同给的也不同。那时候公公在爱卫办，如果被举报了超生的话，没工作的，被单位知道的话。所以那时候，有单位的人就是怕没工作，被人下岗，怕到这样那些人都不敢生，像你妈妈一样。如果两边都有单位，就像我婆婆说的，多生一个，都不用吃饭了。所以后来婆婆劝他弟弟的老婆生一个就好了，一个都已经

很辛苦了，不然两个都没工作的话怎么维持生活啊，两边都打政府工。农村没工作单位的就不同了，走计生怎么都生一个儿子。

采：那好惨啊

刘：我们上一点那批人更惨，他们大床什么的都被人整烂了，就是用这种强制措施逼你回来。到你家里你不在家什么都空了，电视什么的都被人搬走了。那时候计生的人就发达了，就是发这些财。他们卖这些的。

采：为了多生一个，值得吗？

刘：为生孩子当然值得啊。好多都是有单位的像做老师的都跳了出来，为了生个儿子。这边有些人的老婆生不了，他们就找一些外地的生，生到儿子就带回来，要儿子不要那个女人。

采：像代孕？

刘：是代孕的，要儿子不要妈妈的。大家双方说好的，找回来就是帮我生个儿子，他之前有个老婆的，现在儿子很大了。他老婆也肯的。那时候那些人单位，她有钱到手也不用她辛苦，反正也是他老公的孩子，也不是娶另外一个女人回来，而且他们不争的，一点都不争的。和平相处的。谁让她生不出儿子啊。他有单位的，也不能超生嘛。也有这样的例子的，反正

上有决策下有对策。

采：你觉得超生对你的人际关系有什么影响啊？

刘：也没什么影响。就是那时候那些亲戚都很怕你来的，好像说计生走到人家家里，人家也不喜欢的。像我姐姐，也是走计生，走到另一个姐姐家，她的家婆就不喜欢了，去举报了，很样衰的，怕连累他们，嫌麻烦，村委知道会来抓人的。

采：会互相举报的。

刘：对的。有些人很坏的，知道就举报的。

采：总得来说超生对你的生活有什么影响啊？

刘：对我们家很大影响的，又不可以正常运作，又不能正常生活，整天提心掉到，他们经常来你家，不是一两个来的，一来就一大群人，十几二十个来的。一下子全家都是人，你看到就怕了，像土匪一样，他来了就是问你拿钱什么的，好惨的那时候走计生。

采：我了解的大概就是这样了。谢谢你啊今天。

刘：没事的，我不是中风在家了嘛，也出去不了，自己在家也想找人说话。

采：啊？什么时候的事情啊？严重吗？

刘：几个月前了，就突然被送进医院，现在也走不了，只能坐着或者躺在。

采：你要注意身体啊。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
2	兴	52	家庭主妇	2

采访记录：

采：你好，我是瑞典隆德大学的学生，我之前联系过你关于这次采访的内容了。

兴：嗯，我还记得。你问吧。

采：采访之前，我先说一下呀，这次研究是完全自愿的，如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出，这是没问题的，包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容，也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的，录音的用途之前我有发过您一份知情同意书，里面都有提到。

兴：之前莲莲（她女儿）给我看过，没问题，我都同意，你问吧。

采：那很高兴您愿意接受我的采访呀，那我们现在开始吧。

采：能简单聊聊您的家庭情况吗？

兴：我今年 52 岁，我没有工作。我老公今年 58 岁，他现在就是在幼儿园当保安，挺轻松的，就是坐在那里。我有一个女儿一个儿子。我大女儿莲莲，你也认识，现在在广州大学工作；我还有一个儿子，就是超生那个，刚转去银行工作了。就是因为计划生育，生他的时候可辛苦了。

采：您记得计划生育是从什么时候开始的吗？

兴：大概在 80 年代左右。那时候大家都在说啊，可是我们还不确定，后来大队要求每家都去开会，说计划生育的，就说只能要一个孩子了，已经有了几个孩子的都不能再生了，从那以后就开始很紧了，多生是真的要抓人的。那时候村里墙上很多计生的横幅的，我记得以前大队部墙上写了句话“小道理服从大道理，小不人道换取大人道”，个人服从集体，天经地义的，你违反政策，组织罚你，让他罚好了，没有话说。他们真的会拆你房子，把家里值钱的东西搬走，让你六神不安，你就是磕头也没用。

采：他们会对已经生了孩子的女性采取什么措施啊？

兴：当时都要上环的，就是不符合政策的都要上环。

采：当时不符合政策是什么条件的女性啊？

兴：就是已经生了一胎的都被要求上环了。包括刚生完一胎的，如果你在正规医院或者卫生所生孩子，你生完以后，医生就直接帮你上环了，问都不用问的。而且啊，生过的都要去查环，妇检的，就是看你环在不在身上，如果查出来不在身上，就会又马上进行上环手术。那时候每个季度，就是三个月，大队一起组织的，要么去我们村卫生站，要么大队包车载我们去镇上的卫生所，不能不去的，他要对名字的。我记得有一段时间抓得特别紧，大概 80 年代中，有过一阵风，要求两个或两个以上的必须结扎掉，当时我也上环了。

采：啊，那上环和经常查环，你有什么感觉啊？

兴：没觉得有什么特殊的，反正国家要计划人口，你都是国家的，身体当然也要听国家的话，超生当然是不对的，但是虽然不对，说实话大家还是想再生一个“

采：当时是什么让你决定要第二个孩子的呀？

兴：说实话，当时也没有意的要孩子，主要是环脱落了，就有了孩子，而且公婆特别坚持把孩子生下来

采：你之前有提到女性每个季度都要去查环和妇检，那怀孕之后你经历了什么啊？

兴：对，当时每个季度都要去卫生部查环，一开始查环即使你在机器面前一站，机器一扫就知道你的环在不在身上，一般环在身上就不怕，不然就会怀疑你怀孕，但是环在身上怀孕的情况也有，像我一样。后来就要做 b 超，你往那里一趟，涂点东西在你的肚子上凉凉的，然后用东西照来照去，这个就躲不过了。被发现以后就开始躲。这个亲戚家呆几天，那个亲戚家待几天，不好意思待太久，那时候大家都不富裕，也不能光坐着不干活，帮着洗衣服，做饭，人家吃什么你就吃什么

采：感觉有点惊心动魄。

兴：也谈不上惊心动魄，就是累，很累，躲来躲去的，也不知道是男孩还是女孩，就想熬到六月的时候去查一下，是男孩的话就坚定一点

采：那你那时候和家里还有联系吗？

兴：唉，不敢写信回家啊，小舅舅后来找到我说干部到家里来，把我老公抓去关了。唉，实在顶不住上头的压力，计生办天天坐到门上来，要拆房子，要这样要那样，还把老公和公公抓了。最后我公公就说，反正明年还能生，就干脆做掉吧。他哭我也跟着哭，当时做b超下来又是个男孩。唉 对孩子有感情的，七个月啊生下来都能养活了，真的舍不得，没办法啊

采：所以当时是决定要去引产吗？

兴：对啊。

采：你还记得是你自己去还是有什么人陪你吗？

兴：去做引产的时候被吓昏了头，都不记得有哪些人同去的，反正有妇女主任。

采：你还记得引产时候的经历吗？

兴：7个月零20天去引产的，早上9点钟打的（引产）针。

采：你记得那时候有打麻药吗？

兴：都不记得有没有打麻药了，只记得望见那个针，吓得怕呀，那么长的针，戳在肚子上。望见那么多人站在那而，都吓晕了，怕死了。当时引产针打下来，按道理孩子在肚子里面应该不动了，但是他就在肚子里面拱到这儿拱到那儿，不对头，而且引产针打下去，按道理48小时死胎该能引下来了，可是都72小时过去了，还没有下来，着急呀，真正吓得怕，听说引产死胎最疼了。我妈胆子小，在家里吓得哭，怎么办怎么办。我有个堂妹子听说人家白云（地方）那有个老奶奶，可以帮人接生，就是说胎儿不足月也可以提前接生下来，她的意思是紧紧等着也不是，干脆就找她试试了。其实现在想起来弄这个危险太大了，但是那时候哪个懂呢？自己就已经吓死了，人怎么说我怎么好。

采：后来你是找了，白云的奶奶帮你引产？

兴：对啊。

采：你还记得找她引产的经历是怎么样的吗？

兴：就她套的手套，把手伸进子宫里，从顶上慢慢往下摸，其实就是顺胎，这样好把孩子养下来。也就是夜里，正好是农忙，妇产科没有人了，5点多钟，请了个假就说回家洗澡，到了那以后，把情况告诉她。孩子已经到肚子下面了，老奶奶说最好到医院去挂点催产素。那时候也没有打算说孩子能活下来，总想着孩子没有用了，挂催产素也是想试一下，万一引产针没有打到孩子头上呢。在黄埔（地名）挂了一瓶催产素之后，羊水全排出来了，我姐说最好还是把孩子生在乡卫生院，仍然地还叫了一辆车回卫生院，你是偷偷溜出来的，不能被人晓得啊。现在想起来，那个时候是真的危险，从黄埔回去也两个多小时呢，就用被子一包。那时候什么都不懂，也不像现在的人那么讲究。说实话能生下活的我已经很开心了。

采：当时感觉怎么样？

兴：害怕呀，是真的害怕呀，我都没经历过这样的事情，那时也不知道肚子究竟怎么样，也不知道肚子里面的孩子究竟怎么样，就是不敢多想。

采：那孩子是什么时候生下来的啊？

兴：夜里八点多中回去了，第二天下午2点多肚子疼，疼了一阵后来大疼，我姐去喊医生，一下子就养下来了，养下来了孩子就哭，吓了一跳了，把人吓死了，还真是个活胎。我姐拿我的裤子把孩子一包，就喊车子上了人民医院，去抢救。

采：现在回想生二儿子的整个过程，你有什么感觉？

兴：想到那时候不知道挨了多少苦，想想都后悔，受这个苦。孩子小时候身体不好，住了两次院，胃溃疡，大出血，我自己没有奶，托人在香港买的好奶粉，一直喂到一岁多。

采：生育之后，大家都知道了你多了一个孩子，你有经历什么啊？

兴：我们属于引产活胎，又是早产，一生下来就送到医院住了半个月，还没有有过满月，收罚款的人就上门来了，我心里头非常不服气啊，公家要求去做引产我们也去了，大人小孩收了那么多苦，现在引产不成功错不在我们，凭什么要交罚款？

采：你记得罚了多少钱吗？

兴：3000 块。虽说只罚 3000 块，那时候 3000 块和现在 3000 块可没得比，家里也穷，我们一年也赚不到那么多啊。而且心里也不服气，干部上门几次，就是没有钱交，又把我公公抓去关了几天，后来公家派人来拆房子，一开始不真拆，就是把我们的房间上的瓦片掀掉，让你没办法住，我心里又气又恨，我婆婆胆小，就到我娘家去借钱，为了 3000 块钱，真把房子拆了也划不来，钱都是借的，孩子出院的时候身体太弱，连奶粉钱都东拼西凑来的。

采：我觉得你的整个经历太惊心动魄了，您生育两个孩子还养大他们太不简单，太勇敢了。

兴：唉，那时候大家都是这样，没办法政策规定了。

采：我了解的大概就是这样了，太谢谢阿姨您的时间了。

兴：不用客气。

编号	姓名	年龄	职业	子女人数
3	李	68	保姆	3

采访记录:

采: 你好, 我是瑞典隆德大学的学生, 很感谢你接受我的采访。我这次采访主要想问你一些关于你生育的经验。

李: 你问吧。

采: 采访之前, 我先说一下呀, 这次研究是完全自愿的, 如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出, 这是没问题的, 包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容, 也是没问题的。我之前有发过一份知情同意书, 您有收到吗?

李: 我看过了, 没有问题的。

采: 好的。如果方便的话, 之后能签完名字发给我吗?

李: 可以直接在手机这样签吗?

采: 可以的没问题。

李: 好。

采: 那我们现在就开始吧。

采: 方便先简单介绍一下您的家庭情况吗?

李: 我今年 68 岁了, 我有三个孩子。一个女儿, 两个儿子。两个儿子是政策后生的, 就是超生。那时很恐怖的, 对。

采: 您还记得计划生育是从什么时候开始的吗?

李: 七十年代中的时候就开始慢慢听说了, 不过那时候也没怎么样, 是到 80 年代开始就真的严了。那时候干部开会的时候就经常说了。

采: 你还记得当时村子里面的气氛是怎么样的吗?

李：很严的，每个人都知道的，他们确保每个人都知道。那时后村子里面都贴满了计划生育的标语，什么要想富少生孩子多种树，还有什么一胎环二胎扎三胎四胎杀杀杀，还挺押韵的。不过上口是上口，超生可不是闹着玩的啊。有些是说到做到的，抓去关，也给你饭吃，也不打你。我们一没杀人二没放火，没偷过别人一针一线，就想再要个孩子，为什么就不得安神？

采：你是什么时候有第一个孩子的呀？

李：大女儿是 78 年生的。

采：最开始的时候，那计划生育对你有什么影响啊？

李：我生完大儿子之后，村里就动员去结扎。

采：那时是什么时候啊？

李：那时大不了大人熬点苦 82 年。那个时候就要求妇女去上环或结扎，但计划生育还不紧，我说，谁要去谁去。第二个孩子没能养活，好不容易又生了一个。生下来是个男孩子，但他体质也不好，万一保不住怎么办，死活也不能去结扎。最后抓我老公，实在没办法还是去上环了，85 年，我生下时最小的儿子之后，又来动员，说我已经有了两个儿子，按照政策必须要结扎了。我说我不生了，结吧结把，我又去卫生所上环了。

采：你刚刚提到政策是 80 年年开始严的，是什么让你决定再生的呀？

李：那时候家里面没有男孩不行啊，他爷爷奶奶也不同意呀。哪像现在啊。

采：嗯，他们是怎么表现他们不同意的呀？是直接找你谈话吗？

李：你都不知道，唉，说起这个，养二女儿的时候，她爷爷奶奶一天到晚摆脸色给人看。那时候是在是旗杆养的，六个月的时候就晓得是个丫头，但是舍不得刮掉，我就想，大不了大人多捱点苦。只给她喝了一个星期的母乳，孩子饿得哭，我（乳房）涨得哭。没有办法啊，那时候一胎政策已经下来大半年了，我还要生儿子呀。不过二女儿身体实在是弱，才养了五个月没养下来，也不知道是不是我断母乳段的

早。我就是想着缩短喂母乳的时间，也是为了可以快点再怀孕。很快就又怀了一个。

采：你刚刚有提到生完大儿子的时候你有去上环，那上了环以后是怎么再有了小儿子的呀？

李：那时候听说鳌头有一个奶奶能帮我把环取出来，把环放进去，说是以前是接生婆后来没生意了，就专门帮人取环。刚放进去不久就去鳌头取了，还是在夜里偷偷去的，她就在家搭了个地方干这个，不用麻药，弄个东西伸进去，一下就好了，又不是在医院。

采：你还记得当时做这些的时候，她有消毒吗？

李：也没人注意到她消没消毒。怀小儿子的时候查环刚好比较严，我怕呀，发现了会被抓取刮宫的，我就又去老奶奶那里问怎么办，他帮我又把环放回进去应付查环。也没费什么事，取了环回来还照样去上工，要记公分的。

采：放环之后，他们还要查的吗？

李：要的啊。那时候要查的，查换是每个季度一次。

采：那你是怎么躲过的啊？

李：想要躲过查环也要非常讨巧，我怀上小儿子的时候是正月里，春天查环的时候才两三个月，环一直在身上，那个时候查环是做透视，人往机器西前一站，只要查出来环在身上，基本上就不会被怀疑。到6个月的时候，又要查环，我又到街口找那个医生，趁医院中午休息的时候做了个B超，说是儿子，我就放心了。做透视的时候，环还在身上，查完环要去做妇检，医生要按肚子。这个没有办法，我记得跟我一起去查环的有好几个人，我查完环假装急吼吼地要去帮我二妈驮化肥，她们去做妇检的时候，我让她们帮我喊了个到。就躲过去了。后来我就躲去了吕田，一直到秋天，又要去查环的时候，我已经把孩子，养下来了。

采：当时不是不能检查孩子性别的吗？

李：害，塞点钱给透视那个人就给了，大家都这样的。而且我故意选中午休息的时候去，那时没人么人，没人会发现嘛。

采：怀着孕的时候你还去着工作呀？是合作社的集体工作吗？

李：对呀，就是大家一起的工作，那时候要算工分的，算工分拿钱。

采：那你怀孕之后，肚子肯定会慢慢变大，怎么让人不发现呀？躲着吗？

李：唉，那时候你不可能躲在家里不出去，家里要出两个劳动力。早上队长一喊大家都去上工。我怀小儿子的时候，正好是集体要去挑河（依靠人力开河渠），我力气小，那个时候又瘦，没有人愿意跟我一组。

采：那怎么办？

李：只能拼命抗，遇到好说话的可以偷点懒，一开始还好，看不出来，如果要吐我就说去上厕所。后来肚子大了，穿得又少，我婆婆怕实在瞒不住了，怕被人发现拉去打胎，说不能再去上工了，瞒不住了，身体也吃不消，就然我上吕田去了。

采：如果被发现了会怎么样啊？

李：之前我隔壁家她婆婆嘴太松，这边才怀上孕，那边就说出去。那时的妇女主任可不像现在这么松，听到点风声就上门来了，必须要打掉，要不然自己去，要不然乡里派人下来抓，不去也可以，才建了一半的房子当即推掉，还不给再建房子，后来她就自己乖乖去流掉了，流掉之后还是自己骑自行车回来的。那段时间每次聊起来她都偷偷抹眼泪。

采：那时候那么严啊？还能这样。

李：对啊，他们做的很夸张的。

采：那如果生下来之后他们才发现呢？会怎么样啊？

李：生了之后都要罚款的，帮孩子上完户口罚款马上跟着来了。不交就抄家，把你家里面值钱的东西都搬走，不怕你不拿钱来赎；还比如那时候政府可以查到你在信

用社或者银行的存款，你不交罚款也行，就拿你的存款单来抵；还有一些超生户家里面穷的，也有把人抓去关几天的，最后没办法也会把钱交上，反正各种办法都有。

采：那你们家呢？你们家有经历这些吗？

李：当时我们家不肯交罚款他们就拆房子了，那时我和我老公一早要去工作，都不在家，中午回来，房子被拆掉了一半，家前屋后都是人围着，他奶奶在哭啊，孩子也在苦，我本来还想着，算了吧，两万多块钱，罚了就罚了，可是这样一来，心里就更加不服气了，干脆一分钱也没有交，后来房子被全部拆掉了，宅基地也没了，我老公说，我们到镇上去租房子住，将来有钱了再在镇上建房子，幸好我老公也有几个不错的朋友，后来我们的孩子上学人家也帮了好大的忙。到现在罚款的钱一分都没交。不过好好的房子没有了，想到当年这些事都忍不住难过。

采：能想象出来那种难受，回到家发现房子没了一半。我觉得你们那时候特别勇敢。

李：也不是勇敢，就是被政策逼出来的。

采：我想要了解的大概就这么多，我觉得阿姨您的故事特别精彩，谢谢您今天和我聊天！

李：没关系，和你们年轻人聊天也挺好的！

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
4	田	65	卖猪肉	2

采访记录:

采: 田阿姨, 你好。我叫卓彦, 你可以叫我小彦。

田: 你好。我姓田。

采: 这次采访的主要内容和大概的隐私保护我之前已经跟你说过了。你签过的知情同意书我也收到。谢谢你呀, 阿姨。

田: 对, 我让小香发过去了。没关系的。直接开始问吧。

采: 你记得计划生育是什么时候开始的吗?

田: 大概是 80 年代左右吧。那时候不知怎么的突然就开始了。

采: 你还记得你当时是怎么知道它的吗?

田: 我也不太记得了, 好像那时候大家都在说, 毕竟我们中国人思想还是觉得多子多福嘛, 突然生一个大家怎么肯啊。之后村里面就慢慢有了计划生育的标语, 什么一人结扎全家光荣, 少生孩子多种树, 最开始的时候, 主动去结扎是非常光荣的, 敲锣打鼓, 还有奖励。不过后来就严很多了, 标语也有比较夸张的, 像宁可血流成河, 不准超生一个。

采: 这还挺夸张的。

田: 是很夸张的, 而且他们是真的抓得很严的, 这可不是在开玩笑, 真的会拆房子的, 真的把你家值钱的东西搬走, 就是让你觉得为了多生一个孩子弄得没地方住, 不值得。

采: 那您是什么时候要第一个孩子的啊?

田: 85 年, 第一个孩子是个女孩

采: 那时候计划生育已经开始了。

田：对啊。

采：生了第一个孩子之后，计划生育对你有什么影响啊？

田：那时候生完一个孩子的一般要求上环。

采：那结扎呢？

田：除非女方身体实在不行，才会让男方结扎，男的怎么可能结扎嘛。生育过的妇女都要定时去查环，妇检，就是看有没有环在身上。如果你没有环在身上，要马上进行上环手术的，记得我生完第一胎的时候，抓的特别紧嘛，要求生一个的一定要去上环，两个的话必须要去结扎掉。

采：上环是怎么样的啊？

田：很快的，就你躺在那里，医生一放进去，就好了，五分钟都不用。

采：上完环感觉怎么样啊？

田：不太舒服，特别痛，上完的时候流血好几天呢，之后也是有时候会有流血，而且不知道为什么腰会经常痛。在你身上弄来弄去的，有些小毛病也很正常。

采：当时放进去的时候他们有给你有关环的教育吗？像是怎么发生作用的？能放在身体多久？

田：没有，他们很快的，几分钟放完以后就到下一个了，都不会跟你多说话。

采：查环是多久一次呀？

田：大概是三个月一次。

采：当时生完一胎您已经上环了，那是什么让您再生一个的呀？

田：开始没有这个想法的，那时候条件也不好，后来有这个想法也是受人的影响，那时候不像现在没有男孩怎么行啊。那时候，我姐姐有个朋友，她比我小一岁，她心也狠。他在鳌头（地名）找了个人，拿环，过了三个月就怀孕了，然后到了六七个月的时候，一查是个女孩，就引产掉了，后来又怀了一胎，又是个女孩，又刮掉

了，最后还好总算生了个男孩子。虽然对身体肯定有伤害，那时我就想，我们为什么不也生一个。

采：那时候是什么时候啊？

田：91年的时候有了这个心思，有了想法之后第二天就去找他，上鳌头把环给拿掉了，200块钱。直到到到医院里，你直接把钱一塞人家就知道你什么意思。后来每两个月就怀孕了，那个喊去查环，我心里有点担心，就又上鳌头找他，他说你来，把环再上上去。总以为有环就不怕了，其实当时不懂，当时应该小便一下，就可以只查到环而查不到胎。那时候的妇女杨晓红当妇女主任，一天到晚追命追命，不能让他们发现的。

采：您还记得当时在她那里上环和脱环的时候有上麻药吗？

田：啊我不太记得了，当时怎么还会注意这个呢。

采：那消毒呢？您还记的当时做这些的时候她有消毒吗？

田：这个应该有吧。

采：怀孕之后，有什么事情发生吗？

田：那时候要躲的，不能让别人知道的，特别是大队的人。

采：那你是怎么躲的啊？

田：肚子小的时候还好，肚子大的时候就怕被看出来，你挺个大肚子在他们面前晃，他们不可能不治你把，其实他们也为难，你出去了，它可以说找不到你，也没办法。我们每年都是过了正月初五开始卖肉，那一年一直到正月初十，遇到有人问，什么时候开始卖肉，我还说，过了初五。杀猪卖肉是体力活，早上两三点起来杀猪，一直站着剁肉，吃不消啊。正月初五一大早，我就和我老公去了街口，他去打工，我就躲在我姐姐家，后来躲在街口也不安全，我就去了湖南，那时候信息没有现在那么发达，一查什么信息都看到，那时候还他们管不了湖南那里去。

采：怀孕了还担心这么多真是挺辛苦的。

田：是啊，当时还没想那么多，想着孩子能够平安下来就很好了，现在生活好了，回想起来，当时为了要多一个孩子真的好辛苦的。

采：如果当时被发现了会怎么样啊？

田：我那时候躲得早算幸运了。被他们拉去刮宫流产可太多了，一点都不稀奇，不像现在啊，人的身体多宝贝。有的是查环查出来的，有的是自己嘴松的，还有就是大肚子被同村的人发现告诉大队的。那时宣传就是说计划外的怀孕就是必须流掉，早流产对身体没有什么伤害，等到月份大了，也就是孕妇自己受苦。大月份引产的案例虽然不多，但也不少了，对孕妇身体来说影响非常大的

采：孕妇怎么会愿意去流产啊？

田：没有什么不愿意的。他们会真的拆房子的，也不是真的把你的房子推到，把房子推到损失太大了，恐怕要惹人怨的。主要目的是吓吓你，让你不安生。他们会掀开人家的瓦片，好好的房子，瓦片掀掉，又是太阳晒的，又不挡雨水还怎么住啊。如果孕妇家里没建房子的，就掀亲戚的。我记得我有一次去同村人家吃饭，那时他老婆也怀第三胎了，我们走的时候，他们的摩托车和三轮车都被推到河里去了。

采：啊？他们做的这么过分的啊？

田：更过分的还有呢，那个时候，说计划生育就计划生育，只要完成他们的指标，没什么不能做的，做什么都是合理的。

采：那生育之后，您经历了什么啊？

田：那时候要罚款的，我们也有罚款。

采：罚款的金额是怎么定的啊？

田：罚款是根据各家的经济状况来的，我们是卖猪肉的，属于有其他经济收入户，罚款就比较多。第二个孩子养下来之后，干部到我们家来要罚一万八。也知道要罚款，没想到要罚那么多啊。那时候我们一个月的工资是 200 块啊，一年到头种地养猪收入都不到 1000，还要交一大部分粮食给国家，哪来的那么多钱。唉，都说要

养儿子，但养儿子要付出多少代价，东借西借总共才凑了一万快，最后总共罚了一万五，还是分了好几年才把钱还清。

采：除了经济上的罚款，对其他方面有什么影响吗？

田：没有，其他的都还好，就是这个经济罚款啊，实在是太多了。

采：我了解的大概就这么多，今天谢谢你了阿姨。

田：没关系，以后有什么问题也可以继续问我的。

采：嗯，太感谢您了。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
5	袁	55	自由工作	2

采访记录:

采: 袁阿姨您好, 我是小彦。

袁: 嗯, 你说吧。

采: 在开始之前, 我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的, 如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出, 这是没问题的, 包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容, 也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗?

袁: 没有的, 你说吧。

采: 阿姨, 你能简单的介绍你的家庭情况吗?

袁: 我叫袁文香, 我老公是做装修的。我有两个女儿, 两个现在都出来工作了。

采: 您还记得计划生育政策是什么时候开始的吗?

袁: 大概是, 我想是 88、90、92 年开始的。

采: 您还记得最开始的时候你是怎么知道计划生育的?

袁: 那时 30 多年的事情了, 30 多年了。那时候挺长的, 那时候超生是挺严的。要回想一下, 30 多年的事情了。好像是挺别人说的, 那时候是生二胎, 生女孩的话等四年可以再生一胎男孩。我那时候没那么严了, 老一点的时候都严一点。

采: 您是什么时候有你第一个孩子的啊?

袁: 我有两个女儿, 大的是 88 年, 小的是 90 年, 大女儿她是刚刚年过的时候生的。

采: 生了你的大女儿以后, 政策对你的生活有什么影响啊?

袁：那时候要要求上环的，可是政策不太严，我就没有去上。那时我们还在农村，我们都是农村户口。那时候超生是这样的，他们老是来你家，要是你要生个男孩哦，三胎四胎男孩哦，他们会天天来你家，坐着，让你把小孩给做掉。有些人到处躲啊，藏啊，等到小孩要生的时候才悄悄的跑回来，在家里悄悄的生下来，那时后就是要这样的，一定要生一个男孩，就是这样了。他们就是去山上，亲戚家去躲啊，就生产的时候，就不上医院就悄悄的生。找年纪大一点的接生婆，到家里面来接生。不是你想不想生，但前提是你要先生下来，下定决心躲在山里或者外面去生，生下来以后就是生命了，他们不能做什么了，他们最多就罚你一点款了。那时候这样嘛，所以当我们刚怀上馨馨的时候就去城里找工作了，毕竟在农村，大家都互相认识，被举报了就抓去打胎了。

采：所以你和你丈夫在决定要第二个孩子的时候就决定去城里面找工作了。

袁：对啊，所以后来我的户口就转成农转非了。

采：是什么让你想要第二个孩子的呀。

袁：我第一胎是女孩啊，那时候如果没有男孩，会被人家瞧不起嘛，好像就是没有人帮你在家里福田耕作了。要是正月的时候要拜神上香，没有人就是没有脊梁柱的意思，那时会被人瞧不起的。就是要多生一个男孩，脸上有面子啊。就被人看得起啊，都是女孩的话，会被人看不起的样子，那个时候是那样的，老一辈的就是重视男孩嘛。所以都是躲躲藏藏生男孩啊，医院也不敢上，请一个年纪大一点的接生婆到家里面来。

采：你刚刚有提到要求上环嘛，那二胎之后你有被要求上环吗？

袁：嗯，我在馨馨两岁的时候安了一个环，就再也没生了。那个环很好的，就是一直在我身体里面，到馨馨大了，我50岁左右绝经了才去取，就是大姨妈不来了，我去取出来就好。

采：当时上环的时候，医生有告诉你环有关的知识吗？像是能在你体内多就？

袁：没有啊，他什么都没有说啊，那时都这样的。我们那个时候见识太低了，就好像是天天都挺忙的，就好像是你帮我弄好整好就好了，30多年啊再也没有去换过，馨馨大了，到了50岁才去取出来。一转眼就是三十多年了。我们天天都挺忙的没时间去换。

采：你放进去之后，你有有去过查环吗？

袁：那时候有工作的才去看一下，好像是三个月一次，像我们这些没工作的，也没人管，我们那个时候也没有那个意识也没有去过。

采：除了上了环以后，还有别的影响吗？

袁：那时候他说的就是有四岁才能生二胎，但它那时后政策不是那么严，当时他们就是说要罚一点款，他也没有来过，模模糊糊的就过了，我就一直没有交。一开始的时候，上不上户口不重要，但是孩子大了年龄上去了，要上学了，要一定要交了罚款才能上户口才有学上，我们就交了300还是400块。我们那时候太穷了，多了我们也拿不出来嘛。

采：这个金额是怎么定的啊？

袁：是确定的，每个人都交那么多。就是那样的，反正是定了一个金额的。不过那个时候年收入实在是太少了，一年都没有进到什么钱啊。那个时候人过的都是挺穷的，有的时候都有早上没晚上的日子过得紧巴巴的。我记得我们小时候，那时候一年到头的收入是100多块，100块可以用到一年多，怎么够啊，很难想象啊现在。现在生活好了很多了。说实话，我们两边没工作还好一点，要是有工作大的，就直接回家了，工作都不给你做了。

采：总的来说，你觉得计划生育给你带来什么影响啊？

袁：对与我们这些打工的也没什么影响，也没时间啊，也天天都在忙，迷迷糊糊的一转眼就30多年了，时间过得很快的，天天都忙忙碌碌的。

采：嗯，你觉得计划生育对你没有什么影响。

袁：我们的户口原来都是农民，那时候政策不可以生二胎，我们那时候想要个男孩子，那就超生了。两个孩子负担很重了，那时后我们两个都没工作。那时候要做农，去找点工已经是挺累的，也不轻松了。计划生育呢一个孩子呢生活就好一点，我们两个孩子，而且是做农，就过得实在是太累了。我们两个都没有工作，两个孩子真的挺吃力的。他们小的时候，我们走到哪就把他们带到哪，他们就是很羡慕一个孩子的，吃什么有什么，想穿什么有什么，所以呢，他们就拼命读书，找一个好工作。生了两个，一辈子都偷偷摸摸的，真的好辛苦啊，白天又要工作，晚上又要帮孩子洗澡洗衣服，有些时候到一点才睡觉，早上又匆匆忙忙的赶去上班。

采：那时生活好辛苦啊，不过现在两个孩子都大了，生活好多了。

袁：嗯，现在条件好了，现在我工资有一天 100 块了，过得已经好很多了，两个女儿都已经工作了，家里面也有小孙子了。

采：那现在就是三分快乐了。

袁：对啊，哈哈。现在就想着小女儿什么时候能结婚，也生一个小孙子给我带。

采：哈哈，阿姨，我了解的差不多了，那我们就这样把，谢谢你啊！

袁：没事没事哈哈哈哈哈。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
6	王	50	律师	3

采访记录：

采：你好，王阿姨，我是小彦。

王：你好，是做采访是吧？

采：对就是想问你一些关于你生育和计划生育的问题

王：好的，没关系，你问吧。

采：开始之前我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的，如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出，这是没问题的，包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容，也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗？

王：我没问题的，你问吧。

采：你记得计划生育是什么时候开始的吗？

王：啊，开始我不太记得了，不过我生第一胎 89 年的时候就有了。

采：你还记得那时候气氛是怎么样的吗？

王：我生孩子那时候大概是 90 年代左右嘛。那个年代对计划生育最有影响的一代了，那时候总是能听到一些标语，身边的人也总是再说计划生育的问题。当时还不是很发达，经济也比较落后的，身边的人对计划生育一部分感觉很害怕，一部分又想摆脱这个计划生育的困扰，所以我那个时候就是在这么一个氛围中生育的。

采：你对它最开始的印象是怎么样的啊？

王：那个时候在村里的墙上，和大队的宣传小册子上都有些，“还是一胎好”、“男孩女孩都一样”的这样的。我当时看到这种还是觉得挺讽刺的，像我家那边重男轻女的情况比较严重的。我们那也是有一个特别的政策，我也不知道是不是只有我么

那有的，还是其他地方都是这样，就是对于计划生育这样，它提倡，就是我们叫一孩半的政策。就是说如果第一胎是女孩的话，你就可以再生一胎，如果是男孩的话，第一胎是男孩的话，就不允许生了。所以我当时就觉得男孩女孩都一样的这句还就特别讽刺。因为政策对于农村单独开放的这个政策本身就在宣传重男轻女的思想。

采：嗯嗯，好像也是。

王：还有就是特别经典的那种话，就是要“想富少生孩子先修路”，“少生孩子多种树”这种。然后大家都觉得男孩是主要的劳动力嘛，都比较想要，那时候就是周围，即使是第一胎是男孩，大家也会想要再生一个女孩。大家都会觉得儿女双全嘛，凑成一个好字这样。而且，像我家那边就有一些风俗习惯就比较重，他们就比较讲究养老送终这样，然后他们有的时候，因为我们家那边就是人在死后需要抗那种帆，就是男孩去做的。所以他们就是觉得如果你没有男孩的话，你在死了以后没有人去为你抗这样的灵帆。可能你死了以后就没有不能去到一个很好的地方这样。

采：您刚刚提到您是 89 年有第一个女儿的，生了第一个女儿之后对你的生活有什么影响吗？

王：那时候影响不太大。因为我第一胎是女儿嘛，根据政策我还能生一胎。生完第二胎的时候就开始了。我记得是那个时候是要求上环嘛，我嘛还有一批妇女就集体都坐车去线县城上环，他们就是还会定期的检查，就是如果没有的话，就是马上会强迫你，把你带到医院继续上环，就是这样。我那个时候，印象比较深刻就是他们有时候，一些妇女讨论就是说有的他因为那个上环材质过敏还是怎么样的，总是有些不舒服，有一些病，还有些肚子疼这些的。也有些因为这个问题有点妇科病这样的。

采：那您呢？上了环对您有什么影响啊？

王：我就是我生完女儿他们就帮我放上了，之后是我女儿大约 20 岁了，陪我去意愿取出来的。那时痛啊，特别吓人，那时候那个环和肉都长在一起了，就第一次感觉这个东西真的在迫害人啊。

采：那时候他们有告诉你关与环的知识吗？

王：我们那时候很多人去的，医生跟我们也没什么交流的，像那种生产线的作业一样，一个人进去出来，很快的，全程没有什么话的，而且那个时候也不懂，只知道是国家让你去做的你必须得去做啊。

采：上环给你什么感觉啊？

王：那时候很不舒服，就是那个东西把，因为这个后来还有了妇科病。可是没办法呀，不能取下来，那时还要查环呢。取出来还有怀孕的风险，他们不会去取的，没医院愿意帮你做这个的。

采：查环是怎么样的啊？

王：一些人，一个一个进去，他有那种检查机器的，能够测出来的。像现在的金属探测仪一样的机器。一个季度一次的，他总是让人去的，因为他怕有怀孕的风险。但是其实有很多人带着这个环也怀孕了这样。

采：是什么让你决定要再生一个的啊？

王：挺多原因的，我第一胎是女儿，但是生下来以后家里都挺失望的，像我婆婆没有个男孩，她就会整天在我耳边说，更多的是说那时候我自己本身也有重男轻女的想法。周围的人他们都这样，他们也会一直引导我，如果我没有的话，就会有一些人在我背后说，如果我没有男孩，到老怎么办。还有就是老人也会给我施压嘛，然后让我也觉得没有一个男孩会是一个很严重的一件事情，老人也会用一些软话或者硬话去让再生一个男孩。二胎也是个女孩嘛。之后我一开始也是不太想生，害怕超生嘛，我们那个年代已经听说过超生有什么样的后果了，但是也是婆婆一直在劝，后来我就跟我老公商量了一段时间，还是觉得没有男孩，人生可能不太圆满了，然后就有了我的小儿子。

采：整个决定是在家庭里面进行的？

王：还有一部分还是来自于周围环境。就是周围的人都去想要一个男孩，他们也给我灌输了这样的一个思想，而且像村里面的人那时候攀比心也比较重，可能在孩子上面在攀比，炫耀。

采：怀孕以后发生了什么啊？

王：那个时候比较害怕，怀上小儿子，也怕被拉去引产，那时候就是不管多大的月份只要说是发现了都要拉去医院引产。那时候有好多人都因为这个都不能生了。然后我就比较害怕。就去每个亲戚家住着一段时间，不敢呆在自己的家里，这个住完到那个亲戚家，那时候感觉每天都东躲西藏的，这样。后来的话是因为亲戚家都快住了个遍，我也不好意思了，然后就回家了。那时候我们屋子里面有地窖，储存一些食物什么的，每次计生办过来查的时候我就躲在地窖里。但是的话，其实我不这样也没有办法啊，如果不这样就会被拉去堕胎啊，我那时后月份都比较大了。引产的话对身体危害就大了。我那时候印象比较深刻，那时后我在亲戚东躲西藏的，连我的两个女儿都没见到几面。我回去的时候我的女儿都挺惊讶的，想着我怎么回来了，还问我是不是不要弟弟了。我回来之后就会有人半夜过来查，敲窗户，那时候就是感觉比较吓人，就是你在熟睡中，突然被惊醒，然后我们都比较慌，开始躲嘛，躲在地窖里，好吓人的。

来的人是谁啊？

计生办和大队的人都有，他们一起的，一来就是一堆人，让你觉得很吓人，就像犯了什么罪要抓人了一样。

采：他们是已经知道你怀孕了吗？

王：不管你的保密工作做的多好，都会让人家知道的。因为你很长一段时间没有出过房间嘛，你邻居什么的都会觉得奇怪，大家都会在一起讨论，就会想会不会怀孕了，有人举报或者大队听见了他们就会带人过来核实这件事情。带人过来以后，发

现你没有在家，就会确定了。就会一直来找你，如果找不到我的话，他们就会威胁我老公，把我老公抓起来关着一段时间。

采：他们抓的好紧啊

王：我觉得他们可能是有处罚措施的，如果他么发现了一个人没有去行动什么的，要么他们会丢工作，要么他们会受到处罚。

采：生下来之后呢？有经历什么吗？

王：我小儿子生下来，很长一段时间都没有上户口，因为是超生的嘛，不能上户口，没有办法啊，我们就把户口登记在了我妹妹的名下。这样就导致了我的小儿子总是问，就是说这是一个怎么样的情况嘛。然后那段时间他就会住我妹妹家一段时间，我们不想让人家怀疑嘛。当时我觉得其实对我的儿子也造成了一定的影响。不能够在自己的家里。后来户口要落回来就要去交罚款。

采：罚款是多少钱啊？

王：好像是几千块钱，具体不太记得了。不过这些钱对我们家来说还是比较重的，因为那个时候一年到头都挣不了多少钱。

采：对工作有影响吗？

对工作影响不大，那时候我还没有工作嘛，我老公也是农民。我是后来才考得上学考的大专之后才有的工作嘛。那时候如果是公职人员就麻烦了，他们就直接没工作了，还要受一些处分。我觉得更多的影响还是对于我儿子，他就是这种情况比较麻烦。就因为他的户口的问题有好多事情啊，他那时候就有一段时间是没有户口的嘛，也没有地属于黑户

采：超生对你的人际关系有什么改变啊？

王：我觉得对于孩子来说影响比较大。我感觉我儿子有很强烈的没有归属感，在他小的时候就有很多疑问，不知道自己是谁的孩子，像对于我两个女儿来说，我觉得也像是一种影响嘛，看到我们为了生弟弟这样，对他们也是一种心里压力。

采：现在回想之前，你觉得计划生育对你有什么影响啊？

王：对于我来说刚开始是不太理解的，一部分是对于强制性的措施不太理解。比如说七八个月还强制拉到医院，然后去堕胎这样，还有就是一些让人觉得很冰冷的措施，像是定期把人集体拉到县城医院去检查还有就是说每天深夜突击巡查这样，让你觉得很可怕，感觉回到古代一样。还有就是对于身边的人吧，感觉有些思想啊，是真的根深蒂固的，有的时候我也会回想，为什么非得要生一个男孩啊。所以我觉得，对于我的心里可能会有挺大的影响嘛，他让我反思更多了。有时会觉得很多时候为了小儿子，还忽视了两个女儿挺多的，我也挺对不起她们的。唉。

采：阿姨，我觉得您已经做的很好了。你在反思你对你孩子的教育就已经比很多人好了，他们会理解你的。我想了解大概就是这样了。今天谢谢阿姨了。

王：没关系。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
7	莲	53	保姆	2

采：我是小彦，我今天想采访你关于你的生育经验和那时候的计划生育政策。

李：你说把

采：开始之前我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的，如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出，这是没问题的，包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容，也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗？

李：我没有问题的，你开始吧。

采：嗯嗯，那我就直接开始了，你还记得计划生育是什么时候开始的吗？

李：80年代左右吧。那时候就说只能生一胎了。

采：一开始你是怎么知道计划生育的呀。

李：很久以前了，当时到处都在说，而且我们村很多那些横幅的到处都是。

采：横幅的内容是什么啊？

李：我不太记得了，好像什么生男生女都一样啊之类的，反正就是跟计划生育有关的。

采：您还记得你生第一胎是什么时候吗？

李：90年，那时候的计划生育抓的最严了。

采：那时候是怎样的啊？

李：那时候谈婚的时候就了解到，那时候读书和考试才出得来的户口，我老公是城镇户口，我是农村户口，我就好奇他为什么还要去一个农村的呢？所以我就问老公啊，你户口那么难才能出来为什么还会再找一个农村的啊？他就这样回答我，取一

个这外面的，如果是第一胎生一个女儿，就这样就一辈子了，如果取一个农村的还有百分之 50 的机会，搏再生多一胎，搏回一个儿子，这样说。

采：所以当时是农村户口的话，如果第一胎是女儿，就可以再生一胎，如果是城镇户口的话就只能生一胎。

李：其实到我生我生第一个的时候就农村和城镇都只能生一个了，结婚那时候还不知道

采：那你压力好大啊

李：对啊，所以那时我压力还是有点大的。证明他是一定想要儿子的，他已经说的那么明白了，之所以他都已经考虑到计划生育才考虑到屈，农村户口的，就是这样。

之所以担心，最主要第一只。如果第一只是儿子的话就不用担心，第二个是儿子还是女儿了，如果是女儿，按照南方那时候重男轻女，就要继续生一个儿子。

采：那你的第一胎是男孩还是女孩呀？

李：我生的第一个是儿子，之所以生第一个儿子的时候是横产的。

采：什么叫横产啊？

李：bb 在肚子里的时候一直抱着个手（？），坐着在那里，头在上面，屁股在下面，转不到位置。到生的时候屁股还是坐在那里，最危险的了。当时就听医生说吧，医生当时怎么做自己就怎么做。那时候阿力最大，最担心的就是儿子还是女儿，那年头就是那样。但是一上产床，还比较幸运。那些护士一说，哇是真的哦。自己就已经醒目啦，她知道是真的就是看到 bb 是男性还是女性了。整一个人精神了已经是。就是你奶奶还是医生的时候，就了解过可以顺产。Bb 的体重不是很大，那就搏一搏咯。那时候一般都是顺产的，选择啊。因为第一胎咯，不知道要不要第二胎嘛，不知道他是儿子还是女儿。如果是剖腹产还是要隔几年，顺产的话随时生都是可以的。就走计生咯，偷生咯，不用那么久。

采：那你第一个是男孩子了，应该压力不用那么大了吧？

李：你第一胎是儿子嘛，那当时生完之后，就放心了很多。

采：生了第一胎以后有发生什么吗？

李：那时候要上环的。一定要带环，不去结扎都要的。这个是强制的，还要整天都会有人员每家每户的去查，第一胎的这些手续齐不齐全。

采：有什么手续的那时候？

李：结婚证啦，准生证啦，出生证啦，第一胎那个啊。就看你有没有偷生咯，第二个啊。生了第一胎的时候连续会有人上门 check 着的，要你拿证件给你看的。没得选择的，一是去妇幼结扎啊，一是上环。一定的，不去都会拉着你去的。

采：被谁拉着啊？

李：政府的人和计生办，同村委那些上去你家里找人，拉都拉着你去。如果你是躲着藏着，会被人砸屋子啊。有些倒了层的都会被砸穿的，当时啊，很严重的，反正农村那时候啊，砸屋啊有什么搬什么啊，农村那时候。像土匪一样，抓计生的。

采：是什么让你决定生二胎的呢？

李：当时真的没想要二胎，环也还在身上。也没想过会怀孕的。

采：环在身上还怀孕的这种情况多吗？

李：这种情况可太多了，有些嘴不严，说出去，后来被抓去打胎了。

采：你当时实怎么发现你又怀孕的啊？

李：那时后是二月多，我身体不舒服，头疼，要吐，我就去诊所挂水，拿药。之后我还问他这个药吃了怎么月经不来了？她说不会吧，别不是怀孕了吧。那时候我就不敢多说了。第二天找了我的亲戚带我去做检查，真的怀孕了。虽然没有准备再生一个，但是孩子来了我不能把他弄掉啊。那时候是这样想的，那时候儿子也没所谓，女儿也没所谓了，一个儿子一个女儿两样都有了，当然是好啦。

采：发现怀孕以后又发生什么吗？

李：那时候也没发生什么特别的事情。那时后我搬去我老公那里就是城里住嘛，不像在农村那样大家都认识大家。那时后我老公去工作，他两个星期左右才回来一次，我又没有工作，只要我呆在家里一般就不会被人发现我怀孕了。只要不被人发现就没事了。

采：是一直呆在家里知道生产吗、

李：是的。后来生产是自己找接生婆生的，超生嘛也不敢去医院，就让接生婆来我家接生这样。如果去医院也不是会不帮你生，你羊水都破了，他也不可能这个时候堕胎。就是生下来他会帮你直接结扎。那时候，大家都会偷偷生的一胎二胎都不敢给人知道的。有单位的生了儿子还要藏着给别人养。

采：给别人养？

李：对啊。很多的。有些不要都生了几个都是女儿就给别人啊。你又要走计生又想继续生，哪里能带的那么多，有些还要藏到山上去。有些人藏在亲戚家，他亲戚家附近的人看到有陌生面孔会举报的，实在不行了就会躲在山上了。那时候举报有奖的。农村为了不被人发现还会生了女孩藏起来给别人养，生了儿子才会自己养。

采：这样的啊。那你觉得超生给你的人际交往有带来什么改变吗

李：改变呀。也不是因为超生，就是照顾两个儿子，全部心机都放进去了。结婚前还会跟小姐妹出去的，两个儿子后都是照顾孩子和公婆都没时间再和朋友出去了。

采：现在回想之前，你觉得计划生育对你有什么影响啊

李：计划生育的时候都心惊胆战的，不只是我自己，大家都是的。有些认识那些，两个都有单位的，她又生了一个女儿的那些，就离婚了离婚就可以找第二个，可以再生一个，搏儿子嘛，之所以是就是这样，压力就是这样。基本上生女儿都是女方要，他们女儿老婆都不要了。有些没离婚的，我认识有些没离婚的他自己私底下也有私生子在外面。

采：那你们当时压力真的很大的呀，特别实第一胎的时候。

李：是啊，那个年龄段的人。那些思想观念是这样的嘛，一定要有个儿子才叫传宗接代的。一来就是文化问题，二来就是大环境都是这样，所以压力都在女性身上。男的，有本事的基本是就不用怎么想，特别有单位那些，有些每单位的也一样能够勾三搭四的也会在外面勾三搭四，为了生儿子就是这样的。对的他就不要原来那个，生女孩那个。第二个生了儿子就和第二个生了儿子那个。

采：今天我想了解的大概就是这样了。谢谢你接受我的采访呀。

李：好的，没关系的。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
8	郑	54	厨师	2

录音记录:

采: 你好。我是小彦。请问听得清楚吗?

郑: 你等一下我先出去再和你说, 这里太吵了...这里静一点。你说吧。

采: 好呀, 开始之前我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的, 如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出, 这是没问题的, 包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容, 也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗?

郑: 我没有什么问题的, 直接开始吧。

采: 好的。你还记得计划生育政策是从什么时候开始的吗?

郑: 最早 80 年代末开始的, 那时候就抓计生了。不过 80 年代初好像就有了, 有单位那些就不能生二胎, 每单位的还在生, 那时候就是随便罚点钱。到了 90 年左右就很严了, 最严的时候是 1997-2000 年, 那时候要罚钱的, 抓不到人就会拆屋的, 农村的会拆屋, 城市的会封屋。到了 98, 99 年就开始株连五祖。如果我是那时候生的话二伯伯三婶, 要开除公务员的。之后退出从化超生已经拍到全市倒数第一了, 已经有名了。跟着就要罚钱了。很惨的那时候走计生。

采: 那时候是怎么样的啊?

郑: 当时城市居民是生一胎, 农村第一胎是女儿就是两胎。所以我生大的儿子是合法的, 二胎就要罚钱, 就要走计生。那时后是宣传鼓励你优生优育, 那时候很多那些表演, 马路边上都是有那些牌子, 什么一对夫妇只能生一胎之类的, 到处都是那些。

采: 你还记得那些标语的内容是什么吗?

郑: 具体不太记得了, 反正都是说一胎好啊, 优生优育有关。

采：你第一个孩子是什么时候生的？

郑：我第一个孩子的时候是 94 年，那时候生的是一个男孩子。

采：生了第一个孩子之后有发生什么吗？

郑：生了一个孩子之后，原来他们要抓我去上环，但是那时候嘛还没有很严。我就找了熟人花了点钱，就没有上环。其实那时候也不确定生不生，但是万一以后真的要生呢，上环了就不能再生了。那时候是每个季度还要去查环，如果你没去他们就会去你家找你。就是你超过两次没查，抓到你就要去结扎了。不去查，就要被强制结扎的。因为 3 季孩子都已经生出来了嘛。反正第一季度不去，第二季度就要强硬去扎了，很恐怖的。

采：那你呢？你之后有没有上环啊？

郑：我的是很明智的，我是自己去上环自己去扎。我是生了小儿子之后才去上环，也不是上环，是直接去结扎了。我也不想生了。生第三胎费用很贵的，像张艺谋那样（明星）第三胎罚了 70 多万啊，有钱人就被开大口了，他也看你家庭。张艺谋啊，生了三胎全国都知道的嘛，当时的 70 多万是什么概念啊，买多少房子啊。

采：那真的好多啊。那当时是什么让你决定再生一个孩子的呀？

郑：那时就想着反正也没有单位，为什么不呢。而且当时我老公是老师嘛，他也已经想跳出来了，所以我们商量以后就生二胎了，他辞职。我婆婆也想嘛，多孙多福呀。我小儿子生出来婆婆可开心了。他也结婚了，前几个月。

采：那在你怀孕之后有发生什么吗？

郑：像你舅母的话在农村，本村人就没那么严；但是城市居民的话，我的小儿子出世之前，以前还在学校住，学校被人举报，在我婆婆那里住，又被人举报，计生办那些人过来查，他们举报的人是有奖励的，一个人可以奖励 5000 块。

采：当时举报还有奖励？

郑：对啊。当时第一胎我没有出门啊，被人在我婆婆家举报之后，我就去了你爸爸之前华天公司楼上那个房子呆着，不出去的，看不到太阳的。又不敢回家就是去你爸爸那里呆着，直到生产。

采：为什么不能被别人发现呀？

郑：他们还会抓人做人流的，那时候已经有人举报了，一举报有 5000 块啊，我知道我也不会做这些伤天害理的事情。单位宿舍那些人更加眼钱啊，别人只能生一胎你生二胎，他那些人更加啊。那时候的人是这样的，亲戚好，就去亲戚家住，亲戚不好就回去荔枝林住，他们就搭个棚子在那里躲计生，那时也会有人举报，看到这时搭一个棚子那时搭一个棚子就去举报。很惨的。没办法那些人都想要儿子。就算大月份也会去引产的，你说多惨啊。还是你妈妈聪明啊，不生，保住了工作。

采：那生育之后有发生什么吗？

郑：我第二胎是 97 年的，那时后还好后来 20 年的时候开始罚的多了。罚 8 万块过 10 万都是这样罚的。

采：那么多啊？

郑：对啊。他知道你生，他就过来拉你，去做人流。拉不到，你生出来要入户口孩子读书嘛，你一定要入户口的嘛，那时候又要罚钱。如果认识人的话可以打折，8 折，要罚 15 万的话打八折就变成 12 万了。我生小的时候因为才 97 年，98 年交的罚款，罚了 3 万块。到了 2000 年的时候就很贵了，要罚钱了。如果认识人的话就能打多一点折，我认识一个朋友打了 7.5 折罚了 7 万多

采：这个价格是他们怎么定的呀？

郑：没有统一标准的，居民的就会高一点，农村的就会低一点。那时候是随便他们说的。之后到了 2000 年以后，还没放开二胎，那些人都不想生了。生了费用大，有难管教。

采：所以当时是看户口注册地定罚款金额的吗？

郑：抓计生那些人是看你的家庭的，你没钱几万块都拿不出，那他的命吗？如果拿不出来罚金，城市的楼他是拆不了的嘛，就封房；农村独门独户他能够拆，就直接拆了。他就是卡你小朋友读书，那时候要计生年审的嘛，计生证之类的。你拿不到计生证小朋友怎么读书啊？你上不了户口啊。你读一年级，你要计生证的，没有计生证你怎么读书啊？

采：读书当时要查计生证的？

郑：对啊，不然学校不敢招你的，他有这样的政策的，那你去哪里读啊，就是黑人黑户了。好惨的。

采：除了钱以外，还有别的处罚吗？

郑：除了钱以后就没了，打了折，罚钱主要就是拿计生证，拿了计生证读书就没问题了，读书每年都要查计生证。那时候很恐怖的，农村二胎才要罚 3000 块，我才二胎就要 2 万块。罚了钱就搞掂了那个时候学校整天查计生的，很多事很麻烦的。这个叫什么社会抚养费。

采：那总的来说，你觉得计划生育对你有什么影响呀？

郑：就是罚钱，就是不好，也没什么，只要给钱就没事了。那个时候中国是这样的，那时后很黑暗的计划生育，很现实的，严重的还有出人命的，那时候政府也想多点收入，那时候贪官也多，那计划生育罚的钱也有些人贪了那些钱。

采：我今天了解的差不多就是这样了。谢谢你接受我的采访呀，阿姨。

郑：没关系，你什么回来啊？

采：我也不确定呀现在。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
9	文	52	家庭主妇	2

采访记录:

采: 你好, 阿姨, 我是小彦。

文: 嗯采访是吧, 你说吧。

采: 开始之前我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的, 如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出, 这是没问题的, 包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容, 也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗?

文: 我没有什么问题的, 你直接问吧。

采: 你记得计划生育政策最早是从什么时候开始的吗?

文: 我最早听说过计划生育是从 1980 年开始的, 对的。因为我很清楚地记得, 我大姐姐的女儿嘛, 是 79 年出生的, 那时候我也才 10 岁嘛, 我大姐他们那时候是农村嘛, 我们是农村嘛。那时候还是那个生产队, 他们去开会就就实行计划生育, 就是生一胎。我因为当时回来讲的时候我还抱着我的小外甥, 和他讲, 我说, 你妈妈只能够生一个了, 对就是这样, 所以我很清楚的记得。是我自己的姐姐嘛, 要是别人的话我肯定没那么清楚, 毕竟那时候我才 10 岁。

采: 那时候计划生育是怎么样的啊?

文: 那时候就是只能生一个, 要么是第一个有什么缺陷啊才允许你生第二个, 别的是不允许的。就是你要超生的话是必须要罚款的。那时候是这样的。不过好一段以后大概是 2000 年左右政策就放款了一点, 就是如果是农村户口的话, 第一胎是女儿, 还能够再生一胎。但是 80 后 90 后这个政策基本是没有的。

采: 所以 2000 年之后农村户口在第一胎是女儿的情况下能够再生一胎?

文：对的对的，不过 90 年就 90 后嘛还是没有的。不管是农村还是城市都只能生一个的。

采：你第一胎是什么时候啊？

文：我是 92 年有第一个孩子。

采：生完第一个孩子只有有经历什么嘛？

文：我是第一胎生完 3 个月了，那个计划生育的人就来，让你去上环了，第二胎就有要求你去结扎了。

采：能够选择别的避孕方式吗？

文：那时不行的哦，那村里干部要上门的哦，三个月以后他就上门来找你，让你去上环。当时是只有上环的。当时我上环以后不怎么适应，上环以后就会出血什么的，我就没有上环了。我就自己想办法拆下来，再自己想办法避孕嘛。

文：当时有经历过查环吗？

文：当时嘛，我上了环以后我因为在城里打工嘛，所以我就没查过环，一次都没查过。一般如果在村里面的，他们都要求三个月查一次环的，但是我不在那里，不怎么呆在家里，查环这些我就没怎么经历过。

采：当时取环是在哪里取的呀？

文：那时后取环是找熟人哦，医院或者公立的诊所都不会给你取环的哦，找人也是要偷偷的，不能给别人知道的。其实身体不舒服的话他们是给你取的，但是也要给你开了证明才行，你要是真的身体不适应的话，他会给你开证明的。

采：带环以后是什么感觉呀？

文：腰涨，腰酸，腰痛。还有就是又出血，半个月之内身上还会不干净，说不清楚，是什么反应。就是它像血又不像血。就是它红红的，又不是很红，像淡血一样

的。反正就像黄希希的血，白带又不像白带。那种的话没有其他办法的要么就是拿掉。

采：当时是什么让你决定再生二胎的呀？

文：那第一胎是女儿嘛，那时后反正就是心里想着要一个男孩哦，所以就想到要生第二胎。当时我怀第二胎的时候，我去做了个检查，就就知道了是女孩嘛，已经七个多月了，那时候我还想着要流产的，但是那时候她爷爷奶奶就对我说，不要去流产怎么样怎么样。当时对他们来说不太相信这个科学啊，我相信啊。他们说万一是个男孩你可是要后悔的，当时我还是相信科学的，我觉得肯定是个女孩，但是他们就说哪怕是个女孩也好啊，两个嘛，两个女孩也好，这样我就把圆圆生下来了。

生第二胎的时候反正也是很多周折哦。

采：有经历了什么波折呀？

文：第一你要找关系，把你这个环拿掉；第二怀孕的时候不能呆在自己家里，因为别人看到了，那就不行啊，都会走到一些远一点的亲戚朋友家，不能让当地管理的人发现，就是躲起来嘛。别人看到了会举报的。不过那时候我在外面打工嘛，大家都知道我经常不在家嘛，所以就没人来干涉我。要是在家里的话肯定就是不行了。

采：如果被他们发现了会怎么样啊？

文：被他们发现了可不是来劝你的，是直接让你去引产。不是劝你的，是强制的性。打个比方，我的三叔叔，就是我爸爸的亲弟弟，就是他的媳妇怀孕了，怀孕了。当时他们家不是四个男孩嘛，我三叔嘛就是他的大儿子，因为当时是你四个儿子的话，你就要给他们房子住啊。所以当时他在建房子，当时已经那个墙全都弄好了，就是上梁了盖瓦了，这个地步了，正好他大的媳妇怀孕了，也是第二胎了。怀孕的时候那个村里就要他们来。那时候，我记得我那个唐嫂还躲在我们家里，躲在我们家里，那时候已经七个多月了。他们就来说，如果你要这个孩子，你一定要生这个孩子，你这个房子就全部给你推掉，不会让你建起来。要么你就把这个孩子打

掉，所以最后就没有办法呀，已经到了这个地步了啊，那我叔叔和我婶婶就求他嘛，求他们把这个孩子打掉，之后他们就把这个孩子打掉了，七个多月了。七个多月孩子都成形了，孩子生下来都养得活了。当时的政策真的是很那个的。

采：那听上去那时候好严啊。

文：所以当时真的很厉害的。没办法呀，那时候真的就是这样，去做那个引产啊，七个多月。我当时基本上都不在家里面呆着嘛。还有一个事情是因为我们当时是我生了他的姐姐以后，就把那个户口转掉了。我本来是那个农村户口，我就带着姐姐转到了城镇户口。他这个城镇户口呢，因为她爸爸是农村哦，我是城镇户口，所以村里面就只能管得到她爸爸。他们管不到我，就是只能管道她爸爸。所以到最后我生二女儿的时候，她就是罚款嘛她就只能罚半边，罚她爸爸，罚不到我。因为城市户口我们那时叫非农业，我没有单位，就算换个户口的意思，所以就是没人来管你，因为我们当时在城里也还没有房子什么的。圆圆（二女儿）是96年出生嘛，那时后房子单位都没有，它就管不到你。以前那个网络信息，个人信息没那么详细，跟现在是不一样的，现在是你身份证一输的话全部都知道了。以前是没这个功能的，所以我们就躲过了。

采：如果是城里的话会怎么样啊？

文：城里的话，如果你要生的话，工作就没有了；就直接把你的工作搞掉，农村的话，你要生的话，要么你就是要有钱，你去交罚金，没有钱的话，每个年代是不一样的，在80后的话，80尾的话二胎是罚1000多块钱。因为我们家都是超生嘛，我的哥哥我的姐姐，我三个姐姐他们全是超生的，他们超生二胎的时候都是罚款都是1000多，1300左右吧。他们基本上都是80年代超生二胎生好了。我就是90后了，那时候罚款是不一样的，那时候要么你就是有钱那时是大概是4000多块，你没钱的话，要么你的猪，你的牛，你的粮食，就是当时出嫁都是要办嫁妆嘛，他把柜子呀什么东西，全部把你搞走。把你家搞到空空的，就是那样的。那时候柜子那些很有用的嘛，他拿去可以卖钱的嘛，你那时候你家里没这些东西的话你的衣服往哪里放，他们都要这些东西的

采：那时候这些罚金他们是怎么定的呀？

文：那时后是固定的数字，圆圆那时候 96 年，因为只要罚半边嘛，就罚了 1800 块钱。90 后了又涨了。当时如果我也在农村的话就要罚差不多 4000 了。那时候在农村有什么收入啊，你就是种一点田，你没有收入的，它量化不出来，不像他工资哦。

采：当时这些钱算是多还是少呀？

文：那个罚款算很高了，当时那些肉的话，才卖 2，3 毛钱一斤啊，你算一下当时多值钱啊，那时候 1000 多块钱是不一样的。你如果说双方都是农村嘛，你去哪里找 1000 多块钱出来，一年家里种一点田，你还要交公粮，不管是小麦油菜还是稻谷，这些你全部都要交公粮，交公粮的钱哦，那些钱，交到国家，那时候我们有那个粮站，他把这些东西收到粮站去，这个钱你是没有的。因为他有农税，有提留。你一个劳动力，一年还要向国家交多少钱啊，你的土地一年要向国家交多少钱啊。所以说你这些粮食交给国家之后，根本还不够的，你家里还要掏钱出来再补上去。当时是很难挣钱的。

采：你说的是承包到户的那时候吗？

文：对，就是等于说那个土地承包到户是 82 年嘛，国家把这个土地给了你种，你就必须要给它交那么多。那时候要交很多的，交的公粮该交的都交上去了，你的钱还是不够的，你还要拿自己的钱，像养点鸡呀，养点猪呀卖点钱，补贴一点给国家。

采：啊，这样的话还不如不承包啊。

文：就是啊，所以到最后他是 82 年承包到户的时候，好多年都不变嘛，你嫁不出去的，你家里的土地不退，你讨个媳妇，又生了孩子，土地没有，像我们就是这样，土地是没有的，但是你是一个成年人啊，你必须要给国家交多少钱啊，所以就是为了这些东西哦，我才把户口转掉的。没办法呀，国家也没有那么多土地拿给

你种啊，你还要给他交钱，所以我们就把户口转掉了。那时后政策确实有一点让人受不了的。

采：总的来说，你觉得计划生育对你呆来什么改变呀？

文：对我自己来说还是不能就生，生一个不能接受，生两三个比较好。当时在农村你要种地什么的都需要男人嘛。就整体来说嘛，还是重男轻女，中国的话还是有的；就是个别的没有，整体来说还是有的。不过现在这些人啊，都不一样了，以前的人还是想到要二胎的，当时都接受不了嘛生一个，不管是男孩还是女孩，生一个还是让人接受不了，不管是男孩女孩。

采：我了解的大概就是这么多了。谢谢你呀阿姨

文：没关系的。

编号	姓名	年龄	工作	子女人数
10	张	43	幼儿园园长	2

采访记录:

采: 你好, 张博士。我是小彦, 之前有联系过你关于采访的。

张: 嗯我知道的, 没问题, 你问把

采: 开始之前我先说一下这个采访里面的的权力呀。这次研究是完全自愿的, 如果在采访过程你有任何不舒服可以随时退出, 这是没问题的, 包括如果你以后想要撤销你的采访内容, 也是没问题的。这次采访我会全程录音的。到这里请问阿姨您有什么问题吗?

张: 我没有问题的, 我在你发给我的张东西里也看到了。

采: 嗯嗯。那我们就直接开始吧。你还记得计划生育是从什么时候开始的吗?

张: 具体我不太记得了, 不过我记得好像很早就有了, 我还在上中学还是高中 i 就已经有了。那时候就会经常有那些宣传, 像学校的表演啊, 或者马路两边呀都有有关的标语, 说男女平等, 优生优育有关的。

采: 你最早记得的计划生育政策是怎么样的呀?

张: 主要就是生一个, 因为那时候我老公是有单位的, 他们抓的比较严, 只要被发现生两个可能就下岗了。那时后真的很严的, 在二胎政策之前。超生会比较辛苦一点, 有一种感觉就是株连九族的感觉, 比如我生了, 单位呀会受到牵连。像我老公家公我自己的单位会受到牵连。

采: 你第一个孩子是什么时候出生的呀?

张: 我第一个 bb 在 03 年 3 月 6 号。当时我 24 岁。我生我第一个 bb 比较坎一定, 点咁样讲。嗯, 因为当时我。点讲咧。我喺在镇嘅医院度生嘅。然之后在生的前一天我在医院摔了一跤。当晚就入了院, 医生就让我剖腹, 但是在剖腹额过程中出了一些意外。

采：什么意外呀？

张：当时我在医院痛了两夜一日，才觉得剖腹，当时那个医生和我相熟，我比较相信。佢话建议我都系顺产。嗰阵时有而家咁盛行话剖腹产的。咁咧。就当时我就之后都系生唔到。因为可能宫缩太慢了。生不到，我没力了，就剖腹产咯。但是在过程中又出现了一些问题。可能嗰个麻醉的药效不是很好令到我大出血嗰阵时。嗯我记得我当时是输了 800cc 的血的。其实都没什么的，痛嘅过程中系嗰种状态你是可以忍受得到的。都是阵痛的，过了那一刻会很幸福的，只要坚持。一胎之后我就辞职带宝宝了。

采：第一胎是男孩还是女孩呀。

张：第一胎是儿子。当时也没想过要生男孩还是女孩，我和我老公都是觉得顺其自然。但是因为我家婆很想我生一个女儿。因为我老公大佬同细佬佢嘅孩子都比我出生先，我是最迟生的，都是儿子。我家婆就很想我生一个女儿，最终之后我都系生了一个儿子。我哋自己系没什么想法，儿子女儿都可以。

采：生了第一个孩子之后有发生什么吗？

张：当时都要带环，都属于叫做强制的。你每一个季度都会去医院查环的。你缺少一个季度就会打电话催你，反正他有很多相关政策，像打电话到你的单位呀。就是怕你会超生。

采：上环感觉是怎么样的呀？

张：就是痛，说不痛是假的，可以接受得了。肯定没有生 bb 那么痛。他不会很痛就是突然见很紧的感觉，好像手突然见被窟住了。肯定会痛的因为会出血，无论上环和取环都会出血的，毕竟是人的一个器官。不过也不会太辛苦。

采：当时是什么让你决定再生一个孩子的呀？

张：说真的，生了我的儿子之后，因为我是大出血嘛，我老公都不同意我再生了、我自己有我谗过生多一个。但是当时计生很严。过了一段时间唉，当我有有咁嘅谗法我的儿子都那么大了我想生个小朋友咯。因为咁多年。但我老公不同意，可能

惊有类似事情发生。过咗有几耐。咁有几耐嘅话。同事同学啊咁都生了，二胎好辛苦。不过最重要的是当时我家公在政府工作，他有听说二胎政策快要开放了嘛，虽然不知道具体什么时候，但是政府部门都有传这个风就证明快了，不适今年就是明年了。所以我那时后就和我老公商量了一下，差不多也准备再要一个了。

采：那时候你的环还在你身上吗？

张：还在的。不过之后是我和同事去看医生，那个医生是我一直都认识的，当时我就除了环，医生叫我们三个月后去复诊，但我同事身体不舒服，两个月我在和他去多一次。我很偶然很医生说我这个月都没来月经，医生说除环了很正常，不过来都来了就验一下，当时就是这样发现我有了的。除了环一个月多一点就有了。很幸运的，我是想生但是我没想到在那个阶段，因为我刚除了环。我自己也在想一年后生的话就政策下来，但刚好就有了女儿。

采：那时你几岁呀？

张：我都 30 多岁了。对啊，当时年纪也不小了，也一直担心小朋友会不会不健康，产检的时候各种检查都做了。很多项目。自己给钱的，总结下来还是用了四五千块把，很多项目还是比较贵。都是想 bb 安全一点，他会在期间开一点什么药给你吃，但是我从来都没吃过。

采：政策也没下来，那时候计生还抓的严吗？

张：那时候政策也还没下来，但是有这个风了，他们也没有怎么抓人了。所以那时我觉得我还挺幸运的，以前超生他们都要东躲西藏的，但对我就好像没有这样的经历。不过就是生女儿的时候都还在幼儿园工作，但经常请假，太辛苦了，后来我老公帮我辞了工作，因为我吃不了东西，我全身都想睡觉，我就辞了工作，但生儿子的时候我一点事情都没有，是呀，感觉都没有，可能状态不一样了。生儿子的时候七个月我还去风云岭爬山，到山顶的。那时候不知道是不是大家都同时有了 bb 的同时去爬山。其实就像走路一样走走停停的上去，但生女儿就比较辛苦一点，那种吐得感觉的确很辛苦，吃什么吐什么，不知道是不是年纪也上去的关系。

采：那孩子生下来的时候是什么时候呀？

张：2010年生的。那时候政策也没下来，政策是2011年。不过我生的时候就已经知道是2011年已经会下来了。

采：那生孩子的时候还没下来，就还算是超生了，你有经历过什么什么惩罚措施吗？

张：说实话，是没有的。那时候大家都已经知道2011年二孩政策要实施嘛，所以计生办也抓的不严了，他们也没怎么追着我说要罚款什么的。就是我们一开始没给女儿上户口，毕竟如果那时候上户口的话是超生嘛，虽然抓的轻，但我们也不知道对我的工作和我老公的工作，就算现在没有，也不知道以后有没有嘛。所以我们就托了几个月，等到2011年的时候才去上的户口，这样严格来说，也不算超生了。

采：哈哈那还挺幸运的。那总的来说，你觉得计划生育对你带来什么影响呀？

张：对于我来说，我觉得开放了二胎真的是太好的，因为很多人，特别是70后，我觉得计划生育亏欠了70后很多人，好像我们70之后，很多人，特别是单位的，但是因为年纪或者其他都不再生了，但是他们仍然是非常想生的，我觉得我自己计划生育亏待了很多70后的人，但是也会想，很多80后都不会想生了。社会和经济发展会又点不协调，比如像我们的房价呀，和工资比，很不协调。所以现在那么多80后不想生就是因为经济压力过大了，当经济压力大了之后，他看到的，他的前景是不明朗的，而且是不敢去尝试的，现在的教育和各方面都和经济挂钩的，所以觉得有压力，就不会想，我觉得和经济压力和社会竞争力是有关的。工作以后都会发现，特别是今年，经济超差的到处都失业，假如结婚了，没有稳定收入的话，养小朋友非常困难的。现在奶粉，便宜一点的也要两百多一罐，所以现在的工资一个月购买多少奶粉呀。生不生二胎是和经济有关而不是和想法有关的。很多人年轻人生二胎会觉得辛苦没了自我，他们会选择更多的享受生活。每一个年代都会有不同的想法。

采：我想了解的大概就是这样了，太谢谢你了张博士

张：没关系，你刚好也给我机会反思了一下我的生育经验。

Consent Form for Interviews

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the research. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. Would you therefore read the accompanying information sheet and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data at any point I wish to withdraw.
2. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
3. I agree for this interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis in this research and no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission

知情同意书

非常感谢您同意参与这向研究。为了确保您能够了解参与本次研究的相关信息以及您的权利，请仔细阅读本知情同意书。请在采访前确认一下条款：

1. 我知悉本人是自愿参与到本次采访中，并且有权利随时中途退出实验。我知悉我能够随时撤销我的数据内容。
2. 我知悉在采访中与我本人相关的信息会进行严格保密，我的名字不会出现在研究材料中，且个人信息不会被公开。
3. 我知悉这次采访会被录音。我知悉采访录音仅作为研究使用。未经我本人允许，录音内容不能用作其他用途。

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant/被采访者姓名	Date/日期	Signature/签名

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant/采访者姓名	Date/日期	Signature/