## Shifts in second birth timing and quantum following changes in fertility limiting policies in Chinese provinces, 1984-2016

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## Background: Fertility decline in China

#### Low fertility but uncertain estimates since the 1990s

- Different estimates with different method (1.5-1.6?1.8)
- Underestimation in official reports, e.g. census-based reports (e.g., from 1.26 to 1.05 and 1.24 between 2014-2016)

#### Policy or social-economic development?

- Discussions on the role of "one-child policy" at national level
- Recent heated debate in *Demography* (Goodkind 2017 & responses)

#### Very limited literature on

- The diversity of regional context and policy regulations
- The marriage timing regulations and birth timing/spacing policy

#### Framework

#### Impact of changes in birth timing/spacing policies on:

- Period fertility timing:
  policy-driven fertility postponement for second birth?
- Period fertility levels & trends (tempo effect)

#### Population Policy in China

### Strict one-child policy

- 1980-1983
- National



## More exceptions for second child

- 1984-2013,
- especially the 1.5-child policy
- Region-specific

#### Selective two-child policy (STCP)

- ·2014-2015
- Couples where one partner was single child were eligible to have a second child
   national

#### Universal two child policy (UTCP)

- •2016
- Two-child per couple
- National

#### Marriage & birth timing Policies

#### Later marriage

- Since 1970s until 2003
- females: minimum age 23/24 for marriage;

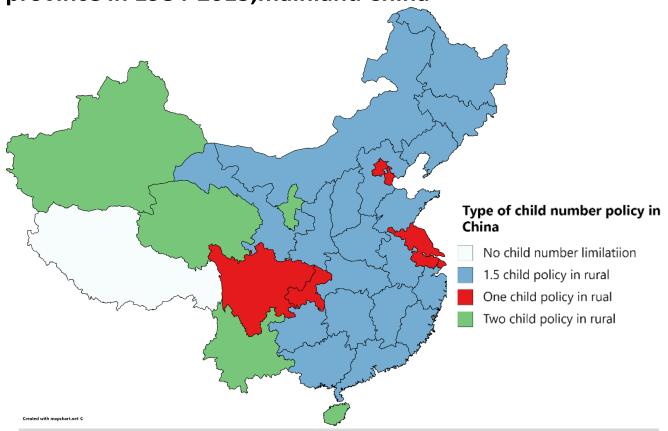
#### Later first birth polices

- Since 1970s until 2003
- · 24 for first birth
- With approval

#### Spacing policy for second births (region-specific)

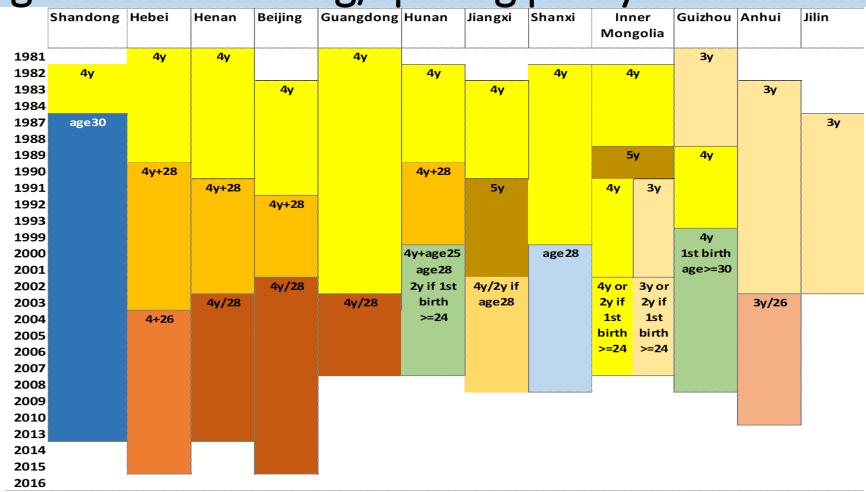
- Advocacy in late 1970s
- Spread across the country 1980s & early 1990s
- Common during 1990s
- Loosening and policy abandonment 2002-2015

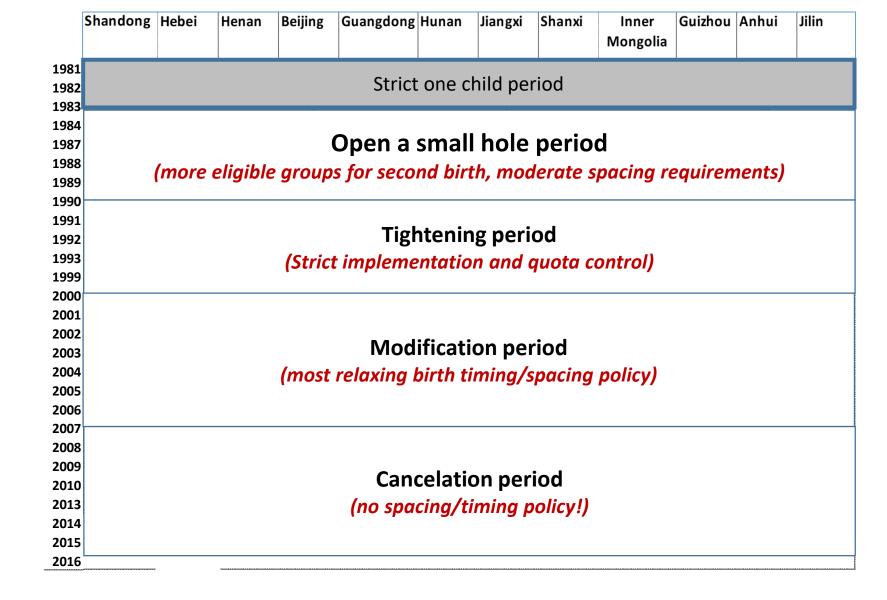
The Child number Policies for people with rural "Hukou" by province in 1984-2013, mainland China



**Source:** Map developed based on Qin, M., Falkingham, J. and Padmadas, S.S. 2018. "Unpacking the differential impact of family planning policies in china: Analysis of parity progression ratios from retrospective birth history data, 1971–2005." *Journal of Biosocial Science* (online): 1-23.

Regional birth timing/spacing policy





## Expected policy effects

	"Open a small hole" period	Tightening period	Modification period	Cancelation period
Timing of 2 <sup>nd</sup> birth (MAB2)	→later	→later	earlier <del>(</del>	earlier <del>&lt;</del>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Birth interval	longer <del>-</del>	longer <del>-</del>	<b>←</b> shorter	<b>←</b> shorter
Period fertility (TFR, PPR12)	1	<b>4</b>	1	<b>↑</b>
Age schedule (ASFR2)	Disrupted	Disrupted	return to more regular, symmetric	return to more regular, symmetric

#### Data

#### The 120-counties Population Dynamics Monitoring System

Census-based sampling, 120 counties of 2869

Micro-level registration database

• 128.4 million in 2016

#### **Our analysis**

- Period 1984-2016
- 61 counties/districts/cities
- Total population of 51.47 M
- Focus on women with local household registration ("hukou");



#### Methods

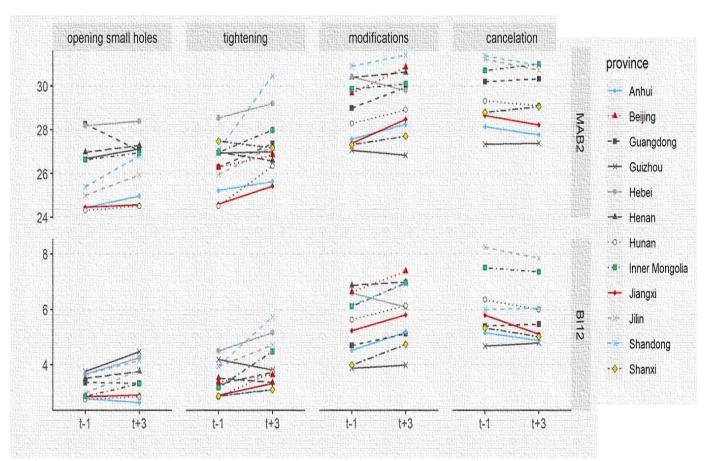
## Reconstructing & analysing changes in selected indicators of fertility level, timing and spacing

- Summary indicators: TFR, MAB, PPR12,2<sup>nd</sup> birth intervals (2BI)
- Age-specific indicators: ASFRs by birth order;
- Duration-specific second birth rates: PPR12,PPR12-10
  - focus especially on fertility reactions around the year of policy changes (t)
  - compare selected indicators of fertility level, timing and spacing in
    - ----one year prior to the policy change (t-1)
    - ----three years after the policy change (t+3)

Absolute difference: MAB2,2BI

Relative difference(ratio): TFR,PPR12

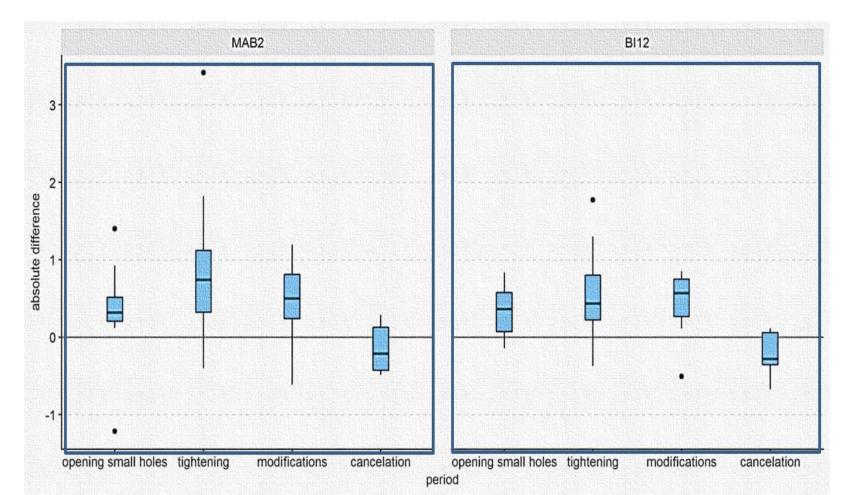
## Shifts in birth timing/spacing



Both increased slightly in the 1980s, continuously accelerated in 1990s; continued rising in modification period;

BI12 became longer in all provinces by about a year (reaching between five and seven years); last period shortened.

## Absolute differences in MAB2 and BI2 three years after (t+3) and one year before (t-1) policy changes delineating four policy periods



# Shifts in distribution of second birth by age and duration

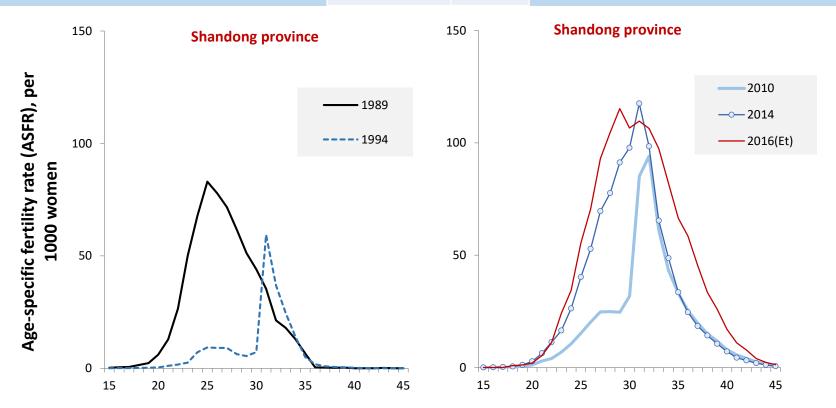
#### 'the Tighten period'

1982-1986 1986-2013

Age 30

**BI 4** 

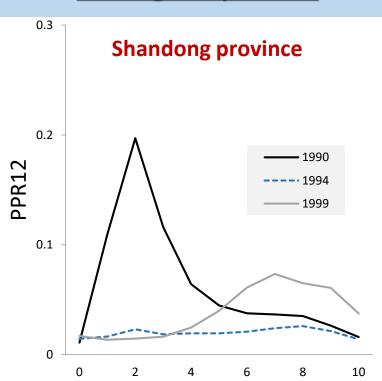
#### 'Cancelation period'

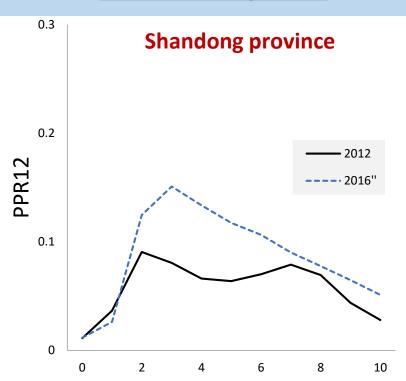


- Delayed childbearing of second birth: peak shifts
- Remarkable restructuring after 1990 :
- The distorted pattern weakens in 2000s, disappears after 2010

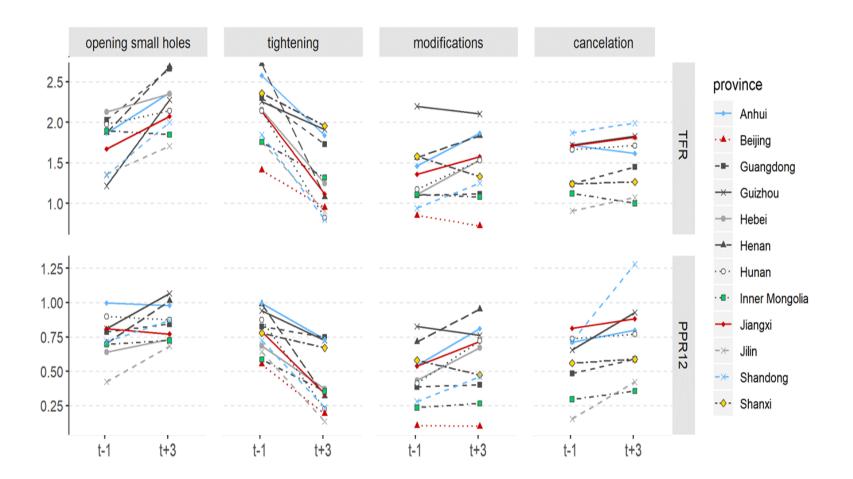
#### 'the Tighten period'

#### 'Cancelation period'

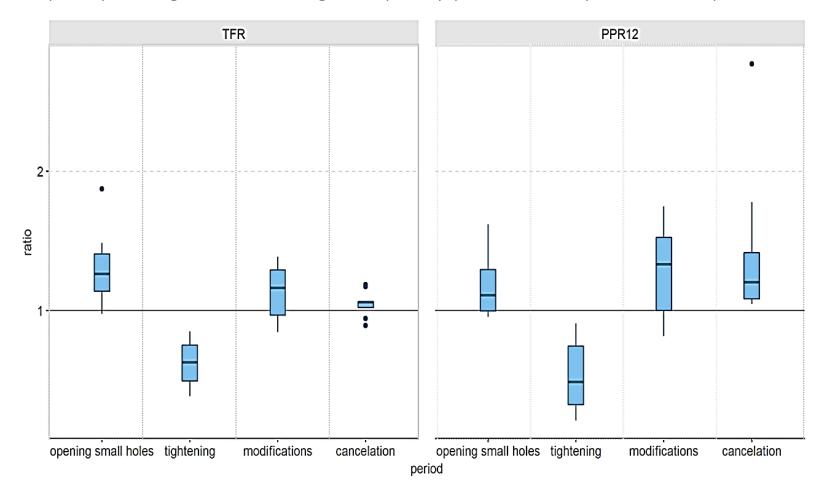




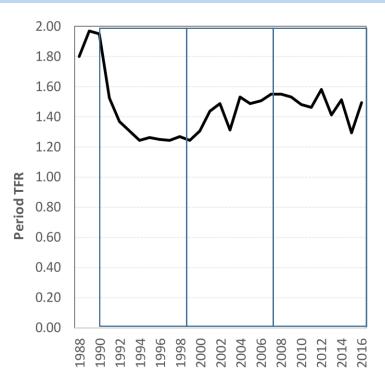
## Trends in fertility rates

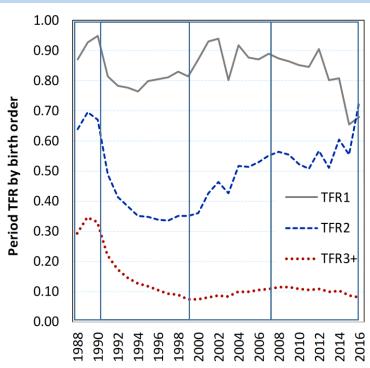


Ratio of TFR and PPR 12 three years after (t+3) and one year before (t-1) policy changes delineating four policy periods, boxplots for 12 provinces



## Ups and downs in period TFRs





- TFR reactions to major policy shifts
- Early 1990s: TFR at each birth order plummeting to extreme low levels
- TFR for each birth order moving in sync except in 2014-16
- 2014-16: cross-over in TFR1 and TFR2
- Birth postponement depressed TFR1, policy-driven jump in TFR2

## **Summary & discussion**

## Key findings

## Strong impact of birth timing policy changes on the shifts in period fertility timing & fertility levels

- → Fertility reactions followed immediately after policy changes;
- → The behavioural responses more significant in the 1980s and 1990s, when similar types of policy changes applied in same period of time;
- → Strong second births fluctuations suggest that the decline of TFR2 was probably due to timing;
- → All kinds of unusual patterns arguably driven by specific policy requirements and restrictions;
- → Regional differentials related to the policy requirements and impacts.

#### Discussion

- Neglected role of fertility marriage & birth timing policies
  - →An indispensable tool of exerting "birth number limitation policy";
  - →Instability and disruptions in fertility behavior driven by policies;
  - →Extreme shifts in the timing, spacing and age schedule of childbearing;
  - →The importance of understanding regional context & variation.
- Reinterpreting fertility changes in China since the 1990s
  - →Strong role of tempo effect in driving steep fertility decline in TFR;
  - → Partly reinterpretation of fertility changes in national & provinces level;

## Thank you!

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