

Understanding the Transforming Biopolitics:

Shifts and Continuation in the Official Discourse of Birth Planing Policy in China, 1956-2003

1. Introduction

The birth planning project in China has been probably the world's most striking case of applied biopolitics, a field of politics concerning "the administration and optimization of the processes of life" (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005, p. 7). China's birth planning project deserves scholarly attention from a biopolitical perspective -- not only for its notable and profound intervention in the lives of the largest human population on earth, but also because it has evolved in tandem with China's gradual and momentous transition from socialism since the late 1970s. Hence, the transforming biopolitics embedded in the evolving birth planning project epitomizes and reflects the broader historical, political and sociocultural changes that have unfolded in contemporary China.

While most studies on China's birth planning project concentrate on the demographic changes and social ramifications brought about by the project (Bulte, Heerink and Zhang 2011; Fong 2002; Li, Yi, and Zhang 2011; Peng 1991; Scharping 2003), few researchers have examined the shifting political dynamics within or underlying the evolving population policy (White 1990; Winckler 2002; Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005). Among this small body of literature with a political perspective, Greenhalgh and Winckler's work (2005) creatively studies China's birth planning project through combining a regime capacity approach and a biopower perspective under the analytical framework of governmentalization.

Inspired by Greenhalgh and Winckler's work, this study empirically extends their effort with a

specific focus on discourse, the distinctive emphasis of the Foucauldian approaches to modern power. Through computational and interpretive content analyses of 1812 articles on birth planning drawn from *The People's Daily* from 1956-2003, the current study documents, chronicles, and analyzes the shifting major discourses appropriated by the Chinese state to frame and rationalize its reproduction policy. In doing so, I seek to address the following questions: How does the biopolitics governing reproduction and population in China emerge and evolve? What broader historical, political and sociocultural dynamics do this biopolitics reflect?

The study's findings confirm and elaborate Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005)'s accounts, providing empirical evidence for the emergence of biopolitics governing the aggregate population in China and its profound shift regarding the bureaucratic centralization and then the downward shift of power. Specifically, the biopolitics has transformed from a revolutionary to a bureaucratic agenda since the late 1970s and then incorporated regulative mechanisms based on professional knowledge and individualizing power with salient elements of marketization in the 1990s. I also argue that the macro-level development persists to be a dominant concern in rationalizing the birth planning policy since the 1950s. These shifts and continuation reflect China's century-long modernization struggles and aspirations, post-socialist transition and re-integration into the world.

2. Theoretical Foundation: Biopower, Biopolitics and Discourse

2.1 Studies on China's Birth Planning Policy: a Biopolitical Perspective

Biopower is a form of Foucauldian modern power taking control of human life itself (Foucault 1978, 2003). It operates via both the functions of the individual body and, more importantly, the regulation of the population (ibid.). Biopolitics, accordingly, refers to the politics of governing

vital human functions (e.g. fertility, genetic quality, etc.) “in the name of optimizing individual or collective life, health, and welfare” (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005, p. 27; see also Foucault 1978, 2003; Greenhalgh 2009).

Compared to deductive and violent sovereign power, that is, the right to kill/take life away, the positive biopower is the power to make life: optimize, control and modify it (Foucault 1978, 2003). In addition to the ends of power, the forms they take are also different. Biopower, though penetrating the more traditional power of law that sovereign power relies on, is predominantly exerted by experts and administrators through regulative mechanisms based on professional knowledge (ibid.). Accordingly, the historical development of biopolitics often entails two part: the centralization of political power through highly organized administrative bureaucracy and the downward shift of power to professional disciplines and individual self-governance (Foucault 2003).

Based on analyses of the official documents, ethnography and intensive interviews with core officials, professionals and population scientists, Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) skillfully chart the broad shifts in China’s governance of population from a spectrum of variants inherited from Leninist biopolitics to a mixed mode incorporating a neoliberal approach. The field of biopolitics entails a variety of rationalizations, in other words the “formulations of population problems”, and interventions, namely, “techniques or strategies designed to optimize population” (ibid., p. 27). Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) have identified six policy tendencies under the umbrella of Chinese Leninism that serve as analytical lenses for examining the changing biopolitical rationalizations and interventions in China. Framed under three major variants of Leninism in China--Maoism, Stalinism and Reformism--the six policy tendencies include revolutionary,

mobilizational, bureaucratic, professional, socialist and marketizational approaches (ibid.). Through tracing and analyzing the transitions from one policy tendency to another, Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) demonstrates how China's birth planning policy evolved in relation to the historical and regime change in China.

This study uses computational method to follow and extend this research agenda with a specific focus on discourse, which constitutes an important domain of power in the application of biopolitics (ibid.).

2.2 Discourse of the Birth Planing Policy in China

According to Foucault (1978), discourses are ways of constituting “historically specific bodies of knowledge that structure how things can be said” (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005, p. 27; see also Weedon 1997, p.105). Being politically productive, discourses not only reflect but also constitute politics and power itself (Foucault 1978). Therefore, discourse analysis has long been an important approach in studying politics. (Apter and Saich 1994).

Many previous studies have documented the discourses produced or harnessed by the Chinese state in propagandizing its birth planning project. The most prominent discourse cited is the “crisis-crackdown” narrative, which diagnoses “unchecked population growth” in China as a crisis to be blame for all the country's social and economic problems, and more importantly, a crisis impeding national modernization (see Wang, Gu, and Cai, 2016; Greenhalgh 2001, 2009, 2010; Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005; Lee and Wang 1999). Greenhalgh (2001) has also pointed out a branch of state feminist discourse that claims the birth planning project as a driving force for the liberation of women. Besides, there is another body of discourse centering upon women and children's health, which narrates the birth planning project as “human-centered reproductive

health services” (Attané 2002).

Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) have systematized the discourses on China’s birth planning project into three modes: “institutionalized population discourse” produced by the state, “broad political and cultural discourses” harnessed by the state, and “popular discourse circulating in Chinese society” (p. 207). The first mode, being central to the birth planning program, is a mixture of “population crisis”, modernization, scientific norms, and socialist planning narratives (ibid.). Rooted in China’s century-long history of modernization struggles since the 19th century, the second mode includes discourses on sexuality, women’s liberation under socialism, and rupture from “the feudal past” (ibid.). The third mode mainly entails framings regarding family, children, and gender, e.g. the value of children and especially of daughters (ibid.). In addition to all discourses introduced above, Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) have also mentioned the “sustainable development” discourse and the “human capital development” discourse, which have emerged and proliferated since the late 1990s (see also Wang, Gu, and Cai, 2016; Greenhalgh 2009).

This study focuses on the official discursive framings that embody biopolitical policy tendencies in terms of the rationalization and implementation approaches in order to decode China’s transforming biopolitics. While previous works on this topic all solely rely on qualitative methods, this study incorporates a computational grounded theory framework to mitigate the shortcomings of both qualitative and computational content analysis through inductively identifying and meaningfully interpreting discourse patterns (Nelson 2017). The method section would address this point with more details.

3. Data

My analyses are based on a corpus containing all articles on birth planning that were published in *People's Daily (Renmin ribao)* during 1956-2003. As the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), *People's Daily* serves to transmit messages from state to society (Wu 1994). Bearing the function of “propaganda, organization, mobilization and control” (ibid., p.194), *People's Daily* is an important analytical material representing the official discourses of major policies in China.

The articles of the corpus are drawn from the Electronic database of *People's Daily* (1946-2003)¹ that includes all articles published in *People's Daily (Renmin ribao)* between 1946 and 2003. I select articles into the corpus based on two criteria: (1) the title of the article should include one of the following words: birth planning, population, childbearing, birth control, prenatal and postnatal care, allow to give birth, marry and bear children late, sex ratio, over birth, two children and quality care service; (2) the body of the article need to include one of the following words: birth planning, population, childbearing, birth control, prenatal and postnatal care, allow to give birth, marry and bear children late, sex ratio, over birth, two children, quality care service, fertility policy, fertility rate, population size, population growth, population quality, population control, health of mother and baby, reproductive health and contraception. I came up with these two criteria after tuning different searching conditions on the database to ensure that the articles that are most relevant to the birth planning policy are selected to build the corpus. Table 1 demonstrates the composition of the corpus containing articles extracted from the database based on the criteria listed above.

4. Method

¹ Accessed through Tsinghua University Library (<http://rmrb.lib.tsinghua.edu.cn:918/WEB/INDEX.html>)

The three-step computational grounded theory framework includes a computationally-based pattern detection step that allows pattern emerges in an unbiased and reproducible fashion, a pattern refinement step of computationally guided deep reading of typical texts and a pattern confirmation step that uses different computational techniques to evaluate the validity of the inductively detected patterns (Nelson 2017).

In the first step, I make use of dynamic topic modeling (DTM), an unsupervised learning method that has potentials to either confirm existing theories or discover unknown categories and patterns not immediately apparent to human readers. (Evans 2016; Nelson 2017; Nelson, Burk, Knudsen and McCall 2018). Besides, by incorporating the temporal dimension in the model, the dynamic topic modeling could trace the shifts and continuation of the various discourses in a more rigorous and detailed fashion. It would be complementary to previous studies that could hardly chronicle the discourses due to methodology limitation.

I fit a DTM with three time periods to first, identify six dominant discursive focuses of the whole corpus and second, compare the evolving key word composition of each discursive focus across the three periods to track the shifts and continuation in official birth planning discourse over time. I divide the corpus into three time periods: before open up and market reform (1956-1978), the 1980s (1979-1989) and the 1990s until the end of Jiang's rein (1990-2003). The first period contains only 71 articles, compared with the 806 articles for the second period and the 935 articles for the third period. The underlying reason for this article distribution pattern will be explained in the next section. Though the temporal distribution of articles is extremely skewed for this classification, I still choose to compare these three time periods with theoretical grounds. In the first period (1956-1978), the People's Republic of China was just established and ruled

under a socialist economic and political system with Mao Zedong as the top leader. The second period (1979-1989), corresponding to Deng Xiaoping's rein in China, started by China's Open up and Market reform, during which a significant regime and social transition took place in China. The third period, roughly corresponding to Jiang Zemin's rein (1993-2003) in China, during which China was quite comprehensively marketized, fully restored international connections that were cut off during the cold war and started on the breathtaking economic boom.

After examining the topic coherence metric and the weighted word lists for nine models with different topic numbers ranging from 3-15, I choose the the model with 6 topics. As is shown in Figure 1, models with 3, 4 and 6 topics have the highest topic conference score, indicating that they outperform the rest models. I also check their key word composition and find that the model with 6 topics produces the most substantively interpretable and non-repetitive combination of topics, which is considered as the most important criterion to determine the number of topics (DiMaggio 2015; Nelson 2017).

In the second step, I conduct deep reading on documents that are identified by the DTM as most representative of each discursive focus in order to confirm the validity of the computationally identified patterns, interpret the patterns in meaningful ways, and "potentially modify the identified patterns to better fit a human, and holistic, reading of the data" (Nelson 2017, p.23). The third step is not conducted in this paper due to time limit. Throughout the whole process, I would relate the computational results to theory and previous empirical findings on this topic. I would describe the evolution of the official birth planning discourses and analyze how it reflects the historical, political and social changes that shape the transforming biopolitics in China.

5. Findings

5.1 An Overview: the Coverage of Birth Planning in *People's Daily*

I start by presenting the temporal distribution of articles on birth planning in *People's Daily*. The frequency of the issue's appearance in *People's Daily* reflects its relative significance in the central governmental agenda. The phrase "birth planning" first appeared on *People's Daily* in 1956. As shown in Figure 2, the very first uptick seemed to have eventually gained enough momentum and support to be implemented as a policy after Mao Zedong, the founding father and top leader of China at that time, publicly expressed an affirmative attitude towards it in 1957. Yet from Figure 2, we could observe that the article number soon declined to zero in 1958 and 1959, as a result of the "anti-rightist" movement, in which the pro-birth-planning officials were fought against as "rightists". The number of articles soon declined to zero in 1958 and the issue disappeared from *People's Daily's* coverage throughout the whole 1960s. Nonetheless, it was still advocated in early and mid 1960s, though less openly and limited in scope.

After being completely interrupted by the Cultural Revolution, the birth planning agenda reemerged as a focus in *People's Daily* since 1972, roughly the starting point of the policy's re-initialization. The article number soared in 1979 and remained high in early 1980s, propagandizing for the stringent One-Child Policy. The trend of *People's Daily's* coverage of the birth planning agenda supports the thesis that population and reproduction have become of central concern to the CCP from the late 1970s to the 1990s (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005). During this period, the birth planning policy was established as a basic national policy (*Jiben Guoce*) and first written into the constitution of China. The relative decline of article number in the mid 1980s corresponds to the relaxation of the policy in that period, as shown in Figure 3.

The resulting increasing fertility rate (displayed in Figure 4) brought about the re-enforcement of the policy in the late 1980s, which explains the explosive growth of article number at the end of 1980s. With fertility rate fallen below the replacement level in the 1990s, the coverage of the birth planning agenda in *People's Daily* continued a declining trend after its peak in 1989.

5.2 Shifts and Continuation in the Official Discourse of the Birth Planing Policy in China

In this section, I first explain the six discursive focuses identified by the DTM: (1) population and development, (2) production and economy; (3) health and technical support; (4) mobilization and propaganda; (5) macro level administration; (6) micro level management. I assign these six labels to the six topics identified by DTM according to the key words composition of them and my interpretative reading of the three most representative texts of them in each era. Then I proceed to discuss my three major findings based on analyses of the evolution of the overall discursive focus distribution and the evolving key word composition of each discursive focus across the three time periods. Figure 5 demonstrates the evolution of the relative portion of the six discursive focus in the corpus from 1956 to 2003. Figure 7-12 present the key word composition of each of the six discursive focus, respectively. Each graph of each figure show the top 20 key words that define the discursive focus in one of the three periods with the weights of the words for the discursive focus in the given era and the counts of the words in the whole corpus.

The first two discursive focuses, “population and development” as well as “production and economy”, are concerned with the rationalization of the birth planning policy. As is shown in Figure 8, the first discursive focus entails discussions framing population growth as a problem that hinders the development of China and the world. Relatedly, the second discursive focus

shown in Figure 9 includes arguments justifying the birth planning agenda by pointing out its benefits in promoting productivity growth and economic development for the newly-born Chinese nation that is marked by quite unchecked population growth. Illustrated in Figure 7, the third discursive focus, “health and technical support”, is concerned with articles that discuss the benefits of the birth planning and contraception on health and that introduce the techniques and scientific knowledge related to contraception and abortion. The fourth discursive focus, “mobilization and propaganda”, is presented in Figure 10. Articles with this focus are either marked with content mobilizing and propagating the birth planning agenda especially in the rural area or report official instructions on launching mobilizational campaigns and propaganda of the birth planning project. The last two discursive focuses, “macro level administration” and “micro level management” are all about the implementation approaches of the birth planning policy on different levels. The fifth discursive focus, illustrated in Figure 11, entails articles about country-level administrative instructions regarding the implementation of the policy. In contrast, the sixth discursive focus presented in Figure 12 includes articles on how the policy is carried out at regional-level with more reference to specific management approaches and problems encountered.

5.2.1 From Guiding Individual Reproduction to Governing Aggregate Population

In the 1950s, the biopower governing reproduction in China operated mainly at individual level. In the official tone, birth planning was narrated chiefly as an individual-level action and implemented merely as a recommendation for individuals guiding their reproductive behavior (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005). The policy was more often framed as “birth control” (*jiezhi shengyu/jieyu*) rather than “birth planning” (*jihua shengyu/jisheng*) in the 1950s. In relevant

discursive practices, “Birth control” was often aligned with individual behavior, while “birth planning” was normally referred to policy for or action of the whole population. As shown in Figure 6, the total word frequency of “birth control” in the corpus is more than four times the frequency of the phrase “birth planning” in the 1950s, while “birth planning” appeared far more frequently than “birth control” after the 1970s. Clearly, the biopower had deepened and formalized its endeavor into aggregate level after its emergence at individual level in the 1950s.

The evolution of the relative portion of the six discursive focus in the corpus shown in Figure 5 also provides supportive evidence for the shift from governing individual reproduction to governing aggregate population. Health and technical support appears as the dominant discursive focus in the 1950s and disappears from the limelight since the 1970s. It suggests that first, compared to the post-reform era, the official discourse in the 1950s relies more on grounds regarding individual’s health and wellbeing in justifying the recommendation of contraception and birth planning. Besides, more coverage is allocated to the discussion of technical supports for birth planning and contraception, reflecting major efforts to guide individual reproduction. In contrast, since the 1970s, the coverage mainly consists of discussions and instructions with regard to the administration and management related to the implementation of the policy. In terms of the rationalization of the policy, concerns regarding population and development dominate the discourse in place of the relatively more individual-life-related health, work and production. These trends all correspond to the process that the birth planning agenda grows into a compulsory, stringent and one of the most fundamental national policy in China, illustrating how population emerges as a domain of governance in China in the 1970s.

5.2.1 Development as Constant Ground and Concern

Viewing from Figure 5, it is easy to notice that among the three discursive focuses (health, production/economy, development) that concern justification for the birth planning policy, discourses related to macro-level development persist to be dominant grounds and concerns since the 1950s. In the 1950s, production and economy appears to be the second most dominant discursive focus. Since the 1970s, articles on population and development take up a considerable amount of coverage. The constant focus on development reflects China's century-long modernization struggles and aspirations to "make China great again" after its fall since the late Qing dynasty (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005).

Interestingly, as shown in Figure 9, among articles discussing production and economy, the words "socialism" and "agriculture" have disappeared from the key word list since the market reform. The word "economy" has emerged in the key word list since the market reform and its weight has increased in the 1990s. In contrast, the weight of the word "production" has continued to decrease across the three eras. These trends all show the transformation of China's economy from a socialist system and its upgradation from the first industry to the second and third industry. Besides, the narration in the pre-market reform era goes in a more scientific manner with more numbers and calculations. These changes manifest the post-Mao leaders' strong desire to increase the per capita economic growth rate as soon as possible, since performance legitimacy has replaced ideological legitimacy after the collapse of the revolutionary regime in China (Greenhalgh 2001, 2009; Whyte, Feng and Cai 2015; Zhao 2009). The increasing weight of the word "development" in both Figure 8 and 9 confirms this point as well. It also deserves notice that while the population and development discourse frames the population problem as a common challenge for the whole human beings before the market

reform, as is shown in Figure 8, the weights of “UN”, “Asia” and “US” increase in the second and third era, indicating more international cooperation on tackling the population problem. It reflects China’s Open up policy and re-integration into the world since the 1970s.

5.2.2 The Centralization and Downward Shift of Power

The evolution of the policy tendency embedded in the official birth planning discourse in China follows a usual trend of the historical development of biopolitics: first, the centralization of political power through highly organized administrative bureaucracy and then the downward shift of power to professional disciplines and individual self-governance (Foucault 2003). The temporal key word composition change of the three discursive focuses on the policy implementation approaches show that the official birth planning discourse has shifted from a revolutionary and communist to a bureaucratic frame since the late 1970s and then incorporated a professional frame with salient elements of marketization in the 1990s. The transformation of China’s biopolitics reflects China’s post-socialist transition and re-integration into the world.

To start with, Figure 11 demonstrates that articles regarding macro-level administration before 1979 contain more key words related to communist mobilization, such as “chairman”, “leader”, “Mao”, “launch”, “socialism” and “thought”. In the 1980s, all these words vanish from the key word list except for “leader”, which has a much smaller weight than in the pre-reform era. In place of them, words that reflect country-level bureaucratic administration such as “control”, “the whole country”, “our country”, “policy”, “implement” and “country” either emerge or witness weight increase. In the 1990s, this group of words either decline in weight or disappear from the top 20 key words list. Instead, words that reflect more agency of society and professional framings emerge, such as “society”, “association”, “management” and “service”.

The temporal shift of discourse on macro-level governance manifests the centralization of power from communist party leaders to the bureaucratic state, and then the downward shift of power from state to society.

The word “service” in the third graph of Figure 11 actually points to a new framing of the birth planning policy in the 1990s as the “Quality Care Service” (*youzhifuwu*), in other words, “human-centered reproductive health services”, which centers upon improving women and newborn children’s health through providing women with better health-related counseling, education and more informed choice of contraceptive methods (Attané 2002). Figure 7 also provides evidence on the emergence of this new professional framing that symbolizes individualizing biopower. After a sharp decrease in the weight of the word “health” from pre-1979 era to the 1980s because of the shift from guiding individual reproduction to governing aggregate population, the word “health” regains importance in the 1990s along with the word “service”, “hygiene”, “health care”, “reproduction” and “quality”. Such change in discourse reflect the governance change from the direct forceful bureaucratic control of body and reproduction to more indirect control through providing professional service regarding health care and reproduction quality.

In addition, Figure 10 also serves as supporting evidence for the discourse shift from communist revolutionary rationale to the more individualizing and neoliberal justifications. The first graph of Figure 10 include a range of words communist revolutionary mobilization, especially of woman: “woman”, “thought”, “youth”, “marry late”, “revolution”, “female”, “commune”, “commune member” and “study”. Through reading the representative texts of this discursive focus in the Mao era in the corpus, I find that this branch of discourse match to the

revolutionary discourse identified by Greenhalgh and Winckler (2005) that propagates the birth planning project on the grounds of women's liberation under socialism and the revolutionary rupture from "the feudal past". It also aligns with the prevalence of the revolutionary and mobilizational implementation approaches for the birth planning policy during the Mao era (ibid.). The third graph of Figure 10, however, is marked with words that reflect market principles and individual economic incentives: "insurance", "rich", "RMB yuan" (Chinese currency), "household", "family", "few", "get rich". "Fewer children, getting rich faster", a popular slogan for the birth planning policy in the 1990s, well illustrates the rationale here. Biopolitics in this era is identified with more indirect professional regulation of reproduction through individual economic and wellbeing incentives, professional advice and services on health, as compared with the overt and coercive bureaucratic intervention into people's lives in the 1980s and the revolutionary mobilization in the pre-1980s.

6. Conclusion

Through computational and interpretive content analyses of 1812 articles on birth planning drawn from *The People's Daily* from 1956-2003, this study finds that first, since the 1950s, individual reproduction and the aggregate population have successively become domains under the state's governance, marking the emergence of biopolitics in China. Macro-level development persists to be a dominant concern in rationalizing the birth planning policy since its introduction in the 1950s, reflecting China's century-long modernization struggles and aspirations to develop into a global power and regain its international status after its fall since the late Qing dynasty. Besides, The official birth planning discourse has shifted from a revolutionary and communist to a bureaucratic frame since the late 1970s and then incorporated a professional frame with salient

elements of marketization in the 1990s. Such evolution process corresponds to the usual development of biopolitics, including the bureaucratic centralization of power and the downward shift of power from state bureaucracy to professional and individualizing power. The transformation of China's biopolitics reflects China's post-socialist transition and re-integration into the world.

The results presented in this paper are very preliminary. I will continue my efforts to refine and validate the findings here through completing all three steps of the computational grounded theory framework, in which only the first step is completely conducted in this paper. I will do more deep reading of representative texts of each branch of discourse in the corpus and present my interpretative text analyses in the paper as empirical evidence. Then, I will follow the pattern confirmation step to utilize different computational techniques to evaluate the validity of the patterns inductively detected by the dynamic topic models. I plan to first try the word frequency analysis or dictionary method to track and compare the changing importance of certain words or groups of words in the whole corpus.

I also plan to expand the time scope and data source of the study. The current time span is 1956-2003, which ends at the beginning of Hu's rein. Yet the birth planning policy in China has gone through a number of changes in the 21st century, including a relaxation from the stringent one child policy to two children policy in the 2015. The Hu and Xi era also entail interesting economic, political, social and demographic changes that might serve as underpinning of the continually evolving biopolitics in China in the 21st century. It would also be meaningful to compare the official birth planning discourse presented in party press to marketized press and popular discourse produced in new-digital media and social media.

APPENDIX

Table 1. The Composition of the Corpus

	Article Count	Word Count
Front Page	255	95968
Other pages	1557	484488
Total	1812	580456

Figure 1. Performance of Models with Different Topic Numbers

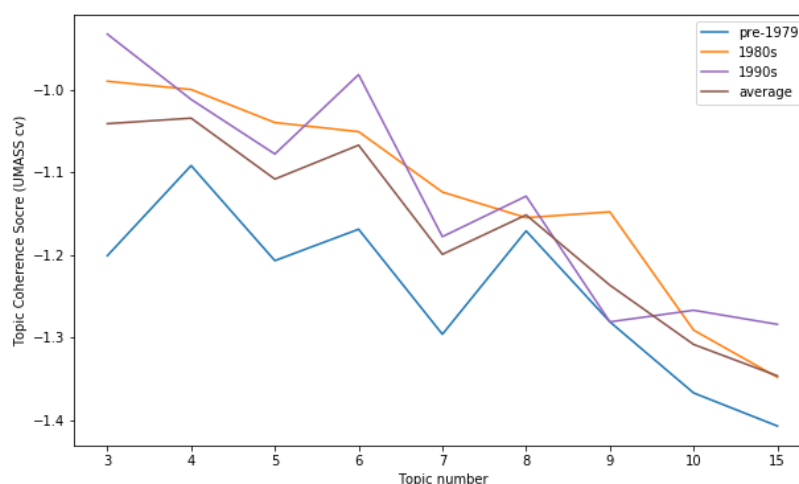


Figure 2. Temporal Distribution of Articles in the Corpus, 1956-2003

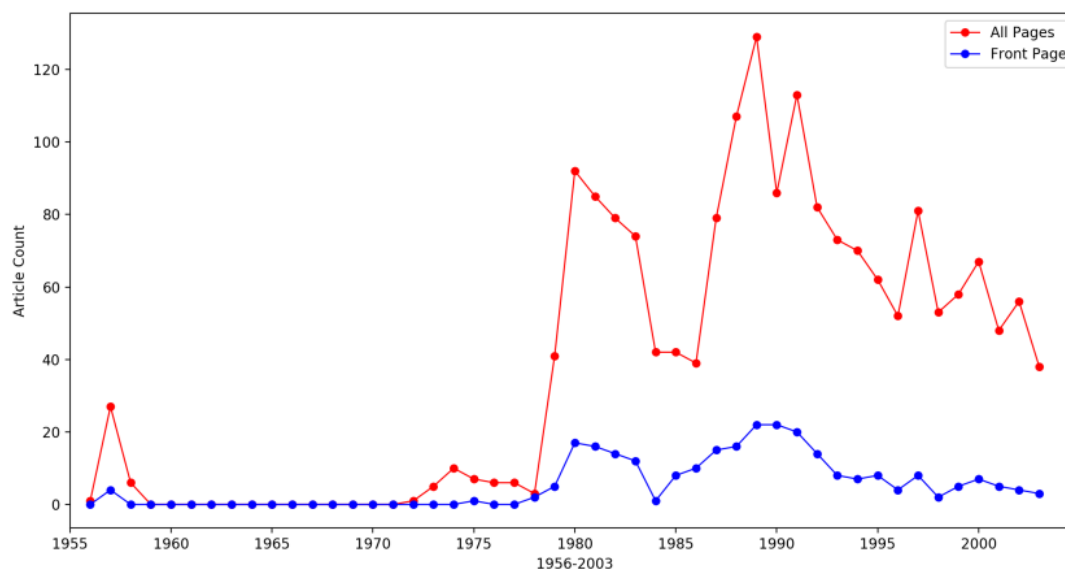
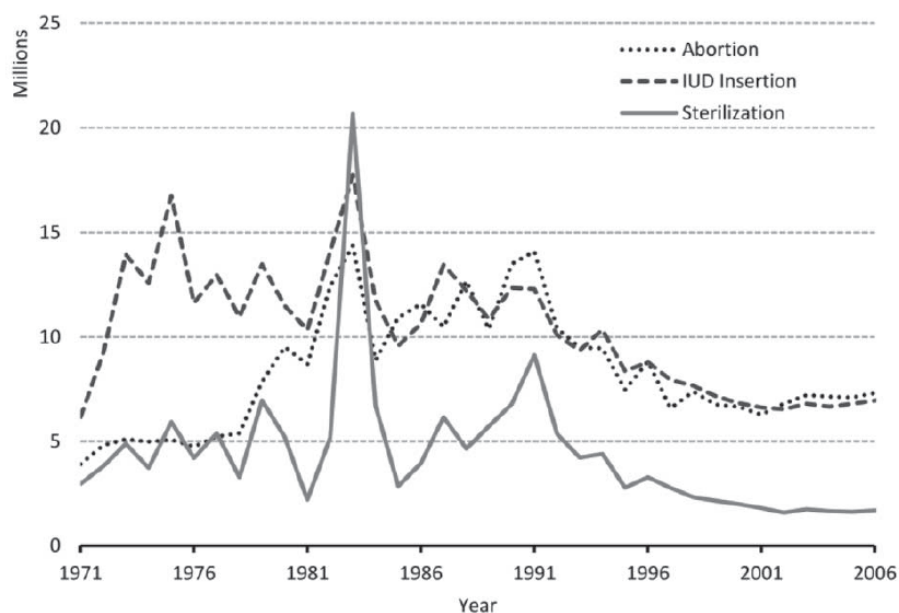
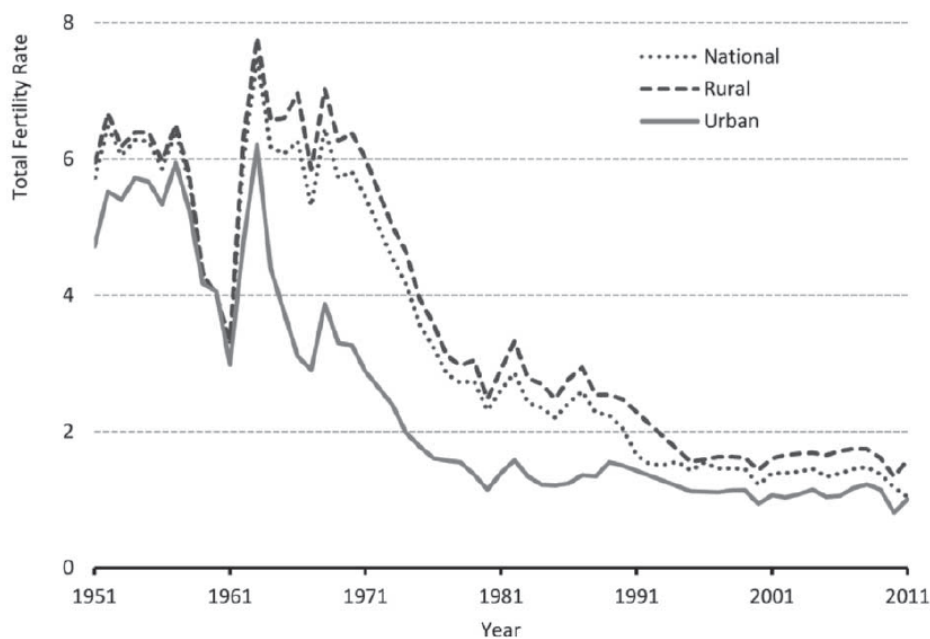


Figure 3. Number of birth-control operations in China, 1971–2006



Source: Ministry of Health of China. 2010. *Zhongguo weisheng tongji nianjian* (China Health Statistics Yearbook). Beijing: Peking Union Medical College Press.

Figure 4. Total fertility rate trends in China, 1951–2011



Source: Whyte, Feng and Cai, 2015. “Challenging Myths about China’s One-Child Policy.” *China Journal*, 74 (1) :144-159.

Figure 5. The Evolution of Discursive Focus

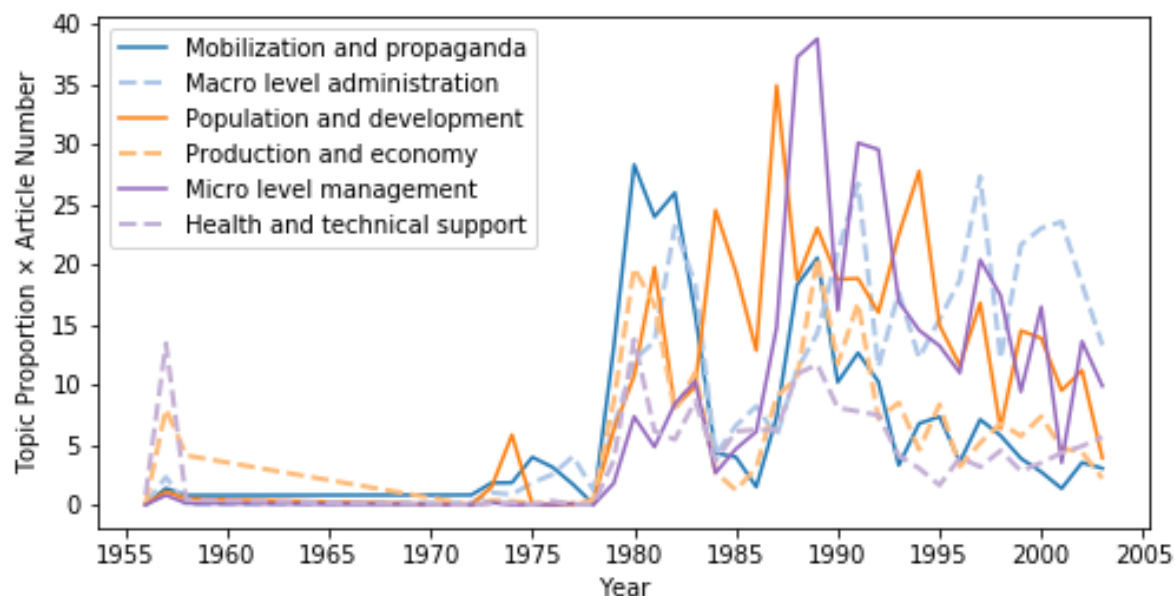


Figure 6. Word Frequency of “Birth Planning” and “Birth Control” in the Corpus

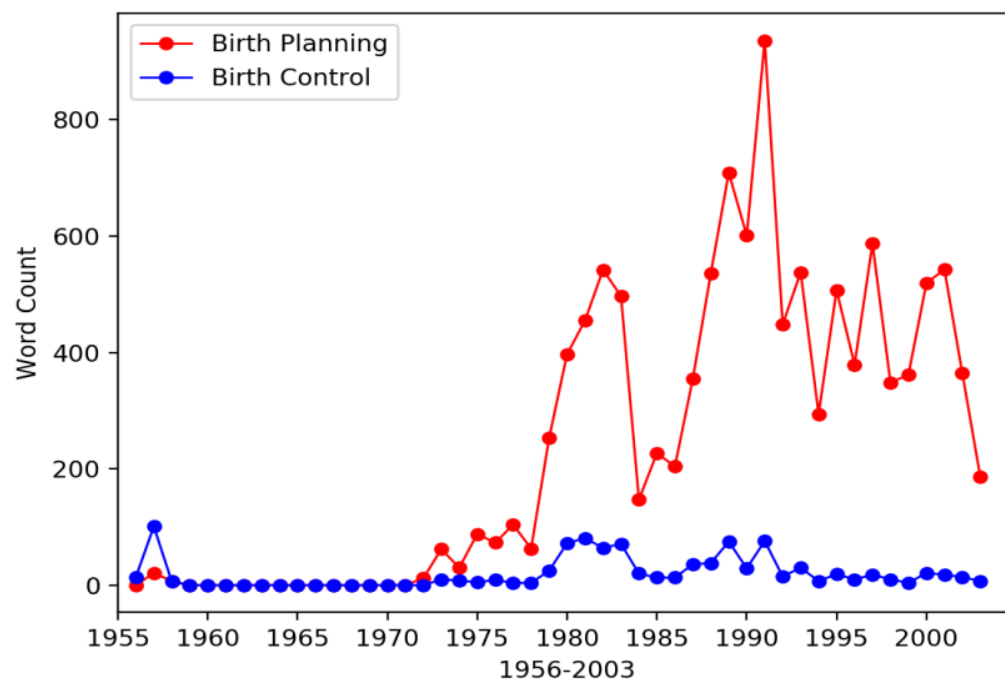


Figure 7. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Health and Technical Support

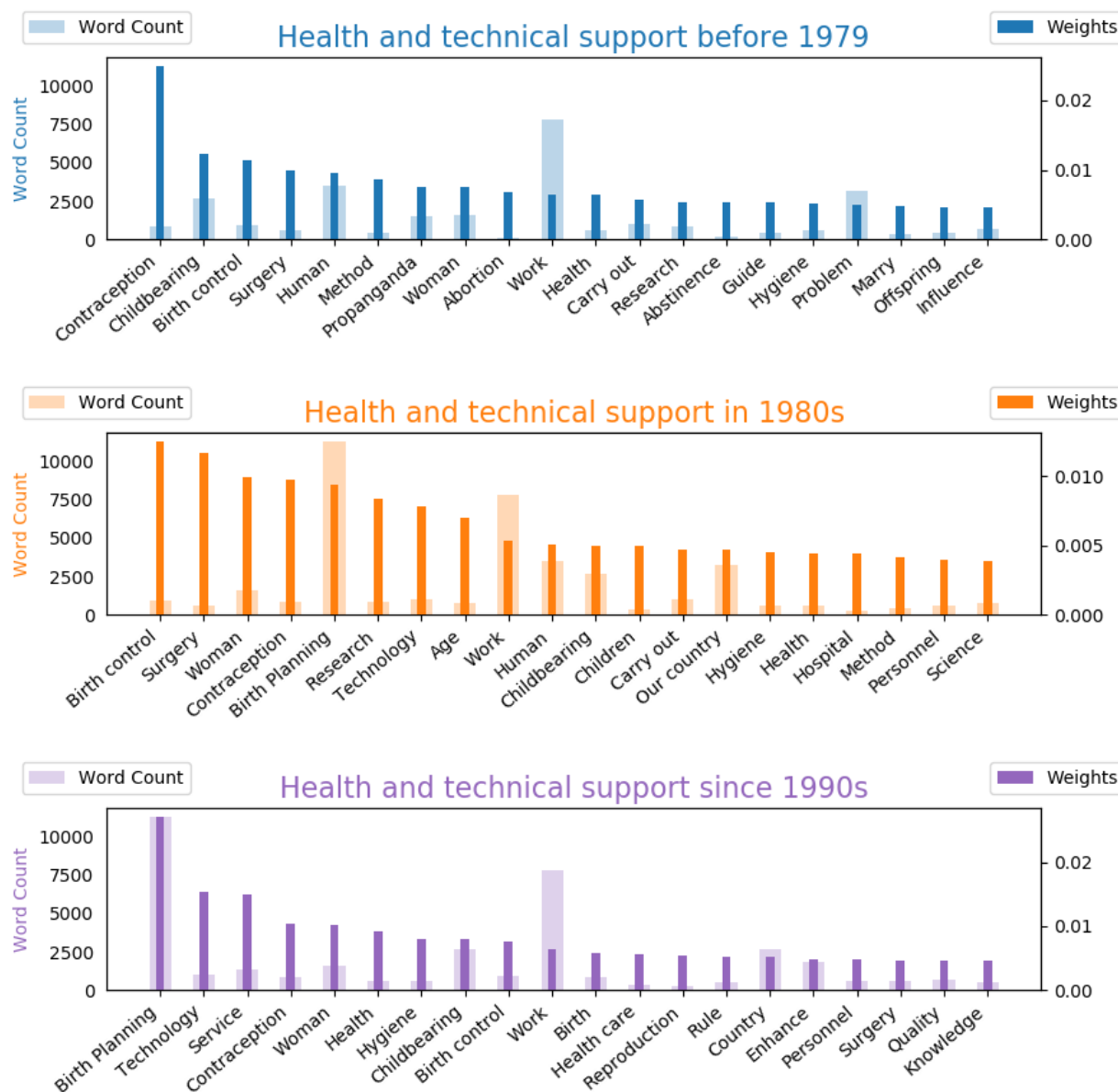


Figure 8. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Population and Development



Figure 9. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Production and economy

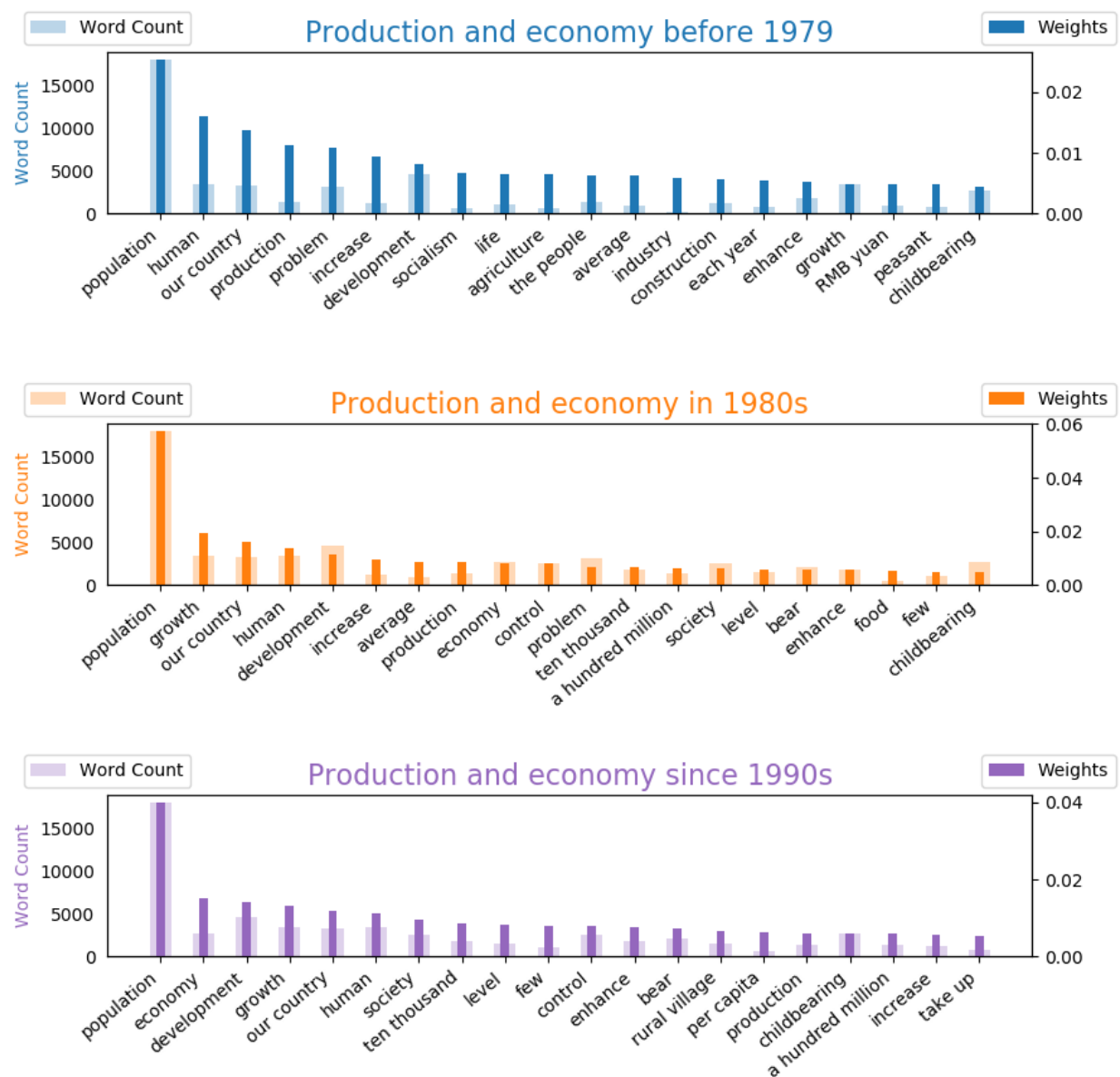


Figure 10. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Mobilization and Propaganda

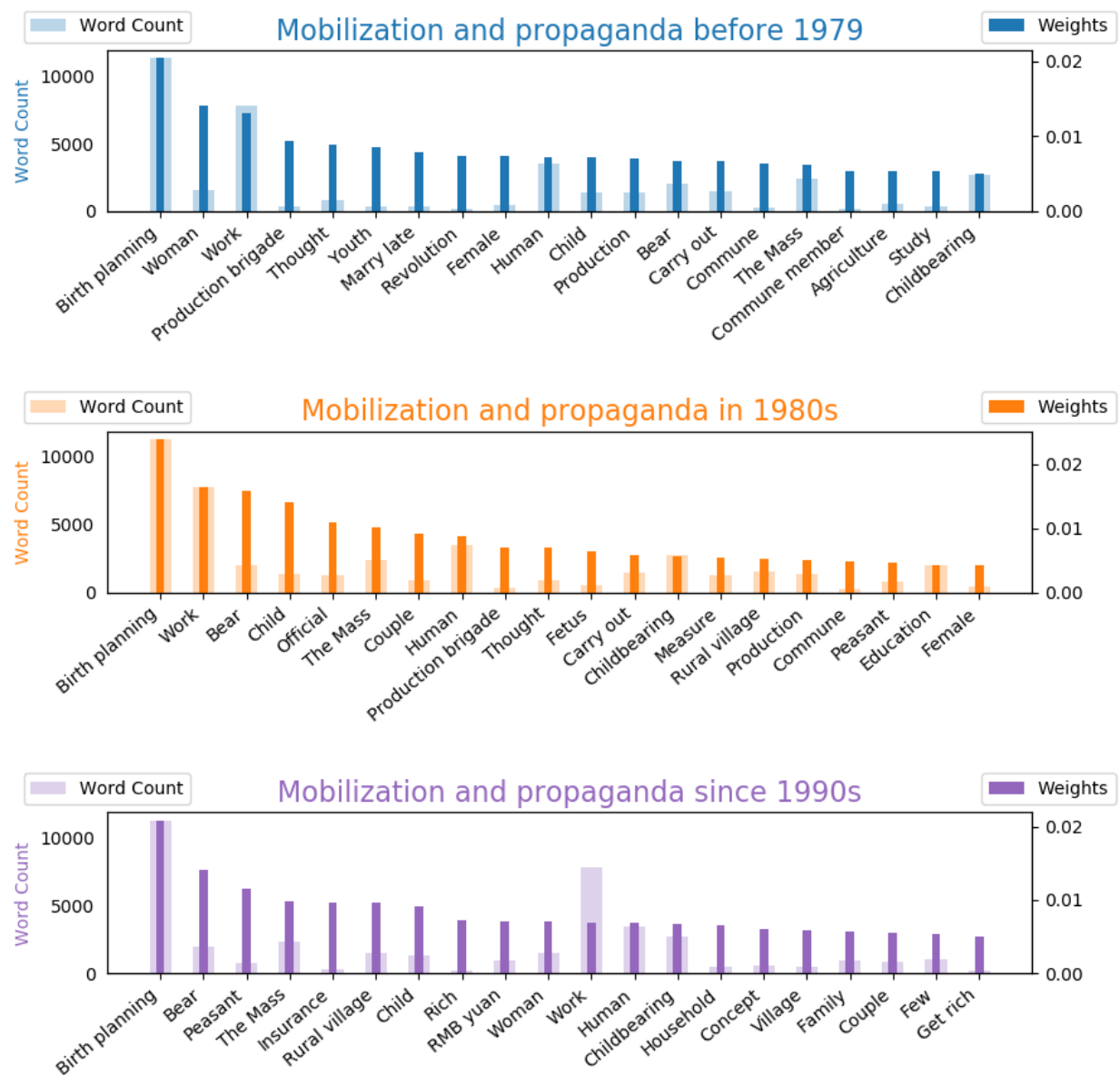


Figure 11. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Macro Level Administration

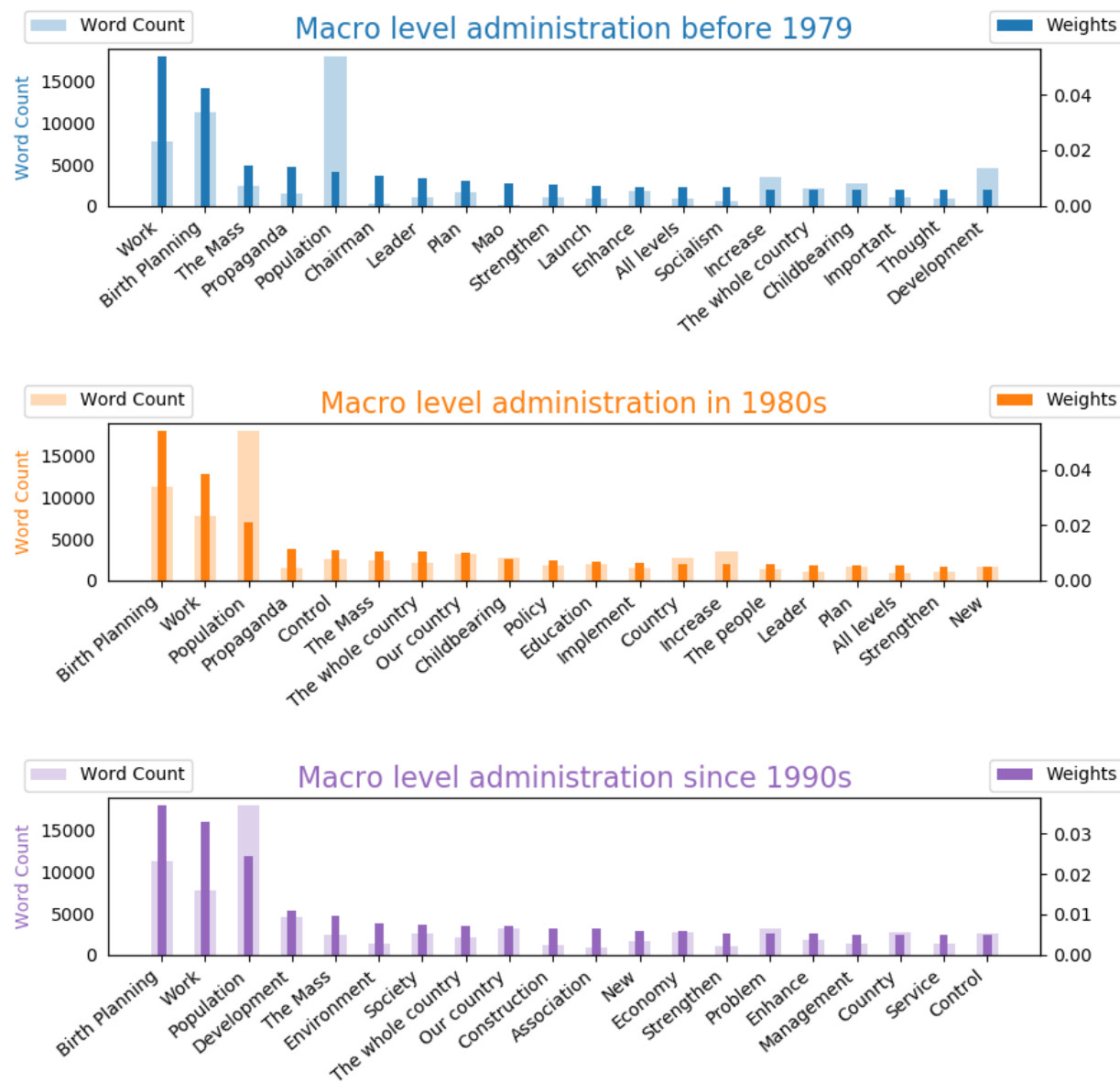
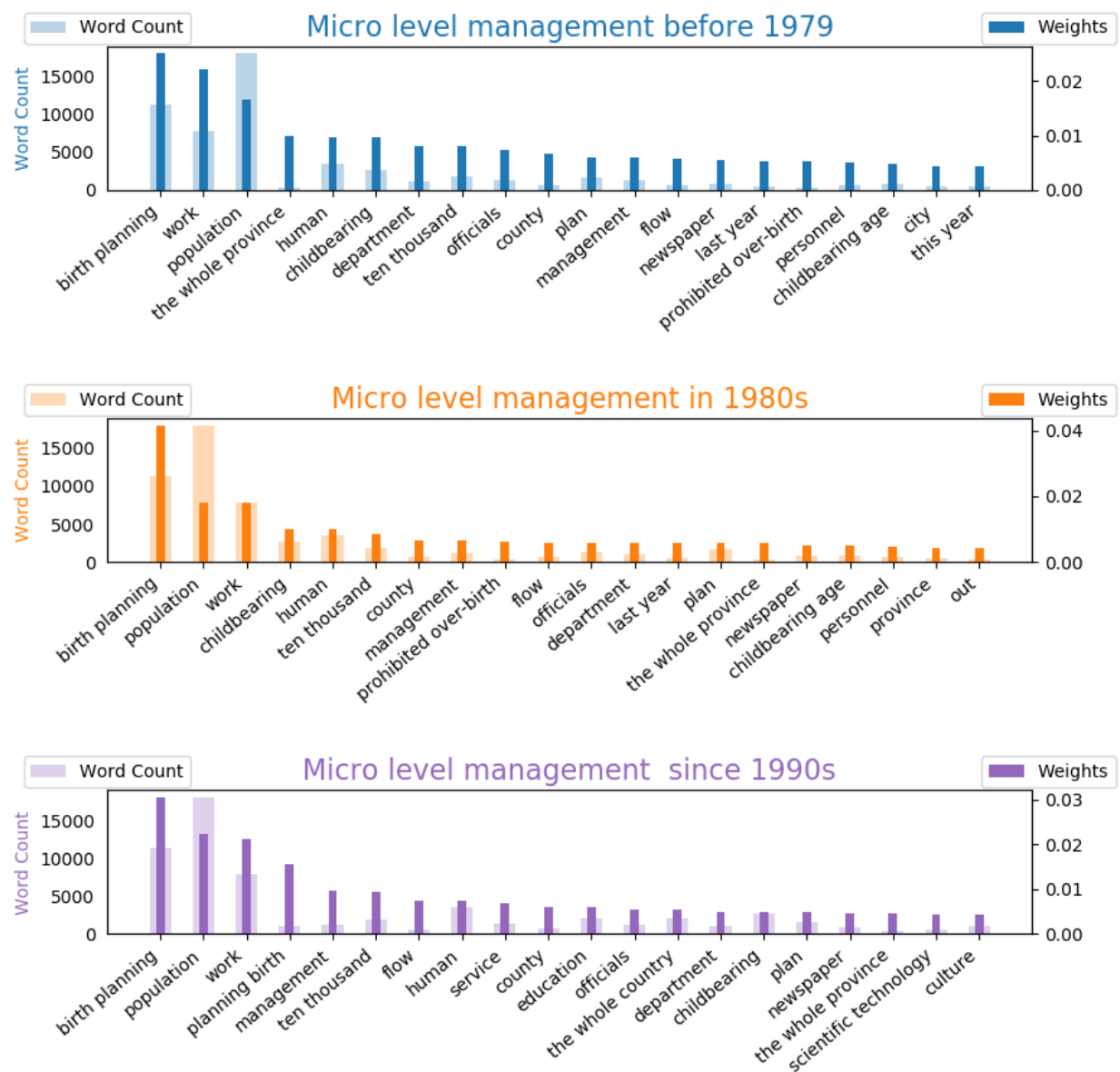


Figure 12. The Evolution of Word Composition of the Discourse regarding Micro Level Management



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