



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice China

China – CHN38059 – Hebei – Family
Planning – Forced sterilisation –
Bribery
3 February 2011

1. Are there any reports of forced tubal ligation of a mother following the birth of one child in Hebei? Do the relevant family planning regulations raise this possibility?

No evidence was found of forced tubal ligation or sterilisation in Hebei but there is reporting of Hebei family planning officials engaging in other coercive practices.

According to news reports, in 2000, Hebei family planning officials carried out a forced abortion when an unmarried couple fell pregnant with their first child.¹ The case has been widely reported in the media as the couple have since filed a lawsuit against local officials. Reports claim that the couple agreed to pay the fine for having an out-of-plan child but local officials later forced the nine-month pregnant mother to undergo an abortion, which left her sterile. This case indicates that local officials in Hebei are willing to use force when parents have their first child in breach of family planning regulations.

The research reviewed indicates that family planning officials rely on coercion to meet their ambitious family planning targets. In 2004, Amnesty International reported that “[w]ith pressure to perform, and popular opposition to enforcement, officials continue to resort to violence, torture and ill-treatment including physically coerced abortions and sterilizations”.² This point is echoed in a 2005 article in the *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, which says:

...couples who violate the policy are often subject to the destruction of their homes, incarceration, and forced sterilization. These punishments are implemented at a local level. Local cadres, anxious to meet certain fertility rates, mete out punishments that have been declared illegal by the central government. Often central authorities turn a blind eye to these actions.³

¹ Spencer, R. 2008, ‘China woman in legal first over abortion case’, *The Telegraph*, 7 January, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1574832/China-woman-in-legal-first-over-abortion-case.html> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 1.

² US House of Representatives 2004, CX146253: *CHINA: Human Rights Violations and Coercion in One-Child Policy Enforcement*, 14 December, http://wwwa.house.gov/international_relations/108/kum12_1404.htm. – Attachment 12.

³ Kostrzewa, B. 2005, ‘Using Many Knives: Regionalism and the Codification of China’s Family Planning Policy’, *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol.5, no.2, <http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjeaa/journal52/china1.pdf> – Accessed 31 January 2010 – Attachment 13.

Family planning regulations

Although coercive family planning practices are illegal in China, the relevant national and provincial family planning regulations do not explicitly preclude forced sterilisations. According to the US State Department's 2009 *Country Report on Human Rights Practices: China* "[a]lthough the family-planning law states that officials should not violate citizens' rights in the enforcement of family-planning policy, these rights, as well as penalties for violating them, are not clearly defined".⁴

The Hebei family planning regulations – the 2003 *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* and the 2004 *Hebei Population and Family Planning Implementation Details* – do not make reference to forced tubal ligation but do condone the use of other coercive measures – specifically the termination of unplanned pregnancies.⁵ Additionally, the regulations promote the use of "long-term contraceptive measures", which include sterilisation and tubal ligation.⁶

At the national level, the 2002 *National Population and Family Planning Law* makes it a crime to "illegally [perform] an operation related to family planning on another person".⁷ The legislation also includes measures to protect citizens. Article 39 makes it illegal for an official to "[infringe] on a citizen's personal rights, property rights or other legitimate rights and interests" or "[abuse] his power, neglecting his duty or engaging in malpractices for personal gain".⁸ Although the legislation offers these protections, it does not clearly prohibit sterilisation and tubal ligation. More importantly, the government lacks the conviction to enforce these aspects of the law, effectively enabling local officials to continue to abuse their family planning powers (see Q.4 for more details).

Forced tubal ligations and sterilisation in China

Media censorship and lack of government transparency mean information about coercive practices is limited.⁹ Available information indicates that physically coercive family planning

⁴ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)*, 11 March, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/135989.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 2.

⁵ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (promulgated 18 July 2003, effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008 – Attachment 3 and *Hebei Population and Family Planning Implementation Details* (promulgated 14 September 2004, effective 1 November 2004), *Hebei Daily* <http://hbrb.hebnews.cn/20041020/ca422840.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2008 – Attachment 4. The legal right to terminate unplanned pregnancies in Hebei is also referenced in the US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)*, 11 March, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/135989.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 2.

⁶ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (promulgated 18 July 2003, effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008 – Attachment 3. See also Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, "I Don't Have a Choice over My Own Body", 21 December, <http://chrdnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%99CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5.

⁷ *Population and Family Planning Law of the People's Republic of China* (promulgated 29 December 2001, effective 1 September 2002) Chinese Government official web portal (English language version) http://english.gov.cn/laws/2005-10/11/content_75954.htm – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 6.

⁸ *Population and Family Planning Law of the People's Republic of China* (promulgated 29 December 2001, effective 1 September 2002) Chinese Government official web portal (English language version) http://english.gov.cn/laws/2005-10/11/content_75954.htm – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 6.

⁹ US Department of State 2007, *China: Profile of Asylum Claims and Country Conditions*, Political Asylum Research and Documentation Service website, May, http://www.pards.org/paccc/china_may_2007.doc – 31

operations – including forced sterilisations – continue to be used in China, despite the fact they are illegal.¹⁰ As the 2010 Freedom House report *Freedom in the World Report – China* noted, “although compulsory abortion and sterilization by local officials are less common than in the past, they still occur fairly frequently”.¹¹ A July 2010 case from Anhui province, where a 23 year old woman was reportedly abducted and forcibly sterilised by local government officials, provides recent evidence.¹² It is difficult, however, to draw conclusions at the provincial level from country-wide reporting given regional differences and incomplete information about the prevalence of forced sterilisation.¹³

It is of relevance that forced sterilisation may be used as a punishment or linked to the registration of an unplanned child. A 2010 report by Chinese Human Rights Defenders (CHRD) claims that parents that seek to register an unplanned child may be threatened with forced tubal ligation. The report says “[i]n some cases, officials threaten to withhold a *hukou* [registration] for the couple’s child if the mother or father fails to submit to the sterilization procedure.”¹⁴

2. What fee would be payable in Hebei to register a first child born out of wedlock?

Couples in Hebei that have their first child out of wedlock are charged different fees based on whether they have the child before or after they reach the legal age for marriage (20 years for women and 22 years for men).¹⁵

According to Article 64E of the *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance*, a couple of marrying age that has their first child out of wedlock is required to pay a social compensation fee of 1,500 Yuan (A\$228).¹⁶ This is considerably less than the fee charged for underage couples. Article 46D of the legislation states that individuals that have their first child before they reach the legal age for marriage are charged the same fee paid by parents

January 2011 – Attachment 7; and DIAC Country Information Service 2009, *CIS Request CHN9645: Overseas born children of Chinese nationals*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 28 April 2009), 28 April – Attachment 8.

¹⁰ See Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, “*I Don’t Have a Choice over My Own Body*”, 21 December, <http://chrdnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%9CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5 and US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)*, 11 March, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/135989.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 2.

¹¹ Freedom House 2010, *Freedom in the World – China (2010)*, June, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2010&country=7801> – Accessed 31 January 2010 – Attachment 9.

¹² ‘Young Chinese mother kidnapped and sterilized to enforce one-child law’, 2010, *Asia News*, 26 August, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Young-Chinese-mother-kidnapped-and-sterilized-to-enforce-one-child-law-19284.html>, – Accessed 31 January 2010 – Attachment 10.

¹³ Jonge, A. 2004, *CX212496: People’s Republic of China: Brief background to current family planning law and policy in China*, October – Attachment 11.

¹⁴ Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, “*I Don’t Have a Choice over My Own Body*”, 21 December, <http://chrdnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%9CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5.

¹⁵ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (promulgated 18 July 2003, effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008 – Attachment 3; and *Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China* (adopted 10 September 1980, amended 28 April 2001) People’s Republic of China Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/3625/3630/t18322.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 14.

¹⁶ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (promulgated 18 July 2003, effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008 – Attachment 3.

that have a second child – which is 2.5 times their annual income.¹⁷ In 2005, the average urban annual income in Hebei was approximately 9,100 Yuan, making the required social compensation fee 22,750 Yuan (about A\$3,450).¹⁸

In practice, however, the decentralisation of family planning policy means that local officials can exercise considerable discretion and the fines levied can be arbitrary.¹⁹ In light of this, it is possible that fees charged by local officials in Hebei could vary from the amounts set out in the legislation.

3. Could such a fee be paid in instalments and over a period of time?

Yes, **if approved** by the national Family Planning and Administration Department, social maintenance fees can be paid in instalments. There is, however, no reporting on how easy it is for parents to gain this approval.

Article 6A of the *Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Maintenance Fees* states:

When having actual difficulties in paying the social maintenance fee on a lump-sum basis, the person shall, within 30 days from the date of receiving the decision on the collection, submit a written application of payment in instalments along with the relevant evidence to the family planning administrative department of the people's government at the county level that made the aforesaid decision. The family planning administrative department of the people's government at the county level shall, within 30 days from the date of receiving the application, make a decision on whether to approve or not to approve the payment in instalments and notify the person in writing.²⁰

If phased payment is approved, under Article 38 of the *Hebei Population and Family Planning Implementation Details*, the couple will have three years to pay the fee, with 50 per cent of the total to be paid in the first year.²¹

¹⁷ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (promulgated 18 July 2003, effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008 – Attachment 3.

¹⁸ China Internet Information Center 2005, 'Hebei 2005 - The Year in Review', *An Introduction to China's Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions*, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/ProvinceView/167819.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2010 – Attachment 15.

¹⁹ Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, "*I Don't Have a Choice over My Own Body*", 21 December, <http://chrinet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%99CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%99D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5.

²⁰ *Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Maintenance Fees* (promulgated 2 August 2002, effective 1 September 2002), National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China website http://www.npc.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/14/content_1384253.htm – Accessed 31 January – Attachment 16.

²¹ *Hebei Population and Family Planning Implementation Details* (promulgated 14 September 2004, effective 1 November 2004), *Hebei Daily* <http://hbrb.hebnews.cn/20041020/ca422840.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2008 – Attachment 4.

4. Is there usually a committee in regard to local family planning issues or is one person in charge? Would there be any official interest in preventing a corrupt family planning official blackmailing parents to either pay more or forcing tubal ligation? How could such a corrupt official be reported?

At the local level, it is usually neighbourhood or village committees that enforce family planning regulations. In practice, however, it is unclear how family planning decisions are made – that is, whether decisions are made through the committee or if power lies with high ranking officials. According to a 2010 Chinese Human Rights Defenders report:

At each lower level of government – the provincial, prefecture, county and township levels – there are family planning bureaus. But the grassroots staff – that is, those people who interact with ordinary people about family planning matters – are the members of the neighbourhood committee and the village committee at the village level. These individuals are given the task of monitoring couples in their neighbourhood and “pressuring” them to adopt “advocated” birth control methods when the time comes.²²

Corruption: government response to bribery and abuses of family planning policy

Under national and provincial legislation it is illegal for family planning officials to use force or bribery but evidence indicates that the government is unwilling to intervene and prevent these practices. Instead, local officials are reported to use illegal punishments – without the required court approval – when couples break family planning policy or fail to pay social compensation fees.²³ According to the US State Department *2008 Country Report on Human Rights Practices – China*:

The law requires family planning officials to obtain court approval before taking “forcible” action, such as detaining family members or confiscating and destroying property of families who refuse to pay social compensation fees. However, in practice this requirement was not always followed and the national authorities remained ineffective at reducing abuses by local officials.²⁴

When cases of abuse are reported to the government, offenders are rarely subject to harsh disciplinary action or legal penalties. Amnesty International’s Advocacy Director for Asia and Pacific claims that “[d]espite assurances from the State Family Planning Commission that ‘coercion is not permitted’, Amnesty International is aware of only a handful of cases where sanctions have been imposed on officials who perpetrated such violations”. According to the same report, “[i]n recently publicized cases, some officials who have engaged in extreme violence have received only suspended sentences”.²⁵

²² Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, “*I Don’t Have a Choice over My Own Body*”, 21 December, <http://chrndnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%9CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5. Quotations in the original.

²³ Kostrzewa, B. 2005, ‘Using Many Knives: Regionalism and the Codification of China’s Family Planning Policy’, *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol.5, no.2, <http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjeaa/journal52/china1.pdf> – Accessed 31 January 2010 – Attachment 13.

²⁴ US Department of State 2009, *2008 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)* 25 February. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,.USDOS,.HKG,.49a8f19bc.0.html> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 17.

²⁵ US House of Representatives 2004, *CX146253: CHINA: Human Rights Violations and Coercion in One-Child Policy Enforcement*, 14 December, http://wwwa.house.gov/international_relations/108/kum12_1404.htm. – Attachment 12.

One report – based on 1995 advice from the Chinese government agency, the State Family Planning Commission – claimed that local officials in Hebei had been punished for abusing family planning powers. According to the report, a mayoral-level official in Hebei was arrested for “for using excessive fines and coercion to meet local family planning quotas”²⁶. Interestingly, the report then states that Chinese officials “accepted that coercion occurred in family planning (notably in rural areas)” but that the government continued to emphasise that this was unacceptable and focused on training local officials about citizens’ rights.²⁷

Reporting corruption

Individuals can report abuse of family planning powers by lodging a complaint with one of the government’s anti-corruption offices or by pursuing the case through the court system but these mechanisms appear largely ineffective. Additionally, those that do complain are not offered protection and are reportedly harassed by local officials.

In the case of bribery, individuals can lodge a formal complaint with one of the three national offices that investigate corruption: the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection; the Bureau Against Graft and Bribery and the National Bureau for Corruption Prevention. These organisations, however, have not established a strong record of redressing corruption.²⁸

People that have been forced to undergo family planning operations can also pursue their case through the legal system but the courts lack independence.²⁹ This problem is described in a December 2010 report by the Chinese Human Rights Defenders, which says:

Those who take the bold step to sue the government often find their cases are not accepted by the courts. The courts, which are controlled by local officials, are afraid of challenging the local government in general and on family planning policy in particular since it is seen as an important national policy. Often, the courts will not issue a formal rejection letter when deciding not to handle a lawsuit, so the victims cannot appeal this rejection and draw further attention to their plight. Even if a court accepts one of these cases, fair judgments are rarely rendered because of the court’s lack of independence from political influence. At the same time, local government officials frequently warn or threaten lawyers against taking cases involving family planning, and warn local media against reporting them.³⁰

Although citizens can sue family planning officials who exceed their authority, litigants are offered few protections against retaliation.³¹ The well reported case of a forced full-term

²⁶ Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee, DFAT, answer to questions on notice, Budget estimates hearing 9 June 1999, Hansard Page 310, 313, 314, CX37979: *Family Planning in China*, 9 June. 9 June – Attachment 18.

²⁷ Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee, DFAT, answer to questions on notice, Budget estimates hearing 9 June 1999, Hansard Page 310, 313, 314, CX37979: *Family Planning in China*, 9 June. – Attachment 18.

²⁸ Pei, M. 2007, ‘Corruption threatens China’s future’, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy*, Brief 55, October, <http://www.ciaonet.org/pbei/ceip/ceip10314/ceip10314.pdf> – Accessed 11 December 2007 – Attachment 19.

²⁹ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)*, 11 March, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/135989.htm> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 2.

³⁰ Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, “*I Don’t Have a Choice over My Own Body*”, 21 December, <http://chrndnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%9CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011 – Attachment 5.

³¹ US Department of State 2009, *2008 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)* 25 February. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,USDOS,,HKG,,49a8f19bc,0.html> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 17.

abortion in Hebei in 2000 (discussed in Q.1) highlights this problem.³² On this case, Women's Rights Without Frontiers wrote:

This incident is exceptional because Jin Yani and her husband, Yang, sued the Chinese government for the loss of their child and fertility. For the first time, a Beijing court agreed to hear the case. Later, a court in Qinhuangdao, Hebei province, ruled that certain officials should be replaced. This has not happened. Nor did the court offer any monetary compensation to Jin Yani or her husband. As of October of 2008, Jin Yani and Yang were living in hiding – not even their mothers know where they are. They cannot return to their village for fear that the cadres there will retaliate for the lawsuit.³³

Attachments

1. Spencer, R. 2008, 'China woman in legal first over abortion case', *The Telegraph*, 7 January, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1574832/China-woman-in-legal-first-over-abortion-case.html> Accessed 31 January 2011.
2. US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)*, 11 March. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/135989.htm> – Accessed 12 March 2010.
3. *Hebei Population and Family Planning Ordinance* (Promulgated 18 July 2003, Effective 1 October 2003), Hebei province government website, <http://www.hebei.gov.cn/article/20071017/451993.htm> – Accessed 11 August 2008.
4. *Hebei Population and Family Planning Implementation Details* (Promulgated 14 September 2004, Effective 1 November 2004), *Hebei Daily* <http://hbrb.hebnews.cn/20041020/ca422840.htm> – Accessed 12 August.
5. Chinese Human Rights Defenders 2010, 'I Don't Have a Choice over My Own Body', 21 December <http://chrnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/%E2%80%99CI-Don%E2%80%99t-Have-a-Choice-over-My-Own-Body%E2%80%9D.pdf> – Accessed 13 January 2011.
6. *Population and Family Planning Law of the People's Republic of China* (Promulgated 29 December 2001, Effective 1 September 2002) Chinese Government official web portal (English language version) http://english.gov.cn/laws/2005-10/11/content_75954.htm – Accessed 2 April 2007.
7. US Department of State 2007, *China: Profile of Asylum Claims and Country Conditions*, Political Asylum Research and Documentation Service website, May http://www.pards.org/paccc/china_may_2007.doc – Accessed 4 March 2008..
8. DIAC Country Information Service 2009, *CIS Request CHN9645: Overseas born children of Chinese nationals*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 28 April 2009), 28 April. (CISNET China CX225344)

³² Spencer, R. 2008, 'China woman in legal first over abortion case', *The Telegraph*, 7 January, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1574832/China-woman-in-legal-first-over-abortion-case.html> – Accessed 31 January 2011 – Attachment 1.

³³ Women's Rights Without Frontiers 2009, *The Consequences of Coercion: China's One Child Policy and Violence Against Women and Girls*, 10 November <http://www.pearlsofchina-thefilm.com/littlejohn2.pdf> – Accessed 6 October 2010 – Attachment 20.

9. Freedom House 2010, *Freedom in the World – China (2010)*, June <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2010&country=7801> – Accessed 10 September 2010.
10. ‘Young Chinese mother kidnapped and sterilized to enforce one-child law’, 2010, *Asia News*, 26 August, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Young-Chinese-mother-kidnapped-and-sterilized-to-enforce-one-child-law-19284.html> - Accessed 31 January.
11. Jonge, A. 2004, CX212496: *PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: Brief background to current family planning law and policy in China*, October. (CISNET China CX212496).
12. US House of Representatives 2004, CX146253: *CHINA: Human Rights Violations and Coercion in One-Child Policy Enforcement*, 14 December, http://wwwa.house.gov/international_relations/108/kum12_1404.htm. (CISNET China CX146253)
13. Kostrzewa, B. 2005, ‘Using Many Knives: Regionalism and the Codification of China’s Family Planning Policy’, *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol.5, no.2, <http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjeaa/journal52/china1.pdf> - Accessed 31 January 2010.
14. *Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China* (Adopted 10 September 1980, Amended 28 April 2001) People's Republic of China Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/3625/3630/t18322.htm> – Accessed 15 November 2010.
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16. *Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Maintenance Fees* (promulgated 2 August 2002, effective 1 September 2002), National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China website http://www.npc.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/14/content_1384253.htm – Accessed 20 November 2008.
17. US Department of State 2009, *2008 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)* 25 February. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,USDOS,,HKG,,49a8f19bc,0.html> – Accessed 31 January 2011.
18. Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee, DFAT, answer to questions on notice, Budget estimates hearing 9 June 1999, Hansard Page 310, 313, 314, CX37979: *Family Planning in China*, 9 June. (CISNET China CX37979)
19. Pei, M. 2007, ‘Corruption threatens China’s future’, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy*, Brief 55, October, <http://www.ciaonet.org/pbei/ceip/ceip10314/ceip10314.pdf> – Accessed 11 December 2007.
20. Women’s Rights Without Frontiers 2009, *The Consequences of Coercion: China’s One Child Policy and Violence Against Women and Girls*, 10 November <http://www.pearlsofchina-thefilm.com/littlejohn2.pdf> – Accessed 6 October 2010.