

André-Anne Côté

瑞安妮

China's Population Policy

**Giving Answers to the «Hidden Children» in Canada: Causes of International
Adoption in China**

January 25, 2018

School of International Studies

Peking University

Abstract : The current article attempts to understand the direct and indirect causes that led to the phenomenon of international adoption in China, namely how did the implementation of the one-child policy provoked the adoption of Chinese children abroad. The study case takes the example of Canada where China corresponds to the largest country that sent abandoned children. Although demographic policies did not target the abandonment of thousand of children, it is obvious international adoption helped to achieve family planning's objectives. Indeed, the article advocates that international adoption has been organized to reduce the population of China in concordance with the family planning policies and to overcome the demographic transition that would ultimately allow China's economy to rise.

Keywords : International adoption, Canada, China, One-child Policy, Family planning, Demographic transition

In the scope of population studies, migrations, including internal and international ones, are well studied by scholars in the literature. However, the phenomenon of international adoption is not considered as a type of migrations but instead, as another field of study in social sciences. Although the number remains low, with approximation of 12 000 Chinese-born children given abroad (Selman 2009), the current essay advocates that international adoption corresponds to a factor of population dynamics. Indeed, adoption in China is a consequence of family planning and, as well, non-officially appreciated by the state. Although the main goal of demographic policies did not target the abandonment of thousand of children, it is obvious that it had slight quantitative consequences on the official fertility rate and the ultimate population. Moreover, besides

changing the structure of Chinese family, international adoption affected the qualitative aspect of the Chinese population by leading to the current high sex-ratio. These hidden children affected the size and the characteristics of Chinese population. Therefore, I will try to understand how did the implementation of the One-Child Policy led the adoption of Chinese children abroad, namely in Canada ? **What are the causes of international adoption in China?** International adoption, seen from the angle of population studies, especially matters nowadays because family is a pillar of the Chinese society. This research contributes uniquely to the existing literature by examining the causes of adoption of Chinese orphans by non-Chinese families. In order to answer to the research question, I will explain first briefly provide a historical framework of the Chinese adoption in Canada and further explain the direct and indirect causes of international adoption in China.

CONTEXT OF CHINESE ADOPTION IN CANADA

As Chinese adopted children are the continuation of Chinese migrants in Canada, it is essential to give a brief historical background of this cultural group to answer the research question. The Chinese diaspora (华侨, 华裔, 海外人) is numerous and diversified across the world. Canada's diaspora is the 6th largest with a number of 1 800 000 people and is made of multiple waves of immigration (Ma 2003). The Chinese have a long history in Canada, starting as coolies during the Gold Rush and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Tsai, Ying and Lee 200). The first great wave of Chinese immigration in 1850 was accused of stealing jobs by a xenophobic anti-Chinese movement among the local population. In 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act banned

immigration for 10 years. After the Second World War and the creation of the United Nations Charter of Human Right in 1947, we can assist to a relaxation of regulations but still, some exclusionist immigration policies remained. Due to the end of racist quotas on immigration in 1967, a huge flux of Chinese immediately came to America. Following the Open Door Policy in the 80s, many Chinese students followed training and postgraduate education in Canada. Since then, a transnational diaspora emerged across overseas communities who have now more capital and freedom. Today, the Chinese constitute the largest group of new immigrants to Canada. It is estimated that approximately two thirds of immigrants to Canada each year come from Asia, with the Chinese representing the largest group (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009). On top of that, another of social actors emerged in the international sphere: children adopted from China. From 2001 until 2007, Canada was the third largest country that received the most adopted children (Figure 1).

Figure 1. International adoptions from China to 15 receiving states, 2000-7; six countries receiving most children, 2005 (Selman 2009)

*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
USA ^b	4681	5053	6859	7044	7906	6493	5453
Spain	941	1427	1043	2389	2753	1759	1003
Canada	618	771	1108	1001	973	608	658
Netherlands	445	510	567	800	666	362	365
Sweden	220	316	373	497	462	314	280
France	130	210	360	491	458	314	176
Total to 16 states^a	7725	9135	11,228	13,404	14,493	10,738	8753

It is also important to note that among received adopted children in Canada, China ranks first as the top largest country which sent children in 2003 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Canadian International Adoptions by Country of Last Permanent Residence (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2003)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	1993-2002
China, People's Republic of	320	466	665	682	519	901	687	603	602	800	6,245
India	255	366	203	180	232	179	136	79	112	126	1,868
Russia	105	128	73	125	164	160	208	147	142	146	1,398
Haiti	135	131	160	151	119	156	138	124	160	98	1,372
Philippines	224	206	116	64	30	80	75	81	65	43	984
United States	47	84	94	95	91	78	102	78	64	53	786
Jamaica	94	64	77	89	90	85	82	53	42	37	713
Vietnam, Socialist Republic of	16	39	64	71	50	79	87	76	131	84	697
Romania	32	55	95	147	104	91	70	59	25	15	693
Guatemala	83	88	75	68	78	70	74	68	22	14	640
Thailand	15	39	21	27	28	47	57	49	35	38	356
Korea, Republic of	1	2	1	9	15	8	15	64	90	98	303
Other Countries	411	377	377	356	279	289	289	385	385	373	3,521
Total	1,738	2,045	2,021	2,064	1,799	2,223	2,020	1,866	1,875	1,925	19,576

Since the mid-1990s, China has become one of the major countries from which children are adopted overseas. We have to wait until 1989 to see the PRC informally allowing foreigners to adopt orphaned children and, finally, in 1992 for formal approval (Tessler, Gamache and Liu 1999). It is not officially stipulated why China decided to permit abandoned children to be adopted by foreigners (Riley 1997). Between 2001 and 2007, China was the country which sent the more children internationally and even among Asian countries, although India, Korea and Vietnam continue to send significant numbers (Figure 3).

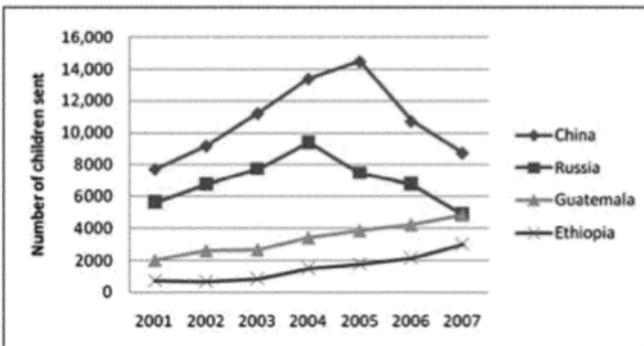


Figure 3. Countries sending most children, 2001-7 (Selman 2009)

The sudden reversal in China in 2005 can be explained by the decision the central authority, namely the China Centre for Adoption Affairs (CCAA). Indeed, the government received a growing number of applications from same-sex couples. In fact, adoption by single women accounted for about a third of USA adopters in 1990s (Selman 2009). In 2006, the CCAA announced new regulations, mentioning that prospective parents should be heterosexual and married since two years (Hilborn 2007). Furthermore, China is now turning itself toward domestic adoption and is aware of the negative image given to the international community. In comparison, Korea, unlike China, partially ended international adoption due to returning adoptees (Trenka, 2003), but there are little

chance that similar demands will occur from Chinese adopted girls in a socialist country.

DIRECT CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION

RESTRICTION OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Since 1949, the Chinese Communist Party regulated every detail of the human life, from economy to biology, from material objects to human's bodies. Indeed, the CCP changed the entire kinship, namely the structure of the Chinese family, leading to massive repercussions on contemporary China. During the maoist period, the socialist country advocates that a population growth would provide greater human resources and accumulation of wealth. Therefore, a family containing more children was a superior one and loyal to the nation. However, we have to wait the 1990s, after Mao's death, for the government to realize that overpopulation was placing a burden on the Chinese developing economy. Following two major baby booms between the Great Leap Forward from 1959 until 1961 (Figure 4), the first family planning was implemented in China by the State council during the initial period from 1973 to 1980.

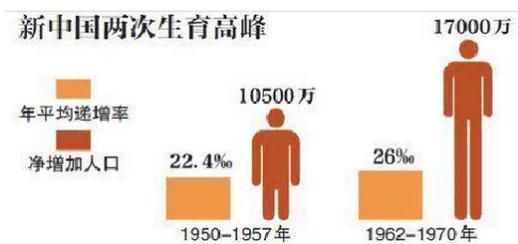


Figure 4. Two baby booms before family planning (Qiao 2017)

Driven by the voluntary action of the masses, the policies asked for «Late, space and few»: a delay of the marriage, an interval between births and a maximum of two children. Under the supervision of the state, methods of contraception and informations about pregnancy were provided to all couples. In 1979, the government decided to

reduce the increase rate to 5/1000 by 1985 and to achieve a zero population growth by 2000. At that time, official leaders linked the economic development of the nation with the population increase. The second period of family planning (1980-1984) began with an open letter by the Party Central Committee to all members of the communist party asking them to follow the requirement of one child per couple. During the third phase (1985-1990), the one-and-half-child policy mentioned that, for rural areas, only a second child is allowed if the first one is a girl. After this period (1991-1999), the government tried to change the content of the family planning program in conformity with the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), not only from birth control, but also to include reproductive health and quality of care. In 2000, the central government issued a document called «stabilizing the low fertility». More recently in 2013, officials announced that a couple where one of the parents is a unique child in its family is allowed to have a second child. Two years later, they issued the two-child policy on October 29, 2015. However, the recent family planning policies were released too late in order to increase the fertility rate, as the birth desire of Chinese couples has been lower than the calculation. Nowadays, even if the government would abolish all policies, the harsh living conditions and the cost of education would stultify the increase of the fertility and could not attain the replacement rate of 2,1 (Branigan 2008).

For women pregnant for a second time, some had to use sterilization, induced abortion or, in last resort, adoption to give away their baby. Indeed, penalties for having more than one child include payments, loss of jobs or removal of privileges. Johnson's (2002) research indicates that abandoned female children tend to be second daughters. Here, the connection between population policies and abandonment is clear. It can be

seen in the governmental reports that more babies were abandoned in welfare centers, when there was enforcement in birth planning (Costigan, Su and Hua 2009).

THE NATIONAL ADOPTION LAW

In the context of strict family planning policies sonless families would sometimes abandon a daughter in quest for a son and daughterless or childless families would adopt abandoned girls to complete their families through domestic adoption (Johnson). At this time, there was preoccupation that even the one-child policy was strongly reinforced, parents might use adoption to hide the birth of a daughter in order to try again for a son. In response of this, the state decided to formulate in 1991 a law on adoption: prospective adoptive parents should be at least 35 years old and childless (Adoption Law of the Peoples Republic of China 1991). The law also clearly stipulates that adoption must be carried in conformity with family planning regulations (Palmer 1995). It does not only protect the status of the adopted child, instead, it create mutual rights and obligations of care between the adopted child and the adoptive parents.

As a result, adoption policy restricted legal adoption to older and childless couples, but also increased infant abandonment: «birth parents who now found it more difficult to arrange an adoption for an unwanted or over-quota child might be pushed toward outright abandonment of the child instead» (Johnson 2002). Overall, adoption policy became intrinsically linked with the state's top priority population control policies during the 1980s and 1990s. In conformity with family planning's goals, the government wanted to send children away to reduce the number of population on the Chinese territory : «the main purpose the law was to provide birth-planning officials with

additional regulatory weapons to shore up the one-child policy by eliminating adoption as a potential loophole for those who sought to hide the birth of a child, typically a daughter, in order to try again to have a son over quota» (Johnson 2002).

GENDER'S PREFERENCE

Furthermore, based on Confucianism, Chinese society was highly men-centered and, so therefore, strongly emphasized the role of men. Indeed, China is the birthplace of Confucius that creates patriarchal family values marked by fierce son preference and devotion to male bloodline as the central organizing principles of kinship. Historically, women suffered discrimination and were subordinate to men. In most patriarchal societies, they had no property rights and had little education, and male children were more valued (Johansson & Nygren 1991). To understand the phenomena of international adoption, it is essential to find the roots in Chinese traditional history. The majority of adoptions in ancient times occurred for two reasons. Firstly, several adoptions served to continue the male line and allow families to keep the political power. For instance, the book 史记 (Si 1997) addresses many adoptions that transpired in the emperor's house such as the desire for a son from Ming's Emperor. Second, the adoption of a male was viewed as a way to perpetuate the family name. Confucian practitioners believed that the male only could continue the last name. Thus, raising a girl and losing her in the house of his parents-in-law represented a risky investment for poor families.

Indeed, adoption of males for the purpose of providing an heir can be found in historical

documents and court records (Wolf & Huang 1980). The principal form of adoption in China was the adoption of a male heir linked with «feudal superstition» 封建迷信, worrying about the continuity of the male descent line and ancestor worship. Chinese people therefore called male adoptees without blood ties 螟蛉子, which means «mulberry insect children» (Johnson 2002). The term comes from a folk story where a wasp adopts young mulberry insects, educating them as wasps and transforming them into its «own children». As a consequence, any individual who becomes the child of someone else than his birthparents take the same appellation. Johnson (2002) notes that the analogy is original in its «total denial of the significance of biological heredity» and its assumption that a child could entirely take the same identity of the adoptive family.

Female adoption also occurred in China, but it was not possible to be written in any of the historical records, either in genealogies or court records. Due to the dominant patrilineal kinship system, their adoption did not have a significant influence on lineage, property and inheritance (Waltner). Anthropologists studying adoption before the socialist era in China found that the most common form of female adoption was the practice of taking a 童养媳 (Wolf & Huang 1980). Banned after 1949, the tradition, while resembling adoption, involved buying girls as household servants. The latter were not real «daughters», but were treated as servants and had marriages arranged for them. At this time, girls were more likely to be available for adoption than boys, because they were more exchangeable as they had no significant status in the hierarchy. In some communities in the 19th and early 20th centuries, this adoption practice was so

commonly spread that the majority of daughters were adopted and, actually, few people raised their own birth daughters (Wolf & Huang 1980). During this period, adoption was used by families as a means to augment family members or to compensate for dissatisfaction coming from biological reproduction. After the ban of this practice by the Chinese Communist Party, the 童养媳 tradition ceased, but abandoned babies still tend to be females due to the social position of women in traditional China. According to historical sources, there is a long tradition of «throwing away» baby girls in Southern China, especially in the Yangzi River. The custom of female infanticide has existed in China for about 3000 years (Li 1980). According to old beliefs, lack of physical and moral strength is a disadvantage for women to take care of her aging parents and to work manually in the fields. Therefore, girls are not as cherished as boys, and have more chance to be abandoned. Especially in rural areas, sons take the family name and are asked to take responsibility for their parents when they are old, while daughters are required to take care of their husband's parents. Today, although the recent national law on elderly (Law on Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly 1996) states that all children must be responsible for taking care of aging parents, most peasants in rural areas still believe in old traditions, where men bear this duty (Johnson 2002). The preference for men led to sterilization, infanticide, abandonment of girls and, ultimately, to the high sex ratio in China today (Johnson 2002). In some areas, the desire for a male child is resulting in a serious imbalance of the sexes. In Shanxi Province, for example, for every 100 female babies born, there were 145 male babies (Lim 2004).

LACK OF DOMESTIC ADOPTION IN CHINA

The formal concept of adoption, out of utilitarianism, hardly exists in Chinese culture. In comparison with Canada, adoption is not a matter of bloodline, but part of a long tradition of openness and immigration. As Johnson (2002) concluded from the interview, «Every city in the mainland has a social welfare home which shelters abandoned children. But few mainlanders consider adoption». Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the 1991 national adoption law, paving the way for international adoption, announced a highly restrictive adoption policy that limits adoption to childless parents over the age of 35. This measure decreased the number of potential parents within China because 35 years old is considered as an unacceptable age to become parent according to Chinese social norms, especially in the countryside. At the same time, the Chinese government opened its door to international adoption in order to include countries where adoptive parents tended to be older. The Chinese government put a lot of efforts and investments to build international infrastructure. Foster care was being developed, promoted and funded by the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MCA) and The Chinese Centre for Adoption Affairs (CCAA). Charitable international organizations such as «Care for Children», «Love without Boundaries» and «Our Chinese Daughters Foundation» have been developed to facilitate ties between adoptive parents and adopted children (Johnson 2002). Since 2005, the CCAA has been charged with managing domestic and international adoptions. On the opposite, there was no existing organization to facilitate the organization of children for domestic adoption: «while numbers of international adoptions grew rapidly from less than 100 in 1991 to more than 6,000 by the end of the decade, domestic adoption from orphanages seemed to grow little, stagnated, or even shrunk in some places during the decade» (Johnson 2002).

In 1999, the Chinese domestic adoption law has been modified to encourage adoption of orphans and disabled children (Adoption Law of the Peoples Republic of China 1998). This modification enables couples over the age of 30 years, previously 35 years old, who already have a child to adopt an orphaned child. The age requirement is now the same for international adopters as well. Thus, the Chinese government is developing a proactive approach towards domestic adoption by placing some restrictions on the number of children available for international adoption (Glover 2006). However, although it allows a greater number of potential parents within China, the mentality in the country did not change at the same speed.

INDIRECT CAUSES OF ADOPTION

A SOLUTION TO ALLEVIATE STATE'S BURDEN

The Chinese government turned to international adoption in the 1990s as a mean to deal with the increasing numbers of abandoned children in overcrowded orphanages. During the same period of time, South Korea was seen as a similar example of this situation: thousands of Korean children have been placed abroad in adoptive families rather than being raised in Korean orphanages or placed for domestic adoption. Thus, Johnson (2002) presumed that the Chinese government, similar as the Korean government, had to choose international adoption to give abroad the growing numbers of abandoned children. It has been well documented that the Chinese government and local provinces did not actively promote domestic adoption as the first solution to cope with the increasing number of children in orphanages in the 1990s. The choice to develop the infrastructures for international adoption in order to deal with overcrowded orphanages is primary due to the fact that Chinese economy could not sustain all these

children. Indeed, by taking the example of Canada, it is obvious that Canada never sent abroad children for international adoption. This pattern can be explained by the wealthy welfare and developed foster care in North America, allowing abandoned children to be educated by social workers or adopted by Canadian families. In the case of China in the 1990s, the economy just started to grow due to the opening policy and Chinese families were not open for any domestic adoption. As the capacity of the state welfare did not suffice the number of foundlings, the relationship between international adoption and state's burden is clear.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

According to scholars, the «demographic transition» is linked to the economic development of a country: «It is almost certain that nearly all future population growth will occur in the developing regions of the world» (Population Bulletin 2004). Therefore, the shift from high to low mortality and fertility is known as the «demographic transition». The latter should allow emerging countries, by decreasing its fertility and death rates, to grow its economy. This pattern corresponds exactly to what China has tried to pursue with the implementation of strict family planning policies. In order to accomplish its own demographic transition, China had to force the evacuation of thousand of children by international adoption. As mentioned earlier, China, which surpassed Korea as a supplier of children to the United States after 1994, was known to be in a poorer situation (Johnson 2002). China was having too many abandoned children and too few domestic adoptive homes. Economic growth, by achieving the «demographic transition», is often accompanied by widening economic discrepancies. While China developed its trade with the world and moved towards a market economy, rural poverty and mass

migration from rural to urban areas has resulted in transformation of family structures and insufficient economic support for children in the poorest families (Dorow 2006). As a consequence, parents from the «North» adopted children from the «South». In order to overcome the economic hardship, China had to sacrifice some individuals and transfer a group of population to Western countries.

Also related to economic development, it is evident that more children will be given away in times of severe poverty. Johnson's (2002) study shows that the occurrence of adoption increases during wartime or a bad harvest year, revealing that the abandonment of girls was mainly associated with poverty. Indeed, the number of girls abandoned especially grew in times of famine and economic misery because the parents were either unable or unwilling to educate them. If a family would lack food, the parents might decide to reduce the size of the family by arranging marriages sooner for the girls or at last resort abandoning them.

Furthermore, a critic issued from China's human rights record was that the Chinese government used children as an export commodity, to make profits and earn foreign currency for developing its capitalist economy. It has been verified that international adoption brings in US \$3000 per child in mandatory orphanage donations and an additional US \$1000-2000 in other fees and expenses paid by adoptive parents in China (Johnson 2002). According to my own experience, these numbers are relatively low comparing to the sum of US \$15 000 that my parents had to pay in total. Thus, international adoption not only presented an effective mean to bring foreign funds and help the economy, but also to inject more money in the welfare system when it was

already saturated with overcrowded orphanages. Indeed, international adoption to western countries could also help bring necessary funds to improve the orphanage care of the higher number of children who would have to grow up in orphanages in China than in adoptive families abroad. Even if the funds were not that significant among the large Chinese economy, it still provided financial assistance for orphanage care, caregiving institutions and finally homes for a relatively small number of orphan children. As around 35 000 children found homes abroad during the last ten years, multiple times that number of adoptable children still remained in the orphanages in Mainland China (Johnson 2002).

GLOBALIZATION

During the 1990s across the globe, a new interstate system had been established to facilitate the placement of children through international adoption. Indeed, in this new worldwide configuration, children were just one particular good among the exchange of medias, currencies, documents and ideas across international borders (Dowling and Brown 2009). Globalization had a significant impact on the worldwide transfer of commodities and services resulting with both negative and positive consequences for populations. To link international adoption with international relations, closer links between different countries contributed to Sino-Canadian relationships in this way: the transfer of Chinese children to Canada. For instance, many overseas adoptive families and friends visited China for the first time resulting in an interest for children. Adoptive parents have also developed the use of websites and international networks to find potential children. We also saw the rise of organisations that went beyond national boundaries and substitute governmental organisations for adoption's assistance.

Furthermore, international NGOs and the Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption, signed by nations, have been the piooners of supervising states to ensure the wellbeing of the children.

Through globalization, international adoption nowadays also include a greater risk for children trafficking (Smolin 2005) embedded in an expanded international network of online adoption communication services rather than national regulation. Worldwide communications create global medias that target welfare «issues» and create a political agenda of humanitarian priorities. Since the Second World War, images of children from countries at war and suffering from environmental disasters circulated around the world. This mediatic attention created waves of humanitarian responses from people in developed countries offering homes to children from emerging countries. This alacrity could create an industry of children because globalization created greater power imbalance and inequality. There is a risk that children from poorer countries will be treated as «commodities» by adoption organizations and potential adopters in rich countries (Triseliotis 2000).

However, globalization also can improve the quality of life and the living standards of millions of children. We have seen the emergence of mixed race families in countries in the world where such families did not exist before (Tessler, Gamache & Liu 1999). The arrival and integration of adopted children offer opportunities for sharing ideas, understanding the otherness, exchanging informations and raising awareness of richer countries to improve the condition of children in poorer countries. In the same logic, it can also put pressure on governments of developing countries to improve living

conditions for these children. Overall, the increasing number of exchanges between different countries, the creation of international organizations and the development of economic disparities led to the extensive relations between China with Canada. Dowling and Brown (2009) have considered how globalization, which has clearly contributed to China's economic changes, has also been important in the development of international adoption and adoption policies.

To conclude, the current essay aims to answer the following research question: how did the implementation of the one-child policy lead to the adoption of Chinese children abroad, namely in Canada? What are the causes of international adoption in China? Direct factors influenced the phenomenon of international adoption such as the restriction of the number of children, the 1992 national law on adoption and gender's preference and the lack of domestic adoption. Besides these, indirect causes increased the occurrence of international adoption: the reduction of the state's burden, the economic development and the globalization.

Briefly, China has used international adoption as a mean of reducing the number of children in institutions, alleviating the state's burden linked to the welfare system, while also addressing the needs of children to have a family. Above all, it was to reduce the population of China in concordance with the family planning policies and to overcome the demographic transition that would ultimately allow China's economy to rise. In the future, with further restrictions on overseas parents, the support of NGOs to develop fostering programs and the loosening of China's one-child policy, international adoption from China will be reduced. However, in order to reduce the amount of children

abandoned, it is essential for the central government to provide a social safety net to all Chinese citizens. Indeed, an augmented welfare system should solve the conditions of orphans in China. As being myself adopted from China, I consider my adoption as the most beautiful moment of my life, but it also includes inconveniences. On one hand, I wish other Chinese girls to be adopted but on the other hand, in an ideal world, I wish China's economy to grow to the point to be able to keep its children domestically. In order to conduct further studies, it would be fascinating to study the consequences of international adoption on contemporary China. Even after their departure, how did these hidden children influence the Chinese population? Moreover, what will happen if Chinese adopted children all come back to their homeland?

REFERENCES

BRANIGAN, T., 2008, Days of the one-child rule could be numbered as Beijing considers change. *The Guardian*, 29 February 2008.

CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA, 2003, International Adoptions, The Monitor, Consulted on the web, (available online: <http://web.archive.org/web/20070420210142/www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/issue03/06-feature.html>)

COSTIGAN C., SU T.F. and HUA M., 2009, «Ethnic Identity Among Chinese Canadian Youth: A Review of the Canadian Literature», *Canadian Psychology*, 50, 4 :261-272.

DOROW, S.K., 2006, *Transnational Adoption*. University Press, New York.

GLOVER, R., 2006, China. In: *Global Perspectives on Foster Family Care* (eds M. Colton & M. Williams), pp. 134–168. Russell House Publishing, Lyme Regis.

HILBORN, R., 2007, May 1: Nine New Adoption Rules Start in China', Family Helper (1 May). Available online at: <http://www.familyhelper.netnews/070501chinarules.html> (accessed 8 March 2009).

JOHANSSON, S. and O., NYGREN, 1991, "The Missing Girls of China: A New Demographic Account." 17 Population & Development Rev. 35-51.

JOHNSON, K., 2002, Politics of International and Domestic Adoption in China, Law & Society Review, 379-396.

DOWLING, M. and G. BROWN, 2009, Globalization and international adoption from China, Child & Family Social Work, 14, 352-361.

LI, L., 1980, Historically, women' s life in China from Royal House to common people. Nanjing: Nanjing University Press.

LIM, L., 2004, China Fears Batchelor Future. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3601281.stm> (accessed 19 February 2008).

LUO, N. and K. J. S. BERGQUIST, 2004, Born in China, Adoption Quarterly, 8,1, 21-39.

MA, L.J.C., 2003, The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, 400 p.

NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS, 1991, Adoption Law of the Peoples Republic of China 1991, accessed at: http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/12/content_1383868.htm.

NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS, 1996, Law on Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly 1996, accessed at : <http://www.china.org.cn/english/government/207404.htm>

NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS, 1998, Adoption Law of the Peoples Republic of China 1998, accessed at:http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/31/content_26770.htm.

PALMER, M., 1995, Re-Emergence of Family Law in Post-Mao China: Marriage, Divorce and Reproduction, *China Quarterly*, 110-134.

PRB: Transition in World Population, 2004

QIAO, X., 2017, PPT of Part 6 Family Planning Policy and Family Planning Program, Course of China's Population, Peking University.

RILEY, N.E. 1997, «American Adoptions of Chinese Girls:The Socio-Political Matrices of Individuals Decisions», *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20,1:87-102.

SELMAN, P., 2009, The Rise and Fall of Intercountry Adoption in the 21st Century, *International Social Work*, 52, 5, 575-594.

SI, M. 145 B. C, reprinted 1997, Shi Ji, Zhou Bengji. Beijing: ZHong Hua Shu Ju.

SMOLIN, D., 2005, How the intercountry adoption system legitimates and incentivizes: the practices of buying, trafficking, kidnapping, and children. ExpressO Preprint Series no 749. Available at: <http://law.bepress.com/expresso/eps/749/> (accessed 22 November 2007).

TESSLER, R., GAMACHE G. and LIU, L., 1999, *West Meets East: Americans Adopt Chinese Children*, Bergin & Garvey, London, 189 p.

TRENKA, J., 2003, *The Language of Blood: A Memoir*. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota University Press.

TRISELIOTIS, J., 2000, Intercountry adoption: global trade or global gift? *Adoption &*

Fostering, 24, 45–54.

TSAI J.L., YING Y.W. and LEE P.A., 2000, «The meaning of «being chinese» and «being American»: Variation among Chinese American Young Adults», *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31,3:302-332.

WOLF, A.P. & HUANG, C.S., 1980, *Marriage and adoption in China, 1845-1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.