BASIC SURVEY(II) ON POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

MARCH, 1986

JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY (JICA)

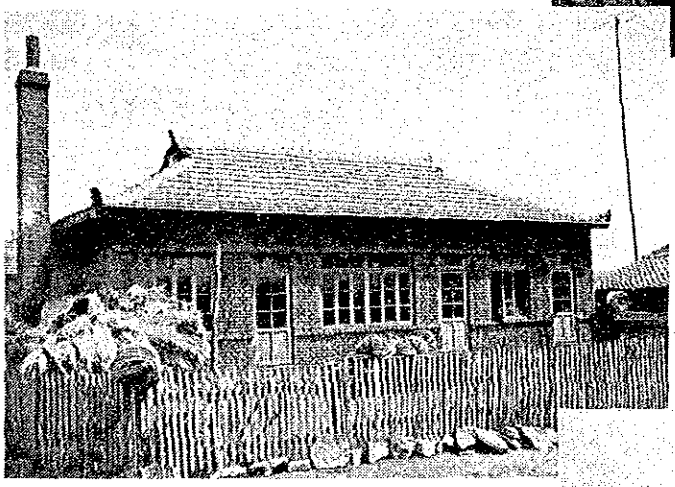
BASIC SURVEY(II) ON POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

MARCH, 1986

JAPAN INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION AGENCY
(JICA)

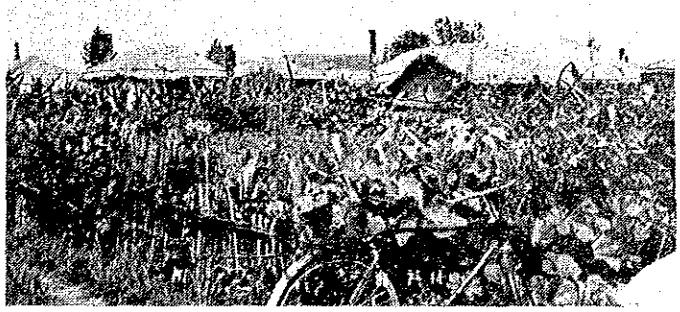
◀Members of the survey team at Jilin University

Preparing for survey ▶

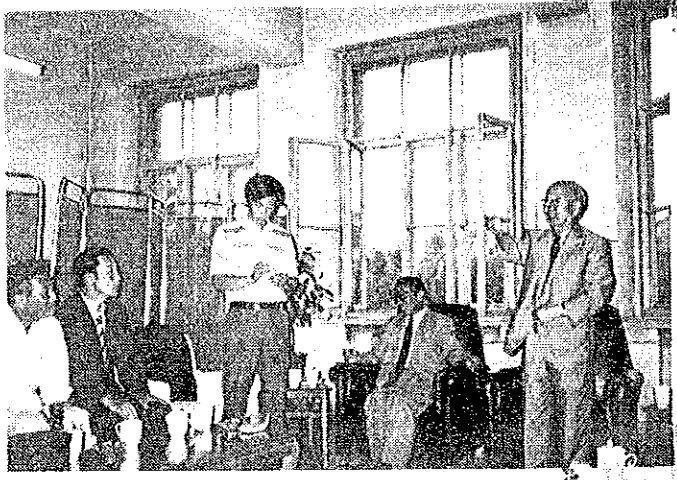


◀Brick farmhouse at Yanbian Korean District

Traditional farmhouse at ▶ Yanbian Korean District



Population related slogan written in Hangul and Chinese ▶



◀ Scene from a conference held in Harbin, Heilongjian Province

At a farmhouse a Yanbian Korean ▶ District

◀ Conference at Liaoning University

Preface

The Government of Japan, at the request of the Government of the People's Republic of China, decided to conduct a basic survey on the population and family planning program of that country, and assigned Japan International Cooperation Agency to undertake the survey.

The Agency formed a survey team of six experts headed by Dr. Toshio Kuroda. The group conducted a field survey during the period from July 8 to 23. This report was prepared to offer the findings as a result of studies back in Japan including analysis and examination of problems based on results and data from the field survey of the group.

I sincerely hope this report to assist in promotion of the population and family planning program of the People's Republic of China, as well as to contribute to development of Chinese society and economy. Moreover, I wish the cordial relationship between the People's Republic of China and Japan to be further deepened at this occasion.

In closing, I would like to express my gratitude and respects for members of the research group who kindly cooperated in this survey, and to extend my deepest gratitude to concerning governmental organizations of the People's Republic of China, the Japanese Embassy in that country and related organizations in Japan including the Ministry of Foreign Affaris.

March, 1986
Shousuke Suenaga
Executive Director,
Japan International
Cooperation Agency

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

SUMMARY

In 1984, we conducted a fertility survey, centering on family planning, in selected urban and rural areas in Jilin Province. The survey was effected through the close cooperation of Chinese and Japanese specialists and yielded important results and experience.

Based on that experience, another survey was conducted in Jilin, in which random sampling was performed on a province-wide basis so as to yield more detailed data. It thus differed from the 1984 survey, which had targeted only a limited number of villages.

Jilin Province, which is widely known as one of China's model provinces, has seen the successful implementation of family planning policy, resulting in a rapidly declining birth rate. Clarification of conditions of family planning policy and the declining birth rate in that province should provide useful data on future policy directions in Jilin, and also lessons for use in formulating policy in other provinces.

One particularly important objective of the survey was to clarify the relationship between the fertility and improving living standards. This objective was proposed by the State Family Planning Commission of China. At the time, the living standards of farmers especially were improving as a result of conversion, under a new economic system, from collective farm management to a responsibility system. Commission officers and specialists were becoming concerned about what effects improvements in living standards would have on fertility in the farming population, particularly in relation to policy encouraging births to one child per couple. The Commission evidenced considerable sensitivity in identifying this problem at such an early point.

The experience of advanced countries has been that modernization -- in the form of improved living standards -- is a basic factor contributing to declining fertility. China's family planning policy and problems associated with declining fertility counsel against a too simple application of hypotheses developed in very different situations of developed nations in the past -- hypotheses which may be inappropriate where a newly established economic system and rapid improvements in living standards are proceeding with effective family planning policy and declining fertility levels. In China's case, it may be appropriate to consider the effects of the rapid "change" of the economy on behavior as an entirely new dimension. In this light, this survey involves important theoretical and policy problems, and can thus be said to have a wider meaning than its specific China setting.

China's successful demographic transition is acknowledged around the world. Attention must particularly be directed to the fact that the decline in the birth rate was achieved prior to substantial economic progress, and that subsequent to that decline, there appeared considerable improvements in living standards, and the expectation of

still more. In other words, commitments of the government's propaganda -- that smaller families would bring abundance and happiness to the nation, the province and the individual family itself -- were borne out in reality. The subtle linkage of the ideas of family planning and economic advancement -- while contrary to the historical experience of western nations -- was effective in establishing the "only one child" concept.

As to results of the survey, China has compiled a detailed report, and Japan was able independently to run a detailed analysis by means of computer tabulation.

In any case, the fertility survey was unprecedented in China, and as it was based on entirely new factors, is widely applicable to policy planning. Also notable is that the growing incidence of the contractual system in rural villages (where all members of households were engaged full-time in agriculture) has resulted in significant diversification of activity. In Japan, too, the number of full time farming households declined as the economy grew in the postwar period. It is important to identify structural changes underway in households -- changes called "household revolution" -- in terms of their relationship to fertility. Social changes, too, and their effect on human behavior, require attention. Survey items were carefully analyzed in view of these aspects. A fertility survey of then unprecedented scale was conducted in 1982, but this was the first sampling survey conducted in each area and province. Results and area-specific analyses have yielded for policy making many valuable contributions which could not be obtained from the nationwide survey.

CHAPTER 2

RECENT TRENDS OF POPULATION POLICY IN CHINA

1. China's Population in 2000

As is widely known, China is working to achieve a target population of 1.2 billion by the year 2000. The success of China's Four Modernizations program will hinge on the success of this drive, and its population target has therefore drawn the intense attention of the government, academics, and people generally. It is an ambitious target.

The 1982 census reported a population of 1,008.17 million, or a 45.1% increase in the 18 years since the previous census of 1964, which recorded a population of 694.58 million persons. If in the 18 year period from 1982 to 2000, the population is to be kept at 1.2 billion in the year 2000, the population can increase only 20% -- or less than half the increase in the previous 18 years. The average annual increase between 1964 and 1982 was 17.42 million persons. Achievement of a population of 1.2 billion by 2000 would require that the average annual increase come down to 10.66 million.

Assuming assumed that the total fertility rate of 2.1 in 1983 will remain constant, China's population would increase to more than 1.3 billion by the year of 2000 (*1).

Clearly, China is taking on a great socio-economic challenge. The government has acknowledged the importance of family planning in controlling the population so as to improve the standard of living. The "one child per married couple" program, instituted in 1979, is the most significant aspect of the national commitment.

Chinese authorities have frequently discussed the policy behind the population target for 2000. Recently, important results of a study on the target figure of 1.2 billion have been made available. The report, entitled "China by the year 2000", was prepared by an expert group within the State Council Technological and Economics Research Center. Below are presented significant points of that report (*2).

(1) An annual population increase of 0.95%, if maintained, would enable the achievement of a population of 1.2 billion by the year 2000.

(2) An annual population increase of 1.34% would result in a population of 1.28 billion by the year 2000.

Annual population increase was well above 1.34% in 26 of the 33 years in the period 1949 - 1982. Excluded in this calculation are the abnormal three-year period 1959 - 1961, and the four-year period 1976 - 1979, when population growth rate was at an unusually low 1.16 - 1.26%.

(3) Annual population growth rate exceeded 2% in the two periods 1950 -

1957 and 1962 - 1973. A great number of children born during these periods will be within child bearing age until the end of the century, thus making it more difficult to achieve the population target of 1.2 billion.

(4) Despite even the most intense efforts, China's population might reach 1.25 billion by the year 2000.

(5) China's infant mortality rate is projected to fall from 35 (per 1,000 births) in 1981 to 20 by 2000. Life expectancy at birth, which was 68 years in 1982, is expected to extend to 72 years by 2000.

(6) China's population is aging. The percentage of the population between the ages of 0-14 years will decline, while the percentage of the population aged 65 and above will rapidly increase. In 2000, the percentage of the population aged 0-14 will be 24.3%; aged 15-64, 68.8%; and 65 and older, 6.9%.

2. China's Demographic Transition Approaches Those of Industrialized Countries

In the 1970s and 80s, great strides have been made in China's demographic transition, particularly in fertility decline. Whereas in 1970 the crude birth rate was a high 33.4, it had declined to 17.8 by 1979, the lowest figure to date. The reduction is on the order of 46.7%, or nearly half. While slight lulls were seen in 1981 and 1982, when the crude birth rate rose to 20.9 and 21.1, respectively, a firm downward trend resumed in 1983 (18.6) and 1984 (17.5), when the previous lowest record of 17.8 in 1979 was surpassed.

The total fertility rate declined from 5.812 in 1970 to 2.716 in 1978, or less than half (46.7%) in less than 10 years. It declined still further at 2.24 and 2.63 in 1980 and 1981, respectively, and finally dramatic decline in 1983, when it reached 2.07. A total fertility rate of 2.07 implies it is very close to a net reproduction rate of 1, and thus increases the likelihood of achievement of stationary population. China's 1983 TFR compares with 2.077 in Korea (in 1981), is slightly higher than TFR in Bulgaria and New Zealand, and is lower than TFR in industrialized countries such as Rumania (2.372 in 1981), Poland (2.235 in 1981), Yugoslavia (2.128 in 1979), and Czechoslovakia (2.094 in 1981). It is slightly higher than Japan's TFR of 2.049 in 1974.

China's crude birth rate of 17.5 in 1984 is nearly on a par with those in industrialized countries. It was lower than the USSR (20.1 in 1983) and Poland (19.7 in 1983), and roughly level with Singapore (17.3

in 1982) and slightly higher than Cuba (16.8 in 1983). Yugoslavia (16.6 in 1983) and Portugal (16.4 in 1980). It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that China's crude birth rate is roughly level with those of industrialized countries: Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Rumania, and Canada all had a rate of 15.

3. Fertility Transitiion: Similarity between China and Japan

China's fertility transition, outlined above, parallels Japan's postwar experience in a number of important ways. Japan's crude birth rate almost halved (from 34.3 to 17.2) in the ten-year period 1947 - 1957. Twenty-two years later, China too nearly halved its crude birth rate in just ten years, from 34.1 in 1969 to 17.8 in 1979. In China's case, with the base year set in 1963, when the crude birth rate was 43.4, the rate halved to 19.9 in 1976 -- 13 years (see Table 1). So the unprecedented decline in Japan's birthrate was essentially duplicated in China 22 years later.

Chart 1 clearly demonstrates the similarity of birth rate trends in Japan and China, albeit from different base years -- 1944 for Japan, and 1959 for China. In Japan, the birth rate declined drastically in the abnormal immediate postwar years of 1945 and 1946. In China, the most significant drops occurred in 1960 and 1961, affected by natural disasters. For both countries, years of drastic declines in fertility were followed by conspicuous rises in the crude birth rate, or birth booms. The process of fertility decline in both countries is not similar. However, China's present crude birth rate corresponds to that in Japan in the 1960s, which implies that fertility transition in China may have entered a final stage.

4. Policy Directions in Future

China's total fertility rate in 1983 was 2.07 -- a significant decline from 2.5 in 1982 and 2.63 in 1981. Clearly, China's family planning program has met with remarkable success. Nonetheless, it is estimated that the total fertility rate must stabilize at 1.7 by 1985, and at 1.5 after 1990, if the population goal of 1.2 billion by 2000 is to be met (*3). Accomplishment of the goal will not necessarily be easy.

Consideration should be given to inertia or momentum of population, and in particular on the likely effect of previous birth booms on fertility rates of future years. As earlier observed, such booms occurred in 1950 - 1957 and in 1962 - 1972; persons born during those periods will reach childbearing age within this century. For example,

it is estimated that 22 million young women will marry during the ten-year period 1983 - 1992, and that the average number of first marriages during that period will be double the number in the 1970s. These factors could contribute to an absolute increase in births, and an increase in the crude birth rate.

Against this prognosis is the possibility that tightened control of fertility could reduce the birth rate.

One possibility is suggested by the existence of substantial regional differences in fertility rates. While further declines may be impossible in regions where remarkable low rates already have been achieved, controls could be focused on regions where birth rates are comparatively high. An examination of region-specific fertility rates in 1981 revealed low rates in large cities, such as 1.316 in Shanghai, about half the nationwide rate of 2.584 (*4). Sixteen provinces and autonomous regions indicated higher fertility rate than the national level. Four provinces and four autonomous regions had fertility rates of 3 or above. Narrowing of these differences could be a factor reducing the nationwide fertility rate.

Second, it has been demonstrated that fertility declines can be achieved even in regions where urbanization and industrialization are lagging behind. To cite one example, in 1984 the crude birth rate was lower in Liaoning and Jilin -- both largely rural provinces -- than in Shanghai. In that year, the crude birth rate in Shanghai was 13.6, compared to 11.5 in Liaoning (population of 36 million), and 11.8 in Jilin (population of 23 million). These rates, which are close to that of West Germany, lowest in the world, suggest that there is scope for China's family planning program to further penetrate its effect.

A third reason for optimism about reducing the birth rate is the success of China's "one child per couple" program. It has been mistakenly pointed out that this program was incorrectly called described as compulsory or encouraging abortion.

In fact, only 28.17 million persons received one-child certificates expressing their wish for no more children by the end of 1984 -- or only about 18.25% of the 150 million married couples of childbearing age (*5). Moreover, a 10% sampling of the 1982 census indicates that in 1981, 47.3% of all births were of the first child, 25.7% of the second child, and 27.0% of the third or more child. While trend of concentration into first birth is clear, it should be noted that still births of second and higher order accounted for more than half (53%) of all births.

Fourth, there is some reason to be optimistic about the policy of the central government to delegate to local authorities the initiative to introduce positive or negative incentives supportive of its family

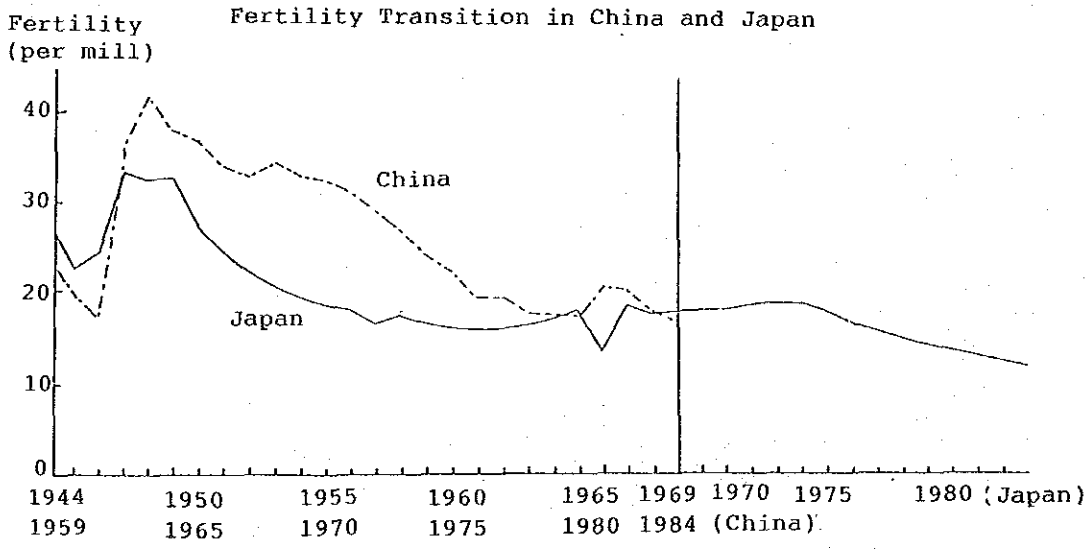
planning program and the "one child per couple" program. Local authorities, being well positioned to evaluate local circumstances, are urged to institute original and innovative methods best suited to each region. The experience of Jilin province in implementing extension programs, called Three Principles of Propagation, namely population, theory, family planning methods, and eugenics, may be a good example. Admittedly, this approach could result in regional differences in implementation and effect. However, basic principles and guidelines are set by central authorities, and activities of local authorities, in particular the smallest administrative units, can "fine tune" efforts to reduce birth rates in their region.

Fifth, this survey studies the impact which rising living standards and future expectations of farm households are having on family planning practice. Those improvements are associated with the placing of increasing responsibility for production arrangements in agricultural villages. The survey also attempts to identify any linkages between family planning and the new economic system. While the survey is limited to Jilin province, it is unprecedented in this area of study, and analysis of results should prove useful.

Fertility Transition in China and Japan

Japan			China		
Year	Crude birth rate (o/oo)		Year	Crude birth rate (o/oo)	
1947	34.3		1963	43.4	
1948	33.5		1964	39.1	Halves
1949	33.0		-	-	
-	-		-	-	
-	-		1969	34.1	
-	-		-	-	
-	-		-	-	Halves
-	-	Halves			
-	-		-	-	
-	-		-	-	
-	-		1976	19.9	
-	-		-	-	
-	-		-	-	
1957	17.2		1979	17.8	

Source: (For Japan) "Vital Statistics", Ministry of Health and Welfare; (for China) "Annual Statistics in China", 1984 edition.



Notes

(*1) Statement made by the Representative of People's Republic of China, at the Committee on Population from 13 to 19 August 1985. Asian-Pacific Population Programme News, vol. 14, No. 3, September 1985, ESCAP.

(*2) "Beijing Review", Vol. 28, No. 44, November 1985. Population Headliners, No. 129, December 1985, ESCAP.

(*3) China Survey, Asian-Pacific Population Programme News, Vol. 4, No. 2, June 1985, ESCAP.

(*4) 10% sampling Tabulation on The 1982 Population Census of the People's of China, 1983.

(*5) Statement made by the Representative of People's Republic of China.....

CHAPTER 3

SURVEY OF FERTILITY AND LIVING STANDARDS IN RURAL AREAS OF JILIN PROVINCE

1. Outline of the Survey

Descriptions about the base population for the survey, design of sampling the 150 rural hamlets surveyed, training of the interviewers, practice of the interview survey and others are made in detail in Chapter 4 in this report by the Chinese counterparts. The tabulations made by us in Japan are all for the rural samples and include no urban ones. The total number of households and the total population tabulated are 5,418 households and 24,754 persons. It is not yet clear why our total figures are 3 households less and 31 persons less than those tabulated in China.

Two kinds of questionnaire forms were used in the survey. The one, Questionnaire 1, is for the household survey and the other, Questionnaire 2 is for the fertility survey for married women in ages 15 to 60 years. The items surveyed using Questionnaire 1 are: name, sex, relationship to the head of household, date of birth, place of birth, ethnicity, marital status, education, occupation, kind of work and form of enterprise of each household member, total amount and purpose of savings of the household, number of rooms, area, building material and year of construction of the dwelling, possession of selected consumer durable and production instruments, items and amount of contract production, whether or not being a specialized farm, acreage under cultivation, possession of livestock, source of drinking water, amount of household income and its changes, level of living, and others. The items surveyed using Questionnaire 2 are: date of and age at first marriage, husband's age at that marriage, pregnancy history (outcome and date of termination of each pregnancy, sex and whether alive or not of each child born alive, and date of death of each deceased child), practice, method and reason of contraception, reason for not practicing contraception, source of knowledge on contraception, contraceptive practice between marriage and first live birth, desire for living in old age with own children, attitude toward children's taking care of elderly parents, inheritance of property, good and bad points of having children, reception of one-child certificate, etc.

2. Summary of Selected Tabulations

A. Overall Analysis

(1) Place of birth

The population of persons born in the same village (administrative village) as that where they reside now tends to decrease with age. The proportion of such persons is 95.4% under ten years of age and 42.7% in ages sixties for males, and 95.0% and 24.4% each for females. In ages thirties those whose village of birth is the present village are 63.5%

for male, while 34.5% for females, and this will suggest a greater rate of village exogamy among males. The proportion of those born in Jilin Province is as high as 80% for males and 76% for females (Table 1).

(2) Ethnicity

The sampled population for survey includes some ethnic minorities, including Koreans. They are less than 9% as a whole (Table 2). Taking the respective 150 sample hamlets, there are 24, 13, and 5 hamlets where more than 10%, more than 50%, and 100% of the household heads belong to an ethnic minority, respectively (Table 31).

(3) Age and Marital Status

According to the age composition of the total sampled population by 5-year age grouping, the largest population is found in age group 15 - 19 years (Table 2). Using data by single years of age, the largest 5-year age group population is obtained for the age range 13 - 17 years. This is consistent with the population pyramid for all China at the 1982 Census. The age composition by a broad age grouping indicates that those under 15 years of age are 31%, those aged 15 - 64 are 66% and 3% are those aged 65 and above.

As to marital status, the proportion of single females is 97.9% in age group 15 - 19, 41.8% in age group 20 - 24, and 2% in age group 25 - 29. This may suggest a general tendency of late marriage. Among males, those single are 60.7% in ages 20 - 24, 15.1% in ages 25 - 29, and 6.3% in ages 30 - 34 (Table 3).

(4) Level of Education

Most children of school age are attending elementary schools. The composition of levels of education in those aged 15 - 19 is found as follows: primary education 41.0% for males and 47.8% for females; secondary and higher education 55.6% for males and 48.6% for females. That in those aged thirties is as follows: primary education 45.3% for males and 55.5% for females; secondary education 37.4% for males and 17.9% for females; secondary and higher education 10.2% for males and 3.2% for females. Among the elderly in ages 65 and over, 79.5% of the males and 93.8% of the females are found illiterate or semi-illiterate (Table 4).

(5) Occupation

Occupation was asked according to the following six choices: farmer, worker, staff, medical doctor, teacher, student, and others. As for those age 15 years and over 86.4% and 82.2% are farmers in males and females, respectively. Those whose occupation is worker, staff, medical doctor or teacher are only 3.8% for males and 1.1% for females. The

proportion of farmers among those aged 65 and over is 4.9% and 3.5% for males and females, respectively. In this age category those whose occupation is other than farmer is almost negligible in proportion.

For males, those with secondary or higher education are 65.1% among workers, 85.5% among staff, 94.7% among medical doctors, and 97.4% among teachers. The corresponding proportion for male farmers is 38.5%, but this kind of percentage may be sensitive to differences in age composition among different occupations.

(6) Household Income

Households were categorized by their 1984 income (1000 yuan increments): 39.3% (the largest percent) of households had income of 1,000-1,999 yuan; 22.6% of households had income of 2,000--2,999 yuan. 78.7% of all households had incomes of below 3,000 yuan.

The percentage of households with savings tends to increase as income increases. While only 7.3% of households with income of less than 1,000 yuan had savings, 45.6% of households with income of more than 4,000 yuan had savings. Average savings of all households was 1,500 yuan. The average differed according to class of annual income: households of annual income of 1,000-1,999 yuan had average savings of 998 yuan, and households with annual income in excess of 5,000 yuan had average savings of 2,342 yuan.

Little difference is seen between incomes in 1983 and 1984, as there is only one year's change. Distribution of households by income class for 1983 was: 1,000-1,999 yuan, 38.9%; 2,000-2,999 yuan, 16.4%; 3,000 yuan and below, 87.1%. A comparison of household incomes for 1984 and 1983 among within income classes follows. Among households with income of 1,000-1,999 yuan, 58% had the same, and 39% had higher incomes in 1984 than in 1983. Among households with incomes of 2,000-2,999 yuan, 50% had the same, and 41% had higher incomes. Among households with incomes of 3,000-3,999 yuan, 48% had the same, and 40% had higher incomes. The percentage of households whose annual income was higher than 4,000 yuan in 1983 and 1984 was 83.3%.

A comparison of living standards over five years follows. Respondents who claimed their living standards had "improved tremendously" or "improved" were 16% of those whose household income was less than 1,000 yuan, 97% of those with household income of 1,000-1,999 yuan, 98% of those with household income of 2,000-2,999 yuan, 99% of those with household income of 3,000-3,999 yuan, and 99% of those with household income in excess of 4,000 yuan (Table 25). These responses indicate that most people feel their living standards have improved.

Respondents' views as to how their living standards had improved relative to the social average can be summarized by indicating the

percentages in each income bracket who felt their standards were above or equal to the average: 54% of those with less than 1,000 yuan, 78% of those with 1,000-1,999 yuan, 87% of those with 3,000-3,999 yuan, 91% of those with 3,000-3,999 yuan, and 95% of those with household incomes in excess of 4,000 yuan (Table 26).

(7) Number of household members

The proportion of households by number of household members is as follows: four-person households comprised the greatest percentage at 25.3%, followed by five-person households at 21.5%, three-person households at 20.6%, six-person households at 13.1%, and seven-person households at 7.5% (Table 10). It is found that the greater the number of household members, the greater the floor area (same Table).

Annual household income increases with number of household members. Average annual income in 1984 was 1,012 yuan for one-person households, 1,071 yuan for two-person households, 1,654 yuan for three-person households, 1,861 yuan for four-person households, 2,491 yuan for five-person households, 2,658 yuan for six-person households, 2,973 yuan for seven-person households, and 3,363 yuan for eight-person households (Table 11). Particularly wide differences are seen between two- and three-person households, and between four- and five-person households.

(8) Housing

Average floor space by household income for 1984 is as follows: household income of less than 1,000 yuan, 50.1m^2; 1,000-1,999 yuan, 56.4m^2; 2,000-2,999 yuan, 60.3m^2; 3,000-3,999 yuan, 66.6m^2; 4,000-4,999 yuan, 70.8m^2; and 5,000 yuan and above, 78.8m^2 (Table 9).

Housing is classified into three types: clay, two-storey, and brick. Of all houses, 72% are clay, 25% are brick, and only 0.1% are two-storyed. Brick houses generally have larger floor area than clay houses: 20% of brick houses, but only 11% of clay houses, have floor area of 75m^2 and over.

Since 1982, more brick houses have been built than clay houses (Table 13). Households with larger annual incomes tend to live in brick houses. The proportion of households living in brick houses by household income is as follows: less than 1,000 yuan, 15.0%; 1,000-1,999 yuan, 23.6%; 2,000-2,999 yuan, 29.1%; 3,000 yuan and above, 33.3% (Table 14).

Household drinking water supply was categorized as coming from four sources. The result is found as follows: pumped wells, 44%; wells, 43%; piped water, 9%; river, 1% (Table 24).

(9) Contracted production

Households were categorized as engaging in seven types of contracted production. Of all households, 89% are producing corn, 78% soybeans, 54% millet, 53% kaolin, 48% other crops, 28% rice, and 15% wheat (Table 16). No conspicuous relationship is observed between annual household income and contracted production crop. Rice is being grown under contract by 27% of households with income less than 1,000 yuan, 27% of households with income of 1,000-1,900 yuan, 40% of households with income of 2,000-2,999 yuan, and 40% of households with income in excess of 3,000 yuan. In contrast, wheat is being grown under contract by 18% of households with income under 1,000 yuan, 17% of households in the 1,000-1,999 bracket, 12% of those in the 2,000-2,999 bracket, and 14% of households with income in excess of 3,000 yuan. It appears that contracted production is more common among households with larger incomes compared to those with smaller incomes.

The largest production volume is of corn, followed by rice. 57% of households growing corn, and 40% of those growing rice, produced in excess of 4,000 jin. Only 10% of all households produced equally large volumes of other crops.

(10) Durables and production goods

There is a relatively clear relationship between possession of consumer durables and production goods, and level of household income. For example, possession of sewing machines increases from 29% among households with 1984 income of less than 1,000 yuan, to 77% among households with income in excess of 4,000 yuan. Similarly, possession of TV sets rises from 7% among households with income below 1,000 yuan, to 56% of households with income in excess of 5,000 yuan. The pattern is even clearer with production goods (hand tractors, tractors, and other agricultural implements). While 43% of households with income in excess of 5,000 yuan own one of these implements, only 3% of households with income below 1,000 yuan do so.

(11) Specialized and non-specialized households

384 respondents, or 7.1% of the total, claimed that they were specialized households (Table 20). It is possible that there are other specialized households. A larger percentage of specialized households are in higher income brackets. While 40% of specialized households had incomes of 3,000 yuan and over in 1984, only 19% of all other households did so.

(12) Cultivated Acreage

Land for cultivation is possessed by 97.9% of all households. The highest percentage of cultivable land holdings is 10.0-14.9 mu,

possessed by 24% of households, followed by 5.0-9.9 mu at 21%, 15.0-19.9% at 19%, 20.0-24.9 mu at 12%, 1.0-4.9 mu at 9% (Table 21). It is clear that annual income increases with increases of cultivated acreage. A breakdown of annual income in 1984 by land for cultivation follows: less than 1 mu, 1,095 yuan; 1.0-4.9 mu, 1,343 yuan; 5.0-9.9 mu, 1,949 mu; 10.0-14.9 mu, 1,949 yuan; 15.0-19.9 mu, 2,189 yuan; 20.0-24.9 mu, 2,847 yuan; 25.0-29.9 mu, 2,847 yuan; and 30.0 mu and greater, 3,647 yuan.

It is also clear that total production volume increases with cultivated acreage. For example, the percentage of households with total production volume of 10,000 jin and more increases from 5% among households with cultivated acreage of 1 mu and less, to 73% of those with acreage of 30.0 mu and greater (Table 23).

(13) Number of children born and living

China's "one child per married couple" policy was introduced in Jilin province in 1979. Accordingly, its effects should be apparent among couples married for less than five years. Among 252 first married wives with duration of marriage of four years (married between the ages of 16 and 29), 3.5% have 0 children, 76.6% have one child, 19.0% have two children, and 1.2% have three children (Table 34). Among 227 first married wives with duration of marriage of three years, distribution is: 0 children, 5.3%; one child, 83.1%; two children, 11.1%, and three children, 0.4%. Among first married females with duration of marriage of 5-9 years (married between the ages of 14-29), distribution is: 0 children, 1.3%; one child, 40.8%; two children, 48.2%; three children, 8.8%; and four children, 0.9%.

Data indicate that the average number of surviving children increases with income as follows: less than 1,000 yuan, 2.05; 1,000-1,999 yuan, 2.49; 2,000-2,999 yuan, 2.88; 3,000-3,999 yuan, 3.16; 4,000-4,999 yuan, 3.25; and 5,000 yuan and over, 3.31 (Table 51). This distribution is consistent with that seen in Table 11, where number of household members increases with household income. Naturally, the increased number of children enlarges the size of the household, which in turn leads to increased household income.

The average number of surviving children decreases as educational level of mothers increases. The distribution, according to Table 50, is as follows: illiterate, 3.946; semi-illiterate, 3.37; primary education, 2.46; secondary education, 1.72; high school education and above, 1.27. The fact that those with higher levels of education are generally within younger age groups must be considered in this connection (Table 4).

(14) Practice of contraception

The number of children ever born (number of living children) of

first-marriage females, by age of mother (at time of survey) is distributed as follows: 20-24 years, 0.79 (0.77); 25-29 years, 1.44 (1.40); 30-34 years, 2.30 (2.23); 35-39 years, 3.26 (3.11); 40-44 years, 4.24 (4.00); and 45-49 years, 5.10 (4.66) (Tables 38 and 39).

Percentages of first married females aged 15-49 who were practicing contraception at the time of the survey are as follows (percentages in parentheses are of women who have been sterilized): those with one living child, 86.5% (2.3%); with two children, 95.9% (60.4%); with three children, 97.8% (72.6%); with four children, 94.1% (66.2%); with five children, 89.6% (53.7%); and with six children, 80.45% (42.4%) (Tables 39 and 40).

85.7% of first married females who had given birth to one child were practicing contraception. Among the reasons given, the most often given was to follow public policy (78.5% of practicing females); only 8.0% replied that they wished to bear no more children (Table 36). The situation is different with females who had given birth to two children, 96.3% of whom practiced contraception. 44.1% of the latter group stated that they practiced contraception so as not to bear more children, while 52.3% stated that they did so to follow public policy (Table 37).

The percentages of those who had abortions, by pregnancy history, were: one pregnancy, 1%, two pregnancies; 3%, three pregnancies, 4%; four pregnancies, 4%; five pregnancies, 10%; six pregnancies, 11%; seven pregnancies, 13%; eight pregnancies, 16%; nine pregnancies, 15%; ten pregnancies, 21%; eleven and more pregnancies, 32% (Table 35).

The percentage of wives who practiced contraception in the period between marriage and first childbirth was extremely small. Of wives under 49 years, and with more than one childbirth, only 1.9% had done so (Table 41). The percentages of wives who practiced contraception in the period between marriage and first live birth, by duration of that period, were: less than two years, 1.4%; 2-5 years, 3.3%; 5-10 years, 1.9%; more than 10 years, 0% (Table 42).

(15) Ideal number of children

Perception of the ideal number of childen is strongly influenced by the number of living children. Regardless of how many children they had had, however, the largest percentage of wives felt that two was the ideal number. This view was held by 68% of those with no children, 74% of those with one, 91% of those with 2, 71% of those with three, 78% of those with 4, 74% of those with five, 74% of those with six, and 80% of those with five children (Table 47). As to those who felt the ideal is one child, this view was held by 30% of those with no children, and 25% of those with one child.

(16) Value of children

To the question, "What do you think are good and bad points to having children?", multiple choice answers provided were: "it is a joy", "they will become part of the labor force", "they will help us in our old age", "they are an economic burden", "they are a mental burden", and "they will deprive us of our opportunities". Among wives aged 15-49, the largest percentage in every age bracket replied "they will help us in our old age" -- 45% of the total (Table 46). The second most frequent answer for young wives younger than 30 years was "it is a joy" (almost 30%); the second most frequent answer for wives older than 30 was "they are an economic burden" (about 20%). The third most frequent answer in these two groups was the reverse of their second most frequent answers.

(17) Desire to live with children in old age

The largest percentage of wives in every age group above 20 years replied that they wished to live with their children; that percentage grew as age groups rose. In other words, while 47% of women aged 20-24 years wished to live with children in old age, 70% of women aged 45-49 years wished to do so (Table 43).

(18) The support of parents by children

About the issue of support of parents by children, multiple-choice responses provided were: "it is a good custom", "it is the duty of the children", "it must be done", "it is not good", and "other". Of wives between the ages of 15 and 49, 75% replied "it is the duty", followed by 21% who answered "it is a good custom" (Table 44). There were no conspicuous differences according to age, and other answers were extremely few.

(19) Inheritance

Wives between the ages of 15 and 49 were asked "To whom will you bequeath your property?". Multiple-choice responses provided were: "eldest child", "sons", "among all children", "to children who support parents", "no special view", and "other". Among wives aged 45-49, the largest percentage (46%) replied that children who supported them in old age would inherit their property. That answer was followed by "sons" (31%) and "no special view" (13%). The percentage of those who would bequeath their property to children who supported their parents decreases as the respondents become younger. In contrast, the percentage of those with "no special view" increases as the age of respondents decreases. For example among wives aged 25-29, the percentages are 27% (no special view), 24% (sons) and 30% (supporters of parents), respectively.

B. Regional Analysis

(1) Regional distribution of population and comparison of age composition

The survey covered 30,660 persons, including 15,727 males and 14,933 females. The sex ratio of 105.3 corresponds closely to 105.6 for Jilin Province as a whole, and is slightly lower than the national sex ratio of 106.3 (1982 Census). Survey areas were categorized into urban and rural areas, and rural further divided into another three categories, mountainous, plains and prairie. Population distribution was as follows.

Urban population was about 20% of the province-wide sample, considerably lower than the ratio of the urban dwellers to the total province population 55%. The sample urban population ratio does however nearly coincide with the ratio of urban dwellers in the national population (20.6% in 1982).

The sex ratio deserves special attention. For the sample population, the sex ratio was 105.3, corresponding closely to that for the whole population of Jilin Province of 105.2 (1982 census) and also in line with the 106.3 ratio for the total national population (1982 Census). Interestingly, the sex ratio was considerably lower in the urban sample areas than in the rural sample areas, meaning there are more males than females in rural areas, but less males than females in urban areas. This seems related to the need for female labor in the factories and service industries concentrated in the cities, and the tendency of females to migrate in from rural villages. There is evidence of as many as 10% more males than females in some rural, and particularly mountainous, regions, indicating very significant outmigration of women.

An analysis of the age distribution of the population follows. The population was divided into three broad age brackets as shown in Table 2.

Age distribution of the sample population differs conspicuously between urban and rural areas. First, children aged 0-14 constituted only 22.4% of the urban sample population, compared to 30.7% for the rural population. Such a difference stems from the high birth rate in rural areas, and the low rate in urban areas. The differentical fertility apparently reflects different results of the population planning program in urban and rural areas, and different attitudes toward children by rural and urban people. The ratio 30% of child population in rural areas corresponds with that for Japan in 1960, and the urban ratio of 22% of child population corresponds with the current figure for Japan. As a result of the significant decline in the urban birth rate in a brief period of time, the proportion of population in

younger ages has sharply declined. However, the proportion of the aged (population over 65 years) is still very low, although higher than in rural areas. It follows then that the proportion of the urban population in the productive ages is quite high at 73%. In Japan, such a high proportion of the population of productive age has never been recorded.

Slight differences were seen in rural areas according to mountainous, plain and prairie areas. The proportion of the population in younger ages is highest in prairie areas at 32%, which also has the lowest proportion for the aged, at 2.9%. Male and females were disaggregated for each area, but no conspicuous differences were seen. It is noteworthy, however, that among urban females, the proportion for children is the lowest at 21.0%, and the highest for the aged at 5.6%.

Distribution of population by area (urban and rural), by sex (male and female) and by five-year age categories is shown in Table 3.

It is remarkable in this age pyramid that in urban areas, the 15-19 year old population had the highest proportion, with declining steeply in younger brackets. The very low proportions for children aged 0-4 and 5-9 indicate the remarkable achievement of policy to limit childbirth over the last 10 years. That policy has had good effect in rural areas too: against the 13.2 proportion for males aged 15-19 years, the proportion for 0-4 year olds dropped to 7.8, by 40%; in the same comparison for females, the proportion droped by about 50%. Returning to urban areas for the same comparisons, the proportion for males dropped 40%, the same as in rural areas, and fell more than half, or 56%, for females. The effects of China's family planning policy have been nearly as significant in rural as in urban areas.

(2) Marital Status of Females of Reproductive Age Population

The marital status of the female population of reproductive age (14-59 years) is shown in Table 4.

Marriages of women aged 15-19 are extremely rare in both rural and urban areas -- zero in the latter case. The marriage age of females is lower in rural than in urban areas. In rural areas, almost 60% of women aged 20-24 years are married, compared to only 24% for urban women, or less than half the figure for rural areas. As for females aged 25-29, 97% of those in rural areas have husbands, compared to 87% for urban areas. By that age, almost all rural women have married. For rural males, some 40% of males aged 20-24 years are married, compared to only 13% in urban areas. The marriage age is thus higher for males in urban than in rural areas. For the age group 30-34 years, almost all males and females are married, indicating the pattern of universal marriage common to Asian countries. The number of women still unmarried at the age of 45-59 years, who are called "ultimately remaining single" is zero

in both urban and rural areas. For men, only a very low percentage of men remain unmarried: 0.4% in urban areas, and 2.3% in rural areas. (The proportions of divorced are also extremely low at between 0.4 and 0.5% in urban areas, and 0.1 and 0.2% in rural areas. Even in rural areas, the fact that most women marry at about the age of 25 years is worth noting for the effect on fertility.

(3) Distribution by Level of Education of Female Population of Reproductive Age

An analysis of distribution of the female population by educational attainment -- closely related to fertility -- follows. Table 5 distributes the female population by age and area, crossing those categories by five educational levels: illiterate, primary school, junior high school, senior high school, and university levels.

Incidence of illiteracy is extremely low in urban areas. In rural areas, the rate is ten times higher than in urban areas. Graduates of junior and senior high schools comprise about 40%, respectively, of the urban population; in rural areas, the same percentages of the population have received primary and junior high school educations, or an entire educational rank lower. University graduates and/or higher education comprise about 7% of the urban population, but their proportion is extremely low in rural areas. In general, levels of education for females are lower than for males, regardless of area. It is remarkable that illiteracy among rural females is as high as 18%.

Interesting correlations are seen in educational levels by regions in the order: mountainous, plains and prairies. In mountainous areas, illiteracy is highest, the proportion of primary school graduates is lowest, but the percentage of graduates of junior and senior high schools is the highest. In contrast, for prairies, illiteracy is lowest, the percentage of primary school graduates is highest, but the percentage of graduates of junior and senior high schools is lowest. Plains areas rank between those two extremes. The population in prairies seems to attach importance to primary education, so that while the ratio of graduates of junior and senior high school is the lowest, the ratio of illiterates is also the lowest. This contrasts with mountainous areas, where importance seems to be attached to education at the junior high school level and above, so that there, in spite of high percentage of illiterates and low percentage of primary school graduates, high percentages of junior and senior high school graduates are attained.

Despite the considerable differences between the levels of education in rural and urban areas, with levels in rural areas being comparatively low, it should be noted that policy aiming to slow the birth rate has had conspicuously good effect in rural areas. Indeed, results of that policy in rural areas compare well with results in urban

areas.

(4) Distribution of Married Women by Number of Children

Table 6 presents the distribution of married women by number of children.

Considerable differences are seen between the numbers of children in urban and rural areas. In urban areas, the very high percent of 40% of women gave birth to a single child, compared to only 27% in rural areas. Two children were borne by 27% of the sample in urban areas, compared to 24% in rural areas. However, the percentage of mothers of three children is higher in rural than in urban areas. In rural areas, the percentage of those with one and two children is not so much different, and both percentages together are only 51%, compared to 65.7% in urban areas. This indicates that two thirds of the sample women have one, and to a lesser extent two, children.

Analysis of number of children in rural areas further broken down into three terrains indicates no significant differences among them. It is observed that a comparatively high percentage of mothers in mountainous areas have borne three children, and that in prairie areas, a comparatively low percentage of mothers had borne only a single child. In general, however, couples with one or two children account for the majority.

Distribution of the female population by number of children was further analyzed by area and age as shown in Table 7.

The percentage of couples with one child is especially high among urban mothers aged 25-29, at 90.3%, and aged 30-34, at 70.9%. In rural areas, the highest percentages were recorded among mothers aged 20-24 years, at 63.9%, and 25-29 years, at 54.9%; the percentage drops steeply to 16.7% for mothers aged 30-34 years. The percentage of couples with two children is especially high among urban wives aged 35-39 years, at about 60%. This compares with only 23.5% for rural wives aged 35-39 with two children. Among rural wives aged 35-39 years, the highest percentage was 37.1% with three children, followed by 26.1% with four children (higher than the percentage for mothers with two children). Wives aged 35-39 years or older married prior to the implementation of the one-child-per-family policy, when policy emphasized two children. It is natural then that women in that age bracket have borne more children. However, while most urban wives aged 35-39 years have two children, among rural wives in the same age category, the largest percentage have three children, at 37.1%, followed by four children at 26.2%, and only then two children, at 23.5%. For women aged 40-44 years, who married when population policy was even looser, most urban women have borne either two children, at 39.0%, or three children, at 37.1%; rural women of that age were quite prolific, with 35.9% bearing

five children and more, 31.1% bearing four children, and 22.9% bearing three children. Clear differences are thus seen in fertility between urban and rural areas. The tendency is even more marked among women aged 45-49 years. For example, even in urban areas, 30.5% of these mothers have borne three children and 28.8% have borne four children; in rural areas, almost 60% (57.4%) of those mothers have borne more than five children.

(5) Birth Interval Trends

Birth interval is an important indicator of levels and trends fertility, and as such has been the object of considerable research in recent years. Analysis is not easy, being complicated by the effects of breast-feeding or artificial nutrition, and also effects of family planning. However, as the effects of family planning are diffused, and the birth rate has substantially come down, it becomes increasingly probable that slight changes in birth interval could affect birth rate levels.

The study of birth intervals in agricultural villages classified intervals between marriage and first birth, and intervals between subsequent births, in the periods 1964-1972 and since 1975. Table 8 presents the results of that study.

Generally, except where contraception is practiced, the interval between marriage and birth of first child is short. In both the pre-1972 period and since 1975, that interval was within one year and within 1-1 1/2 years in about 30% of the sample, respectively, with some differences. The total of both percentages is slightly over 60%. An interval of less than two years was 75.2% in the 1964-72 period, and has been 81.6% since 1975.

The interval between first and second childbirth is quite different. The percentage of cases of an interval of less than one year is quite low, and even for 1-1 1/2 years accounts for only 15-16%. The interval of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 years accounts for about 40% of the cases. For intervals after the second childbirth, the incidence of intervals of one year and of 1-1 1/2 years decreases at an accelerating rate as number of childbirths increases. The highest percentage is for 2-2 1/2 years. No conspicuous differences are seen between data for the 1964-72 period and for after 1975, with trends in the two periods almost identical.

Owing to the paucity of urban samples indicating more than one childbirth, the following analysis of urban data covers only the interval between marriage and first childbirth. During the period 1964-1972, incidence of less than one year accounts for about 40% (39.7%), and of 1-1 1/2 years, 25.4%, for a combined total of 65%. For the period after 1975, the incidence of less than one year is the highest at

51.5%, followed by 1-1 1/2 years at 25.9%. The combined total of 77.4% is far higher than the total for the earlier period. Comparing these urban results with data for agricultural villages, urban areas evidence a far higher incidence of a less than 1 1/2 year interval between marriage and first childbirth than do agricultural villages at 64%. It should be noted that in both periods, the ratio of wives who delivered their first child within one year is larger in cities than in agricultural villages: 1964-72 period, 29.3% in agricultural villages versus 39.7% in cities; and since 1975, 35.5% in agricultural villages versus 51.5% in cities. This difference may reflect a relatively stronger expectation in cities that the first child be born as soon as possible after marriage.

Intervals between births after the second childbirth are generally longer than 1 1/2 years, owing to general prevalence of breast-feeding and to the spread of family planning practices. In the majority of cases, the interval is longer than 1 1/2 years, and particularly 2 1/2 years. This tendency is seen both in rural and urban areas. It is also seen, both in villages and cities, that only a few practice of contraception during the period between marriage and the first childbirth.

(6) Analysis of Completed Fertility Level of Education

The number of childbirths of wives aged 40 years or older can be considered an indicator of completed fertility or lifetime fertility. Table 9 compares the number of childbirths for wives aged 40-44, 45-49, 50-54 and 55-59 years, by their levels of education.

Irregularities in the data may reflect the small sample in cities, and the extremely small sample of rural women aged 55-59 years with senior high school education. However, it is clear that completed fertility is higher in rural villages than in cities (excluding women aged 55-59), and that completed fertility is inversely correlated to education level.

For every age category, the average number of life-long childbirths is higher in agricultural villages than in cities. Comparing the figures by category, village life-long childbirths exceed city childbirths by 56% for women aged 40-44 years, and 49% for 45-49 years, and 9% for 50-59 years. The average number of childbirths for all women aged 40-59 years is 3.47 in cities, and 4.98 in villages. The differences are conspicuous: about 3.5 life-long childbirths in cities, compared to about 5 child-births in agricultural villages.

(7) Comparison of Reasons for and Methods of Contraception in Cities and Agricultural Villages

i. Reasons for Practicing Contraception

The survey identified significant differences between reasons given for contraception in cities and agricultural villages (Table 10).

The responses "Do not want children" and "Respond to advocacy" each were given by about 50% of the sample. However, in cities, the more individualistic or independent response, "Do not want children" exceeds reasons more closely related to the official policy. The order of these two reasons is reversed in agricultural villages, giving the remarkable evidence that villagers more strongly approve of the official policy. Other reasons garnered only few acknowledgements. For example, "Adjust birth interval" was given by only 0.9% of the sample in cities, and 2.2% of the sample in agricultural villages.

Mountainous villages gave the comparatively high 5.0% (4.7%) acknowledgement of "Adjust birth interval", and a very high 60% acknowledgement of "Respond to advocacy" was given by people in prairies. Apparently those who are adjusting their birth intervals are doing so to comply with guidance of population planning instructors.

ii. Reasons for Not Practicing Contraception

The survey also canvassed reasons given by those who do not practice contraception (Table 11).

The order of reasons given in urban areas for not practicing contraception is "menopause", followed by "other", "pregnancy" and "anticipate pregnancy". The order of reasons given in agricultural villages is "pregnancy", followed by "other", "anticipate pregnancy" and "menopause". No respondents indicated "religious considerations". The reasons are not surprising, but it should be noted that "other" was given by about 25% of both the city and village samples.

iii. Distribution of Contraceptive Methods

Contraceptive methods vary. Table 12 indicates the distribution of contraceptive methods (including sterilization) by cities and agricultural villages.

Use of contraceptive methods differs markedly from cities to agricultural villages. In cities, use of the IUD predominates at 67%, followed by sterilization of the female (though at a low 19%). Use of these two methods together totals 86%. In agricultural villages, sterilization of the female predominates at 48%, followed by the IUD at 46%, about the same ratio. Use of these two methods

totals 93.2%. Other methods, including the pill, condom, rhythm method and other, each account for only a small percentage. Among agricultural villages, the ratio for sterilization of females is highest in hilly grassland areas or prairies, at 52.5%. In China generally, the IUD and female sterilization are the two predominate methods of contraception, with sterilization particularly high in agricultural villages.

(8) Channels through which Knowledge of Contraception Is Acquired

The means by which women obtain knowledge about contraception is an important indicator of the impact of both official programs and education. As shown in Table 13, there are many such means. The indication by most respondents that they became aware of contraception through government propagandists suggests the scale of the government's efforts.

It is noteworthy that in rural areas, most acquired knowledge about contraception from propagandists, but that in urban areas, approximately equal numbers acquired their information at their places of work and from propagandists. To the extent that knowledge acquired at place of work came from a person in charge of family planning, that person performs the same function as a propagandist. With this understanding, in urban areas, about 77% of the sample acquired knowledge at place of work or from propagandists, or roughly the same as in rural areas, at 73%. The role of mass media, such as books and magazines, is quite important. These two media are indicated as the primary source of knowledge by 17% of the urban sample, and 13% of the rural sample. No significant differences are seen between types of rural areas -- flat land, hilly grassland, and mountainous -- although the role of the propagandist increases in the order mountains, flat land, and hilly grassland. Propagandists evidently played the smallest role in mountainous areas in comparison with other areas, where books and magazines were an important source of information about contraception, compared with other areas.

A similar survey in Japan clarified that magazines were the largest single source of such information, at nearly 40%. Combination with other types of mass media, such as newspapers, books, and radio and television, brought the percentage up to 50% (14th Nationwide Public Opinion Poll on Family Planning, conducted in 1977 by Mainichi Newspaper and others).

(9) Attitudes about Children

The survey also assessed people's sense of values regarding children, such as their desire to live with and receive support from their children in their old age. Table 14 summarizes their attitudes.

Considerable variances in attitude are seen between rural and urban areas. In brief, in urban areas, the majority (over 50%) consider children to be sources of pleasure, while in rural areas, almost half (46%) value children because they will support their elderly parents. Those who value their children for their contribution of labor total 4% in urban areas, and a low 11% even in rural areas. Those who believe that children are an economic burden are 17.5% in urban areas, and about the same level, 18.9%, in rural areas. Those who believe that children are a mental burden are 10.6% in urban areas, considerably higher than the 4.4% feeling this way in rural areas. The combination of those who feel children are economic or mental burdens totals 28.1% in urban areas and 23.3% in rural areas. These are quite high levels, particularly in urban areas where the total approaches 30% of the sample. The view that children are valuable for their labor contribution was extremely low in urban areas at 4.2%, and is even low, albeit higher, in rural areas at 11%. These percentages counter the expectation that Chinese might have been placing increasing importance on the labor contribution of children, a view which had stemmed from the substantial increases of income for households with more members, and from implementation of the production contract or responsibility system in agriculture. Evidently, the traditional view that children will support their parents in old age endures. However, the survey also clarified a trend in which urban dwellers are giving up the views that children will support them in old age and provide labor, and instead are increasingly viewing children as a source of pleasure. As a result of the "one child per couple" policy, particularly in urban areas, the perception that a single child is preferrable has increased; that increase is viewed as having caused the spreading belief that children are a source of pleasure. In rural areas, parents with even two children are not rare, but the smaller percentage of those who consider children a source of pleasure seems related to the traditional expectation, deeply rooted in hamlets, that children will succeed to the agricultural work and will support their elderly parents.

Table 15 presents attitudes on the value of children by wives, broken down by age category.

In urban areas, the younger the wife, the more likely her view of children as a source of pleasure. A preponderant 79% of 15-24 year old women takes this view. The percentage share drops to 66% among women aged 25-34, and falls to 40% among women aged over 35. And the older the wife, the more likely her view of children as an economic burden. The percentage holding that view is as high as 22%.

In rural areas, the largest percentage of those who consider children a pleasure is found among young wives; however, even among wives aged 15-24, the share of those holding that view is only 30%, not even half the percentage among their urban generational cohorts. Among rural wives aged over 35 years, only 14% view children as being sources

of pleasure. Among all rural wives, the view that children provide support in old age is generally more prevalent (above 40% for all generations); the generation with the highest percentage holding that view is wives over 35 years, at 47%. It is noted that about 22% of the samples in both urban and rural areas viewed children as being economic burdens.

The survey also canvassed women's feelings about living with and being supported by their children in old age. Table 16 presents their views, broken down by urban and rural areas.

Considerable differences are seen between urban and rural samples on the issue of living with children in old age. In rural areas, 70% of the sample are affirmative on the issue, while in urban areas, only a much lower 53% wish to live with their children. The percentage of those who definitely refuse to do so was high in urban areas, and extremely low in rural areas. The passive response "undecided" (have not considered the issue) elicited a high 26% of the samples in urban areas, and a still quite high 20% in rural areas. Thus, views differed on the issue from urban to rural areas.

No conspicuous differences in view are seen between urban and rural samples regarding the issue of child support of elderly parents. In both urban and rural areas, over 70% view it the duty of children to do so; specifically, 73% in urban areas, and a slightly higher 76% in rural areas, take this view. Those who consider child support of elderly parents either a good custom or a duty together amount to 94.6% in urban areas and 97.1% in rural areas, indicating that the great majority of Chinese are positive about the issue and that this long tradition has not been lost.

Included in the survey was a question on preferred number of children. Table 17 shows the percentage of the sample preferring one, two, three, and four or more children, broken down by wife's age.

In urban areas, the largest percentage (at 61%) wish to have two children, followed by 37% for those who desire a single child. Preference for two children is much stronger in rural areas at 78% of the sample, compared to only 15% for those who prefer a single child. Significantly, more than twice as many urban than rural respondents prefer a single child.

Analysis of survey results by wife's age reveals significantly differing views on the ideal number of children, however. For urban wives aged 15-24, more women prefer a single child than desire two children. But, among urban wives aged over 35 years, those who want a single child are the smallest percentage, at 30%. Many of these women have already borne their childen; as they married prior to the single child policy, most of them are mothers of two children and their

sentiment on ideal number of children presumably reflects that.

Rural areas are noteworthy for the comparatively low preference for a single child. Only 26.5% of wives aged 15-24 wish to have one child only, or about half the rate of urban wives in the same age category, and 77% wish to have two children. This trend is more marked among wives aged 25-34 years, of whom only 14% desire a single child and more than 80% wish to have two children. It is noted here that among wives aged 35 years and over, 5.9% wish to have three children, and 3.7%, four children.

(10) Percentage Possessing Single Child Certificate

Women who have borne one child and, satisfied, report that they wish to bear no more, receive a Single Child Certificate and various priviledges and priorities. Table 18 compares urban and rural data for couples who have borne one child and who possess such Certificates.

In rural areas, about 60% of the parents of one child have received the Certificates, compared to a higher 88% in urban areas.

Analyzing the urban results by age, the percentage of Certificate holders is a high 80-90% for every age category with the exception of wives aged 45 and older. The peak percentage of 91% is for wives aged 30-34 years; the percentage decreases as age decreases, falling to 88% for women aged 25-29 years, and 81% for women aged 20-24 years. In rural areas, from a peak of 63% for wives aged 30-34 years, the percentage declines with declines in age, registering 56% for women aged 20-24 years. These declines in the number of persons obtaining the Certificate seem related to effects of changes in official policy. Dividing percentages for all age groups into three terrains, the lowest figure is 45% for mountainous, followed by 60% for flat lands, and a highest 77% for prairie grasslands.

(11) Attitudes on Inheritance

Property inheritance is a major issue between parents and children. Presumably, the inheritance is determined by the parents in connection with their old age. Table 19 summarizes the survey results for this question, broken down by urban and rural areas.

Significantly different replies are seen for urban and rural areas. In urban areas, the largest percentage of samples intends to leave property to all children, while in rural areas, the largest percentage (36%) intends to leave property to children who will care for their parents. The second largest percentage (nearly 30%) intends to leave property to sons. An unexpectedly low 7.8% intends to leave their property to only the eldest child. Assuming the eldest child to be a son, a total of 36.6% expects sons to inherit property, about the same

percentage as for those who intend to leave their property to children who would support them in old age. In urban areas, a high 26% had not considered the question, suggesting that urban dwellers give little consideration to the issue. This is in strong contrast to the keen interest in the problem evidenced in rural areas.

(12) Changes in Living Standards in Rural Areas

Living standards in farm households have improved substantially since the adoption of a system of contract production. Table 20 presents the response of rural households to the question, to what degree had their living standards improved.

Out of all farm households, 70% (69.3%) indicate that their living standards have improved (definitely), and taken together with those who indicate slight improvement, 95.4% of the sample indicate some improvement. Only 3.3% incidated no change, and only 1.3% indicate that their living standards have deteriorated. Clearly, the perception is widespread that living standards have risen, compared with those five years before.

No conspicuous differences are seen among the three rural terrains.

Households were also asked to which economic level they believed their standard of living placed them. Results are summarized in Table 21.

The largest percentage of the total (40%) comprises those who believe their standard of living to place them in about the middle. Quite a high percentage (26%) believe themselves to belong to the upper middle class, and another 14.5% considers itself to be in the upper class, for a total 41% for the two latter groups. Accordingly, about 80% (78.6%) classify themselves as belonging either to the middle class or above. Evidently, the effect on rural economic growth of the introduction of the production contract system has influenced these self-assessments.

An analysis of rural results by the three terrains follows. Flat lands registered the highest percentage of those who rank themselves in the middle class or above (at 82%) and the lowest percentage of those ranking themselves in the lower middle or lower classes. However, regional differences are not marked.

(13) Aims for Savings in Rural Areas

Survey results pertaining to intended use of savings are summarized in Table 22.

The main intentions for savings are to build a house and to

purchase durable goods, together amounting to 60% of the sample. The third largest expressed aim is for the education of children; preparation for old age is the least acknowledged aim, at 10%. Construction of a home and purchase of durable goods are ways to improve the quality of life. When living standards are improving rapidly, interest rises in improving or building new homes, and in acquiring durable goods for those homes.

Rural results are broken down by the three terrains. The main aim of savings in flat land areas is to build a house, and in hilly grasslands, to purchase durable goods. Slightly higher percentages are registered for education of children in mountainous areas and in flat lands. The intention to use savings in old age registers 10-11% in all rural areas.

(14) Distribution of Households by Household Income (1984)

Household income disaggregated by area is summarized in Table 23.

In 1984, household income of all households averaged 2,175 yuan per year, or 181 yuan per month. This is about three times greater than the average monthly wage of 60 yuan earned by an ordinary worker. About 40% of households had income within the range 1,000-2,000 yuan, followed by 23% with income within the range 2,000-3,000 yuan, for a combined total as high as 62%.

Data for suburban hamlets is particularly interesting, as the greatest variances are seen there. This area had, at once, both the largest percentage (25%) of households in the lowest income bracket of less than 1,000 yuan, and the highest percentage (7%) of households with larger incomes in excess of 5,000 yuan.

No conspicuous differences by area are in evidence.

(15) Family Size and Composition

Family size (number of members) of the sample population is presented in Table 24.

By family size, the greatest percentage of families has four members at 25%, followed by five-member and three-member families, each at 21%. Thus, families of three, four and five members amount to 67% of the total. Families with six and seven members each account for 13%, or together about 26%, of the total. No conspicuous differences are seen by area. The finding of such a high percentage of families with few members suggests a high incidence of nuclear families and families composed of two generations, which is further corroborated by data in Tables 25 and 26.

As expected, nuclear families account for a high percentage of the total at 77%, roughly equal to 78% for two-generation families. It is noted though that large, three-generation families account for 16% of the sample.

By area, the highest percentage of three-generation families is concentrated in mountainous areas at 18%, while the lowest percentage is seen in prairie grasslands, at 12%. Prairie grasslands do however have the highest concentration of two-generation families, at over 80%.

(16) Ethnic Composition

Residents of the survey area were categorized as Han and minority races, as shown in Table 27.

Of residents of flat land areas, 95% are members of the Han race, and only 4.7% were members of racial minorities. The percentage of minorities increases in prairie grassland and mountainous areas. In mountainous areas, minorities exceed 21% of the population, with Han accounting for less than 80%. Suburban hamlets have the second highest presence of minorities (at 17%) after mountainous areas, although the sample was small.

(17) Distribution of Full- and Part-time Farmers

Presented in Table 28 is distribution of full- and part-time farmers. In farming households, 94% are full-time, and only 6% are part-time farmers. In suburban rural villages, the percentage of part-time farmers rises as high as 10%, about twice the level seen in mountainous areas.

Table 1 Population Distribution and Sex Ratio in Survey Areas

Area	Population	Male	Female	Sex ratio
Urban	19.2	18.4	20.0	96.6
Rural	80.8	81.6	80.0	107.5
Mountainous	22.3	22.7	21.9	109.1
Flat land	43.8	44.1	43.4	106.9
Hilly grass-land	14.7	14.8	14.6	106.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	105.3

Table 2 Age Distribution by Area

Area	Total population			Male			Female		
	0 - 14	15 - 64	65 +	0 - 14	15 - 64	65 +	0 - 14	15 - 64	65 +
Urban	22.4	72.8	4.8	23.8	72.2	4.0	21.0	73.4	5.6
Rural	30.7	65.7	3.6	30.7	65.5	3.8	30.7	65.9	3.4
Mountainous	30.5	65.3	4.2	29.9	65.7	4.4	31.1	64.9	4.0
Flat land	30.4	66.1	3.5	32.6	63.8	3.6	30.2	66.4	3.4
Hilly grassland (prairies)	32.0	65.1	2.9	32.3	64.7	3.0	31.7	65.6	2.7
Total Area	29.1	67.1	3.8	29.4	66.8	3.8	28.8	67.3	3.9

Table 3 Population Distribution by Area, Sex and Age

Age	Urban (%)		Rural (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	6.4	5.2	7.8	7.2
5 - 9	6.5	6.4	10.6	10.5
10 - 14	10.9	9.5	12.3	13.0
15 - 19	10.9	11.8	13.2	13.4
20 - 24	10.9	11.7	10.9	10.8
25 - 29	9.1	9.5	8.5	8.5
30 - 34	8.6	7.9	8.8	9.3
35 - 39	6.2	7.8	6.5	6.8
40 - 44	6.8	7.1	4.5	4.5
45 - 49	8.0	7.9	4.1	3.8
50 - 54	5.6	4.0	3.4	3.4
55 - 59	3.5	2.6	3.1	2.7
60 - 64	2.5	3.1	2.7	2.7
65 - 69	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4
70 - 74	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.2
75 - 79	0.8	1.8	0.5	0.6
80 +	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3

Table 4 Marital Status of Female Population of Reproductive Age: Distribution by Area and by Age

Age	Single		Married		Divorced		Widow	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
				Urban areas				
15 - 19	99.7	100.0	0.3	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 24	87.0	76.2	13.0	23.8	-	-	-	-
25 - 29	19.7	13.0	79.5	86.7	0.4	0.4	-	-
30 - 34	1.2	1.3	97.2	97.5	1.6	0.8	-	0.4
35 - 39	1.1	0.4	98.3	97.9	-	0.9	0.6	0.9
40 - 44	-	-	98.5	98.1	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.4
45 - 59	0.4	-	98.3	93.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	5.9
Total	37.0	34.7	62.3	63.9	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.0
				Rural areas				
15 - 19	99.0	98.1	1.0	1.9	-	-	-	-
20 - 24	60.4	41.8	39.5	58.2	0.1	-	-	-
25 - 29	15.0	3.1	85.0	96.6	-	0.2	-	0.1
30 - 34	5.9	0.3	92.9	99.1	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.5
35 - 39	3.3	0.1	94.9	98.9	0.5	0.1	1.3	0.9
40 - 44	2.9	0.2	95.2	96.8	0.2	0.2	1.7	2.8
45 - 59	2.3	-	91.9	93.1	0.6	0.2	5.2	6.7
Total	38.7	31.5	60.3	67.6	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.9

Table 5 Female Population of Reproductive Age: Distribution by Level of Education, Urban, Rural

Area		Illiterate	Elementary	Middle School	Secondary School	University & above
	Total	1.2	8.8	42.6	40.7	6.7
Urban area	Male	0.3	6.5	44.0	39.7	9.5
	Female	1.9	11.0	41.4	41.6	4.1
	Total	12.5	44.2	34.7	8.4	0.2
Rural areas	Male	7.2	41.6	43.0	10.4	0.3
	Female	18.2	46.9	28.6	6.3	0.1
	Total	13.9	39.9	35.9	10.1	0.2
Mountainous	Male	8.4	37.8	41.3	12.3	0.3
	Female	19.8	42.2	30.1	7.7	0.1
	Total	12.5	44.4	34.8	8.1	0.2
Flant land	Male	7.0	42.5	40.4	9.8	0.4
	Female	18.3	46.4	28.9	6.3	0.1
	Total	10.6	50.0	32.8	6.7	-
Hilly grassland	Male	6.1	44.7	39.8	9.3	-
	Female	15.2	55.4	25.4	3.9	-
	Total	10.2	36.9	36.4	15.1	1.5
Entire area	Male	5.9	34.7	41.2	16.1	2.1
	Female	14.6	39.1	31.4	14.0	1.0

Table 6 Distribution by Number of Children

Area	Number of children						Total
	None	1	2	3	4	More than 5	
Urban areas	6.1	38.7	27.0	15.8	8.6	3.8	100.0
Rural areas	7.2	27.0	24.3	17.6	12.4	11.6	100.0
Mountainous	7.2	26.1	24.5	19.0	11.9	11.3	100.0
Flant land	6.6	28.3	24.8	17.1	12.2	11.0	100.0
Hilly grassland	8.9	24.7	22.4	16.7	13.6	13.7	100.0

Table 7 Distribution of Female Population by Age, Area, and Number of Children

Age	None		1		2		3		4		More than 5		Total	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
15 - 19	-	61.3	-	38.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
20 - 24	54.2	30.0	44.6	63.9	1.2	5.6	-	0.4	-	0.1	-	-	100.0	100.0
25 - 29	8.5	5.4	90.3	54.9	1.2	32.9	-	6.3	-	0.4	-	0.1	100.0	100.0
30 - 34	2.1	2.0	70.9	16.7	25.6	46.4	1.3	25.7	-	7.8	-	1.4	100.0	100.0
35 - 39	0.9	1.0	15.1	3.1	59.9	23.5	18.5	37.1	3.9	26.2	1.7	9.2	100.0	100.0
40 - 44	0.5	0.9	5.6	2.4	39.0	6.7	37.1	22.9	14.1	31.1	3.8	35.9	100.0	100.0
45 - 59	0.8	0.9	3.4	2.2	21.2	6.0	30.5	10.0	28.8	23.4	15.3	57.4	100.0	100.0
Total	6.1	7.2	38.7	27.0	27.0	24.3	15.8	17.6	8.6	12.4	3.8	11.6	100.0	100.0

Table 8 Birth Intervals in Agricultural Villages

Period	Interval	First-marriage-first child	First child-second child	Second child-third child	Third child-fourth child	Fourth child-fifth child
1964 - 1972	Below 1 year	29.3%	3.3	2.6	1.8	1.6
	1 - 1, 1/2 years	31.1	14.9	10.1	8.6	9.8
	1 1/2 - 2 years	14.8	20.7	16.7	15.3	14.8
	2 - 2 1/2 years	8.1	23.3	24.7	26.2	24.1
	2 1/2 - 3 years	4.6	14.4	17.2	14.1	17.0
	3 - 3 1/2 years	3.1	8.5	11.6	12.9	9.8
	3 - 3 1/2 years	2.5	3.8	4.3	5.5	6.7
	Over 4 years	6.5	11.1	12.9	15.0	16.0
	Total	100.0 (1,243)	100.0 (1,183)	100.0 (984)	100.0 (767)	100.0 (792)
After 1975	Below 1 year	35.5	4.3	1.6	3.7	1.8
	1 - 1 1/2 years	28.8	16.4	8.7	8.5	6.4
	1 1/2 - 2 years	17.3	19.2	18.5	13.5	12.8
	2 - 2 1/2 years	6.9	18.4	19.7	19.4	18.8
	2 1/2 - 3 years	3.9	12.4	14.1	16.2	15.1
	3 - 3 1/2 years	2.5	9.0	9.4	8.8	15.1
	3 1/2 - 4 years	1.1	4.4	6.4	7.7	5.5
	Over 4 years	4.0	15.8	21.5	22.3	24.3
	Total	100.0 (2,153)	100.0 (1,295)	100.0 (735)	100.0 (377)	100.0 (218)

Note: Absolute figures in parentheses.

Table 9 Completed Fertility in Cities and Agricultural Villages, by Level of Education (average number of childbirths)

Education level	40 - 44		45 - 49		50 - 54		55 - 60	
	Cities	Agricultural Village	Cities	Agricultural Village	Cities	Agricultural Village	Cities	Agricultural Village
Illiterate	3.11	4.39	3.93	5.13	4.68	5.78	4.58	5.41
Primary school	2.60	4.22	3.72	4.93	3.82	5.14	5.56	5.12
Junior high school	2.42	3.51	3.14	4.83	4.04	4.00	5.43	4.57
Senior high school	2.80	4.13	2.76	2.60	2.10	-	4.25	7.50
University	3.63	-	2.57	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2.68	4.18	3.36	5.02	4.06	5.64	4.93	5.38

Table 10 Comparison of Reasons for Contraception in Cities and Agricultural Villages

Region	Do not want children	Respond to advocacy	"Conformism"	Adjust birth interval	Other	Total
Cities	50.1	46.6	1.3	0.9	1.1	100.0 (1,042)
Agricultural villages	41.3	53.2	2.5	2.2	0.8	100.0 (3,972)
Mountains	41.4	49.0	3.3	4.7	1.6	100.0 (1,042)
Flat land	44.2	52.8	1.9	1.0	0.1	100.0 (2,212)
Hilly grassland	32.3	60.4	3.5	2.1	1.7	100.0 (718)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 11 Comparison of Reasons for Not Practicing Contraception in Cities and Agricultural Villages

Region	Pregnancy	Anticipate pregnancy	Sterility	Religious considera-tions	Other	Menopause	Total
Cities	18.8	17.8	4.0	-	24.8	34.6	100 (202)
Village	29.0	22.3	6.3	-	25.7	16.7	100 (696)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 12 Distribution of Contraceptive Methods in Cities and Agricultural Villages

Region	Sterilization		IUD	Pill	Condom	Rhythm method	Other	Total
	Male	Female						
Cities	0.1	18.7	67.2	5.5	6.6	1.2	0.7	100.0 (1,044)
Agricultural villages	0.9	47.6	45.6	4.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	100.0 (3,974)
Mountains	3.1	44.4	45.8	4.2	1.1	0.9	0.4	100.0 (1,047)
Flat land	0.1	47.5	46.1	5.2	0.7	0.1	0.2	100.0 (2,209)
Hilly grassland	-	52.5	43.9	1.5	1.7	-	0.4	100.0 (718)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 13 Channels through which Knowledge of Contraception is Acquired in Urban and Rural Areas

Area	Friend	Parents	At work-place	Books and magazines	Propaganda agent	Other	Total
Urban	4.1	0.3	37.0	16.9	40.4	1.2	100.0 (1,867)
Rural	7.0	1.5	4.2	13.4	72.8	1.2	100.0 (6,214)
Mountains	7.0	0.5	5.3	14.7	70.1	2.4	100.0 (1,722)
Flat land	8.1	1.9	3.6	12.8	72.9	0.7	100.0 (3,414)
Hilly grassland	3.3	0.7	4.5	13.5	77.4	0.7	100.0 (1,073)

Note: Absolute figures are given in parentheses.

The total of figures for mountain, flat land and hilly grassland areas is 6,209, or 5 less than the rural total of 6,214.

Table 14 Attitudes about Children

Area	Pleasure	Contribute labor	Support in old age	Economic burden	Mental burden	Cause to lose chances	Total
Urban	50.4	4.2	17.5	17.5	10.6	-	100.0 (1,998)
Rural	19.1	11.4	46.0	18.9	4.4	0.3	100.0 (7,442)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 15 Attitudes about Children by Wive's Age in Urban and Rural Areas

Age	Pleasure	Contribute labor	Support in old age	Economic burden	Mental burden	Cause to lose chances	Total
				Urban			
15 - 24	79.1	-	11.0	3.3	6.6	-	100.0 (91)
25 - 34	66.3	2.9	15.1	10.2	5.4	-	100.0 (615)
35 +	40.7	5.0	19.0	21.9	13.3	-	100.0 (1,292)
				Rural			
15 - 24	30.4	9.6	40.4	14.4	4.8	0.3	100.0 (1,032)
25 - 34	21.7	9.8	47.0	17.4	3.7	0.4	100.0 (2,818)
35 +	13.7	13.1	46.7	21.5	4.8	0.3	100.0 (3,592)

Table 16 Attitudes about Living with Children and Being Supported in Old Age

(1)

Area	Wish to live with children in old age				Total
	Yes	No	Undecided	Have not considered	
Urban	52.7	11.9	9.4	26.0	100.0 (1,446)
Rural	67.0	2.1	11.3	19.6	100.0 (5,395)

(2)

Area	Support of Elderly Parents by Children					Total
	Good custom	Duty	Un-avoidable	Not good	Other	
Urban	21.4	73.2	0.3	0.7	4.4	100.0 (1,554)
Rural	20.9	76.2	1.4	0.1	1.5	100.0 (5,434)

Table 17 Preferred Number of Children in Urban and Rural Areas

Age / Area	1	2	3	4 or more	Total
Urban	37.1	61.0	1.5	0.5	100.0 (1,437)
15 - 24	54.3	45.7	-	-	100.0 (94)
25 - 34	46.5	52.4	0.4	0.6	100.0 (473)
35 +	30.1	67.2	2.2	0.5	100.0 (870)
Rural	15.5	77.8	4.3	2.3	100.0 (5,405)
15 - 24	26.5	72.4	0.8	0.3	100.0 (780)
25 - 34	14.3	80.6	3.7	1.5	100.0 (2,090)
35 +	13.2	77.2	5.9	3.7	100.0 (2,535)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 18 Rate of Possession of Single Child Certificate

Area	Urban	Rural	Mountains	Flat land	Hilly grassland
Total	88.0 (482)	59.0 (1,263)	45.5 (332)	60.0 (722)	77.0 (209)
15 - 19	-	50.0	66.7	33.3	66.7
20 - 24	81.1	56.0	40.5	57.5	72.2
25 - 29	87.9	61.6	47.7	62.3	85.2
30 - 34	91.0	63.2	45.7	67.3	78.6
35 - 39	88.6	56.0	40.0	62.5	50.0
40 - 44	91.7	41.7	100.0	-	33.3
45 +	50.0	20.0	50.0	12.5	-

Table 19 Intended Heir in Rural and Urban Areas

Area	Eldest child	Son	All children	Child providing support in old age	Have not considered the question	Other	Total
Urban	19.6	16.7	25.3	9.7	25.8	2.9	100.0 (1,421)
Rural	7.8	28.8	7.2	36.1	19.5	0.5	100.0 (5,434)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 20 Changes in Standards of Living

Area	Improved	Slight improved	Un-changed	Slight deterio-ration	Deterio-ration	Total
Rural	69.3	26.1	3.3	1.1	0.2	100.0 (5,421)
Mountains	70.6	25.1	3.0	1.1	0.2	100.0 (1,492)
Flat land	69.0	26.9	2.8	1.1	0.2	100.0 (2,926)
Hilly grassland	68.0	25.3	5.0	1.3	0.4	100.0 (1,003)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 21 Economic Rankings in Urban and Rural Areas

Area	Upper	Upper middle	Middle	Lower middle	Lower	Total
Rural	14.5	26.2	37.9	16.2	5.2	100.0 (5,421)
Mountains	11.4	23.3	40.3	18.2	6.8	100.0 (1,492)
Flat land	15.4	27.9	35.7	15.9	5.2	100.0 (2,926)
Hilly grassland	16.7	25.4	40.3	14.5	3.2	100.0 (1,003)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.
Resalts for urban areas were not tabulated.

Table 22 Aims for Savings in Rural Areas

Area	Build house	Purchase durable goods	Prepare for old age	Education of children	Other	Total
Rural	32.1	30.2	10.8	16.3	10.5	100.0 (1,187)
Mountains	29.3	21.9	11.4	18.8	18.5	100.0 (351)
Flat land	36.3	32.2	10.1	14.3	7.2	100.0 (615)
Hilly grassland	24.9	38.0	11.8	18.1	7.2	100.0 (221)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 23 Distribution of Households by Household Income and Location

Area	Annual household income (1984, yuan)								
	Average	Less than 1,000	1,000 - 2,000	2,000 - 3,000	3,000 - 4,000	4,000 - 5,000	Over 5,000	Unknown	Total
Suburban rural area	1,941	24.6	39.0	19.3	7.5	2.1	7.0	0.5	100.0 (187)
Flat land	2,117	16.1	39.6	22.9	12.2	4.7	4.1	0.5	100.0 (3,382)
Hilly grassland	2,112	18.4	37.3	22.2	11.5	4.2	5.3	1.2	100.0 (864)
Mountains	2,083	17.1	39.7	22.4	11.0	3.9	4.7	1.3	100.0 (985)
Total	2,175	16.9	39.2	22.6	11.7	4.4	4.5	0.8	100.0 (5,418)

Note: Average figures in each area are the mean value for each income bracket. For households with income of less than 999 or over 5,000 yuan, calculation was based on figures of 500 yuan and 5,500 yuan. Consequently, figures do not agree with totalled averages from the original questionnaires. At time of calculation, 1 yuan equalled ¥55, compared to the exchange rate of 1 yuan = ¥89 in April 1985. The depreciation of the yuan reflects the strong appreciation of the yen against other currencies.

Table 24 Distribution of Family by Size by Area

Area	Distribution of Family Size							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	More than 7	Total
Rural	1.5	5.9	20.7	24.6	21.5	13.1	12.6	100.0 (5,421)
Mountains	1.9	5.8	20.0	25.2	20.8	13.0	13.3	100.0 (1,492)
Flat land	1.5	5.7	20.7	24.6	21.7	13.1	12.6	100.0 (2,926)
Hilly grassland	1.1	6.7	21.5	23.8	22.2	13.3	11.4	100.0 (1,003)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 25 Distribution of Nuclear family and Other Types of Family

Area	Nuclear family	Lineal relatives	Collateral relatives	Non-relatives	Total
Rural	77.4	21.0	1.4	0.3	100.0 (5,421)
Mountains	75.8	22.4	1.4	0.4	100.0 (1,492)
Flat land	77.8	20.8	1.3	0.0	100.0 (2,926)
Hilly grassland	78.6	19.3	1.4	0.7	100.0 (1,003)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 26 Distribution of Generations

Area	Fourth generation	Third generation	Second generation	Unmarried	Total
Rural	0.6	16.1	78.1	5.1	100.0 (5,421)
Mountains	1.0	18.0	76.1	5.0	100.0 (1,492)
Flat land	0.5	16.6	78.2	4.6	100.0 (2,926)
Hilly grassland	0.4	12.0	80.9	6.8	100.0 (1,003)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 27 Ethnic Distribution

Area	Chinese	Minority	Unknown	Total
Suburban rural villages	82.9	17.1	-	100.0 (187)
Flat land	95.0	4.7	0.3	100.0 (3,382)
Hilly grassland	91.3	8.6	0.1	100.0 (864)
Mountains	78.4	21.4	0.2	100.0 (985)
Total	91.0	8.8	0.2	100.0 (5,418)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.

Table 28 Distribution of Full- and Part-time Farmers

Area	Full-time	Part-time	Total
Suburban rural villages	90.2	9.8	100.0 (183)
Flat land	93.8	6.2	100.0 (3,330)
Hilly grassland	94.5	5.5	100.0 (855)
Mountains	94.7	5.3	100.0 (967)

Note: Absolute figures are given in total column in parentheses.