

of economic development.¹⁴ Table 5 shows that, in that year, most economically better-developed provinces had a relatively lower fertility rate. However, the relationship between economic development and fertility rate was not simply linear, but parabolic. In some provinces, the fertility rate declined faster than the economy grew, but in others it lagged behind economic development. The total fertility rate of economically developed areas was obviously low; but in economically backward areas, the impact of economic development on the fertility rate of women was relatively inconspicuous. Table 5 indicates that, under all circumstances, the per-capita national income and the per-capita income of peasants of a province are closely and directly correlated to the fertility rate of that area.

The impact of the market economy on fertility does not solely manifest itself through increases in per-capita incomes. Industrialization, urbanization, and improved cultural, educational, and hygienic levels, which result from economic development, also have latent influences on the fertility rate. Huang's study proves that in all provinces, the proportion of the industrial output value to the total agricultural output was negatively related to the total fertility rate of women, as was the ratio of urban population to the total fertility rate.¹⁵ In other words, the more a province industrializes and urbanizes, the lower the fertility rate of its women will be. Sometimes, this latent impact may be more important than the direct influence of high economic growth on the fertility rate.

However, we must ask to what degree should an economy develop before it can produce changes in people's attitude toward reproduction? Does a critical point exist? Western studies point out that in most developed countries, the critical point is when the per-capita national income reaches US\$750. In the PRC, there are no comprehensive data in this field. However, the results of a study investigating the peasants in Liaoning Province conducted in 1993 by the Liaoning Family Planning Commission may help clarify the issue. According to the stipulations of the Liaoning Family Planning Commission, rural households with

only a daughter and those with genuine difficulties are allowed to have a second child, but those who do not want to have a second child may waive their right. Waiving the right to have a second child is called *xianertai* (獻二胎) in Chinese. The existence of a "*xianertai*" index indicates a fundamental change in the peasants' views regarding fertility. The Liaoning Family Planning Commission actually used the "*xianertai*" index and the per-capita net income of peasants to show the correlation between changes in fertility views and the degree of prosperity.

According to the study of Liaoning peasants, economically more developed areas where peasants earned higher incomes had a higher "*xianertai*" index. For instance, in Dalian, where rapid economic growth had been achieved, the number of rural "*xianertai*" households accounted for as much as 31.7% of the total number of such households in the entire province. On the contrary, in the economically backward Zhaoyang District where people remained very poor, the number of rural "*xianertai*" households accounted for only 0.5% of the total number of such households in the entire province. Moreover, beginning from the late 1980s, among the "single-daughter" *xianertai* households in Dalian's Jinzhou District, 9.6% had a per-capita income of less than 1000 *yuan*, 31.6% had a per-capita income of 1000-1500 *yuan*, and 58.8% had a per-capita income of more than 1500 *yuan*. Thus, it is logical to say that 1000-1500 *yuan* in per-capita income might be the critical point for attitude changes to occur.¹⁶

In February 1995, the PRC State Council approved and promulgated an "Outline of China's Family Planning Program (1995-2000)" proposed by the State Family Planning Commission. The 3 major emphases were on reinforcing propaganda and education, making contraception the main means of birth control, and continued promotion of the family planning program. The target was to reduce the natural growth rate of the population to less than 10 per 1000.¹⁷ This target was achieved in 1998 as the deepening economic reforms and the developing market economy changed people's fertility attitudes. Eco-