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Grounded Theory on China's New Population Policy Reporting by *The New York Times*

Chen Hu

University of Tennessee, Knoxville, chu7@vols.utk.edu

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Chen Hu entitled "Grounded Theory on China's New Population Policy Reporting by *The New York Times*." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communication.

Mark D. Harmon, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Julie Andsager, Barbara Kaye

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

Grounded Theory on China's New Population Policy Reporting by

The New York Times

A Thesis Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

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Chen Hu

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Abstract

The current thesis explores *The New York Times*' coverage of China's new population policy. On November 26, 2013, China updated its one-child policy to the selective one-child policy that allowed couples to have two children if one of the parents is single child. On October 30, 2016, China then erased the one-child policy, implementing the universal two-child policy that allowed all couples to raise two children. *The New York Times*, as an important western medium extensively covered China's population policy.

This study collected 40 news articles from *The New York Times*, using grounded theory to explore the issues, the frame dominance, the speaker dominance and the frame preferences about China's new population policy reporting. Compared with the study on the one-child policy reporting by U.S. elite media during 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, this thesis found a shift on frame preferences on China's new population policy reporting. All U.S. Speakers, including U.S. professionals and U.S. media, became more focused on Implications Frames. All Chinese Speakers, except Chinese Civilians who focused on Effectiveness Frames, preferred to use Implications Frames, especially Economic Implications frame and Social Implications frame, to provide the information in *The New York Times*' reporting.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

China is unique in the world. From the Cultural Revolution to the Great Firewall on the Internet, from the open-door policy to the one-child policy, China draws attention from around the world. And the world is also willing to understand the motivation behind China's policy. Its population policy, like the one-child policy, was not only unique but also one of the most important social policies ever implemented (Potts, 2006).

The one-child policy required most urban couples for decades to raise only one child. Couples who broke the policy would face cruel punishments. The merciless managements by Chinese family planning officials and the sad stories of punished couples are hardly covered by China's state-own media, which means the one-child policy was far from supervised by people overall and became a series of violent measures against the most vulnerable group of people in the society, pregnant women and children.

Western media and Chinese-language news outlets from outside China cover the stories China's media avoid reporting, as one means of exposing the censorship and political opposition in China. The one-child policy was a domestic policy (Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005). But the American public paid attention to its inhumanities such as "pregnant women being locked in birth planning jails, unauthorized babies being killed at birth, and peasants feeling pressured to abandon or kill their infant daughters" (p. 301).

The New York Times is one of the main U.S. media to cover China's news. It has two bureaus,

Beijing and Hong Kong, and closely tracks Chinese stories. Covering the one-child policy remained complex because China is concerned with how effective its policy is to control population, while the U.N. is concerned with whether China is using coercive measures to enforce this policy (Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005). This controversial policy moved *The New York Times* to publish news articles about the one-child policy and later policy versions, the selective one-child policy and the universal two-child policy.

To examine *The New York Times*' news articles on China's new population policy, this paper will go forward as follows. First, the researcher will review the history of one-child policy and its related issues for human right violations, gender imbalance, and other negative social consequences covered by U.S. media. Next, the researcher will rely upon grounded theory to examine *The New York Times*' news articles about China's new population policy. The findings should provide an indication of how *The New York Times* news articles covered China new population policy from late 2013 to middle 2016, and should offer future research direction for comparison studies between the characteristics of the coverage of the one-child policy and China's new population policy.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The History of China's Population Policy

The one-child policy was created by the Chinese Communist Party on September 25, 1980. Each Chinese couple should have only one child. The goal was to promote economic prosperity in China (Liu & Slack, 2014). Furthermore, the intent of one-child policy was that household resources would be directed to fewer children, making each child grow stronger (Hesketh, Zhou, & Wang, 2015). There were exceptions in the one-child policy. A couple would be allowed to have two children when both husband and wife were only-children in their family, or the first child was a girl born in China's rural places (Hesketh et al., 2015; Walt, 1999). The policy was published through central government in a momentous official document, named "A Letter to All the Members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League Concerning Controlling Chinese Population Growth."

Since 1949, western countries claimed China's modernization was dragged down by increasing population pressure (Shen, 1998). Although China denounced the advice of population control from western countries as part of an imperialist agenda, a nationwide birth control program at home already was well underway in 1974 when the first United Nations-organized World Population Conference was held in Bucharest (Demeny, 1985).

The one-child policy indeed slowed down China's population growth rate, from 1.3% in 1981 to 0.5% in 2014, in this world's most populous country where 1,364,270,000 people live,

according to World Bank estimates in 2014. Under the one-child policy, however, China still adds almost 20 million people per year to its population. The added population is nearly equivalent to the population of three New York Cities, or one Australia (Walt, 1999).

The goals for China's modernization and becoming a global power were seeded in the mind of Deng Xiaoping. China's population growth, however, was a burden to modernization and global ascent. Under Deng's leadership, the one-child policy was born, using several party-dominated and state-managed population research centers' supports.

However, demographic specialists who were supposed to design the population policy were already sent to labor camps in the countryside by Chinese government since the Great Cultural Revolution began. Instead, the branch of missiles scientists working for the national defense managed to create the one-child policy (Greenhalgh, 2008).

Because these policy designers, who were influenced by cybernetic philosophy, treated the population as an inanimate object and the fertility as a "control variable" that they could manipulate, ignored rural socioeconomic life, and entrenched gender values to propose the one-child-for-all plan, the policy was far from scientific and thus less valuable (Greenhalgh, 2008).

Generally, both rapid population growth, like the situation before the one-child policy, and sustained low fertility, like the situation after the one-child policy, pose serious challenges to poverty reduction and economic prosperity (Feng, Cai, & Gu, 2013). In China, sustained low fertility shrank the labor force, aged the population, and skewed the sex ratio. These trends in the long term could threaten China's economy and social fabric (Hvistendahl, 2010).

In 2013, the Communist Party leadership instituted a selective two-child policy that allowed “couples where one parent is an only child, as opposed to both, is allowed to have a second child” (Economist.com, 2013). However, many Chinese young people who “have lost any desire they might once have had to have more than one child” (Walt, 1999). The most important reasons against having two children in China can be the cost of paying for private education and a bigger house (Walt, 1999).

In order to respond the new reality that selective one-child policy faced, the universal two-child policy has come with enhance exemptions that all couples could legally have two children in urban areas (Hesketh et al., 2015). The universal two-child policy is credited to Liang Zhongtang, a demographer from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. He demonstrated such an approach not only would achieve China’s population control goal, but also would produce more favorable social and demographic conditions (Gu & Wang, 2009).

The one-child policy was implemented in China for more than 35 years because of the following three features of the Chinese political system and associated policymaking (Feng et al., 2013). Initially, a statist tradition and bureaucratic institutions treat individuals as a number that can be planned and regulated. Secondly, the post-Mao leadership placed birth control and economic development as the fundamental basis of its political legitimacy. Finally, a policymaking process justified by the goal of maintaining Communist Party legitimacy was carried out among political elites and shrouded with secrecy and lacked public scrutiny (Feng et al., 2013).

The one-child policy was phased out both as a political necessity and a social reality. Politically, China no longer can continue to sacrifice long-term benefits for short-term legitimacy that ignores human rights and welfare, and that develops its economy above everything else. Socially, to China's younger generations born under one-child policy between 1980s and 1990s, population is not merely a number of aggregated subjects, but respected and cherished lives (Feng et al., 2013).

News Coverage Related to China's Population Policy

The one-child policy was not only China's domestic issue, but also became a contentious issue for the U.S. (Hauser, 2011). The intentions of the policy were regarding overpopulation and its effect on economic growth. However, the U.S. media were more likely to raise human rights issues rather than other concerns (Peng, 2004). Allegations of forced abortions were included as three major human rights abuses by the content analysis of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* articles from 1985 until 1993; the others were the Tiananmen Square protest and the mistreatment of political prisoners (Goodman, 1999).

Except human rights issues, "social implication within Chinese culture have arisen in conjunction with the one-child policy" (Hauser, 2011, p.26). In a culture of respecting elders within family, an aging population caused by the one-child policy created the phrase "4:2:1" that consisted of two sets of grandparents, one set of parents, and one child (Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005; Fong, 2016; Hu & Lin, 2005). And this problematic family structure would be at greater risk

of if it lost its only child at any time and then no one supported elders in the end (Liu & Slack, 2014).

Moreover, China's gender imbalance is serious. Men of marrying age had nearly no hope of finding a wife, according to a feature story published in *Le Figaro* (Patrick, 2016). The tradition of boy-preference and the one-child policy caused a male-dominated population, even as the government stubbornly tried to avoid this situation (Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005).

Last, a one-child generation also will be criticized by the public because such children are supposedly self-centered, lack self-control, display overindulged behavior, and show weaker life skills (Fong, 2016). This phenomenon was called a land of "little emperors" and raised the child education issues. In the following sections, the researcher will present the detail of these four issues, all of which relate to the one-child policy.

The Human Rights Issue

Human rights abuse is a critical point raised by western governments since China's one-child policy was introduced in 1979 (Walt, 1999). In 1986, United States funds no longer supported the United Nations Population Fund because of China's one-child policy violated human rights (Walt, 1999). The reason why western governments and activists argued the one-child policy abused human rights comes from U.N. Tehran Declaration on Human Rights, which points out how many children one couple wants to have is their freedom and responsibility (Mason, 1994). China, of course, did not sign the declaration.

U.S. media took an intense negative focus on China's human rights issues after the post-Cold War and post-Tiananmen Square protests (Lee, 2002). The one-child policy was associated with this trend because its forced abortion and sterilization could be categorized as human rights abuses.

From the perspective of human right violations, the one-child policy caused uncontrolled sex selective abortions, forced abortions with regard to the second child, and forced sterilizations by family planning officials. Even though the Chinese government defended the one-child policy that would reduce the burden of society, and encouraged Chinese couples to take social responsibility, the methods used to enforce the policy have been criticized for three aspects: initially, pressuring women to use dangerous contraceptives; secondly, officials forced abortions when a couple wishes to bear children; finally, sterilization operations destroyed a woman's childbearing capacity (Mason, 1994).

In other words, China's one-child policy cannot be justified when it totally ignored women's health needs. In fact, women faced the danger of death from forced abortions and forced sterilization, after the birth of a first child (Demick, 2012).

China's National Population and Family Planning Commission, half million officials in its bureaucratic agency, is responsible for implementing the one-child policy from the central government to each province (Hvistendahl, 2010). In law, Chinese family planning officials should use "remedial measures to end unauthorized pregnancies" instead of "violate the personal rights of civilians including beatings, kidnappings and killings committed by family planning officials" (Demick, 2012, p.1). Yet in practice, these abortions and sterilizations are "often performed at

family planning clinics, where, by the admission of Chinese officials, medical training and equipment can be inadequate” (Demick, 2012, p.1).

The Gender Imbalance Issue

Because of the one-child policy and selective abortions (to abort female fetuses), China faced a serious gender imbalance problem that men of marrying age had nearly no hope of finding a wife, according to a feature story published in *Le Figaro* (Patrick, 2016).

The one-child policy, adopted in the late 1970s, largely has contributed to the gender imbalance. In 1982, the sex ratio was 108.5 boys to 100 girls. In 2005, after the one-child policy had been implemented for nearly 25 years though, the gap was larger, 119.45 boys to 100 girls (Patrick, 2016).

The traditions giving preference to boys wreaked havoc. China’s abortion rates soared in the early 1980s when the one-child policy was used, and then sex-selective abortions soared in the 1990s as married women chose to abort a female fetus to have a culturally preferred son someday later (Kang & Wang, 2003). With the spread of ultrasounds, the one-child policy directly promoted a “policy of only son” (Patrick, 2016). In order to prevent selective abortions, the law prohibits physicians revealing the sex of child to parents. However, the tradition of preference for boys and illegal practices in hospitals overcame the law. China has a tradition of boy-preference. An old Chinese saying said raising a daughter is like cultivating a field for someone else (Patrick, 2016). So boys are popular in Chinese families. When the policy only allowed one couple to raise one child, boy-preference grows even stronger.

The phenomenon of *guanggun* (the "bare branches," as are nicknamed single persons in China) is the bad consequence for the one-child policy. The country could face a surplus of 30 to 40 million men by 2020, and over 10 million of them will never get married to women, generating explosive consequences in a society where marriage is crucial to affirm their social status (Economics, 2010). The reality that men of marrying age are desperate to find a bride is even more urgent in Chinese villages than cities. In poor villages, women leave and do not return, while men remain to cultivate the land.

Moreover, gender imbalance could cause the public insecurity. Men without longtime partners could affect work motivation, and lead to aggressive actions after alcohol consumption, especially when those men are obligated to withstand the living pressure from family and society (Patrick, 2016). However, some studies have already documented the one-child policy in particular ultimately will benefit women because parents' attitudes toward daughters are changing for their newly valued single status (Deutsch, 2006; Fong, 2005).

The Family Structure Issue

The traditional Chinese family is the extended family, influenced by Confucian philosophy for well over two millennia (Fairbank & Goldman, 2006). Confucius believed that "the family would take care of itself, and as result of the family governing itself, the nation would benefit greatly" (Fowler, Carlson, & Gao, 2010, p. 343). The government obeyed the norm of keeping hands off of the family until the rise of Mao. His policies irrevocably have altered the course and nature of the Chinese traditional family (Fowler et al., 2010). Under Mao's rationale, the mobilized

peasant was hostile to established customs and traditions as demonstrated in the Cultural Revolution (Fowler et al., 2010).

After the Cultural Revolution, China shifted to embrace a market-oriented economy, which not only led individuals and entire families to migrate to urban areas but also reshaped the extended family to be better prepared for the globalization of China (Fowler et al., 2010). The large intact family began to break apart, and couple-centric units became the general tendency (Hse, 1959). With the ideology of the western family, the traditional extended family gradually transformed into a nuclear, market-consumption institution. Moreover, rising housing prices and nearly unaffordable living costs resisted the parents living with their grown children (Fowler et al., 2010).

The one-child policy has created the phrase “4:2:1” that refers to the phenomenon with an aging population with little familial support that two adults would have to support four grandparents and one child (Fong, 2016; Hesketh et al., 2015). This “4:2:1” phrase not only brings the pressure of family support to two adults but also builds a very weak family structure that easily can become a *Shidu* family, a special linguistic designation for a Chinese family when it lost its only child anytime. The Chinese public blamed the one-child policy for the result of becoming a *Shidu* family. If a family was allowed to have only one child, that family would be at greater risk of becoming a *Shidu* family (Liu & Slack, 2014).

The Child Education Issue

The one-child policy has given rise to parents doting on their only child (Cameron, Erkal, Gangadharan & Meng, 2013). This phenomenon was called a land of “little emperors,” suggesting the one-child generation is self-centered, lacks self-control, displays overindulged behavior, and shows weaker life skills (Fong, 2016).

There are two reasons for “little emperors”: initially, the excessive parental love that the only child must shoulder all of parents’ goals and re-walk the path parents didn’t finish; secondly, the loneliness of that entire generation born after 1980s have simply lost the experience of having siblings (Walt, 1999; Mei, 2005).

The “little emperors” also raised concern that young people suffered with social problems and personality disorders in the context of the one-child policy (Cameron, Erkal, Gangadharan, & Meng, 2013). More attention from parents may backfire in the light of too many expectations and pressure to succeed in life (Roberts & Blanton, 2001). The reality of “sibling deprivation” also may cause children to be self-centered, less cooperative, and less likely to get along with peers (Blake, 1981).

Moreover, in one study evaluating optimism, participants were asked, “What do you think are the chances that will be sunny tomorrow?” the results showed for those born under the one-child policy were less optimistic than others (Cameron et al., 2013).

Framing Analysis of One-Child Policy Reporting

Framing theory argued news texts will interact with the audiences' existing knowledge instead of pursuing "objectively identifiable meanings" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 58) In communication study, researchers use framing theory to analyze what frames are implemented in the news articles. This content analysis methodology is called framing analysis.

Framing analysis has been used in analyzing event coverage and the issue coverage. For example, in event coverage, U.S. and Chinese media both used the conflict frame to cover SARS (Luther & Zhou, 2005); A few years into the U.S.-Iraq War, U.S. media preferred to frame anti-war protest in less positive ways than previously (Klein, Byerly, & McEachern, 2009).

In issue coverage, newsmagazines were likely to use the runaway frame, indicating an attitude of resignation and fatalism to nuclear power after both the nuclear disasters at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Entman (1993) pointed out journalists use frames to make a complex issue more simple and salient. In the coverage of China's one-child policy, journalists selected frames to make such a complex issue present some certain aspects, such as human right abuses and coercion enforcement (Hauser, 2011).

According to Hauser's research (2011), there were seven frames being used in the coverage of China's one-child policy by U.S. elite media from 1979 to 2009. The seven frames were also divided into three categories: Effectiveness (Effectiveness in Controlling Population, Effectiveness of Enforcement and Evaluation of the Policy frames), Implications (Social

Implications, Political Implications and Economic Implications), and Conflict (Coercion Issue Frame).

How the elite American media covered the one-child policy during the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, according to Hauser (2011), presented the obvious preference in frames (see Table 1). In the first two time periods, the most prevalent frames category was Effectiveness, and in the third time period, the Coercion Issues frame was the most dominant frame. The least prominent frame category in all three time periods was Implication.

Speakers in the One-Child Policy Reporting

Selecting who is defining the framing of the one-child policy in the elite American media from 1980s to 2000s, Hauser (2011) referred to the speaker who was given standing in the news articles. She measured the frequency with which specific identifiable speakers were cited in the news articles. There were 11 categories of speakers being studied: U.S. Government, Chinese Government, U.S. Media, Chinese Media, U.S. Civilians, Chinese Civilians, U.S. Professionals, Chinese Professionals, U.S. Activists, Chinese Activists, and Others.

Through the three time periods researched by Hauser (2011), except for the Others in the speaker category (including the United Nations, the United Nations Population Fund, foreign diplomats, Western broadcast/documentary and foreign experts), Chinese Government consistently was the dominant speaker following by Chinese Media, Chinese Civilians and Chinese Professionals (see Table 2). However, the dominance of Chinese Government decreased over time with the dominance of Chinese Civilians increasing. In other words, U.S. elite

Table 1. Frame Dominance in U.S. Elite Newspapers

Time Priority	1980s	1990s	2000s
First	Effectiveness Frames	Effectiveness Frames	Conflict Frames
Second	Conflict Frames	Conflict Frames	Effectiveness Frames
Third	Implication Frames	Implication Frames	Implication Frames

Table 2. Speaker Dominance in U.S. Elite Newspapers

Time Priority	1980s	1990s	2000s
First	Chinese Government (49.8%)	Chinese Government (39.6%)	Chinese Government (31.3%)
Second	Others (16.9%)	Chinese Civilians (21.8%)	Chinese Civilians (23.6%)
Third	Chinese Civilians and Chinese Media (each 9.2%)	Others (12.7%)	Others (13.3%)
Fourth	Chinese Professionals (7.5%)	Chinese Professionals (8.7%)	Chinese Professionals (11.6%)
Fifth	U.S. Government (5.4%)	U.S. Professionals (6.9%)	U.S. Government (10.3%)
Sixth	U.S. Media (2.0%)	U.S. Government (4.0%)	Chinese Media (3.0%)

Table 2. Speaker Dominance in U.S. Elite Newspapers Continued

Time Priority	1980s	1990s	2000s
Seventh	Chinese Activists, U.S. Professionals, U.S. Civilians, and U.S. Activists (all 0%)	U.S. Activists (0.7%)	Chinese Activists and U.S. Activists (each 2.0%)
Eighth		Chinese Activists, Chinese Media, U.S. Media and U.S. Civilians (all 0%)	U.S. Civilians (0.8%)
Ninth			U.S. Professionals and U.S. Media (each 0.4%)

preferred to use as sources Chinese Civilians rather than Chinese Government as time progressed. The majority of the U.S. speakers were U.S. Government and U.S. Professionals in the 1980s and 1990s, while there was a slight increase in occurrence of U.S. Activists in the 2000s.

Frame Preferences Among Speakers in One-Child Policy Reporting

Every speaker category had specific frame preferences in sourcing the information about one-child policy to U.S. elite media. This finding was the most valuable section in Hauser's (2011) research that each frames linked with specific speakers in the one-child policy reporting by the U.S. elite media.

Chinese Government speakers mainly approached Effectiveness of Enforcement frames; U.S. Government speakers mainly approached Political Implications and Coercion Issues; the Other Government speakers mainly approached Coercion Issues (see Table 3).

Chinese Media speakers dealt primarily with the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame; U.S. Media dealt primarily with the Coercion Issues frame; while Other Media speakers dealt primarily with Effectiveness of Enforcement frame and the Coercion Issues frame.

The most prevalent frame for Chinese Professionals speakers was the Coercion Issues frame; The most prevalent frame for U.S. Professionals speakers was Political Implications; there is no significant frame preference for Other Professionals speakers.

The frame preference for Chinese Civilians speakers was Coercion Issues while there was no clear frame preference for U.S. Civilians and Other Civilians because they were not personally affected by the one-child policy.

Table 3. Frame Preferences for Speakers in U.S. Elite Newspapers

Speakers	Frame Preferences
Chinese Government	Effectiveness of Enforcement Frame
Chinese Media	Effectiveness of Enforcement Frame
Chinese Professionals	Coercion Issues Frames
Chinese Civilians	Coercion Issues Frames
Chinese Activists	Coercion Issues Frames
U.S. Government	Political Implications And Coercion Issues Frames
U.S. Media	Coercion Issues Frames
U.S. Professionals	Political Implications
U.S. Activists	Coercion Issues Frames
U.S. Civilians	
Other Government Speakers	Coercion Issues Frames
Other Media Speakers	Effectiveness of Enforcement Frame And Coercion Issues Frames
Other Activists Speakers	Coercion Issues Frames

Table 3. Frame Preferences for Speakers in U.S. Elite Newspapers Continued

Speakers	Frame Preferences
Other Civilians Speakers	
Other Professionals Speakers	

Note: The time period was from August 29, 1980 to December 13, 2009.

The most prevalent frame for all Activists speakers was Coercion Issues frame, whose focus was human rights abuses. Specifically, most of the U.S. Activists were from organizations identified with the abortion issue while Chinese and Other Activists were mainly categorized as human rights activists by the researcher.

Chapter 3 Materials and Methods

This study relied on grounded theory to collect *The New York Times*' articles related to China's one-child policy. The researcher then engaged in a textual analysis, informed by a grounded theory approach to coding qualitative data, to describe, explain, and understand the interplay among these articles. The assumptions of the qualitative perspective, method of data collection, and the method of data analysis are described more fully below.

Theoretical Basis: The Qualitative Perspective

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches each have different philosophies of reality. Researchers who believe a single, stable, and knowledge reality prefer to implement a quantitative approach that design a static or standardized set of questions; researchers who believe multiple, varied realities prefer to implement qualitative approach that design a flexible set of questions (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014; Davis, 2009).

Qualitative work also seeks more understanding from an insider's perspective that is informed by the humanistic and hermeneutic traditions (Taylor, 1994; Wood, 2004). In this study, the researcher chose to use qualitative approach because context is important, "lending the researcher a cultural perspective from which they attempt to understand the world similar to the way members of the focal culture might" (Davis, 2009, p.43).

Data Collection: Theoretical Sampling

Being aware of the inherent interpretations is important to a researcher during the data collection (Davis, 2009). Sampling is the method to make data collection scientific. There is two

sampling techniques: theoretical sampling and quantitative sampling. In this study, the researcher chose theoretical sampling because it does not need “a subset of larger whole for the purpose of generalization” but still “involves the purposeful and deliberate collection of empirical data, driven by the questions posed by the researcher” (Davis, 2009, p.45). Theoretical sampling is a cumulative, emergent, flexible, and analytic process of discovery (Dilthy, 1962). So, it is appropriate to help researcher better describe, explain, and understanding how *The New York Times* covered China’s one-child policy (Dilthy, 1962).

This research focused specifically on publicly available news articles in *The New York Times*, which means the newspaper’s web blogs, book reviews and op-eds are not included. *The New York Times* is one of the world’s leading newspapers and influences the U.S. national agenda (Cohen, 2016). Unlike academic journals, lots of article-types within newspapers are beyond news articles, such as book reviews and op-eds. These article-types may produce a disconnected picture of the news coverage. Therefore, researcher avoids these other story types in the study and focuses on news articles that cover the topic.

Data Analysis: Inductive and Grounded

The data analysis relied on inductive analysis informed by the grounded theory approach to coding qualitative data. Grounded theory is good at conceptualizing the data by coding where the researcher condenses the data line-by-line to uncover what is important (Chen, 2000). Then, the researcher needs to classify the similar concepts under the constant comparative method into subcategories (Chi et al., 2014).

After a while, similar subcategories are classified as categories using the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Chen, 2000). To stay theoretically sensitive, the researcher can write memos for tracking the emergence of provisional ideas and comparing those with later findings (Ågård, Egerod, Tønnesen, & Lomborg, 2015).

While China's one-child policy widely was covered by western media since it announced in 1980, the academic research, especially in the media research field, did not pay much attention, except the Hauser's study (2011) that explored the U.S. elite media covering the one-child policy during 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

Referring to the Hauser's results (2011), researcher codes the news articles based on their issues, frames, speakers in this study. The researcher also uses grounded theory and inductive analysis to explore the frame preferences among speakers on *The New York Times'* new population policy reporting.

The one-child policy has changed twice. The first change happened on November 16, 2013, when China announced the one-child policy was replaced by a selective one-child policy that allowed couples to have two children if one of the parents is single child. The second change happened on November 30, 2015, when China abolished the one-child policy, creating a universal two-child policy that allowed all couples having two children legally. In this research, both the selective one-child policy and universal two-child policy are called China's new population policy.

Because the coverage concerns a long time period, this study only focuses on the news articles from November 2013, when one-child policy was replaced by new population policy, to June 2016,

the time this study ended. Several heuristic directions drive the current study. These four directions expressed as research questions are:

RQ1: What issues did *The New York Times* cover in China's new population policy reporting?

RQ2: What frame was dominated in *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy?

RQ3: What speakers dominated *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy?

RQ4: What frame preferences did speakers present in *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy?

Chapter 4 Findings

This research addresses both theoretical and pragmatic issues with respect to studying China's one-child policy. On a theoretical level, the researcher employed theoretical sampling to collect empirical data (e.g., news articles) from *The New York Times*. Inductive analysis, inspired by grounded theory, was used to analyze, describe and explain the themes connecting the data to "build theory."

The findings section is divided into four parts. The first part reviews the issues *The New York Times* covered about China's new population policy, which concerned with human rights, family structure, gender imbalance and children education. The second part reviews the dominance of frame in *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy. The third part focuses on the speaker dominance in *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy. The fourth part explores the relationships between frames and speakers in *The New York Times*' reporting concerned with China's new population policy. These narratives begin to suggest the description of China's national policy used a western perspective, and became more comprehensive and less grounded in parochial ideology as time progressed.

There are 40 news articles publishing after November 2013 when Chinese government announced the selective one-child policy, replacing the one-child policy, and their content largely referred to the family planning policy. The 40 news articles covered the issues of policy interpretation, human rights abuse, economic analysis and family structure in five sections of *The*

New York Times including Foreign Desk, Business/Financial Desk, Art/Cultural Desk, Sports Desk, Science Desk and Automobile (see detailed list in the Appendices).

The Issues Covered in China's New Population Policy Reporting

There are several issues covered by *The New York Times* about China's new population policy in 40 collected news articles. While the traditional issues, such as human rights, gender imbalance, family structure and child education, were covered widely, new issues ranged from public service for the aging society to the cost of child-rearing also were covered. The economy became the new popular issue as *The New York Times* published 10 out of 40 news articles (25% China-new-population-policy-coverage) on economic reform and population economics. The following three characteristics of issues were grounded by the researcher from 40 collected news articles in China's new population policy reporting.

Traditional Issues Were Still Salient

There were four traditional issues in the one child policy reporting, including human rights, gender imbalance, family structure, and child education. They were salient in U.S. elite coverage. And they were still salient in *The New York Times*' news population policy reporting.

The Human Rights Issue

Human rights abuse is a critical point raised by western governments since China's one-child policy was introduced in 1979 (Walt, 1999). U.S. media also denounced China's human rights issues such as forced abortion and forced sterilization (Lee, 2002).

In the new population policy coverage, forced abortion and forced sterilization were still

salient in *The New York Times*' reporting. Seven out of 40 news articles reviewed the crude one-child policy as a human rights abuse as they covered the new policy (e.g. News article ID 1, 5, 7, 14, 27, 29, 30). For example,

The one-child policy has created public ire and international criticism over forced abortions (News article ID 1, "After Decades, China Will Ease One-Child Policy," 2013).

The prospect of fines, forced abortion and, most important, losing her job in a state-owned factory were too intimidating (as people broke the one-child policy) (News article ID 5, "In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents," 2013).

Family-planning overhauls ... include crushing fines for those who violated the rules, soaring rates of female infanticide, involuntary sterilizations and forced abortions (News article ID 7, "Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No," 2014).

...countless pregnancies have been aborted and millions of girls have been killed.... (News article ID 14, "Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population," 2014).

The efforts to limit family size also led to ... infanticide to ensure they have a son (News article ID 27, "China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy," 2015).

The human rights abuses have included forced sterilizations and abortions, the killing of infants and the sale of children (News article ID 29, "China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers," 2015).

...estimated that at least 6.5 million Chinese had no official status because they were born outside the family planning rules. ...people (had no official status) have no access to education or health care. Good jobs and marriage licenses are out of reach as well (News article ID 30, "In One-Child China, Second Children, 'Outside Plan,' Often Live in Limbo," 2015).

The Gender Imbalance Issue

In the one-child policy era, the traditions giving preference to boys promoted a "policy of only son" (Patrick, 2016). For years, gender imbalance became a social problem that China could face a surplus of 30 to 40 million men by 2020 (Economics, 2010).

In the new population policy coverage, gender imbalance issue was still active in *The New York Times*' reporting. Six out of 40 news articles reviewed the bad consequences of skew sex ratio (13.6%) (e.g. News article ID 7, 14, 23, 27, 29, 36). For example,

The imbalance is a result of Chinese using various sex selection methods to have a son under the so-called one-child policy (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2014).

China's one-child policy is undergoing re-examination in Beijing because of the skewing of the country's sex ratio...millions of girls have been killed or left to die by parents who had hoped for a boy (News article ID 14, “Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population,” 2014).

'Behind the imbalanced sex ratio of 30 million bachelors lie 30 million baby girls who died due to sex discrimination (News article ID 23, “Bachelor Glut in China Leads to a Proposal: Share Wives,” 2015).

The efforts to limit family size also led to a skewed sex ratio of males to females, because traditional rural families favor boys over girls, sometimes even resorting to infanticide to ensure they have a son (News article ID 27, “China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy,” 2015).

...the ratio is now about 117 boys born for every 100 girls. By 2020, China will have an estimated 30 million bachelors... (News article ID 29, “China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers,” 2015).

While boys outnumber girls as a result of the longstanding one-child policy and a cultural preference for sons, they consistently lag in academic performance (News article ID 36, “Wanted in China: More Male Teachers, to Make Boys Men,” 2016).

The Family Structure Issue

In the new population policy coverage, five out of 40 news articles (12.5%) concerned to family structure issue (e.g. News article ID 5, 7, 14, 16, 28). For example,

...the new policy is expected to help facilitate family development, promote happiness and increase the ability of families to care for the elderly (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2014).

Orphan parent families or *Shidu* family which is special linguistic designation for a Chinese family when it lost its only child at any time was widely covered by *The New York Times*. For example,

About 76,000 only children die annually from accidents or disease...More than a million "orphan parent" families have been created since the one-child policy was formally instituted in 1980 and the number of single-child families began to soar. (News article ID 5, “In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents,” 2013)

Moreover, the one-child policy has created the phrase “4:2:1” that refers to the phenomenon with an aging population with little familial support that two adults would have to support four

grandparents and one child (Fong, 2016; Hesketh et al., 2015). The coverage also focused on the side effect of “4:2:1” family structure. For example,

China's one-child policy is...tearing of the traditional safety net from so many elderly Chinese being forced to rely on only one child for support (News article ID 14, “Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population,” 2014).

... the (one-child) policy ... upended traditional structures for supporting older adults ... that brought the unexpected consequence of a dire shortage of younger relatives to care for a rapidly aging population (News article ID 28, “China Will Feel One-Child Policy's Effect for Decades, Experts Say,” 2015).

China's longstanding one-child policy means that many of the parents of the victims are now childless (News article ID 16, “After Decades, China Will Ease One-Child Policy,” 2015).

The Child Education Issue

The one-child policy has given rise to parents doting on their only child (Cameron, Erkal, Gangadharan & Meng, 2013). U.S. media preferred to cover the phenomenon called a land of “little emperors,” suggesting the one-child generation is self-centered, lacks self-control, displays overindulged behavior, and shows weaker life skills (Fong, 2016).

In the new population policy coverage, “little emperors” was not reported by *The New York Times*. However, children’s mental health (loneliness) and physical health education (participating in sports) had been reported since there were five out of 40 news articles (12.5%) related to (e.g. News article ID 7, 17, 21, 22, 34). For example,

An only child is too lonely. It's better to have two (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2013).

Raised without siblings under China's "one child" policy ... it had created social problems and personality disorders in young people (News article ID 34, “A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation',” 2015).

China's one-child policy has left many parents and schools reluctant to place an emphasis on sports -- and accept the possibility of injury ... (News article ID 22, “In Midst of Revival, China Has Chance for Redemption Against U.S.,” 2015).

Many parents are reluctant to put their children into sports in a nation with an intensely competitive education system and a one-child policy, even though that policy has been relaxed ... in part because of fear of injury ... With the one-child policy, children get overprotected (News article ID 21, “Decline of Chinese Women's Team Reflects Cultural Concerns,” 2015).

The issue of child education also extended to China’s military building strategy because the one-child-generation was not tough enough to be soldiers. For example,

...many of their volunteers and conscripts (in Army) have been raised as spoiled children and that as products of the one-child policy, many of them need toughening up ... the problem of insufficiently hardened soldiers (News article ID 17, “Coddled Recruits Are Hindering China's Army,” 2015).

New Issues Gained Attention

Four new issues covered by *The New York Times* in China’s new child policy reporting, including public service for society (e.g. News article ID 2, 5, 24, 35), surrogacy (e.g. News article ID 13), feminism (e.g. News article ID 19), and domestic violence (e.g. News article ID 38). In the new population policy reporting, *The New York Times* paid attention to them.

Public Service for Society

The past one-child policy created an aging society where old people need young adults to support them. In the new population policy era, the government might provide more efficient public service to alleviate the pressure the young adults faced. For example,

... after ending the one-child policy, China is very likely to hold onto its gains in public health ... enshrine(ing) health care as a fundamental right (News article ID 34, “A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation',” 2015).

Traditionally, however, family took the first responsibility to take care old people. Although China was a big and rich government, its social security or social safety net was still weak. In *The New York Times*’ reporting, for example,

Social security in China is primarily the responsibility of the family, not the state, and adult children are legally obliged to support their parents in old age (News article ID 5, “In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents,” 2013).

China's social safety net is underdeveloped ... The state has been investing in a nationwide health insurance system, but other services are lacking (News article ID 24, “Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size,” 2015).

There would be a quite serious concentration of births that would impose very heavy pressure on basic public services (News article ID 2, “Hurdles Seen for Change to China's One-Child Rule,” 2013).

Surrogacy

Surrogacy is illegal in China. But the new child policy and boy-preference created the demand for wealthy but infertile couples to do surrogacy overseas. For example,

... a recent relaxation of the one-child-per-family policy and a cultural imperative to have children has given rise to a booming black market in surrogacy that experts say produces well over 10,000 births a year (News article ID 13, “China Experiences a Booming Underground Market in Child Surrogacy,” 2014).

Feminism

China's one child policy in particular ultimately will benefit women because parents' attitudes toward daughters are changing for their newly valued single status (Deutsch, 2006; Fong, 2005).

More women could go to college. For example,

Many of the young activists, born in the 1980s and the coddled and well-educated offspring of China's one-child policy ... The young Chinese feminists shaved their heads to protest inequality in higher education and stormed men's restrooms to highlight the indignities women face in their prolonged waits at public toilets ... (News article ID 19, “Taking Feminist Battle to China's Streets, and Landing in Jail,” 2015).

Domestic Violence

Under the one-child policy, parents put all their inspirations into one child. They do not want to lose. For example,

...Chinese culture is very tolerant of it (hitting-and-cursing education), so there's a lot of corporal punishment in families and schools (News article ID 38, "China's Harsh Child Discipline, Through the Lens of Domestic Violence," 2016).

Economy Issues Became the Spotlight

Nine out of 40 news articles (22.5%) reporting economy issues (e.g. News article ID 1, 2, 11, 15, 27, 31, 32, 33, 39). They were including population economics, cost of child-rearing and economic reform.

Population Economics

Population Economics requires a reasonable size of population and a healthy demographic structure. Both benefit the relationship between supply and demand in market. For example,

... population economics. It's an area that will prove central to understanding whether nations will grow richer -- or will stagnate and lose global importance ... heading toward population decline are China with its heritage of a one-child-only policy... (News article ID 15, "Rebalancing the Population Scales," 2014).

Regarding to Population Economics, the government needs to take responsibility to promote demand in market and thus achieve substantial economic growth. For example,

... the (Communist) party announced that it was changing its one-child policy of family planning to a two-child policy in an attempt to stimulate economic growth. (News article ID 31, "China Tempers Its Growth Expectations, to 6.5% a Year," 2015)

The one-child policy has many exceptions now; therefore, there is demand for six or seven seats' (car). Automakers have latched onto the trend and met the demand (News article ID 11, "In China, Dawn of a Gilded Age," 2014).

Population Economics could also deal with the tough reality, including China's aging society and shrinking labor supplement. For example,

China's decision to allow more families to have a second child is an effort to confront a problem that ... is aging populations and not enough babies. (News article ID 32, "As China Seeks More Births, Higher Limit May Not Be the Answer," 2015).

Abolishing the one-child policy would "increase labor supply and ease pressures from an aging population (News article ID 27, "China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy," 2015).

The relaxation was possible because of China's slowed population growth, and in the longer term it will help to offset the pressures of coping with a slowly shrinking labor force ... the real significance is that it's a positive signal... (News article ID 2, "Hurdles Seen for Change to China's One-Child Rule," 2013).

Allowing married couples to have two children will most likely increase the number of entrants into the labor market ... The net long-term effect could lift economic growth rate by about 0.5 of a percentage point (News article ID 33, "China Market Crackdown Gets Top-Level Support," 2015).

Cost of Child-Rearing

China's new population policy was intended to increase the population and to stimulate the economy, reducing the effect of an aging society. However, the resistance of achieving these goals was largely from Chinese families. The reason was also obvious: the unaffordable cost of child-rearing. For example,

Many families now can't even afford one kid (News article ID 25, "Chinese Take to Social Media, and Some to the Bedroom," 2015).

... it's not that simple to have a child. And I don't mean in physical terms, that I'm 40 now. I mean in economic terms. I do know people with more than one child. Even three. But they are very rich (News article ID 24, "Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size," 2015).

Now that many of the one-child generation have reached prime childbearing age themselves, they are struggling to decide whether to have that second child, given the high cost of raising children in Chinese cities (News article ID 34, "A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation,'" 2015).

They (The couple) have a car, and a combined salary of about \$3,900 a month. (But) private kindergartens typically cost at least \$630 a month. Cheaper, state-run kindergartens are highly sought after and cannot offer enough places. a nanny in a big city like Beijing may cost \$235 to \$475, or more, a month, depending on the nanny's education (News article ID 24, "Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size," 2015).

Economic Reform

China's new population policy was not only a signal to promote the economic growth, but also represented the Chinese government or Communist party hopes to embrace a predictable

market and a free society. Erasing the decades one-child policy was a positive step to pursue a long-term economic reform. For example,

Nearly all of the factors involved changes in or market reactions to ... the official end of the one-child policy (News article ID 39, “Chinese Who Violated One-child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” 2016).

The changes (new population policy) were announced in a party decision that also laid out broad and potentially far-reaching proposals to restructure the economy by encouraging greater private participation in finance, vowing market competition in several important parts of the economy, and promising farmers better property protection and compensation for confiscated land (News article ID 1, “After Decades, China Will Ease One-Child Policy,” 2013).

Frame Dominance in China’s New Population Policy Reporting

According to Hauser’s research on the one-child policy reporting (2011), frame dominance was changed during 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. U.S. elite media likely used the Effectiveness Frames in the first two time periods and shifted to the Conflict Frames in the third time period.

Compared to Hauser’s research (2011), this research found Implications Frames surged to the first frame category as *The New York Times* covered China’s new population policy (see Table 4). There were 29 out of 40 news articles (total 72.5% China-new-population-policy-coverage) using Implications Frames (e.g. News article ID 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40), including 14 news articles in Economic Implications Frames (35.0%), 11 news articles in Social Implications Frames (27.5%) and four news articles in Political Implication Frames (10.0%). The following three characteristics of frame dominance were grounded by the researcher from 40 collected news articles in China’s new population policy reporting.

Table 4. Frame Dominance in The New York Times' News Articles

Priority	Frame Category	Frames	News Articles ID
First	Implication Frames	Economic Implications	1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 26, 27, 31, 33, 39
		Social Implications	5, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 28, 36, 40
		Political Implications	3, 32, 35, 38
Second	Effectiveness Frames	Evaluation of Policy	2, 7, 24, 25, 29, 34
		Effectiveness of Enforcement	6, 18, 37
		Effectiveness in Controlling Population	
Third	Conflict Frames	Coercion Issues Frames	4, 30

Note: The time period is from November 2013 to June 2016.

Implications Frames Jumped to the Dominant Frame Category

U.S. elite media preferred to use the Effectiveness frames than the Implications frames (Hauser, 2011, p.56). Moreover, the one-child policy was covered as having more negative political and social effects than expecting favorable economic effects, according to Hauser's research (2011).

In the new population policy reporting, *The New York Times* increased the use of economic implications frame while still neglecting the positive effects. The Economic Implications frame was used most in the Implications category; most news articles in the Social Implications frame had a negative direction; the Political Implications frame concentrated on the change of China's internal political system.

Economic Implications Frame Climbed to the First and Became Negative

The Economic Implications frame deals with "how the policy has impacted or could impact the economic situation in China, mostly at a macro level" (Hauser, 2011, p.61). U.S. elite media framed the one-child policy as less of an economic issue than social and political ones, and no negative coverage occurred under economic implications frame (Hauser, 2011).

In the new population policy reporting, however, 14 out of 29 news articles (48.2%) implemented the Economic Implications frame under the Implications Frames category (e.g. News article ID 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 26, 27, 31, 33, 39). This made the Economic Implications the most used frame in the Implications category.

Moreover, *The New York Times* news articles were all in a negative direction, which compared with no negative direction in the one-child policy reporting by U.S. elite media. For example,

Driven by fears that an aging population could jeopardize China's economic ascent... (News article ID 27, "China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy," 2015).

Workers are scarce partly because of the government's one-child policy... (News article ID 20, "Cheaper Robots, Fewer Workers," 2015).

... an aging population threatened to weigh down China's economic prospects not so much because of a shrinking work force, but because of shrinking consumer demand (News article ID 26, "Experts Weigh Likely Impacts of China's 'One Child' Reversal," 2015).

News Articles in the Social Implications Frame Had a Negative Direction

The Social Implications frame deals with "how the policy affects society: the benefits it brings, the problems it causes, and how those problems are being combated" (Hauser, 2011, p.57). The one-child policy reporting under the Social Implications frame had the high chance being represented in negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In new population policy reporting, 11 out of 29 news articles (37.9%) implemented the Social Implications frame under the Implications Frames category (e.g. News article ID 5, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 28, 36, 40). Six of them carried a negative direction. For example,

More than a million "orphan parent" families have been created since the one-child policy was formally instituted in 1980 and the number of single-child families began to soar (News article ID 5, "In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents," 2013).

Even China's one-child policy is undergoing re-examination in Beijing because of the skewing of the country's sex ratio -- countless pregnancies have been aborted and millions of girls have been killed or left to die by parents who had hoped for a boy -- and the tearing of the traditional safety net from so many elderly Chinese being forced to rely on only one child for support (News article ID 14, "Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population," 2014).

China's longstanding one-child policy means that many of the parents of the victims are now childless (News article ID 16, "A Memorial In Shanghai for Victims of Stampede," 2015).

Even President Xi Jinping ... has alluded to the problem of insufficiently hardened soldiers (News article ID 17, "Coddled Recruits Are Hindering 'Reversal,'" 2015).

"Behind the imbalanced sex ratio of 30 million bachelors lie 30 million baby girls who died due to sex discrimination (News article ID 23, "Bachelor Glut in China Leads to a Proposal: Share Wives," 2015).

... the policy was having undesirable side effects: It upended traditional structures for supporting older adults and led to a widening imbalance in the number of men and women, one that could sow social unrest (News article ID 28, "China Will Feel One-Child Policy's Effect for Decades, Experts Say," 2015).

The Political Implications Frame Only Kept Eyes on China's Internal Political System

The Political Implications frame deals with "the political effects that resulted from the one-child policy, primarily internationally, but also within China's internal political system" (Hauser, 2011, p. 59). Four out of 29 news articles (13.8%) used the Political Implications frame under Implications Frames category (e.g. News article ID 3, 32, 35, 38).

Contrary to the one-child policy reporting under the Political Implications frame, *The New York Times* only focused on China's internal political system in the new population policy reporting. For example,

It (Chinese government) addresses a wide range of issues -- including changes to the long-standing one-child policy, land rights, price liberalization and the role of the markets in the largely state-dominated economy (News article ID 3, "China's Detail a New Policy, And Market Signal Approval," 2013).

The Ministry of Civil Affairs, the branch of government with the most responsibility for children's welfare ... retraining family planning workers to protect children ... (News article ID 38, "China's Harsh Child Discipline, Through the Lens of Domestic Violence," 2015).

The Conflict Frame Dropped to the Last

The Coercion Issues frame is the only frame in Conflict Frame category. The Coercion Issues frame focuses on "coercive measures associated with the one-child policy and whether they are used; it also deals with any discussion of abuses of the policy or allegations of human rights violations" (Hauser, 2011, p.62).

The Conflict Frame was the most prevalent frame in 2000s, and the second-most prevalent frame category in 1980s and 2000s. However, there were only two out of 40 news articles (5%) were categorized as Conflict Frame in the new population policy reporting (e.g. News article ID 4, 29). For example,

... driver worried about facing penalties for violating China's one-child policy and wishing for a better life for his child -- seeks to have his wife deliver her second baby across the border in Hong Kong (News article ID 4, "Lives of Rich and Poor Cross in Hong Kong," 2013).

... it's illegal to deny people residence permits because of family planning violations ... But in practice, some local governments still bundle the two things together, to make it more cost(ly) to ignore the rules and to extract fines (News article ID 30, "In One-Child China, Second Children, 'Outside Plan,' Often Live in Limbo," 2015).

The Effectiveness Frames Stayed Stable

Effectiveness frames were in the highest prevalence in frame category for the one-child policy reporting by the elite American media until the 2000s when the Conflict Frame passed it.

In the new population policy reporting, the Effectiveness frames remained in second place in the frame category. Nine out of 40 news articles (22.5%) were categorized as Effectiveness Frames in the new population policy reporting (e.g. News article ID 2, 6, 7, 18, 24, 25, 29, 34, 37). U.S. elite media used the Effectiveness in Controlling Population frame in 23.2% one-child policy reporting (Hauser, 2011). However, in new population policy reporting, this number dropped to zero. Moreover, the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame likely covered the issue of fines, which are the punishment for population policy violations; *The New York Times* still followed a negative direction in the Evaluation of the Policy frame just like U.S. elite media did the same during 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.

There Is No the Effectiveness in Controlling Population Frame

The Effectiveness in Controlling Population frame focused on “the ability of the policy to meet its population goals” (Hauser, 2011, p.49). It was popular when journalists introduced China’s enforced government and crude population policy. Because the new consequences of population policy raised, including the economic growth slowing and the pressure of aging society, the Effectiveness in Controlling Population frame was abandoned by *The New York Times*.

The Effectiveness of Enforcement Frame Focused on State Power on Fine

The Effectiveness of Enforcement frame dealt with the practical aspect of whether the enforcement methods being employed actually resulted in fewer children being born (Hauser, 2011, p.51). Chinese people needed to pay the fine when they violated the population policy regardless of the one-child policy in the past or the new population policy, which only allowed one couple raising two children.

Three out of nine news articles (33.3%) used the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame. For example,

... fine is based on the difference between the couple's actual income and the local average. For Mr. Zhang -- almost certainly one of China's most well-paid directors -- that could add up... estimated the fine could total up to \$26.2 million (News article ID 6, “Film Director Runs Afoul of China’s One-Child Law,” 2013).

China enforced this (fine) policy with an iron fist and no resistance (News article ID 18, “An Abortionist Who Embodies State Power,” 2015).

paying a fine will no longer be a precondition for obtaining a hukou, families who violated the old rules (one-child policy) will still be required to pay fines for children they had when the rules were in effect (News article ID 37, “Chinese Who Violated One-child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” 2016).

Evaluation of Policy Frame Remained Negative

The Evaluation of Policy frame focused on “overall opinions on the policy, including Chinese people’s reactions to the policy, adjectives used to describe the policy, and content about whether the policy will change” (Hauser, 2011, p.53). According to Hauser’s research (2011), the negative direction in Evaluation of Policy frame were prevalent in the one-child policy reporting.

In the new population policy era, six out of nine news articles (66.6%) used the Evaluation of Policy frame, mostly in a negative direction. For example,

Even if the policy was further relaxed, it's not necessarily so that every couple will have more kids (News article ID 2, “Hurdles Seen for Change to China's One-Child Rule,” 2013).

... many couples blamed the rising cost of living for their reluctance to have more than one child (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2014). The family planning policies have gone on for so long and there are so few little children (News article ID 24, “C Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size,” 2015).

Speaking of a second child, though it sounds like a plan too far away for me, I don't think I'll have one. Many families now can't even afford one kid (News article ID 25, “Chinese Take to Social Media, and Some to the Bedroom,” 2015).

It (Population policy) is ruined the demographic structure, both the age and gender structure, and it's also altered Chinese people's thinking so that young people are unwilling to bear and raise children (News article ID 29, “China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers,” 2015).

... members of the one-child generation ... realize later that they would have to shoulder the burden of taking care of aging parents, in-laws and children without the support of siblings (News article ID 34, “A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation',” 2015).

Speaker Dominance in China's New Population Policy Reporting

According to Hauser’s research on one-child policy reporting during 1980s, 1990s and 2000s (2011), Chinese Government Speaker was dominant followed by Chinese Civilians Speakers, except for “Other” Speakers in the 1980s. Chinese Professionals Speakers consistently remained the fourth Speakers. In 1980s and 2000s, the most dominated U.S. Speaker was U.S. Government;

in 1990s, the most dominated U.S. Speaker was U.S. Professionals. U.S. Media Speaker took the sixth place in 1980s and 2000s and no coverage in the 1990s.

Compared to Hauser's results (2011), this research found Chinese Professionals were the dominated Speaker as *The New York Times* covered China's new population policy (see Table 5). Each Speaker appeared in ten news articles. Moreover, Chinese Civilians Speakers who appeared in the eight news articles surpassed Chinese Government Speakers who appeared in the six news articles in *The New York Times* reporting. U.S. Media Speaker surged to the second most used Speaker in the coverage of China's new population policy, and took the first place among U.S. Speakers. The following three characteristics of speaker dominance were grounded by the researcher from 40 collected news articles in China's new population policy reporting.

Chinese Professionals Became the Dominant Speakers

In the coverage of the one-child policy, the majority of speakers were in the Government category, mostly the Chinese Government Speaker (Hauser, 2011). In contrast, Chinese Professionals Speakers remained in the fourth place while its percentage steadily increased from 7.5% in 1980s to 11.6% in 2000s (Hauser, 2011). "Chinese medical doctor," "Chinese health worker," "Chinese demographer/population expert," and "Chinese legal scholar lawyer," frequently were cited by U.S. elite media in their one-child policy reporting.

In the coverage of China's new population policy, however, Chinese Government Speaker dropped to the third place. The most prevalent speaker became Chinese Professionals in *The New York Times*' reporting (e.g. News article ID 3, 10, 18, 21, 23, 26, 29, 38, 39).

Table 5. Speaker Dominance in The New York Times' News Articles

Priority	Speakers	News Articles ID
First	Chinese Professionals	3, 10, 18, 21, 23, 26, 29, 38, 39
Second	Chinese Civilians	4, 7, 13, 24, 25, 30, 34, 36
	And U.S. Media	12, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 32, 40
Third	Chinese Government	1, 9, 17, 27, 31, 33, 37
Fourth	Chinese Media,	2, 6
	Chinese Activists,	
	U.S. Professionals	5, 19
	And Other Speakers	28, 35
		8, 11
Fifth	U.S. Government, U.S. Civilians, And U.S. Activists	

Note: The time period was from November 2013 to June 2016.

Furthermore, frequently cited speaker in the Chinese Professionals category was “economist.”

For example,

Wang Tao, chief China economist at UBS commented, "The breadth of the reform plan (including new population policy) has certainly exceeded most expectations" (News article ID 3, “China's Detail a New Policy, And Market Signal Approval,” 2013).

The China economists at Goldman Sachs said, “the document (including new population policy) showed high reform conviction and lifted reform expectations and targets” (News article ID 3, “China's Detail a New Policy, And Market Signal Approval,” 2013).

Yao Wei, an economist in the Hong Kong office of Société Générale, said, "The new leaders really delivered and promised a number of concrete changes (including new population policy). China's reform boat has finally set sail" (News article ID 3, “China's Detail a New Policy, And Market Signal Approval,” 2013).

Xie Zuoshi, an economics professor at Zhejiang University of Finance and Economics, defended his recent proposal that one solution to China's huge surplus of single men could be to allow polyandry, or multiple husbands, said, "No one is forcing anyone to accept 'one wife, many husbands!' " (News article ID 23, “Bachelor Glut in China Leads to a Proposal: Share Wives,” 2015).

Fred Hu, the founder of Primavera Capital Group, a Chinese investment firm, said, “What drives China's future in the next two or three decades, it is not the population. It is whether future leaders can continue to push ahead political and economic reforms (including new population policy)” (News article ID 26, “Experts Weigh Likely Impacts of China's 'One Child' Reversal,” 2015).

The other cited Chinese Professionals included “law scholar,” “population scholar,” “social work and sociology professor,” and “former soccer star.” For example,

Yang Zhizhu, a law scholar at the China Youth University of Political Studies in Beijing, said, "This policy has had such a big impact on China's social development, bigger than the Cultural Revolution. ... It's ruined the demographic structure, both the age and gender structure, and it's also altered Chinese people's thinking so that young people are unwilling to bear and raise children" (News article ID 29, “China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers,” 2015).

Liang Zhongtang, a population scholar at the Shanxi Academy of Social Sciences ... arguing that if families were allowed to have two children, the population could still be kept to 1.2 billion by 2000 (News article ID 29, “China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers,” 2015).

Mr. He, a professor of social work and sociology, said, “... redeploy the thousands of newly idle family planning workers around the country as a network of child protectors. Their

workload has declined since the government ended the one-child policy” (News article ID 38, “China's Harsh Child Discipline, Through the Lens of Domestic Violence,” 2016).

Sun, the former soccer star, said many parents are reluctant to put their children into sports in a nation with an intensely competitive education system and a one-child policy, even though that policy has been relaxed (News article ID 21, “Decline of Chinese Women's Team Reflects Cultural Concerns,” 2015).

Chinese Civilians Speakers Were Louder than Chinese Government Speakers

In coverage of the one-child policy, Chinese Government Speaker took the first place through the three time periods, while Chinese Civilians steadily increased to the second place from 9.2% in 1980s to 21.8% in 1990s to 23.6% in 2000s. (Hauser, 2011). “Chinese man,” and “Chinese woman,” whose gender was the only descriptive given, and “Chinese person,” a speaker not mention the gender, were the three major speakers in U.S. elite media reporting (Hauser, 2011).

In the coverage of China’s new population policy, Chinese Civilians Speakers remained in the second place but still passed Chinese Government Speakers who dropped to the third place. Eight news articles cited Chinese Civilians Speakers in *The New York Times*’ reporting (e.g. News article ID 4, 7, 13, 24, 25, 30, 34, 36) in contrast to seven news articles citing Chinese Government Speaker (e.g. News article ID 1, 9, 17, 27, 31, 33, 37). The most often cited speaker which Chinese Civilians category were the normal people identified by some specific information. For example,

Mao Xiaodan, 27, a Beijing lawyer seven weeks into her first pregnancy who has dismissed the prospect of a second child, said, "With two kids you have less money to give them the best. My husband's co-worker has twins, and just paying for elementary school has nearly bankrupted him" (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2014).

Maggie Ding, 36, a university lecturer with an infant son, ..., said. "I would run the risk of having two boys," she said. "That means double the mortgage and the pressure. It's too overwhelming to even think about" (News article ID 7, “Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No,” 2014).

Yang, one 24-year-old in Wuhan who asked to be known by her family name, became a surrogate to earn money for her sick father, and said she was on her second pregnancy for Baby Plan (News article ID 13, “China Experiences a Booming Underground Market in Child Surrogacy,” 2014).

Ms. Cai, then 38 ... had long dreamed of giving Huhu (her first child) a little sister, said, "Our life would become harder. It's a money thing" (News article ID 24, “Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size,” 2015).

A Weibo user "Big Forehead Qianqian" wrote: "Speaking of a second child, though it sounds like a plan too far away for me, I don't think I'll have one. Many families now can't even afford one kid. Won't they be bogged down to death if they have two? It's better to have one and give him/her the best education" (News article ID 25, “Chinese Take to Social Media, and Some to the Bedroom,” 2015).

Zhang Cheng, 22, a university student in Beijing, said, "We were told we were spoiled little emperors. But they didn't tell us we would be the only generation that would have to face these obligations alone" (News article ID 34, “A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation’”, 2015).

Frequently cited speakers within the Chinese Government category included “National Health and Family Planning Commission,” “the party,” and “public security and family planning officials.”

For example,

Sheng Laiyun, a spokesman for the National Bureau of Statistics, said the latest (economic) figures nonetheless represented an economy showing considerable strength ... The falling number of Chinese ages 16 to 55 reflects the increasingly strict enforcement of the "one child" policy through the 1990s and has produced surging blue-collar incomes that are helping to sustain growth in the services sector (News article ID 9, “Growth Rate Rose 7.4% in 1st Quarter, China Reports,” 2014).

The National Health and Family Planning Commission, which enforces the (population) policy, said in a statement ... Abolishing the one-child policy would increase labor supply and ease pressures from an aging population. This will benefit sustained and healthy economic development (News article ID 27, “China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy,” 2015).

... the (Communist) party announced that it was changing its one-child policy of family planning to a two-child policy in an attempt to stimulate economic growth (News article ID 31, “China Tempers Its Growth Expectations, to 6.5% a Year,” 2015).

Wang Pei'an, a vice minister of the National Health and Planning Commission, told a news conference in Beijing ... Allowing married couples to have two children will most likely increase the number of entrants into the labor market and reduce the proportion of older people dependent on others for care (News article ID 33, “China Market Crackdown Gets Top-Level Support,” 2015).

Public security and family planning officials in the southern province of Guangdong said a fine would no longer be a precondition for a hukou for children born in violation of the national policy (News article ID 37, “Chinese Who Violated One-child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules,” 2016).

U.S. Media were Dominated in U.S. Speakers Category

In one-child policy reporting, U.S. Speakers included U.S. Government and U.S. Media in 1980s, U.S. Professionals, U.S. Government and U.S. Activists in 1990s, U.S. Government, U.S. Media, U.S. Professionals, U.S. Government, U.S. Activists and U.S. Civilians in 2000s (Hauser, 2011).

In the new population policy reporting, *The New York Times* only used two speakers, including U.S. Media and U.S. Professionals. And there were more U.S. Media speakers (e.g. News article ID 12, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 32, 40) than U.S. Professionals speakers (e.g. News article ID 28, 35) in the coverage. In other words, U.S. Media dominated among all U.S. Speakers in the new population policy reporting by *The New York Times*.

Moreover, U.S. Media also became the second dominate speaker. Compared to Other Speakers which had several subcategories such as “medical doctor,” “health worker, all speakers in U.S. Media category came from *The New York Times*’ reporters themselves. For example,

Reporter Karin Fischer pointed out, “In China, because of the government's one-child policy, there will be 60 percent fewer people aged 20 to 24 by 2030 than in 2010” (News article ID 12, “For Some Foreign Students, U.S. Education Is Losing Its Attraction,” 2014).

Reporter Eduardo Porter argued, “Even China's one-child policy is undergoing re-examination in Beijing because of the skewing of the country's sex ratio -- countless pregnancies have been aborted and millions of girls have been killed or left to die by parents who had hoped for a boy -- and the tearing of the traditional safety net from so many elderly Chinese being forced to rely on only one child for support” (News article ID 14, “Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population,” 2015).

Reporter Tyler Cowen said, “Also heading toward population decline are China (with its heritage of a one-child-only policy) as well as South Korea and parts of Mediterranean Europe” (News article ID 15, “Rebalancing the Population Scales,” 2015).

Reporter Eduardo Porter warned, “China's longstanding one-child policy means that many of the parents of the victims are now childless” (News article ID 16, “A Memorial In Shanghai for Victims of Stampede,” 2015).

Reporter Steven Erlanger argued, “China's decision to allow more families to have a second child is an effort to confront a problem that is facing much of Europe, too -- aging populations and not enough babies” (News article ID 32, “As China Seeks More Births, Higher Limit May Not Be the Answer,” 2015).

Reporter Didi Kirsten Tatlow suggested Chinese women benefited from the-fewer-children situation where they could save more time for themselves. Didi Kirsten Tatlow was busy for her journalist’s job that had little time to child-rearing. In this way, she hired 3 mothers who had “one child each in the 1980s, the years of the "one-child" policy,” to take care her children (News article ID 40, “3 Other Mothers, My Intimate Network,” 2016).

Frame Preferences for Speakers in China’s New Population Policy Reporting

Compared with Hauser’s research that each frames linked with specific speakers in the one-child policy reporting by the U.S. elite media (2011), *The New York Times* made several noticeable changes in its new population policy reporting.

Chinese Professionals Speakers Preferred to use the Economic Implications Frame Rather Than the Coercion Issues Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, more than half of news articles were under the Coercion Issues frame by Chinese Professionals, and 89.4% of these Coercion Issues frames were in the negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times*’ new population policy reporting, however, Chinese Professionals speakers never used the Coercion Issues frame and were likely to use Economic Implications frame (see Table 6 and Table 7). There were three news articles in Economic Implications frame by

Table 6. Frames Linked with Speakers in The New York Times' News Articles

Frames Speakers	Implications			Effectiveness			Conflict	
	Economic Implications	Social Implications	Political Implications	Effectiveness of Enforcement	Evaluation of Policy Frames	Effectiveness in Controlling Population	Coercion Frames	Issues
Chinese Professionals	10, 26, 39	21, 23	3, 38	18	29			
Chinese Civilians	13	36			7,24,25,34		4, 30	
U.S. Media	12,15,20	14,16,22,40	32					
Chinese Government	1,9,27,31,33	17		37				

Table 6. Frames Linked with Speakers in The New York Times' News Articles Continued

Frames Speakers	Implications			Effectiveness			Conflict	
	Economic Implications	Social Implications	Political Implications	Effectiveness of Enforcement	Evaluation of Policy Frames	Effectiveness in Controlling Population	Coercion Frames	Issues
U.S. Government								
U.S. Activists								

Note: The order of Speaker depended on the Speaker Dominance.

The time period was from November 2013 to June 2016.

Table 7. Frame Preferences for Speakers in The New York Times' Reporting

Speakers	Frame Preferences
Chinese Professionals	Economic Implications
U.S. Media	Economic Implications And Social Implications
Chinese Civilians	Evaluation of Policy Frame
Chinese Government	Economic Implications
Chinese Media	Evaluation of Policy Frame And Effectiveness of Enforcement
Chinese Activists	Social Implications
Other Speakers	Economic Implications
U.S. Professionals	Social Implications And Social Implications
U.S. Government	
U.S. Activists	
U.S. Civilians	

Note: The time period was from November 2013 to June 2016.

Chinese Professionals Speakers (e.g. News article ID: 10, 26, 39), including two news articles (News article ID: 10, 26) in the negative direction, and one news article (News article ID: 39) in the positive direction. For example,

Leo Ma, the export manager for paint rollers at the JOC Great Wall Corporation, a partly state-owned industrial conglomerate based in Shanghai, said, ... Blue-collar wages have more than quintupled in the last decade ... as the "one child" policy has begun to reduce the number of young workers (News article ID 10, "World's Growth Engines Falter," 2014).

Mr. Yao (director of the China Center for Economic Research at Peking University in Beijing) said that an aging population threatened to weigh down China's economic prospects not so much because of a shrinking work force, but because of shrinking consumer demand (News article ID 26, "Experts Weigh Likely Impacts of China's 'One Child' Reversal," 2015).

The (economic) rebound has meant brisk business for people like Wu Chao, a manager ... in Beijing real estate agency, ...(he) said nearly all of the factors ... involved changes in or market reactions to government policy. Those included ... the official end of the one-child policy ... (News article ID 39, "Real Estate in China Is Reviving After Lull," 2016).

Chinese Civilians Speakers Preferred to use the Evaluation of the Policy Frame Rather Than the Coercion Issues Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, more than one third of news articles were under the Coercion Issues frame by Chinese Civilians, and 89.9% of these Coercion Issues frames were in the negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *the New York Times*' new population policy reporting, however, Chinese Civilians Speakers used Coercion Issues frame in two out of eight news articles (25%), and were likely to use Evaluation of the Policy frame as preference frame. There were four news articles in Evaluation of the Policy frame by Chinese Civilians Speakers (e.g. News article ID: 7, 24, 25, 34), including three news articles (News article ID: 7, 24, 34) in the negative direction, and one news article (News article ID: 25) in the neutral direction. For example,

Maggie Ding, 36, a university lecturer with an infant son, ..., said. "I would run the risk of having two boys," she said. "That means double the mortgage and the pressure. It's too overwhelming to even think about" (News article ID 7, "Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No," 2014).

Ms. Cai, then 38 ... had long dreamed of giving Huhu (her first child) a little sister, said, "Our life would become harder. It's a money thing" (News article ID 24, "Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size," 2015).

... members of the one-child generation ... realize later that they would have to shoulder the burden of taking care of aging parents, in-laws and children without the support of siblings (News article ID 34, "A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation'," 2015).

On Weibo, a user who goes by the name "Li Wan Xiao Yu" ... wrote: ... everyone can have two children. ... Mothers who used to worry that they would be fined more than 200,000 RMB (\$31,470) for having a second baby can rest assured and prepare for a second child!" However, a Weibo user "Big Forehead Qianqian" wrote: "Speaking of a second child, though it sounds like a plan too far away for me, I don't think I'll have one. Many families now can't even afford one kid ..." (News article ID 25, "Chinese Take to Social Media, and Some to the Bedroom," 2015).

Chinese Government Speakers Preferred to use the Economic Implications Rather Than the Effectiveness of Enforcement Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, more than one third of news articles were under the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame by Chinese Government, and 83.5% of these Effectiveness of Enforcement frame were in the negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times'* new population policy reporting, however, Chinese Government Speakers used Effectiveness of Enforcement frame in only one out of seven news articles (14.3%), and were likely to use Economic Implications frame. There were five news articles in Economic Implications frame by Chinese Government Speakers (e.g. News article ID: 1, 9, 27, 31, 33), including three news articles (News article ID: 9, 27, 33) in the positive direction, and two news articles (News article ID: 1, 31) in the neutral direction. For example,

Sheng Laiyun, a spokesman for the National Bureau of Statistics, said the latest (economic) figures nonetheless represented an economy showing considerable strength ... The falling number of Chinese ages 16 to 55 reflects the increasingly strict enforcement of the "one child" policy through the 1990s and has produced surging blue-collar incomes that are helping to sustain growth in the services sector (News article ID 9, "Growth Rate Rose 7.4% in 1st Quarter, China Reports," 2014).

The National Health and Family Planning Commission, which enforces the (population) policy, said in a statement ... Abolishing the one-child policy would increase labor supply and ease pressures from an aging population. This will benefit sustained and healthy economic development (News article ID 27, "China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy," 2015).

Wang Pei'an, a vice minister of the National Health and Planning Commission, told a news conference in Beijing ... Allowing married couples to have two children will most likely increase the number of entrants into the labor market and reduce the proportion of older people dependent on others for care (News article ID 33, "China Market Crackdown Gets Top-Level Support," 2015).

The changes (new population policy) were announced in a (Communist) party decision that also laid out broad and potentially far-reaching proposals to restructure the economy by encouraging greater private participation in finance, vowing market competition in several important parts of the economy, and promising farmers better property protection and compensation for confiscated land (News article ID 1, "After Decades, China Will Ease One-Child Policy," 2013).

... the (Communist) party announced that it was changing its one-child policy of family planning to a two-child policy in an attempt to stimulate economic growth (News article ID 31, "China Tempers Its Growth Expectations, to 6.5% a Year," 2015).

Chinese Media Speakers Began to use the Evaluation of the Policy Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, almost half of news articles were under the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame by Chinese Government, and 76.2% of these Effectiveness of Enforcement frame were in the neural direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times*' new population policy reporting, however, Chinese Media not only still used the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame in one of two news articles (e.g. News article ID: 6), but also used the Evaluation of the Policy frame in another news article (e.g. News article ID: 2). The news article under the Effectiveness of Enforcement frame was in neutral direction,

and another news article under the Evaluation of the Policy frame was in positive direction. For example,

... fine is based on the difference between the couple's actual income and the local average. For Mr. Zhang -- almost certainly one of China's most well-paid directors -- that could add up... estimated the fine could total up to \$26.2 million (News article ID 6, "Film Director Runs Afoul of China's One-Child Law," 2013).

The relaxation was possible because of China's slowed population growth, and in the longer term it will help to offset the pressures of coping with a slowly shrinking labor force ... the real significance is that it's a positive signal... (News article ID 2, "Hurdles Seen for Change to China's One-Child Rule," 2013).

Chinese Activists Speakers Preferred to use the Social Implications Frame Rather Than the Coercion Issues Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, 80 percent of news articles were under the Coercion Issues frame by Chinese Activists, and all of these Coercion Issues frame were in the negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times'* new population policy reporting, however, Chinese Activists Speakers used the Social Implications frame in both two news articles, and no news article was under the Coercion Issues frame. There were two news articles in the Social Implications frame by Chinese Activists Speakers (e.g. News article ID: 5, 9); both two news articles were in the positive direction. For example,

Responding to the social challenge (orphan parents), in July 2012 ... an I.T. worker in his 20s in Beijing, set up a website called "Lost Singles Family" and an instant messenger group, "Love for Lost Singles Families." ... The site has about 1,000 registered users (to ask society to help orphan parents) (News article ID 5, "In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents," 2013).

Many of the young (Chinese feminists) activists, born in the 1980s and the coddled and well-educated offspring of China's one-child policy ... The young Chinese feminists shaved their heads to protest inequality in higher education and stormed men's restrooms to highlight the

indignities women face in their prolonged waits at public toilets ... (News article ID 19, "Taking Feminist Battle to China's Streets, and Landing in Jail," 2015).

U.S. Media Speakers Preferred to use to the Social Implication Frame Rather Than the Coercion Issues Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, 85.7 percent of news articles were under the Coercion Issues frame by U.S. Media, and all of these Coercion Issues frame were in the negative direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times*' new population policy reporting, however, U.S. Media Speakers never used Coercion Issues frame and were likely to use the Social Implications frame. Four out of eight news articles in the Social Implications were framed by U.S. Media Speakers (e.g. News article ID: 14, 16, 22, 40), including three news articles (News article ID: 14, 16, 22) in the negative direction, and one news article (News article ID: 40) in the positive direction. For example,

Reporter Eduardo Porter argued, "Even China's one-child policy is undergoing re-examination in Beijing because of the skewing of the country's sex ratio -- countless pregnancies have been aborted and millions of girls have been killed or left to die by parents who had hoped for a boy -- and the tearing of the traditional safety net from so many elderly Chinese being forced to rely on only one child for support" (News article ID 14, "Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population," 2015).

Reporter Eduardo Porter warned, "China's longstanding one-child policy means that many of the parents of the victims are now childless" (News article ID 16, "A Memorial In Shanghai for Victims of Stampede," 2015).

Reporter Jere Longman pointed out China's one-child policy has left many parents and schools reluctant to place an emphasis on sports -- and accept the possibility of injury ... (News article ID 22, "In Midst of Revival, China Has Chance for Redemption Against U.S.," 2015).

Reporter Didi Kirsten Tatlow suggested Chinese women benefited from the-fewer-children situation where they could save more time for themselves. Didi Kirsten Tatlow was busy for her journalist's job that had little time to child-rearing. In this way, she hired 3 mothers who had "one child each in the 1980s, the years of the "one-child" policy," to take care her children (News article ID 40, "3 Other Mothers, My Intimate Network," 2016).

U.S. Professionals Speakers Began to use the Social Implications Frame

In the one-child policy reporting, almost half of news articles were under the Political Implications frame by U.S. Professionals, and 88.9% of these Political Implications frame were in the neutral direction (Hauser, 2011).

In *The New York Times*' new population policy reporting, however, U.S. Professionals not only still used the Political Implications frame in one of two news articles (e.g. News article ID: 35), but also used the Social Implications frame in another news article (e.g. News article ID: 28). The news article under the Political Implications frame was in neutral direction, and another news article under the Social Implications frame was in negative direction. For example,

Dr. Christopher J.L. Murray, director of the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington said even after ending the one-child policy, China is very likely to hold onto its gains in public health (News article ID 35, "Changes, Perhaps Not for the Better," 2015).

Richard Jackson of the Center for Strategic and International Studies noted that in a society with a widespread preference for sons, the one-child policy led to a significantly skewed ratio of men to women: There are now about 120 boys born in China for every 100 girls. China will be living with the pernicious legacy of this gender imbalance for decades to come, It should have lifted the policy years ago (News article ID 28, "China Will Feel One-Child Policy's Effect for Decades, Experts Say," 2015).

Chapter 5

Discussion

This study used grounded theory to analyze the *The New York Times* coverage of China's population policy from November 16, 2013, when China replaced its one-child policy with a selective one-child policy that allowed couples to have two children if one of the parents is a single child, to November 30, 2015, when China allowed all couples to have two children legally. This subject has barely been touched by grounded theory before this work. Framing analysis has been done in longitudinal research of U.S. media coverage of China's one-child policy between 1979 and 2009 (Hauser, 2011). There was no research on the news coverage of China's new population policy. This study attempted to fill this gap.

As China's population policy changed in these years, the issues covered by *The New York Times* diversified. Instead of the traditional issues like human rights abuses and gender imbalance, new issues, like population economics and the cost of child-rearing, arose.

Moreover, *The New York Times* coverage focused more on the Implications frame, especially the Economic Implications frame, than the Effectiveness frames. Regarding speakers, *The New York Times* is more likely to source information from Chinese Professionals than Chinese Government. U.S. Media were more likely to be mentioned than other U.S. Speakers by *The New York Times*. The frame preferences also changed among Speakers.

The reasons for these changes could be summarized as follows: American interests change from the One-child policy to China's new population policy; China's human-rights abuses

decrease in the process of modernization; *The New York Times* recruits Chinese journalists participating in the new population policy reporting.

First, American interests change from blaming authoritarian politics by the Communist party to entering mutual benefits from China's economy. Hauser (2011) argued that "international news is framed in light of the interests and themes of the country doing the reporting" (p.11). When the topics were distinctive in the U.S., international happenings were interpreted through American interests (Gans, 1979). American democracy politics differed with China's Communist-party-dominated authoritarian politics, which made it easy to violate human rights. In the one-child reporting era, *The New York Times* supported the American interests – protecting individuals' freedom and human rights – in their reporting (Hauser, 2011). So, human rights abuses were widely covered by *The New York Times*. However, in the new population policy reporting era, China's economy, which included large consumer market and cheap labors, benefited America and became an important part of American interests. In this way, *The New York Times* began to cover the new population policy in the perspective of economy instead of human right abuses.

Second, China's modernization promotes the protection of human rights. The modernization of China has created a large of wealth for Chinese families in the past decades. The increasing wealth made Chinese people pay more attention to their life quality and public affairs than the past. Especially, human rights abuses gained attention not only from Chinese people but also from the central government. In other words, the protection of human rights was the consequence of China's

modernization. And the progress of human rights protection under the new population policy made *The New York Times* less critical in its news articles.

Third, *The New York Times* has started making the effort to strengthen the team of new population policy reporting. In the new population policy era, Chinese journalists have more chance to participate in the reporting. In this study, six out of 40 news articles had Chinese reporters in the byline. The more Chinese reporters in *The New York Times*, the more objective perspectives in the news articles. The past news articles criticized the Chinese government for enforcement and coercion issues under the one-child policy; now *The New York Times* prefers to interview professionals and focus on the economic and social implications, which were closer to the daily life of Chinese people.

Although this study looked through all news articles from *The New York Times* in three recent years, the data are still too limit to represent all western media reporting of China's family planning policies. Follow-up research on this issue would be interesting, such as collecting more news articles from other western media such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*, and network TV news coverage. Furthermore, a faltering economy may make China only more nationalistic (Kaplan, 2014).

This research focused on China's other domestic policies, which may be affected by rising nationalism, will be valuable. Going beyond the case of one-child policy, for example, the study tries to analyze the South China Sea issue covered by *The New York Times*. Last, but not at least, "media over the decades has been attracted to international organizations, be it the United Nations

– because it offers a path beyond national sovereignty.” (Kaplan, 2014, p.16) The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an international organization, and it has conflict with China in South China Sea issue. *The New York Times* and other western news outlets track this issue. So, the relationship between ASEAN and China covered by the western media also would be valuable to explore.

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Appendices

All News Articles in This Research Organized by Load-Date

ID	Title	Load-Date	Author	Section	Length
1	After Decades, China Will Ease One-Child Policy	16-Nov-13	Chris Buckley	Foreign Desk	1370 words
2	Hurdles Seen for Change to China's One-Child Rule	18-Nov-13	Chris Buckley	Foreign Desk	881 words
3	China's Detail a New Policy, And Market Signal Approval	19-Nov-13	Bettina Wassener	Business/Financial Desk	572 words
4	Lives of Rich and Poor Cross in Hong Kong	21-Nov-13	Gerry Mullany	Art/Cultural Desk	842 words
5	In China, Loss of a Child Means Orphan Parents	28-Nov-13	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	674 words
6	Film Director Runs Afoul Of China's One-Child Law	3-Dec-13	Amy Qin	Art/Cultural Desk	480 words
7	Many in China Can Now Have a Second Child, but Say No	26-Feb-14	Dan Levin	Foreign Desk	1240 words
8	More Than 1,000 Go on Strike After Sale of IBM Plant in China	7-Mar-14	Keith Bradsher	Business/Financial Desk	792 words
9	Growth Rate Rose 7.4% in 1st Quarter, China Reports	16-Apr-14	Keith Bradsher	Business/Financial Desk	720 words
10	World's Growth Engines Falter	16-Apr-14	Keith Bradsher	Business/Financial Desk	1234 words
11	In China, Dawn of a Gilded Age	27-Apr-14	Jerry Garrett	Automobiles	679 words
12	For Some Foreign Students, U.S. Education Is Losing Its Attraction	26-May-14	Karin Fischer	Foreign Desk	1715 words
13	China Experiences a Booming Underground Market in Child Surrogacy	3-Aug-14	Ian Johnson and Cao Li	Foreign Desk	1280 words
14	Reducing Carbon by Curbing Population	6-Aug-14	Eduardo Porter	Business/Financial Desk	1196 words
15	Rebalancing the Population Scales	9-Nov-14	Tyler Cowen	Money and Business/Financial Desk	1051 words
16	A Memorial In Shanghai for Victims of Stampede	7-Jan-15	David Barboza	Foreign Desk	361 words
17	Coddled Recruits Are Hindering China's Army	18-Feb-15	Jane Perlez	Foreign Desk	1009 words
18	An Abortionist Who Embodies State Power	26-Feb-15	Janet Maslin	Art/Cultural Desk	966 words
19	Taking Feminist Battle to China's Streets, and Landing in Jail	6-Apr-15	Andrew Jacobs	Foreign Desk	1567 words
20	Cheaper Robots, Fewer Workers	25-Apr-15	The New York Times	Business/Financial Desk	472 words
21	Decline of Chinese Women's Team Reflects Cultural Concerns	4-Jun-15	Jere Longman	Sports Desk	1185 words
22	In Midst of Revival, China Has Chance for Redemption Against U.S.	24-Jun-15	Jere Longman	Sports Desk	986 words
23	Bachelor Glut in China Leads to a Proposal: Share Wives	27-Oct-15	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	1010 words
24	Rules Ease, but Wallets Often Limit Family Size	30-Oct-15	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	723 words
25	Chinese Take to Social Media, and Some to the Bedroom	30-Oct-15	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	605 words
26	Experts Weigh Likely Impacts of China's 'One Child' Reversal	30-Oct-15	Javier C. Hernandez	Foreign Desk	705 words
27	China Approves Two-Child Policy to Help Economy	30-Oct-15	Chris Buckley	Foreign Desk	1217 words
28	China Will Feel One-Child Policy's Effect for Decades, Experts Say	31-Oct-15	Karen Zraick	Foreign Desk	739 words
29	China's Longtime One-Child Rule Is Gone, but Trauma Lingers	31-Oct-15	Edward Wong	Foreign Desk	1693 words
30	In One-Child China, Second Children, 'Outside Plan,' Often Live in Limbo	1-Nov-15	Chris Buckley	Foreign Desk	1145 words
31	China Tempers Its Growth Expectations, to 6.5% a Year	4-Nov-15	Edward Wong	Business/Financial Desk	920 words
32	As China Seeks More Births, Higher Limit May Not Be the Answer	10-Nov-15	Steven Erlanger	Foreign Desk	1302 words
33	China Market Crackdown Gets Top-Level Support	11-Nov-15	Keith Bradsher	Business/Financial Desk	789 words
34	A Fresh Sting for the 'Loneliest Generation'	14-Nov-15	Javier C. Hernandez and Amy Qin	Foreign Desk	1267 words

35	Changes, Perhaps Not for the Better	15-Dec-15	Donald G. McNeil Jr.	Science Desk	1018 words
36	Wanted in China: More Male Teachers, to Make Boys Men	7-Feb-16	Javier C. Hernandez	Foreign Desk	1294 words
37	Chinese Who Violated One-Child Policy Remain Wary of Relaxed Rules	9-Feb-16	Kiki Zhao	Foreign Desk	991 words
38	China's Harsh Child Discipline, Through the Lens of Domestic Violence	10-Mar-16	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	694 words
39	Real Estate in China Is Reviving After Lull	19-Apr-16	Neil Gough	Business/Financial Desk	726 words
40	3 Other Mothers. My Intimate Network	21-Apr-16	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	Foreign Desk	716 words

1-23: News Articles After the Selective One-child Policy Announced

24-40: News Articles After the Universal Two-child Policy Announced

Vita

Chen Hu earned his Bachelor's degree in Communication from University of International Relations in Beijing. He decided to pursue a Master degree in Journalism and Electronic Media at the University of Tennessee in Fall 2014.