Вестник Томского государственного университета. Философия. Социология. Политология. 2025. № 86. С. 116–127.
Tomsk State University Journal of Philosophy, Sociology and Political Science. 2025. 86. pp. 116–127.

Original article
УДК 316.346.3
doi: 10.17223/1998863X/86/10

POLICIES OF PRO-NATALISM AND CHINESE WOMEN: BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATIONS IN WoS, 2013–2025

Linna Fu

National Research Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation, lfu@hse.ru

Abstract. China has shifted from the one-child policy to the two- and three-child policies to cope with the low fertility rate and the aging of the population, but the fertility rate continues to be declining. The aim of this research is to answer the question: What paradoxes do Chinese women face under these pro-natalist policies? Through the bibliometric analysis of 33 WoS academic publications between 2013 and 2025, this research systematically combed the lack of academic discussion on Chinese policies of pro-natalism. Further, the research summarised four main research focus clusters: (1) economic constraints, including high parenting costs and motherhood penalties in the labour market; (2) social and cultural pressures, such as persistent boy preferences and the impact of population mobility; (3) family dynamics, focusing on the family division of labour and the role of intergenerational support; (4) institutional legacy issues, exploring the far-reaching impact of the one-child policy and the inadequacy of public child care and medical services. Such previous research together revealed controversial pro-natalist policies. Although the state encourages more births, existing structural barriers systematically disadvantage women. This research synthesises the existing knowledge in this field and points out the key directions for future policy formulation and academic inquiry.
Keywords: two-child policy, three-child policy, women, fertility, China

Acknowledgments: This work was prepared within the Basic Research Program at HSE.

For citation: Fu, L. (2025) Policies of pro-natalism and chinese women: bibliometric analysis of publications in WoS, 2013–2025. *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Filosofiya. Sotsiologiya. Politologiya – Tomsk State University Journal of Philosophy, Sociology and Political Science.* 86. pp. 116–127. (In Russian). doi: 10.17223/1998863X/86/10

Научная статья

ПРОНАТАЛИСТСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА И КИТАЙСКИЕ ЖЕНЩИНЫ: БИБЛИОМЕТРИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ПУБЛИКАЦИЙ В WoS, 2013–2025

Линна Фу

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия, lfu@hse.ru

Аннотация. Китайская демографическая политика, разрешающая иметь троих детей в семье, включает переход от принудительного антинатализма к неоднозначному пронатализму. Библиометрический и тематический анализ аннотаций 33 статей в базе данных WoS (2013–2025 гг.) позволил выявить структурные напряжения между репродуктивной автономией и государственными целями и вызовы, с которыми сталкиваются китайские женщины под влиянием этой противоречивой политики.

Ключевые слова: политика в отношении двух детей, политика в отношении трех детей, женщины, рождаемость, Китай

Благодарности: работа выполнена в рамках Программы фундаментальных исследований НИУ ВШЭ.

Для цитирования: Fu L. Policies of pro-natalism and chinese women: bibliometric analysis of publications in WoS, 2013–2025 // Вестник Томского государственного университета. Философия. Социология. Политология. 2025. № 86. С. 116–127. doi: 10.17223/1998863X/86/10

Introduction

China has reduced population growth with strict fertility control and family planning. China's 1980s one-child policy has some of the harshest penalties. These programs helped China rapidly transform its demographics in the 1990s [1]. Demographics changed from high to low mortality and fertility. Decreasing fertility rates extend from one-child policy on eugenics propaganda [2]. The too-fast demographic change in China challenges the problem of expanding to constructive pyramid shapes. To address population ageing and maintain society's prosperity, China's family-planning strategy shifted from anti-natalism to pro-natalism.

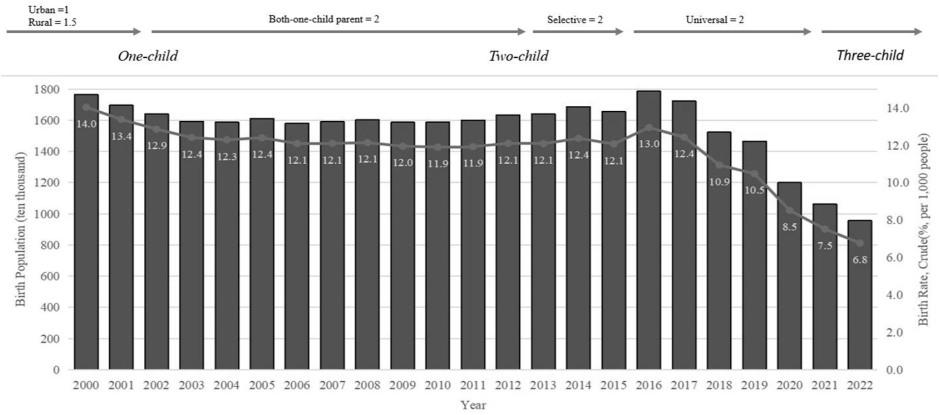

Figure 1. Birth condition and family-planning policies in 21st-century China
Source: National Bureau of Statistics

Firstly, the Chinese government carried out the complex two-child policy. It had three stages: the both-one-child parent phase (2002–2012)[1], the selective two-child phase (2013–2015)[2] and the universal two-child phase (2016–2020). Unfortunately, fertility rates only increased in the first two years of the universal two-child policy. The two-child policy stage did not significantly improve fertility rates or solve Chinese population development issues [3].

From the seventh census, China still has a large population of about 1.4178 billion people in 2021. However, a low birth rate and severe ageing problem plague China's demographic structure [4]. The 2020 fertility rate was 1.3, well below 2.1 (i.e., replacement-level fertility), and 18.7% of the population was elderly. China's

[1] The both-one-child parent policy refers to couples, both from one-child families, who can legally have two children.

[2] The selective two-child policy refers to a two-child fertility policy for couples where either the husband or the wife is from a one-child family.

development relies on the demographic dividend, fuelled by its massive working-age population. Moreover, China is a country home to various ethnic groups and cultural philosophies. Relaxing fertility policies to protect reservations' communities is crucial [5]. Some recommended more pro-natalist policies, while others declared elite dividends. The National Bureau of Statistics' data for the past decade reveals a reduction in the labour population, raising questions about the sustainability of previous family planning models [6]. To foster long-term balanced population development, the Chinese government has totally eased its family-planning policy against anti-natalism.

China swiftly transitioned from a one- to two-child policy in 2013 and introduced the three-child policy in 2021 to rejuvenate the ageing population, increase fertility, and reverse sex-ratio imbalance [7, 8]. Following the Constitution, the two-child and three-child policies promote population, economy, society, resources, and environmental harmony. These pro-natalist policies also support family planning, protect citizens' rights, and boost family happiness, national wealth, and social progress. However, the fertility rate has not increased as expected under pro-natalist policy phases [9].

At the end of the past century, most developed countries experienced lower-fertility traps. Cases have examined the potential reasons behind low fertility in order to safeguard national development [10]. Some European countries with subtly successful pro-natalism projects have survived demographic slumps [11–13]. Before China's one-child policy was repealed, reduced fertility rates were attributed to internal endogenous factors [10]. This historical setting made China a model and exceptional case of demographic transition.

Due to China's particular lower fertility traps, the three-child policy is legalised and promoted. The new regulation allows mainland Chinese couples to have three children. China directly communicates its goal of maintaining fertility by leveraging its "three-child" policy as a foundation. The first demographic transition outperformed the second near the end of the 20th century in China [1]. Therefore, projections suggest that the three-child policy, in addition to addressing demographic challenges, will enhance Chinese economic growth and promote regionalisation by facilitating a smooth demographic transition. For instance, fiscal expenditure and subsidy administration would have a strong correlation with three-child families [14]. The Chinese sandwich generation would manage living arrangements that involve both childbearing and caring for the elderly, benefiting from increased support provided by pro-natalism governing departments [15]. Kuhn and Neusius viewed that the three-child policy potentially copes with reducing economic inequality in China through mobility and migrant arrangements [16].

Nowadays, China has debated its pro-natalist policies, specifically between "allowing" and "advocating" [17]. The "allowing" approach suggests that younger generations have stronger intentions to reproduce and that providing generous fertility rights could lead to a baby boom, which may help address population challenges. The "advocating" strategy, based on government media initiatives, suggests that empowering people of childbearing age to begin having children will increase fertility rates. Since the "two-child" or "three-child" policies both limit legal births and penalise unanticipated overbirths, some researchers criticised these policies for not fully supporting pro-natalism. Indeed, loosing the fertility policy may arouse a regional birth boom. But, mostly, China has missed spontaneity in fertility [16].

Some researchers stated that before evaluating the efficacy of these pro-natalism programs, it is important to know what influences reproductive outcomes in the current reproductive population, especially for Chinese women [18, 18a, 19].

The pro-natalism era necessitates ongoing research into China's family planning policies and population development, particularly focusing on women as the primary subjects of study. Whyte [20] used bibliometrics to study the one-child policy and its derivatives across various dimensions. No bibliometric reviews of the two- and three-child policy stages exist. This disparity is partly due to the short policy development cycle and partly because typical female fertility-related bibliometric reviews are few.

This research synthesises Chinese women's fertility literature from the two-child and three-child policy periods using quantitative bibliometric analysis to fill this information gap. The bibliometric analysis is done using Bibliometrix, an open-source tool, Biblioshiny 5.0 [21]. The contributions of this study are as follows. Initially, it evaluates the bibliometric analysis and contains credible research trends. I link the evolution of the three-child phase to that of the two-child phase. The author then does a detailed analysis of themes and finds that economic problems, social expectations, family issues, and weaknesses in institutions have made it harder for women to be independent and have changed how the natalism policy is viewed in relation to gender during the three-child period.

Bibliometric analysis

Search methods

This study used electronic database searches to identify the Web of Science (WoS) Core Collection sources. The study focused on the two- and three-child policies, women, fertility, and China. The author determined the search strings for this research by reviewing various documents. The author searched for article titles, abstracts, and keywords using these words in WoS. The publication search using the given approach ran from January 2013 to May 2025, with the latest data update on 31 May 2025. The search strings and filtered results in Table 1 show that 33 items satisfied database criteria.

The inclusion criteria are (1) SCI and SSCI English articles in the WoS Core Collection from January 2013 to May 2025; (2) peer-reviewed; (3) full text online. Articles that were published before January 2013 or after May 2025 in WoS, those that did not focus on mainland Chinese women or the two-child or three-child policies, duplicates, conference papers, books, and other invalid publications, like those without full text online or that were not SCI or SSCI articles, are not included. The author found 33 WoS papers that fit.

Table 1. **The search strings and results of WoS core collection**

Scientific database	Search string	Results (N)
WoS Core collection	Language: English AND publication years: 2013-2025	
	TS = ("two-child" OR "two child" OR "three-child" OR "three child" OR "pro-natalism" OR "pro-natalism" OR "natalism" OR "pro-birth" OR "procreationism")	1025
	AND TS = ("fertility" AND "childbearing")	86
	AND TS = ("women" OR "female" OR "girl")	61
	AND TS = ("China" OR "Chinese" OR "mainland")	33

Annual scientific production and average citations per year

A comprehensive analysis of 33 publications (2013–2025) in WoS revealed two distinct developmental eras in China's fertility policy and related research on women's fertility:

The silent phase (2013–2017): The yearly count of published papers was almost nonexistent during this phase, which coincided with the selective two-child policy period. Mostly, women of reproductive age failed to satisfy the policy criteria. Researchers had not yet transitioned their focus from anti-natalism (i.e., one-child policy) to pro-natalism studies.

The transition to the fertility policy period, which spans from 2018 to 2025, is now underway: Subsequent to policy modifications in 2016, the annual publication output experienced a degree of enhancement. During the paper screening step, researchers discovered an insufficient number of studies explicitly focused on women and fertility. The 2022 peak may be linked to China's extensive alteration in the family-planning policy towards a pro-natalism fertility framework.

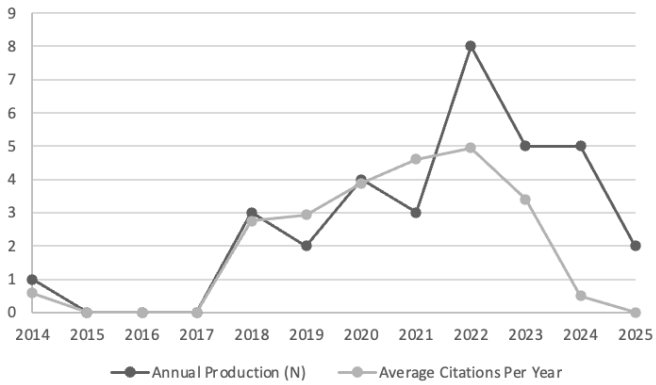

Figure 2. Production and average citations information

BMC Public Health and *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* had the highest mean annual citation volume from 2020 to 2022 (Figure 2). Research focused on economic and physiological aspects affecting women's fertility intentions. These papers are mostly from Chinese academic institutions, but the worldwide focus on pro-natalism is positive (Figure 3). Although having more than one child is no longer illegal in China, this policy could change in response to population studies conducted worldwide.

Table 2. **Publication sources**

Top 10 Sources (Core Sources by Bradford's Law)	Articles (N)	References
BMC Public Health	4	[21–24]
International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health	2	[25, 26]
American Journal of Human Biology	1	[27]
Applied Economics Letters	1	[28]
BMJ Sexual & Reproductive Health	1	[29]
Culture Health & Sexuality	1	[30]
Demography	1	[31]
Frontiers in Public Health	1	[32]
HOMO	1	[33]
Human Reproduction Open	1	[34]

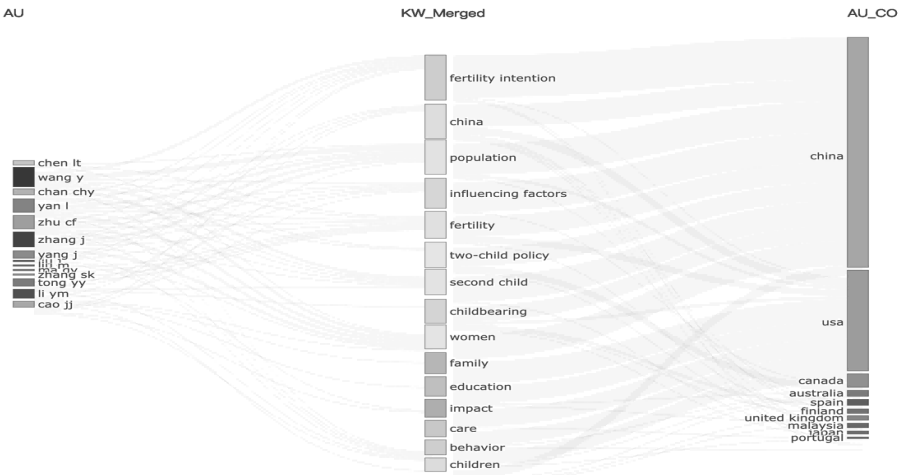

Figure 3. Authors' affiliation information

Research hotspots and trends

Population, childbearing, and fertility aim were thematic clusters in keyword co-occurrence analysis (Figure 4). Population research focuses on specific cohorts, such as cross-sectional evaluations of reproductive decisions regarding having a second or third child in central China [35]. Childbearing involves women's socio-economic growth [23, 36, 37], physiological elements [34, 38], psychological impacts [24], and cultural viewpoints [27]. Fertility intention, the primary outcome variable in many studies, do not require any further clarification.

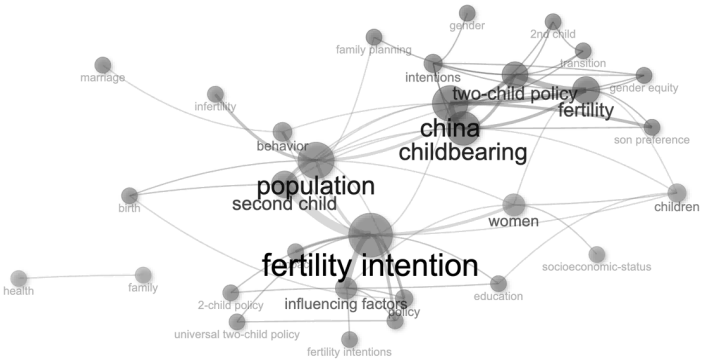

Figure 4. Keyword co-occurrence analysis

The author further examined WordCloud and Most Frequent Words since the articles' processing on such research subject was inadequate. In the WordCloud analysis, researchers demonstrated some potential for further research. For example, the "motherhood penalty" shows how pro-natalist policies make Chinese women more economically vulnerable, potentially reducing their desire to have children [39]. The term "migration" refers to China's population mobilities, including government-facilitated talent relocations and economic-driven labour migrations [40]. Migration and female fertility need further attention. Followingly, the research will examine the fundamental factors affecting Chinese women's fertility under the two- and three-child policies.

Figure 5. WordCould output

Table 3. **Most Frequent Words**

Most Frequent Words-TOP 10	Frequency
fertility intention	10
childbearing	9
China	9
fertility	8
population	8
second child	6
two-child policy	6
women	6
children	5
influencing factors	5

Fertility policies and paradox conditions among Chinese women

The author employed bibliometric analysis to integrate papers on the two-child and three-child policies in the aforementioned section. Nevertheless, the author determined that bibliometric analysis alone could not elucidate the reasons behind the lack of an increased fertility rate among Chinese women despite their acceptance of the pro-natalism approach. Subsequently, the author dived into the 33 publications comprehensively to figure out particular aspects that might hinder fertility. Women suffer from having to face the paradox of the expectancy of increasing reproductive indicators while experiencing barriers to personal development when adopting pro-natalist policies.

Theme 1. Economic aspect

From a macroeconomic perspective, the relationship between fertility rates and economic status varies across various provinces in China [21, 41]. The classical point is that poorer regions have more babies. However, such a theory does not always accord with China's reality, for some prosperous provinces like Guangdong have the highest population growth combined with economic development. Historically, families in poorer regions used several strategies to avoid punishment for having more children, including continuous mobility to different provinces or giving babies to other families to hide their violation records. Unfortunately, the one-child policy period resulted in the abandonment of newborn baby girls. Conversely, families from high-economic provinces were less affected by the one-child policy, as they had enough financial reserves to pay the higher penalty fees for having more children or sought additional maternity privileges through social capital [30].

The female labour market participation rate has been increasing as a result of both the reform and opening-up of the 1980s and the one-child policy. Especially when China became a member of the WTO in 2001, women could accept more employment chances. Many rural women also began participating in the labour market. "Women can hide half of the sky" was a slogan of that era of rapid economic growth. However, the Chinese government is now promoting traditional values by encouraging women to return to their families to build harmonious households. Hence, under trade liberalisation, women with income substitutions and a smaller intramarital gap prefer having more babies [42, 43].

The cost of living and raising children is an important factor in the three-child fertility outcomes. The popular joke in Chinese media that "High house prices are a powerful contraceptive" reveals how important economic factors are. Zhu et al. [32] pointed out that pro-natalist policies with high housing prices in large cities negatively affect fertility rates, but Pan and Yang [44] supported the positive association with housing prices and fertility rates. Home ownership may play a role in determining fertility behaviours. Families who own their homes are less likely to have more children than those who rent because of the burden of homeownership [37]. The high-quality neighbourhood environment also influences the decision to have more children [45]. Overall, the costs of childbearing and settling down in particular areas have a significant impact on fertility rates.

Theme 2. Social aspect

China's fertility policies explicitly ban abandoning female babies and prohibit gender testing and screening during pregnancy. In most parts of the country, traditional culture still favours having male children. China's patriarchal culture views men as more valuable labourers and grants them land use rights. China has a history of gender imbalances, and families may still prioritise having male offspring to provide security in old age [46]. Parents may choose to have a third child if they have already had two female offspring [21].

China exhibits a phenomenon of highly mobile populations. People delay marriage and have fewer children due to instability and high costs of childbearing in unsettled cities [47]. The rising costs of movement may potentially exacerbate the practice of leaving children behind. Urbanisation also plays a role in changing family structures and declining fertility intentions. As rural hukou (household registration) residents migrate to cities, they tend to settle and have lower expectations of large families, damaging fertility intentions. The liberalisation of fertility policies has had a greater impact in areas that are urbanising more rapidly.

Theme 3. Family aspect

The division of household labour and the fertility histories of Chinese women influence their fertility intentions. Research showed that families with two daughters have acceptable attitudes towards pro-natalism. And when husbands participate in housework, women are more likely to intend to have another child [27]. Urban women are less anxious about having a second child with a more egalitarian division of housework, while rural women are more concerned about total household income [48]. The legal policies related to the three-child policy primarily focus on maternity leave, which pressures women to choose between having more children or reducing their fertility to balance work and life.

Changes in Chinese family structures, which support the existence of multi-generational households, influence fertility intentions. Although severing parental

relations post-marriage is a complex endeavour, research indicated that cohabitation with the couple's parents does not markedly influence their reproductive aspirations, yet offers them support [49]. The practice of a "proximate residence", in which couples live in the same neighbourhood as their parents, is becoming more popular. Parental support can encourage couples to have children, but it is more effective for the wife's parents to address motherhood penalties [46]. Parents frequently urge couples to conceive a child of the opposite sex to their current offspring, particularly among women who are more receptive to parental influence and whose spouses are from large families. Women are more motivated by the belief that more children can increase future pension security, although this connection is weakening because of an ageing, more mobile, and more hedonistic population.

Theme 4. Institutional aspect

Firstly, the Chinese context supports that family-friendly policies have a positive impact on fertility intentions. Higher family well-being and a higher level of justification related to healthcare make people more likely to accept the three-child policy [43]. However, the mini baby boom of the universal two-child policy had the backfire on subsequent fertility intentions due to the deficiency of the public health systems. The lack of legal settings for maternal and child healthcare adversely affects fertility intentions at the three-child stage as well. Unfortunately, individuals with high fertility intentions fail to achieve their desired number of births due to inadequate resource allocation.

The subsequent impact of the anti-natalism period has become increasingly apparent [30]. During the one-child policy era, the government prioritised "eugenics." Chinese parents invest highly in childbearing and parenting, which discourages fertility. In China, childbirth and the care of the old are predominantly family-oriented responsibilities. Nowadays, children born during the one-child period become the crucial primary workforce. They meet difficulty with the dual pressures of having no more siblings to divide responsibilities for their parents and raising more children. There is no denying that the effect of the three-child policy is tightly associated with the overall welfare policies of a comprehensive healthcare system on childbearing and ageing.

Conclusion

This research examines China's three-child policy as an institutional reaction to demographic issues like ageing populations, declining fertility rates, and gender imbalances, not only as a pro-natalism measure. Earlier strategies focused on population control by coercion, but the three-child era shows a fragmented strategy that swings between limited reproductive autonomy and state-sanctioned fertility goals. Bibliometric analysis and multidimensional theme discussion challenge policy efficacy narratives. The research shows how structural constraints and women's agency affect fertility outcomes via four subtly influencing factors, potentially to procedure causality inference. This quantitative analysis of China's pro-natalist policies calls for a shift from demographic targeting to women-beneficial measures. Future changes should prioritise structural inequalities over birth quotas.

References

1. Zhang, X., Zhag, Y., Jiang, G., Tang, M., Chen, G. & Zhang, L. (2021) 中国低生育率研究进展 [Research Progress on Lower Fertility in China: A Literature Review]. *个文献综述*. 27(6). pp. 9–21.

2. Rodriguez, S.M. (2023). The Rise and Demise of the One Child Policy, 1979–2015. In: *Cambridge University Press eBooks*. pp. 167–203. DOI: 10.1017/9781009019880.007

3. Lieming, F. (2019) Will China's "Two-child in one family" policy to spur population growth work? *Population and Economics*. 3(2). pp. 36–44. DOI: 10.3897/popecon.3.e37962

4. Akimov, A.V., Gemueva, K., & Semenova, N.K. (2021) The Seventh Population Census in the PRC: Results and Prospects of the Country's Demographic Development. *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. 91(6). Pp. 724–735. DOI: 10.1134/s1019331621060083

5. Huo, J., Zhang, X., Zhang, Z. & Chen, Y. (2020) Research on Population Development in Ethnic Minority Areas in the Context of China's Population Strategy Adjustment. *Sustainability*. 12(19). 8021. DOI: 10.3390/su12198021

6. Ye, J., Chen, Z. & Peng, B. (2021) Is the demographic dividend diminishing in China? Evidence from population aging and economic growth during 1990–2015. *Review of Development Economics*. 25(4). pp. 2255–2274. DOI: 10.1111/rode.12794

7. Peng, X. (2011) China's demographic history and future challenges. *Science.* 333(6042). pp. 581–587. DOI: 10.1126/science.1209396

8. Mu, G. (2021). Three Child Policy and the Optimization of Population Fertility in China: Background, Prospect and Vision. *Journal of Yangzhou University (Humanities and Social Sciences Edition).* 25(4). pp. 65–77. 穆光宗. 三孩政策与中国人口生育的优化:背景、前景和愿景[J]. 扬州大学学报（人文社会科学版. DOI: 10.19411/j.cnki.1007-7030.2021.04.006

9. Lu, R., Gauthier, A. & Stulp, G. (2023) Fertility preferences in China in the twenty-first century. *Journal of Population Research*. 40(2). DOI: 10.1007/s12546-023-09303-0

10. Morgan, S.P. & Taylor, M.G. (2006) Low Fertility at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 32(1). pp. 375–399. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.soc.31.041304.122220

11. OECD. (2023) *Exploring Norway's fertility, work, and family policy trends*. DOI: 10.1787/f0c7bddf-en

12. Cook, L.J., Iarskaia-Smirnova, E.R. & Kozlov, V.A. (2022). Trying to reverse demographic decline: Pro-Natalist and family policies in Russia, Poland and Hungary. *Social Policy and Society*. 22(2). pp. 355–375. DOI: 10.1017/s1474746422000628

13. Stone, L. (2025, February 6) *Does pronatal policy work? It did in France*. Institute for Family Studies. [Online] Available from: https://ifstudies.org/blog/does-pronatal-policy-work-it-did-in-france

14. Dong, W., Wang, X., Yuan, F., Wang, L., Gu, T., Zhu, B. & Shao, J. (2024) Will a government subsidy increase couples' further fertility intentions? A real-world study from a large-scale online survey in Eastern China. *Human Reproduction Open.* 4. DOI: 10.1093/hropen/hoae055

15. Ma, L. & Xu, J. (2025). Does living arrangement matter? Analyzing relations from Chinese women's perspective with cultural change. *Frontiers in Sociology*. 10. DOI: 10.3389/fsoc.2025.1516890

16. Kuhn, B. & Neusius, T. (2022) Will China's three-child policy defuse the demographic time bomb? *Wifin Working Pape.* No. 14/2022. RheinMain University of Applied Sciences, Wiesbaden Institute of Finance and Insurance (Wifin), Wiesbaden, ECONSTOR. [Online] Available from: https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/266454

17. Feng, X. (2021) "Two Children" or "Three Children, "Allowing"or "Advocating": Interpretation of the Policy Objectives of the National Family Planning Policy and Awareness Shift. *Journal of Jiangsu Administrative College.* 5. pp. 51–59. 风笑天. "二孩"还是"三孩", "允许"还是"提倡"?——国家生育政策调整的目标解读与认识转变[J]. 江苏行政学院学报, 2021 (5): 51-59. DOI: 10.3969/j.issn.1009-8860.2021.05.008.

18. Feng, W. & Cai, Y. (2021) Opinion | The Real Reason Behind China's Three-Child Policy. *The New York Times*. 8th June. [Online] Available from: https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/opinion/china-three-child-policy.html

18a. Teh, C. (2021) China's pivot to a 3-child policy won't make a dent in its declining birth rate because the country's young couples don't want kids. *Insider*. 1st June. [Online] Available from: https://www.insider.com/chinas-3-child-policy-wont-work-heres-why-2021-6

19. Whyte, M.K. (2019) China's One Child Policy. In: Montgomery, H. (ed.) *Oxford Bibliographies in Childhood Studies*. Doi: 10.1093/obo/9780199791231-0221

20. Aria, M. & Cuccurullo, C. (2017) bibliometrix: An R-tool for comprehensive science mapping analysis. *Journal of Informetrics*. 11(4). pp. 959–975. DOI: 10.1016/j.joi.2017.08.007

21. Yan, Z., Hui, L., Wenbin, J., Liuxue, L., Yuemei, L., Bohan, L. & Lili, W. (2021) Third birth intention of the childbearing-age population in mainland China and sociodemographic differences: a cross-sectional survey. *BMC Public Health.* 21(1). DOI: 10.1186/s12889-021-12338-8

22. Kang, L., Jing, W., Liu, J., Ma, Q., Zhang, S. & Liu, M. (2022). The prevalence of barriers to rearing children aged 0–3 years following China's new three-child policy: a national cross-sectional study. *BMC Public Health*. 22(1). DOI: 10.1186/s12889-022-12880-z

23. Yang, H., Han, R. & Wang, Z. (2023). Third-child fertility intention and its socioeconomic factors among women aged 20–34 years in China. *BMC Public Health*. 23(1). DOI: 10.1186/s12889-023-15719-3

24. Qiao, P., Li, Y., Song, Y. & Tian, X. (2024) Female university students' fertility intentions and their psychosocial factors. *BMC Public Health*. 24(1). DOI: 10.1186/s12889-024-18121-9

25. Liu, P., Cao, J., Nie, W., Wang, X., Tian, Y. & Ma, C. (2021). The Influence of Internet Usage Frequency on Women's Fertility Intentions – The Mediating Effects of Gender Role Attitudes. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 18(9). 4784. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph18094784

26. Xiong, Y., Jiao, G., Zheng, J., Gao, J., Xue, Y., Tian, B. & Cheng, J. (2022) Fertility Intention and Influencing Factors for Having a Second Child among Floating Women of Childbearing Age. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 19(24). 16531. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph192416531

27. Zhang, L., Liu, J. & Lummaa, V. (2021). Intention to have a second child, family support and actual fertility behavior in current China: An evolutionary perspective. *American Journal of Human Biology*. 34(4). DOI: 10.1002/ajhb.23669

28. Ji, X., Chen, Q., Pan, Y. & Ning, B. (2025) Fertility opportunities and female executives' career development: evidence from the two-child policy in China. *Applied Economics Letters*. 1–6. DOI: 10.1080/13504851.2025.2479648

29. Liu, J., Liu, M., Zhang, S., Ma, Q. & Wang, Q. (2019) Intent to have a second child among Chinese women of childbearing age following China's new universal two-child policy: a cross-sectional study. *BMJ Sexual & Reproductive Health*. 46(1). pp. 59–66. DOI: 10.1136/bmjsrh-2018-200197

30. Wang, E. & Hesketh, T. (2018) Exploring women's decisions about childbearing after the lifting of the one-child policy. *Culture Health & Sexuality*. 20(11). pp. 1230–1243. DOI: 10.1080/13691058.2018.1424352

31. Thornton, A., Binstock, G., Yount, K.M., Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J., Ghimire, D. & Xie, Y. (2012) International Fertility Change: New Data and Insights From the Developmental Idealism Framework. *Demography*. 49(2). pp. 677–698. DOI: 10.1007/s13524-012-0097-9

32. Zhu, C., Yan, L., Wang, Y., Ji, S., Zhang, Y. & Zhang, J. (2022). Fertility Intention and Related Factors for Having a Second or Third Child Among Childbearing Couples in Shanghai, China. *Frontiers in Public Health*. 10. DOI: 10.3389/fpubh.2022.879672

33. Zhang, S., Zhang, S., Yang, H., Wang, J. & Wu, Y. (2023) Reproductive behaviour and longevity: Evidence from Chinese centenarians. *HOMO*. 74(1). pp. 33–44. DOI: 10.1127/homo/2023/1686

34. Lau, B.H., Huo, R., Wang, K., Shi, L., Li, R., Mu, S., Peng, H., Wang, Y., Chen, X., Ng, E. H. & Chan, C.H. (2018) Intention of having a second child among infertile and fertile women attending outpatient gynecology clinics in three major cities in China: a cross-sectional study. *Human Reproduction Open*. 4. DOI: 10.1093/hropen/hoy014

35. Chen, Q., Wang, A., Song, X., Liu, X., Liu, Y., Wei, J., Shu, J., Sun, M., Zhong, T., Luo, M., Wang, T., Zhang, S., Xie, D. & Qin, J. (2023) Fertility intentions to have a second or third child among the childbearing-age population in Central China under China's three-child policy: A cross-sectional study. *Journal of Global Health*. 13. DOI: 10.7189/jogh.13.04072

36. Wei, J., Xue, J. & Wang, D. (2018) Socioeconomic determinants of rural women's desired fertility: A survey in rural Shaanxi, China. *PLoS ONE*. 13(9). e0202968. DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0202968

37. Zhou, M. & Guo, W. (2019) Fertility intentions of having a second child among the floating population in China: Effects of socioeconomic factors and home ownership. *Population Space and Place*. 26(2). DOI: 10.1002/psp.2289

38. Zhu, C., Yan, L., He, C., Wang, Y., Wu, J., Chen, L. & Zhang, J. (2022) Incidence and risk factors of infertility among couples who desire a first and second child in Shanghai, China: a facility-based prospective cohort study. *Reproductive Health*. 19(1). DOI: 10.1186/s12978-022-01459-x

39. Meng, L., Zhang, Y. & Zou, B. (2022) The motherhood penalty in China: Magnitudes, trends, and the role of grandparenting. *Journal of Comparative Economics*. 51(1). pp. 105–132. DOI: 10.1016/j.jce.2022.10.005

40. Du, J. & King, C. (2025) Heterogeneous fertility reponses to the two-child policy: growth-induced domestic migration and income effect. *Applied Economics*. 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/00036846.2025.2449619

41. Kane, D. & Li, K. (2021) Fertility cultures and childbearing desire after the Two-Child Policy: evidence from southwest China. *Journal of Family Studies*. 29(2). pp. 576–594. DOI: 10.1080/13229400.2021.1951813

42. Li, H., Shao, M. & Shi, X. (2022) The impact of trade liberalization on individual fertility intention: Empirical evidence from China. *Population Space and Place.* 28(6). DOI: 10.1002/psp.2563

43. Li, Q. & Xiao, D. (2024) Fertility Discrimination in the Chinese Labor Market: Evidence from a Correspondence Study and an Employer Survey. *Labour Economics*. 102668. DOI: 10.1016/j.labeco.2024.102668

44. Pan, Y. & Yang, H. (2022). Impacts of Housing Booms on Fertility in China: A Perspective from Homeownership. *International Regional Science Review*. 45(5). pp. 534–554. DOI: 10.1177/01600176211066472

45. Chen, H., Wang, X., Li, Z. & Zhu, Z. (2019) The Impact of Neighborhood Environment on Women's Willingness to Have a Second Child in China. *Inquiry.* 56. 004695801983323. DOI: 10.1177/0046958019833232

46. Lan, M. (2021) Relationship between Chinese Women's Childhood Family Background and their Fertility Intentions under Different Policy Conditions. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*. 30(12). pp. 3016–3028. DOI: 10.1007/s10826-021-02095-y

47. Guo, Q. (2023) How people's concepts of marriage, childbearing, childrearing, and child education affect their fertility willingness and behaviour under the three-child policy in China? *International Journal of Law Policy and the Family*. 37(1). DOI: 10.1093/lawfam/ebad028

48. Tong, Y., Gan, Y. & Zhang, C. (2023) Whose preference matters more? Couple's fertility preferences and realization in the context of China's Two-Child policy. *Journal of Family Issues*. 45(2). pp. 471–501. DOI: 10.1177/0192513x221150976

49. Qiu, H., Zhang, Q., Zhang, J., Wang, Q., Liu, L., Yang, J. & Hou, L. (2021) Fertility intentions among the working population of Dalian City born between 1980 and 1989. *Journal of Biosocial Science.* 54(3). pp. 533–544. DOI: 10.1017/s0021932021000213

Information about the author:
Fu L. – postgraduate student, International Laboratory for Social Integration Research, School of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, HSE University (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: lfu@hse.ru

The author declares no conflicts of interests.

Сведения об авторе:
Фу Л. – аспирант Международной лаборатории исследований социальной интеграции; Школа социологии, факультет социальных наук Национального исследовательского университета «Высшая школа экономики» (Москва, Россия). E-mail: lfu@hse.ru

Автор заявляет об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

Статья поступила в редакцию 15.06.2025;
одобрена после рецензирования 17.07.2025; принята к публикации 07.08.2025
The article was submitted 15.06.2025;
approved after reviewing 17.07.2025; accepted for publication 07.08.2025