

China's Population Policy and its Implications on Tibetan Women

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Abstract

China's population policy and its implications on Tibetan Women is an important topic at both at homeland and abroad. It is not only an issue of Tibet but also of Human right as well as Tibetan women. It deals the China's nationality policy that how it effects on Tibetan population especially on Tibetan women. It also discusses the mistreatment of women in the name of the birth control policy in Tibet. The present study shows how this policy affects Tibetan women through the violation of their reproductive rights, severe fines and punishments, abortion and sterilizes them who don't follow it.

The rationale for this study comes from the fact that China's population policy and its implications on Tibet Women have been not studied in any broad manner. Though there are many works have been done on Tibet but not exclusively on this topic has been done. So, this study focuses on it and tries to fill the gap through the help of existing and available literature. The depressed status of Tibetan women, violation of their rights, their ill-treatment etc. overt and covert motivates the researcher to take this topic. The purpose of this paper writing is to provide a linkage between the previous studies and the present study on China's population policy and its implications on Tibet Women.

This study is based on analytical and empirical review of data and information collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include documents in the form of Chinese Government documents, Tibetan and western publications as well as various governments' reports, press releases issued by the government of China, Tibet and the internal broadcasts included in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) translations, Tibetans in exile (or their supporters), for example, the Tibet Press Watch of the International Campaign for Tibet or the World Tibet News. The reports and documents published by the London based Tibet Information Service, the publications of CTA are also helpful source of data analyses.

The secondary sources of information include books, periodicals, journals, newspaper clippings, magazines and various websites (National and International) etc. is also used. In addition to this, the documents of INGOs, NGOs and Civil Society groups etc. are working on the Population Policy of China and its implications for Tibetan Women are also consulted. Field survey results of various refugee settlement areas in India also used. The outcomes of survey are also used that performed among various policy makers, researchers and non-governmental organisations, civil Society groups to addition the facts as well as to understand the Population Policy of China and its implications for Tibetan women.

Keywords: Gender Equality, Ayalzat, Oblast, Rayon, Social Construction, USSR, Cars, CEDAW, BPA, Mdgs, CCPR and CESC.

Introduction

Tibet is located in the heart of Asia; it is renowned as one of the most inaccessible countries on earth, the "Land of Snows" on the "Roof of the World". The earth's highest mountains, a vast arid plateau and great river valleys have an average altitude of 13,000 feet above sea level. Geographically it is a natural fort with the Kunlun and Altun ranges to the north, and the Karakorum Hindu Kush Mountains to the west. Along the southern border is the 1,500 mile stretch of the Himalayas, home of Jomolungma (Mount Everest), the tallest mountain on earth and Gang Tisi Rinpoche (Mount Kailash), which is the most sacred mountain for both Buddhists and Hindus. To the east are the triple river gorges cut by the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween Rivers, followed by rings of lesser mountains and high plains forming a daunting barrier of their own.

Aim of the Study

The main aims of the present study are to assess the population policy of China in Tibet, examine the implications of China's Population Policy on Tibetan women, develop a deep understanding of birth control policy in Tibet, evaluate the efforts of various agencies have been done for the improvement of Tibetan women, know the status of Tibetan women and ratio before and after Chinese take over and assess the health care system *among Tibetan women*

Main Body of The Paper

Tibetans often use the term Tibet to refer to a large Tibetan ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and historical area that includes the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and Tibetan areas in four neighboring provinces Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, and Yunnan. These Tibetan areas outside the TAR home to more than 50 percent of all ethnic Tibetans are primarily affected by the resettlement policies. The term Tibet (Xizang) is referred as the Tibet Autonomous Region for Chinese authorities.¹ Tibet is sharing its borders with India to the west and south and China to the east. Tibet is also neighbour to Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Burma (Myanmar) to the south and Eastern Turkestan to the north. The south eastern corner of Tibet is near the northern borders of Laos and Vietnam.

Tibet is comprised of the three provinces of Amdo (now split by China into the provinces of Qinghai, Gansu & Sichuan), Kham (largely incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan and Qinghai), and U-Tsang (which, together with western Kham, today referred as the Tibet Autonomous Region by China). The current borders of the so-called Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) have been drawn after the Chinese invasion (1959) and incorporate only the western quarter of Tibet.

The Tibet Question is the long-standing conflict over the political status of Tibet in relation to China and also encounters a sensitive debate about nationalism, national identity and ethnic minority over whether political units should directly parallel ethnic units or not. This question opens an endless debate between the right of a people (Tibetans) to self-determination and liberation versus the right of a multi-ethnic state (China).

Tibet sovereignty is one of the most important disputes between China and Tibet. Tibet had fulfilled all the features of a sovereign nation. It has its own government system, culture, religion, and ethnically distinct population prior to Beijing's invasion of Tibetan territory in 1949. It also accompanied its international relations independently from China, even signing its own treaties and agreements with other nations. But Beijing asserts Tibet has been a part of China for several centuries and its invasion was meant to free Tibet from a cruel system means Beijing paints itself as Tibet's liberator.²

Today, Tibet is a source of abound mineral wealth and water for the Chinese industrial complex and the millions of Chinese people that live along the banks of the rivers that flow out of Tibet towards coastal China. China and India also have fought a

bloody war over the border dispute regarding Tibet. While India and China are talking on a peaceful resolution of the dispute, China has ramped up infrastructure, roads, railways, airports, logistics and communications in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). After 2006, China has raised the chance on Arunachal Pradesh (ALP), calling it "Southern Tibet" and increased tension by raising pin-pricks on the ALP issue; protesting against the visit of Indian Prime Minister to ALP or even the Dalai Lama to Tawang etc.³

The question of women status has recently become worldwide significance. The importance of women status and role was recognized by the UN by declaring 1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-85 as the UN Decade for women. Approximately in all societies, the status and role of women in the family and in the society is determined by traditions, customs and the patriarchal system. Traditionally, home is the work place of women; they are expected from childhood to old age to care family members.

Women are also not enjoying the independency and self-dependency due to their dependency on male. A girl has to under her parents and brother before marriage, after marriage her dependency moves to her husband and later on it goes to her son that means in the journey of life, she never ever feel freedom. Women have been always treated unequal in every society and Tibet is not an exception as status of women in this region is also unequal to men even they are practicing different kind of problems from the other part of womens'.

Women have to face Gender-based violence whether it is domestic or other type. It is not only an issue of women alone but of human rights, gender issue as well as women health. Violation of women's human rights is the most unfair and ever-present reality that hindrance to achieving gender equality, as well as promoting development and peace. Worldwide, it is estimated that one out of three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, raped or otherwise physically abused.

Violence affects women in all societies, regardless of culture, region, ethnicity, religion and economic status. The causes for violence against women are a complex combination of cultural, legal, economic and political factors, yet it is a generally accepted view that violence against women is the result of patriarchal ideology, values, and norms, unbalanced power relations, as well as strict divisions of labour, socialization processes, and cultural customs and traditions.⁴

China's Population Policy

It has long been a controversial topic, both levels regional as well as international whether Chinese population policy is responsible for declining the population of Tibet or not. Some reports and authors believe that the TAR is actually experiencing high population growth rather than suffering from a policy of coercive and restrictive birth control which is causing population decline and threatening. While the other group claims that this policy affects the whole of Tibet.

Chinese policy on Tibet has been important changes. In the early 1950s it was a geo-political security concern but in post 2000 it becomes an economic security concern. In the period between the World Wars, Tibet was a 'buffer' state separating the Great Powers, a doll in the Great Game. Mao thought that Britain wanted to use Tibet as the base for defeat China.

The Cultural Revolution was the extreme manifestation of the Chinese policy when the Chinese government conducted war on the four Olds: Old Ideas, Old Culture, Old Custom and Old Habits and involved in a harsh campaign to destroy the Tibetan culture and religion in all forms.⁵ Though the death of Mao in 1976 brought the end of "Cultural Revolution" in China and as a part of this general liberalization China made a number of unilateral signs in Tibet like releasing a group of prisoners, announcing that Tibetans would be able to visit abroad and issuing visas to visit Tibet to a group of Tibetans living in exile.⁶

There is much controversy over claims of a diminishing Tibetan population, genocide, forced birth control, and intentional migration of Han Chinese into Tibet. Yan noted that demographers have paid little attention to these issues. He proposes that the true conflict lies between China's modernization and Tibetan nationalist desires to preserve Tibet. At the same time, the author agrees that Tibet should be allowed cultural preservation.⁷

It is an ideological belief that national minorities are racially inferior and Tibet is regarded as a minority nationality by China. Since 1988 its controversial eugenics plan to raise population quality has been particularly directed at national minorities, including Tibetans. The presentation of the Draft National Law on Eugenics in December 1993, combined with the unconfirmed announcement of high numbers of mentally defective Tibetans, indicates China's strong intention to apply eugenic controls on Tibetans in the future. It is also likely that there will be more and more limits on the number of children. In a ministerial statement China wants to stop the inferior quality births and identified the minorities who were responsible for it.

Though, Beijing states that the National Birth Control Policy does not apply on Tibet. Tu Den, Director of China's Family Planning Office of Tibet, was quoted in the China Daily newspaper that forced abortion and sterilization are absolutely nonexistent. PurbuZhoima, Director of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Regional Family Planning Commission, also said that the TAR government has never interfered in or restrained Tibetan women's rights to give birth. There has no policy to set a quota for the number of children Tibetan women may have, nor does it force women to have abortions or undergo sterilization procedures.

China said that the Tibetan people welcomed its family planning policies in Tibet. A March 23, 1998 report in the Tibet Daily stated that family planning officials have carried out policies with full co-operation from the local people. The Chinese government has also stated that the current family

planning policy in Tibet has been formed in full consideration of the Tibetan people. But it seems a false and misleading statement.

Nevertheless Han Chinese and Chinese Muslim migrants are quite simply overrunning the existing Tibetan population policy in Tibet. It is typically referred as "population swamping", "population transfer", "demographic invasion" or "demographic aggression". Dalai Lama reasserted his view that China's policy of resettling Chinese migrants in Tibet amounts to "demographic aggression" and even cultural genocide referring to disappearance of Tibetans as an identifiable cultural group due to Sinicization.⁸

China's Population Policy in Tibet

There is ample confusion in the existing Chinese policy in occupied Tibet. Chinese governmental policies have covertly supported and encouraged the practices of forced and coerced birth control and sterilization of Tibetan women, the forced and coerced abortions, and coercive and invasive family planning measures. The government of the People's Republic of China has acted without regard to national or international policies and has consistently denied Tibetan women their fundamental freedoms and human rights. It has chosen to ignore all demands from the international community for specific information about its family-planning policies and about Tibetan women. The actualities of the policy may vary slightly from place to place.⁹

The PRC introduced coercive birth control measures in central China in the 1970s with the target to keep the population under 1.2 billion until the year 2000. One family, one child policy method was used to achieve this goal. Although officially this policy was only for nationalities in China Tibet was exempted from the provisions of family planning legislation but practically voluntary birth control has been also promoted in Tibet since the early 1980s. The Chinese Government encourages and promotes the TAR also to confirm Chinese birth planning policy. In the mid-1980s, the Chinese authorities began implementing family planning policies in Tibetan communities also. In 1992, for the first time the PRC admitted to the international community that a two child policy had been implemented since 1984 in Tibet.

Since 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action there have been numerous addresses in the international community regarding the continued violations of reproductive rights that are being committed against Tibetan women who live in Tibet. The United Nations, U.S. State Department, the various international NGOs and independent researchers have acknowledged that China's state sponsored population control policies are implemented in violent and discriminatory ways throughout the Tibetan community in Tibet. Tibetan women inside Tibet have nearly no way to challenge China's policies because these policies were sanctioned state herself.

There are enormous evidences regarding violations of the reproductive rights of Tibetan women in Tibet that proves the aim of the Chinese population policy to reduce the size of the Tibetan population in

Tibet and an act of genocide was found there. The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide is defined Genocide as "any act committed with the intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group in whole or in part, including the imposition of measures intended to prevent births within a group". This convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948 and according to it Genocide is recognized as a crime in international law.¹⁰

The Committee found that acts of genocide had been committed in Tibetan to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group, and that such acts are acts of genocide independently of any conventional obligation.¹¹ The act of cultural genocide was also found as Dalai Lama said in his speech before the British Parliament in July 1996 that "the destruction of cultural artifacts and traditions coupled with the mass influx of Chinese into Tibet amounts to cultural genocide".¹²

Implications of Chinese Population Policy on Tibetan Women

Certainly Tibetan Women are affected by Chinese Population Policy mainly due to violation of their reproductive rights, abortion and sterilisation and fines and punishments imposed upon them. Not only the women but the whole family is the victim of this policy. Though The Chinese government is not agreeing to admit this fact but overt and covert it has been imposed on them. Although many regional, national, international organizations, Tibetan Women's Association etc. has lauded their voice against the violations of human rights as well as reproductive Rights of Tibetan women but still it is in practice.

In Tibet, government employees are in main target of family planning programmes. Ordinary Tibetans are allowed two children and state employees only one. Apart from complex regulations, there is a series of fines and punishments for couples who breakdown the rules and have an unauthorized child. There is no serious attempt to enforce birth control among Tibetan farmers and herdsman who live in vast areas with low population density. Melvyn and Cynthia conclude that the TAR is actually experiencing high population growth rather than suffering a policy of coercive and restrictive birth control that is causing population decline and threatening the continued existence of Tibetans.¹³

Tibetan women are victims of the China's population policy in Tibet. They have to face not only several pressures from the Chinese authorities to limit the number of their children, possibly to one, but also there is emergent proof that they are being forced to have abortions and sterilizations. Tibetans are allowed two children if ordinary and only one child in case of employee of the state. The birth control regulations imposed on Tibetans affect both parents as well as the children. The maltreatment of Tibetan women goes beyond torture and ill-treatment in the name of birth control policy. We can assess the implications of China's population policy in Tibet on Tibetan women under following themes-

Violation of Reproductive Rights of Tibetan Women

Many international conventions have restated the rights of women including reproductive rights. The most notable action was the International Conference on Population and Development and the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, which the Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) acknowledges as having been adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights. According to the United Nations, women have the right to reproductive choice and adequate and safe health care. The UN also supports the fact that couples and individuals have the basic right to decide liberally the number and spacing of their children. The BPFA stated that women have the right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence. The CEDAW has made it clear that it considers the violation of the reproductive rights of women to be a form of violence against women as they have a negative effect on physical and mental health of women.

The first formal declaration of reproductive rights appeared in 1968 at the United Nations International Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran, Iran. Reproductive rights were defined as the freedom of reproductive choice of parents who decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of children, and the right to adequate education and information in this respect. The World Population Plan of Action adopted in Bucharest, 1974 restated the rights to individuals who have the means to make reproductive decision making. The Cairo Conference (1994) extended the definition of reproductive rights to include the freedom of choice and the rights of women to have control over their bodies. The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, 1995 China reinforced women's reproductive rights, and called for the removal of gender inequalities in labour force participation and policy making.

In accordance with the definitions of reproductive rights which emerged from international conferences and conventions on human rights, women, and population, women's reproductive rights refer to the rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of children, access to information and education, means to make reproductive decisions, and the right to have control over their own bodies.

The rise of reproductive rights as an international issue have been forced with the last two centuries' strong political and social philosophies and current concerns with speedy population growth. The current views on reproductive rights were fueled by the ideological and structural forces. Ideologically this concept is rooted in the idea that all individuals have the equality of rights to enjoy freedom and happiness. The theoretical grounds of developing sociological explanations of norms, rights, are poorly organized in contemporary sociological literature.¹⁴

The emergence of women's reproductive rights was influenced by a number of policy measures

during the last six decades aimed at limiting the uncontrolled population growth in poor nations. The Neo-Malthusian school of thought views large population size and rapid population growth rates as impediments in economic growth and development. It is worldwide concern that rapid population increase adversely affects the well-being and freedom of people in developing countries. Internationally it is one of the most popular measures to bound population growth is to provide birth control methods to women.¹⁵

On the one hand, variations in reproductive rights in developing societies may be accounted for by broad social changes which may result in fertility decline, increase the levels of women's education, and further it may contribute to the emergence of gender equality. While on other hand, population decline as a result of family planning programs in developing countries may influence on women's reproductive rights.

Although the issue of women's reproductive rights has awakened international concern, it is depending on political and legal domains. The measurement for women's reproductive rights is based on the standards given by the international conferences and conventions on human rights, women, and population without taking into consideration the societal variations in the definition of reproductive rights. International debates on women's reproductive rights have heightened the need for empirical studies and theoretical explanations. There is a need of feminist perspectives for studying social, political and demographic phenomena. This perspective is integral to the development of theories of reproductive rights. Recent feminist work highlights the role of women's political agency, and argues that social policies and provisions support patriarchy and capitalism.

Very few sociological studies have focused on Tibetan women's reproductive rights as an empirical and theoretical issue. But there is great potential for sociologists to enquiry into the issue of reproductive rights and to develop measurement scales of women's reproductive rights. Yet, sociologists have not adequately studied the social and structural factors that influence reproductive rights cross nationally. The Sociological research on reproductive rights has several shortcomings like they have developed inadequate theoretical models of women's reproductive rights.¹⁶ But some classical works have been done by classical social thinkers such as Emile Durkheim (1893, 1895, 1897, 1912)¹⁷ Max Weber (1922)¹⁸, and Thorstein Veblen (1921)¹⁹ etc. They have clearly pointed out the role of women's reproductive rights in modern societies. They discuss that protection of these rights is essential for achieving integrity and solidarity in society, and refer to a structural basis for the emergence of cultural, economic, and legal norms for them.

Family planning programs, modernization processes, women's education, gender equality and socio-economic development effect on women's reproductive rights. It is found that although family planning programs have no statistically significant effect on women's reproductive rights, but they

contribute in the declining in population growth. Women's education effects negatively on reproductive rights. Gender equality is the most important factor that affects the achievement of women's reproductive rights in developing nations. Social and economic development does not directly influence, but it works through the attainment of women's education and gender equality.

Family Planning Programs

In 1965 only 21 countries actively supported family planning programs. In 1989, 123 countries had active Family Planning Programs covering 91 percent of the world's population.²⁰ There is enough controversies in the use of available technologies of birth control. A number of programs have been blamed of excessive use of force in their implementation.

The Chinese family planning program rests on the involuntary approach model. Li argues that scarce resources, inaccessible health care, and social and cultural pressure in some of the developing countries often result in the lack of decision-making power and an increase in pregnancy related complications. Reproductive rights can be define as absolute freedom from coercion from the State sets an impossible standard and obstacle for social and economic development, and will eventually perpetuate more discrimination against women.²¹

Family planning programs cross nationally can be divided into two categories on the basis of strategies used for the provision of contraceptive services: the voluntary school and involuntary school. The first school does not advocate the use of any coercion, and insists that population policies must preserve women's individual rights. While the secondary school views reproductive regulations imposed on individuals by the State authority through family planning programs as necessary for sustainable development.²²

Though the both schools agree that overpopulation impedes socio-economic development, and it can be effectively control by contraceptive techniques and family planning programs. The first approach attempts to advance individual well-being without limiting the freedom to make reproductive decisions. Government policies focus on delivery systems which improve contraceptive availability, health services, and public education on the basis of the respect for individual decision making.²³ While the second school holds that too much emphasis on individual freedom in reproductive decision making, during the early stages of economic development of a society, may obstruct the provision of reproductive rights.

Family planning program effort consists of four components. The first component refers to the sum of policies adopted and implemented that comprises policies, resources, and activities that a government (or private organizations) undertakes to underpin, organize, and implement a family planning program. The second one refers to the service and service-related activities that are designed to make it easier for people to obtain and use a variety of family planning methods. The third one is the availability and

accessibility of contraceptive techniques and devices and the last component consists three items, namely-record keeping, evaluation, and management use of evaluation findings.

Modernization denotes changes in societal institutions such as religion and family, along with changes in cultural values and technologies associated with fuel organizations. The emergence of modern institutions is often accompanied by the appearance of modern value systems which support small family size, egalitarian gender relations, and promote women education. There are three distinct dimensions integrated and interrelated with women's reproductive rights these are population growth, women's education, and gender equality.²⁴

Population Growth Dimension

The first dimension is expected to have a negative effect on women's reproductive rights. If the population growth is slower, the women's reproductive rights will be the more. Child bearing and child rearing responsibilities is one of the major factors that restrict women from gaining autonomy and personal rights for reproductive decision making. Declining fertility is likely to free women from child bearing and rearing burdens, and increase the possibilities of participation in civil and political organizations outside the household. Motherhood may constrain women from freedom of movement and opportunities for social activities, and further reduce personal autonomy.²⁵

Having large families may obstruct women's gaining of earning assets,²⁶ and intensifies women's vulnerability and socio-economic dependence on men. Limiting or avoiding births may increase opportunities for women to organize, participate, and emphasize their demands for resources and technologies, which may enhance their autonomy and improve their reproductive health and well-being.

A crucial factor in fertility decline is the "modern contraceptive revolution" fueled by government-sponsored family planning programs worldwide. Typically, these programs lower market costs by providing free information about birth control and services free or below cost, and also lower subjective costs by giving legitimacy to practising birth control.²⁷

Family planning program is the first and foremost factor that negatively affects population growth. The greater the family planning program effort, the slower the population growth. Global data on government sponsored family planning programs shows that it has now become a state-led policy worldwide. In developing countries large fertility declines due to government sponsored family planning programs.²⁸ It is likely to be associated with the political will and resources.

Social and economic development is the second factor that negatively affects population growth. If the higher the levels of socio-economic development, population growth will be the slower. Women's education is the third factor that that also have a negative effect on population growth. The higher the educational levels of women, the slower the population growth. Educated women to be expected less likely to marry and to bear children. It

affects fertility in several ways like by delaying marriage or probably increasing women tendency of non-marriage, by creating ambitions for a high living standard. An increase in the levels of women's education results in small family size. The educational level of the wife is more strongly and inversely correlated with a couple's fertility than is the educational level of the husband.²⁹

Finally, the rate of population growth is related to gender equality that has a negative relationship with fertility. Gender equality is likely to have a negative effect on population growth. As if the higher the level of gender equality, the population growth has the slower. It has direct impact on women's ability to determine the number and spacing of their children. A more egalitarian relationship between men and women indicates more gender equality in family relationship in that case women have more power to achieve their reproductive goals. McDaniel has drawn our greater attention to women as agents, players, and dolls in power systems and struggles to explain fertility patterns. The gender structural determinants of fertility were until recently a 'black box' to Demography.³⁰

Women's Education Dimension

A second perspective is women's education, argues that an increase in women's educational level is also enhance their ability and power in reproductive decision making. The ideology of reproductive rights is brought about by women, for women, through education. Thus, a higher level of women's education is likely to lead to a higher level of reproductive rights. As a human resource, it improves women's ability to selectively utilize a wide range of ideas and values for personal enhancement. It offers women more opportunities to organize themselves in the changing economic and social conditions. Women's education has positive effect on gender equality. If women's education increases, then gender equality is also increase.

Gender Equality Dimension

Gender equality Dimension has direct impact on women's ability to determine the number and spacing of their children. The higher the level of gender equality, the more the reproductive rights for women. It focuses on the role of gender in the development of reproductive rights. It can be define as the equality in the representation of women and men in key dimensions of social life. The relationship between gender equality and women's reproductive rights is reciprocal. Gender relationships are rooted in social, economic, and political institutions that reinforced through everydaylife. The patriarchal system is the major obstacle in gender equality. This system subordinates women through public patriarchy (in public spheres of economies and states) and private patriarchy (in the family) that creates structural obstacles to exercise their personal autonomy for reproductive rights. In patriarchal societies, women have little control over the circumstances under which they live, the returns of their labour, their sexuality, the timing, spacing and number of children.³¹

Abortion and Sterilization

Abortion appears to be the major form of contraception in Tibet. This is largely due to a lack of contraceptive technology in Tibet and to the authorities, who have stated a preference for the combined method, a term which is believed to mean combining abortion with contraception. For urban women, there are strong incentives to have only one child, and then abort any others or get sterilized. Women who obey with the law receive bonuses and other incentives like priority for goods, job promotions, and free medical treatment for the child until they are 18. Women who don't obey have to face fines, demotion and loss of bonuses given these alternatives; women appear to have little choice about abortion.

Birth control teams were given financial incentives to perform as much sterilization as possible. Many independent witnesses support this claim, describing how girls of 13 and 14, allegedly were dragged off, screaming, by the truckload. The extent to which physical force has been used is unclear. Human rights groups come to different conclusions about charges of coercive birth control policies in Tibet. These birth control blitzes, during which between 30 and 50 sterilizations a day were carried out, appear to be the sources of reports of violence.

Fines and Punishment

There are a series of fines and punishments imposed on the couples who breakdown the rules and have an unauthorized child. Ordinary Tibetans are allowed two children, employees of the state only one. In China's White Paper on Tibet, fines and punishments for urban Tibetans who exceeded the birth control quota were extended to all Tibetan residents of towns, whether or not they were government employees.

In the May 1992 TAR Birth Control Regulations, an urban Tibetan couple who have an unauthorized child are fined at least 500 yuan about three months income for a government employee, or a year's income for a farmer. The fine is 300 yuan if one of the couple does not have a stable profession. That couple is neither eligible for promotion, wage rises nor bonuses for two years. The fine for a second illegal Tibetan child is 1,000 yuan for an employed couple, or 600 yuan for couples with unstable profession. Families outside the state system who exceed the two child threshold have to pay heavily. Fines can be as high as for an unauthorized child. Under the regulations, children can be denied residence, food rations and, in some circumstances, are ineligible for school.

Status of Human Rights in Tibet

The picture of Human rights in Tibet remains gloomy. Under the Chinese occupation, the Tibetan people are denied most rights guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) including the rights to self-determination, freedom of speech, assembly, movement, expression and travel. China's consistent use of excessive military force to suppress dissent has resulted in widespread human rights abuses in the form of arbitrary arrests,

political imprisonment, torture and execution. Human rights groups have documented at least 60 deaths of peaceful demonstrators since 1987. They have confirmed, by name, over 700 Tibetan political prisoners in Tibet, although there are likely to be hundreds more whose names are not confirmed. Credible reports of mistreatment and torture of detainees and political prisoners in Tibet are widespread, including beatings, shocks with electric batons, lack of sleep or food, exposure to cold and other brutalities. Human rights and humanitarian organizations are denied access to prisons and detention centers in Tibet.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) started reconstructing the Tibetan society after invasion in 1949-50. Superiority and autocratic and repressive measures were imposed with the aim of total subordination of Tibetans. Even though Tibet was officially regarded as an "Autonomous Region" within PRC, the status has not banded the prosecution and oppression against Tibetan religion and culture which are the most noticeable symbols of Tibetan Identity.³²

There was great discontent among the Tibetans and the rebellion began first to the eastern areas of Tibet (Now it is outside TAR) because they were the primary target of Chinese policies but soon after it spread to other areas, culminating in uprising in Lhasa in 1959. Eventually, the Dalai Lama ran away to India along with his 80,000 supporters. The rebellion was finally crushed after large scale killing and imprisonment.³³ Tibetans were subjected to class divisions and class conflict, and those who had participated in or supported the revolt were arrested and imprisoned. Monasteries were also subjected to democratic reforms.³⁴

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) found, after a preliminary investigation, that there was evidence that genocide was committed.³⁵ The Legal Enquiry Committee set up to investigate the available evidences concluded that acts of genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy Tibetans as religions group. The committee further found that the Chinese authorities in Tibet had violated sixteen articles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Role of Tibetan Women's Association (TWA)

The Tibetan Women's Association was established on March 12, 1959 in Lhasa when Tibetan women from all provinces of Tibet joined together to protest against the painful clean-up of the Tibetans. It was the first time in Tibetan history that a huge number of women collectively came out in the streets of Lhasa and peacefully demonstrated against the Chinese occupation. Many of the protestors were later locked up and beaten to death. It advocates human rights for women inside Tibet and is committed to empowering women in exile.

TWA frequently organizes different seminars and workshops among the Tibetan women to promote social, economic, political and educational upliftment of women. At present, it has 56 regional chapters outside Tibet spread over four continents (Asia, North America, Europe and Australia) totaling to about 16,000 members. The executive members also

participate in various international conferences to share their views and create awareness with respect to various problems faced by Tibetan women. It also provides scholarship to young destitute Tibetan women to pursue higher studies. It has also started a new desk to study the relevance of Tibetan women, climate change and international media programs which publish reports on the socio political status of Tibetan women.

Human Rights issue in Tibet

Mountcastle argued that one of Tibet's main issues, human rights, holds a valid position within the realm of politics. He argues that human rights issues are often fixed as idealistic and therefore outside the arena of "real" politics. He said that Tibet has been secondary to the Chinese hegemony politically and socially. Critics of Tibet's fight for human rights, including academics and the Chinese government, have used this mindset to disgrace and discharge Tibet's concerns about self-governance and cultural marginalization. Tibet has valid grievances that cannot be argued away by demonstrating that, for example, some of the policies passed by the Chinese government have improved the material situation for some Tibetans.³⁶

The picture of Human rights in Tibet remains gloomy. Under the Chinese occupation, the Tibetan people are denied most rights guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) including the rights to self-determination, freedom of speech, assembly, movement, expression and travel. China's consistent use of excessive military force to suppress dissent has resulted in widespread human rights abuses in the form of arbitrary arrests, political imprisonment, torture and execution.

Sautman contradicts common and widespread claims that Tibet is continuing, or has endured, physical and cultural genocide; that it has, in effect, been colonized by China; and that it is undergoing resource exploitation for China's material gain. He argues that such hyperbolic abuse of terminology does a disservice to effectively handling the China-Tibet issue.³⁷

Sautman argues that Tibet is not undergoing the "cultural genocide" so widely claimed by Tibetans and their Western supporters, but is instead facing cultural change due to the forces of modernization. He provides discussion on Chinese policies toward Tibet as well as statistics and examples demonstrating that the Tibetan population is being given freedoms to preserve its identity. He argues that China has not demonstrated a purposeful effort to deny or, more seriously, erase Tibetan culture. Rather, the Tibetan Government in Exile is operating under an agenda of "ethnonationalism" and has resorted to hyperbolic claims about China's intentions toward Tibet.³⁸

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) found, after a preliminary investigation, that there was evidence that genocide was committed.³⁹ The Legal Enquiry Committee set up to investigate the available evidences concluded that acts of genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy Tibetans as a religious group. The committee further found that

the Chinese authorities in Tibet had violated sixteen articles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In 1961, the UN General Assembly recognized this right and passed a resolution for the end of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedom including their right to self-determination. The situation in Tibet is particularly pathetic and tragic because of China's domination is based on continuing refusal to allow the Tibetan people to exercise their right to self-determination. The UN General Assembly in its three successive Resolutions (1959, 1961 and 1969) had expressed serious concern at the violation of fundamental human rights of Tibetans and the suppression of their distinct cultural and religious life and autonomy which they had been enjoying since long.

Conclusion

It has long been a controversial topic, both levels regional as well as international whether Chinese population policy is responsible for declining the population of Tibet or not. Some reports and authors believe that the TAR is actually experiencing high population growth rather than suffering from a policy of coercive and restrictive birth control which is causing population decline and threatening. While the other group claims that this policy affects the whole of Tibet.

Chinese policy on Tibet has been important changes. In the early 1950s it was a geo-political security concern but in post 2000 it becomes an economic security concern. The Cultural Revolution was the extreme manifestation of the Chinese policy when the Chinese government conducted war on the four Olds: Old Ideas, Old Culture, Old Custom and Old Habits and involved in a harsh campaign to destroy the Tibetan culture and religion in all forms.

There is much controversy over claims of a diminishing Tibetan population, genocide, forced birth control, and intentional migration of Han Chinese into Tibet. The demographers have paid little attention to these issues. There is ample confusion in the existing Chinese policy in occupied Tibet. Chinese governmental policies have covertly supported and encouraged the practices of forced and coerced birth control and sterilization of Tibetan women, the forced and coerced abortions, and coercive and invasive family planning measures. Certainly Tibetan Women are affected by Chinese Population Policy mainly due to violation of their reproductive rights, abortion and sterilisation and fines and punishments imposed upon them. Not only the women but the whole family is the victim of this policy.

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