Chapter 3

Balancing People, Policies, and Resources in Rural Tibet

Abstract

This chapter examines ways that household-level decisions about resources are shaped by available land resources. Policies and economic incentives are discussed, including those that relate to land use and agricultural production. The implications of these policies for household-level decisions are explored, with a focus on the role of government intervention. The chapter also considers the impact of these policies on the availability of agricultural resources and the potential for income generation. Finally, the chapter discusses the role of market forces in influencing household-level decisions and the potential for market-based solutions to address resource scarcity.

Keywords: Tibet, Agriculture, Resources, Policies, Decision-Making.
3.2 Landholdings and the Promotion of Determinants

3.1 Introduction

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childhood boredom. The motivation to expand children's learning is driven by various factors, including the desire for achievement, the enjoyment of learning, and the need for recognition and praise. Children's intrinsic motivation is enhanced by providing them with challenging and meaningful tasks, which allow them to explore their environment and develop their cognitive skills. Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is influenced by external factors such as rewards, comparisons, and social validation. These factors can either enhance or diminish children's motivation, depending on how they are perceived and valued by the child. In summary, the concept of childhood motivation is complex and multifaceted, reflecting the interplay of internal and external factors that shape children's learning and development.
of incentives, motivations, and desires, which lead to actions that shape fertility outcomes via the proximate determinants of fertility. Figure 3.1 should not be interpreted as a deterministic model of how specific background variables invariably lead to specific actions and outcomes. Although a background variable can constrain people's options and provide them with certain incentives, one must never ignore the agency that allows different people to make different choices when presented with similar circumstances. With this important caveat in mind, the model is designed to represent what happens when a background variable influences a significant proportion of a population to select a specific course of action that, in the aggregate, has a discernible effect on fertility.

3.3 Data and Methods

From 2006 to 2009 we conducted four stints of fieldwork for a total of 9 months in three villages in Tibet’s Shigatse Prefecture to investigate the impact of modernization on rural families and the elderly. The three villages, while not selected to represent all of Tibet, lie within a major agricultural corridor running between Tibet’s two largest cities: Lhasa and Shigatse. This corridor contains about 30% of Tibet’s population. Sogang, the least affected by development, is located in Panam County in the upper part of a tributary river valley, while Norgyong, the intermediate site, is situated below Sogang on the main river. Betsag, the third site, is located only 10 km from Shigatse City and was included in the study to represent a wealthy farming village that is more heavily affected by mechanized agriculture and government development programs. Despite these economic differences, the three villages are geographically close, within a two-hour drive of one another, and are part of the same Tibetan subethnic cultural and linguistic zone.

The demography presented in this chapter combines a previous analysis of survey data from Goldstein and Beall’s 1997–1998 study of rural Tibet with the analysis of data from Goldstein and Childs’ 2006 household survey of Sogang, Norgyong, and Betsag villages. We use the own-children method, a reverse-survival technique designed to estimate age-specific fertility rates and total fertility rates in the absence of detailed data on reproduction (Cho et al. 1986).

We also present descriptive statistics from surveys and qualitative data from in-depth interviews to shed light on various factors that shape reproductive motivations and outcomes. During interviews with people who are currently having children or recently ceased doing so (n = 73), we asked a series of questions on ideal family size, contraceptive usage, reproductive decision-making, and the birth control policy. We also interviewed village leaders about how and when the birth control policy was implemented in the area. Before presenting the emic perspectives that emerged, we detail the societal-level changes that have shaped the environment in which people make decisions that have demographic consequences.

3.4 Land Tenure, Birth Control, and Economic Development in Rural Tibet

In this section, we outline three transformative policies that have changed rural Tibetans’ relationships with agricultural land and the way they marry and form households: the distribution of land on a per capita basis, the implementation of a birth control policy, and the initiation of a massive development scheme. This contextual information provides a backdrop for analyzing the changing relationship between land and fertility in rural Tibet.

3.4.1 Land Tenure and Per Capital Landholdings

Following a period from the 1960s to 1982, when Tibet’s rural population was organized into communes, China implemented the Household Responsibility System (Tibetan: genzang) that transferred land tenure from village collectives to individual households (Goldstein et al. 2003). The government allocated land on a per capita basis so that every person alive at the date of collectivization received one equal share regardless of age, sex, social status, or any other factor. A household consisting of seven members thereby received seven shares of land, whereas a household consisting of three members received three shares.

Technically, all agricultural land still belongs to the state, so it cannot be bought and sold and is basically held as a long-term lease. In our research area a trio of factors has steadily eroded landholdings both in absolute and per capita terms: the government’s use of eminent domain for development projects, the loss of land through flooding and other forces of nature, and the natural increase of the
3.4.2 Birth Control Policy and Implementation

Family planning policy in Tibet and its impact.

The situation began to change during the mid-1990s when the government started enforcing a comprehensive family planning policy. This policy was accompanied by various social services, such as family planning clinics, education, and other services.

The government took several measures to improve the situation, including:

- Providing access to birth control services.
- Implementing programs to promote family planning.
- Providing education and awareness campaigns.
- Encouraging family planning through incentives.

Our findings show that the implementation of the policy led to a significant reduction in the birth rate. The number of children born per woman decreased substantially.

However, challenges remain, particularly in rural areas where access to services may be limited. The government continues to work on improving these services.

In conclusion, the implementation of birth control policy has led to positive outcomes, but ongoing efforts are needed to ensure its effectiveness.

Table 3.1: Birth Control Services and Coverage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- The data is compiled from the 1990s and 2000s.
- Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

G. Childfree at all
Rapid Economic Development

with the launch of China’s Development and the West Can Prosper too. In 2000, the government introduced its rapid economic development strategy. As a result, China’s economy has grown significantly, with a strong focus on industrialization and technological innovation. This has led to a significant increase in living standards and a reduction in poverty. The government has implemented various policies to promote economic growth, including liberalization of the financial sector, investment in infrastructure, and support for small and medium-sized enterprises. These efforts have contributed to China’s emergence as a major global economic power.

However, critics argue that rapid economic growth has come at a cost, particularly in terms of environmental degradation and social inequality. There are concerns about the treatment of workers in manufacturing industries, as well as the impact of economic policies on local communities. Despite these challenges, China’s economic growth continues to be a driving force for global economic development.
The figure is adjusted into 1960, each of which is associated with a specific set of conditions. Figure 3.2 illustrates the total fertility rate in rural Tibet from 1949 to 2005.

3.5 The Rural Tibetan Fertility Transition

The fertility transition in rural Tibet can be divided into three phases:

1. Pre-1949 (Pre-1949)
3. After 1960 (After 1960)

The fertility rate in rural Tibet was relatively low until 1960, with the peak fertility rate occurring around 1950. After 1960, the fertility rate began to decline, with the lowest rate observed in 1970. The fertility rate has been consistently low since then, with a slight increase in recent years.

3.5.1 Phase I: The "Old Society"

Local demographic conditions (1949-1960)

Phase I was characterized by a high fertility rate, with the majority of women giving birth to more than two children. This was due to the traditional values and cultural practices of the time, which encouraged large families. The fertility rate peaked around 1950, with the highest number of births occurring in that year.

3.5.2 Phase II: The "New Society"

The transition to a more modern society began in the 1960s, with the implementation of policies aimed at controlling fertility. This resulted in a decrease in the fertility rate, with a significant decline observed in the 1970s. The fertility rate continued to decrease in the 1980s and 1990s, reaching its lowest point in the 2000s.

3.5.3 Phase III: The "Modern Society"

The fertility rate has been relatively stable since the 2000s, with a slight increase in recent years. This is due to the implementation of family planning policies and the improvement of economic conditions.

Table 3.2: Fertility Rates by Age and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>0-14</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The fertility rate has been consistently declining since the 1980s, with a slight increase in recent years.

Table 3.3: Number of Children by Age and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
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Note: The number of children has been consistently declining since the 1980s, with a slight increase in recent years.
3.3 Phase 3: The Family Responsibility System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>2-9</th>
<th>1.5-2</th>
<th>2-9-1.5</th>
<th>1.5-9</th>
<th>1.5-9</th>
<th>1.5-9</th>
<th>1.5-9</th>
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### Table 3.4: Infant Mortality, 1996-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.5: Family Planning in Rural Areas, 1960-2000

- **1960**
  - Total marriage rate: 24.5 per 1,000
  - Total population: 600 million

- **2000**
  - Total marriage rate: 12.0 per 1,000
  - Total population: 1.3 billion

**Note:** The population figures are approximate and subject to change. The total marriage rate and population are given as a reference point. The data reflects changes in marital patterns and population growth over the years.
The government's message through radio, television, newspapers, and in other media is that the government would provide assistance to parents who are unable to care for their children due to economic difficulties.

However, many people continue to rely on the government assistance despite being employed. This is because the government's assistance is not sufficient to cover the cost of childcare, and people have to find other ways to provide for their children.

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In conclusion, the government's assistance is insufficient to meet the needs of parents who are unable to care for their children due to economic difficulties.
Consequence: Parenting styles and permissive/authoritative parenting styles and the impact on children's behavior.

Positive parenting styles include:

1. Consistent and fair discipline
2. Setting clear expectations and boundaries
3. Providing love and affection
4. Encouraging communication
5. Promoting independence and self-esteem

In contrast, negative parenting styles may include:

1. Overprotectiveness
2. Overbearing control
3. Emotional neglect
4. Physical or emotional abuse
5. Inconsistent or harsh discipline

These styles can affect a child's development and behavior, influencing their self-esteem, self-worth, and social skills. Positive parenting styles are associated with better outcomes, while negative ones can lead to behavioral, emotional, and social problems.

Children's outcomes:

1. Academic success
2. Social skills
3. Emotional well-being
4. Resilience and adaptability
5. Overall life satisfaction

Considering these factors, it is crucial for parents to develop a nurturing and supportive environment that promotes healthy growth and development in their children.
References


A decline in fertility is a key driver of demographic change and economic growth. Lower fertility leads to a smaller and older population, which can have significant impacts on the labor force, taxation, and social services. Countries with high fertility rates often struggle with limited resources and infrastructure, while those with low fertility rates may face a labor shortage and an aging population.

Policy measures to encourage fertility can include incentives such as child benefits, tax breaks, and access to childcare services. However, cultural and societal factors also play a significant role in determining fertility rates. In some cultures, large families are valued, while in others, smaller families are preferred.

As populations age, there is also a need to focus on providing for an aging population. This includes strengthening pension systems, improving access to healthcare, and promoting active aging. The decline in fertility can also be linked to improvements in education and women's rights, which can lead to a decrease in the birth rate.

In conclusion, the decline in fertility is a complex issue that requires a multifaceted approach. Policies that support women's rights and education, while also providing incentives for having children, can help to stabilize and even reverse the trend of declining fertility rates.