

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Significance

The reason of the writer choosing the topic about the new policy of China which is two-child policy is the first, the writer is interested in Chinese studies and looking for recent news about China. The writer found the fact that China is known as the country with the largest population in the world and it has a long story about the demographic problem or population control. Therefore, China must implement a policy to reduce the birth rate in the country. That is why China implemented one-child policy. Second, the writer follows the news about the topic and sees the latest news that China is going to change the one-child policy to become two-child policy. China switches and changes the policy into a two-child policy after more than three decades. This creates the curiosity of the writer about why China must change the policy. The writer thinks that it is an interesting topic to analyze. Finally, the writer decides to do the research about China's perspective in changing their policy and to reveal the factor behind China's decision.

B. Background

China's one-child policy is the country's effort to control the domestic problem which is a huge number of population. The goals of the policy were to make sure that the population growth did not bother economic development, to ease environmental and natural resource challenges and imbalances caused by a rapidly expanding population in the Mao Zedong era. The policy only allowed the urban couples to have one child. If pregnancy results in twins then two children are permitted. The strict enforcement of the policy only concerns on couples who live in the densely populated urban areas. Couples living in rural areas are not subject to the one-child policy. Approximately, one-third of the Chinese population is subject to the one child restriction.

Until the 1960s, Chinese officials gave couples the freedom to determine the size of their family. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976), families were encouraged to have as many children as possible. Mao believed that population growth can make the country stronger.¹ In 1970 the Chinese government concerned that the increase of population growth was becoming a significant problem. Government encouraged couples to marry later and have only two children, but this was not a policy mandated by law. Mao Zedong had his own theory that a populous China was a prosperous China, preventing the establishment of

¹Gilles, G. (2015). *China's One Child Policy: Facts & History*. Retrieved from Study.com.

'family planning' programs that were being proposed by others at the time.²

In 1979, three years after Mao's death, the one-child policy was established by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping as an effort to limit the population growth and some of the social, economic and environmental problems that were related with China's huge growth. Between 1949 and 1976, the population in China became doubled, from 540 millions to 940 millions.³ The one-child policy was intended to forbid couples who lived in urban areas to have more than one child or they had to face penalties, such as fees or a reduction in societal benefits. In 1984, the policy allowed many families in rural areas to have second child. When one-child policy was introduced in the 1979, the one-child policy strictly reduced the birthrate.

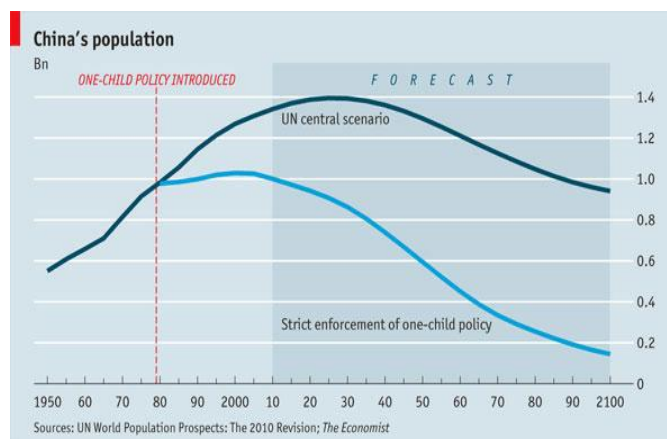


Figure 1.1: China's population in 1979 until 2010

Source: UN World Population Prospect: The 2010 Revision; The Economist

²Ashari, K. (2015). *KamusHubunganInternasional*. NuansaCendekia.

³Gilles, G. (2015). *China's One Child Policy: Facts & History*. Retrieved from Study.com.

Population aging may affect output for two reasons. First, population aging means that large portion of people stop working because their age does not encourage them to work anymore. If there are no compensation mechanisms at work for the elder, there will be only a small number of populations engaged in productive work. It will make total output per capita decline. Second, the savings rate varies by age. Working age people save the most for their retirement and also because they have a reason to save in anticipation of retirement. If the elder are not working or have little income, thus they have little or no ability to save. If China has a high number of older people, the overall savings rate of country will tend to decrease because they have to pay for retirement. With less saving available for country investment, economic growth will tend to decrease.⁴

Therefore, after 35 years, China's one-child policy could soon change. China's ruling Communist Party announced that it will abolish the China's decade old one-child policy and allow all couples to have two children. They removed the remaining restrictions that limited many urban couples to have only one child. The family planning policy, which has been eased in 2013, may be removed or replaced with a 'two-child policy'.⁵ China's government's decision to revoke its one-child policy is expected to improve the balanced development of population and to deal with the aging population.

⁴Banister, J. David E. B, Rosenberg, L. March 2010. *Population Aging and Economic Growth in China*.p.31. <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/pgda/working.htm>

⁵Ide, W. (2015, October 30). *Voice of America*. Retrieved November 2015, from China Debates New Two-child Policy: <http://www.voanews.com/content/china-child-policy-debate/3029621.html>

Beside the domestic or internal factor, the one-child policy cannot escape from the international complaint and pressure such as from Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton, United Nation, some scholars and human rights activists association like Women's Rights Without Frontier (WRWF) and Human Right Watch that make protests in terms of human right abuse to woman and children.

In April 2009, Hillary Clinton made a statement that she strongly condemned coercive family planning in China regarding to a forced sterilization and forced abortion that occur to women in China. In Congressional Hearing of United Nation, Clinton stated that forced abortion and sterilization practices are cannot be denied and absolutely unacceptable in women's rights. Clinton also criticize leader of China, Xi Jinping, in the UN Summit on September 2015 where Xi Jinping is also attend there to promote human rights. She called Xi Jinping as shameless to stood for human rights where his country are lack of human rights freedom.⁶

Human rights group and activist such as Human Rights Watch, Women's Rights Without Frontier, International Labor Organization, and Amnesty International urged Xi Jinping to abolish family planning policy that stricly implemented. The activists stated that it will does not worked by changing the family planning policy. By implementing new policy,

⁶ Frontier, W. R. *Forced Abortions is not a Choice*.

activists see that there still will be the prohibition for the third children and so on.⁷

It also contradicts with the goals of UN to promote the human rights. In UN Summit Conference 2015, activists on human rights had promoted some actions to fight against this issue by cooperating with UN to urged China's government ease the policy.⁸ Activists are complaints about the involvement of UN Population Fund (UNFPA) to help China managed the family planning policy of China. Toward this issue, UNFPA stated that it does not mean that they are support the forced abortions or anything that led to the women and children rights abuses. UNFPA states that they just help to provide the healthcare and medical assistance for the citizens of China. UNFPA's willing is to make sure that the basic rights of individual and couples are fulfill. In addition, UNFPA emphasize that they allowed to decide the number, spacing and timing of their children.⁹

Family planning of China also violates the Chinese Law and International Treaties that abiding to China's government. Chinese law such as 1994 Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development, 1995 Beijing Declaration, and 2002 Population and Family Planning Law. There were also treaties of UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and

⁷ Goodenough, P. (September 25, 2015). *Human Rights Activist: China's One-Child Policy 'Greatest Human Rights Atrocity on Earth'*. cnsnews.com.

⁸ Frontier, W. R. *Forced Abortions is not a Choice*.

⁹ UNFPA, U. F. (n.d.). United Nations Population Fund. 1-2. pdf

International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. It is also contradict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that also signed by China, to protect the women, children, and family.¹⁰

In this case, there is also the role of the UN Population Fund that cannot be ignored. By looking at the current situation, China may have some of the considerations and bravely take a risk by changing this controversial policy. Therefore, it is interesting to reveal the reason or factor behind China's government decision. The rest about international criticism will be described in the next chapter.

C. Research Questions

Based on the background described above China's one-child policy was implemented from the 1979, and changed into the two-child policy after more than 30 years because of several factors. Now, the two-child policy ratified in January 2016 to solve the internal and external problems. Then a question emerges, *"Why does China's government decide to change the One-Child Policy into Two-Child Policy as response to the internal and external problems?"*

D. Theoretical Framework

To ease the writer's analysis in explaining the problems faced and to choose the right concept in forming hypotheses, a theoretical framework

¹⁰ AllGirlsAllowed. *One Child Policy Statistic*

is needed. The changes of any policy by the government in a state must be based on certain reason and consideration. The solution for the problem itself cannot be determined by only one variable. It needs a theory or an approach that can be used to know the process of decision making, to outline the background and the factor that causes the changes of policy of one country.

From the background and research question, the theoretical framework for this research uses the theory by Graham T. Allison. There are three models proposed by Graham T. Allison to describe the decision making process, which are Rational Actor Model, Organizations Model and Bureaucratic Political Model. To explain the problems above, the writer will use the first model which is the Rational Actor Model. This model illustrates that the decision makers make an alternative policy to obtain optimal results.

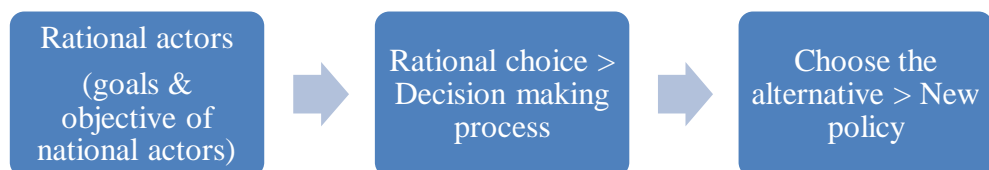


Figure 1.2: Rational actor decision making process

Each state/government is described as a rational actor who always acts based on the national interest. The actors must have specific goals/objectives, options, and consequences or risk that follow each alternative that they choose. Rational actor chooses an alternative that is

relevant to the problem by considering the consequences (loss and benefit). Therefore, the actor takes action as the rational choice. Action is chosen in response to the problem they faced. It is also known as intellectual process.

Regarding the Rational Decision Making Model, foreign policy is the results of an intellectual process where the actors choose the best option from all alternatives for the country. Government's behavior here is considered as the behavior of individuals which is reasonable and coordinated. The actor (government) through their intellectual, makes a choice over existing alternatives based on certain reason, in which there are loss and benefit in every alternative. Thus, the unit of analysis is the decision making process of the choices made by the government. Options must be taken in accordance with the national interests and goals/objective of a nation. Alternative choices should reckon the advantages and disadvantages.¹¹

The organizing concept of rational actor:

- a. *National actor*: nation or government must have one set of specified goals, one set of options, and estimation of the consequences.¹²
- b. *The problem*: action is chosen based on the problem that is faced by the nation.¹³

¹¹Mohtar Mas'oed, *"Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi"*, Jakarta, 1990, hlm. 234.

¹²Allison, G. T. (1971). *The Essence of Decision Making. Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Boston: Little and Brown Company.*

- c. *Static selection*, the representative of government has chosen the relevant solution toward the problem as the alternative outcomes.¹⁴
- d. *Action as rational choice*, which includes the components below:

The basic concepts of the action of rational actor are:

1. **Goals and objectives:** State as a rational actor will choose the alternative policies that have the highest consequences (benefit) in order to meet the objectives to be achieved. A policy that is taken is a policy that can maximize the value or utility obtained to maximize the strategic goals and objectives, by thinking of the consequences. In the process of policy making, governments are faced with a variety of policy choices where each choice has a consequence. Consequences that might be from the particular action may contain a number of side effects.¹⁵

By implementing the two-child policy, government predicted that 580,000 babies will be born in Beijing between 2017 and 2021, which will bring the total number of births between 2017 and 2021 in Beijing to 300,000 annually on average.¹⁶ This number is expected to increase the number of

¹³Ibid

¹⁴Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶Xiaodong, W. (2016). *Beijing All Set for Rush of Births*.

<http://www.womenofchina.cn/womenofchina/html1/news/china/1601/385-1.htm>

productive workers in the next 20 years and improve the economic condition of China.

2. **Alternatives/options:** the rational actor must choose among a set of alternatives that shows a particular situation. The state as a rational actor tries to pick each alternative option to maximize benefits and minimize costs received.¹⁷ According to Allison, the outcomes (policy) are as a result of compromise among the actors. The ability and skill of the actors would determine the outcome of the decision process. In determining the alternative option, the rational choice is used to decide what options will be taken by the actor. Rational choice theory attempts to provide an explanation regarding the best possible choice for decision makers. The action taken must be relevant to the problem.

China's government prefers to apply the two child policy because through this policy, government expects that it would rise the economic growth, create new investment and increase the demand for goods and services. In the future, this new policy would provide China with about 30 million labors by 2050.¹⁸

¹⁷Allison, G. T. (1971). *The Essence of Decision Making. Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Boston: Little and Brown Company.*

¹⁸Dasgupta, S. 2016. *Will New Two-Child Policy Lift China's Economy?*

3. **Consequences:** every alternative that is set up is always followed by some consequences or outcomes that will come up as the result when an option is chosen. The different way of thinking and result from the actors will prove their knowledge about the problem that occurs. They have to choose accurately which are the good and bad options to release a new policy. The consequences include benefits and costs in terms of strategic goals and objectives.¹⁹

China's government considered that two-child policy will not make a baby boom. From 2013, data show that China's population was 1.3 billion. However, implementing the two-child policy will only increase the population to a number of 1.45 billion in the next 20 years. By January 2016, there are 90 thousand couples signed to have a second child. Data from the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Survey show that 35% of the women preferred having only one child and 57% preferred having two children. Very few women (an average of 5.8%) wanted more than two.²⁰ It will also balance the demographic and gender imbalance. Two-child policy is considered to have much benefit and less loss rather than keeping the one-child policy. Beside that, if they do not change

¹⁹Allison, G. T. (1971). *The Essence of Decision Making. Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Boston: Little and Brown Company. p.30*

²⁰Therese Hesketh, Ph.D., Li Lu, M.D., and Zhu Wei Xing, M.P.H. 2015. *The Effect of China's One-Child Family Policy after 25 Years*

the policy, the pressure from international actor will continue to burden China with the human right issue.

4. **Choice:** Rational choice is value maximizing (loss and benefit).

Rational choice eases the actor to select the alternative which has the lowest risk and consequences. Afterward, it will be applied in terms of the goals and objectives.²¹ Rational choice is a theory that is used to answer which decision to be implemented and managed to achieve the interests or goals of the actor/state. Therefore, to achieve the national interest and bring rapid economic balance, China's government under Xi Jinping administration tend to ratify the two-child policy and put it into a law based on a certain consideration and evidence.

However, seeing from the basic concept of rational actor, so far it is the right way to make economic rebalancing. China's government, the ruling communist party under Xi Jinping, has decided to renew the one child policy as the relevant option to be applied to the country, to bring China to more rapid economic growth without any bombing population. The policy is also expected to tackle the complaint from international world actor regarding the human rights issue. The

²¹Allison, G. T. (1971). *The Essence of Decision Making. Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Boston: Little and Brown Company. p.30*

two-child policy is decided because it has less bad consequences and more advantages.

Table 1.1: Loss and benefit of options

Option	Benefit	Loss
One-child policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduce bombing population over 400 million birth until 2013 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demographic disaster (less young generations) • Unstable economic condition → less productive workforce, slower growth • led to more than 330 million forced abortion, sterilization and mother mortality rate • gender imbalance • too much pressure for 1 child to take the responsibility of 2 parents & 4 grandparents • too much international pressure and complaints toward the human rights issues • led to the human rights issue like women and children trafficking, gendercide, infanticide, etc that is condemned by international world.

Option	Benefit	Loss
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Two-child policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will encourage China's citizens to have more children, which will ultimately become a source for new workers. • Rebalance China's economy towards more domestic consumption. China 5-years plan: target 'medium-high economic growth' from 2016, (more people more consumption, means greater economic growth based on consumption). • Cut back the number of forced abortions and mother mortality rate that occurs under the one-child rule. • There will be no baby boom, because the number of unmarried people is small. • Decreasing the number of violation against women and children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since the government have not discussed yet about the subsidies for the children, an urban couple still think twice to have one more child, because the cost of living is high in several regions of China like Beijing & Shanghai.
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From this consideration, China sees the changes of China's one-child policy as the best choice that can be taken by China's government to cope with the shrinking demographic and economic situation.

E. Hypothesis

Based on theoretical frameworks, there are two main factors as the reason why China's government changed the one-child policy as follow:

- First is domestic factor. One-child policy causes major problem such as aging population, less productive workers, gender imbalance, and human rights issue such as forced abortion. Two-child policy is considered to be able to coped with these problems.
- Second is international pressure. There are criticisms from human rights groups, international activists, and United Nation towards China's one-child policy regarding to the women and children rights violations.

F. Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to identify and understand the factor and reason behind China's government decision to change the one-child policy into two-child policy after more than 3 decades of its implementation.

G. Scope of Research Method

To simplify the research process, this research will have more concern on identifying the perspective of China and emphasize the factors or reasons behind China's decision that encourages China to change the one-child policy after 3 decades. This research will also include the data of the one-child policy result and the projection of two-child policy.

However, it is possible for the writer to use the data and facts from the previous year of the policy implementation to strengthen the analysis.

H. Methodology

1. Method of Research

For this research, the writer will observe data/information from many sources. This research will analyze and interpret the secondary data and statistical data (graphic) that are relevant to the purpose of this research.

2. Method of Collecting Data

This research would be complete with several relevant data and/or information as the sources. First, the factor or challenge that is faced by China's government in encouraging them to change the policy. Second, the technique of data collection is done using literature and journal review technique, or library research that is done by collecting data from the literature, news, an official website, and other electronic sources related to the raised issue. The data would be analyzed and interpreted in order to get the best result and conclusion.

3. Conceptualization

The terms the writer uses to conduct this research are *China, one-child policy, two-child policy, rational actor* and *rational choice*.

I. Organization of Writing

The system of writing of this research is arranged as follows:

Chapter I. This chapter contains an explanation about Significance, Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Scope of Method, Methodology, Purpose of Research, and Organization of Writing.

Chapter II. This chapter will describe about the beginning of the family planning policy ease in 2013 until two-child policy was officially put into a law in 2015 and show some facts or data about the two-child policy projection progress.

Chapter III. This chapter will describe and identify the domestic challenge as the factor of China's government to change the one-child policy into two-child policy.

Chapter IV. This chapter will describe and identify the criticisms from international actors toward China's government in terms of the human rights problems in China during one-child policy and show international perspectives toward aging population problem.

Chapter V. Conclusion