

Temporary Migrants in Lhasa in 2005¹

Ever since China formulated and implemented “the strategy of developing the West” in 1999, a huge amount of investment from the central government, the coastal areas, and abroad has been flowing into the western provinces and autonomous regions of China². Many large-scale projects are currently being planned and promoted. It is hoped that “developing the West” will serve as a new stage on which the economy of China can keep growing around the beginning of the 21st century. Therefore, “development of the West” has become the focus of attention of the enterprises and the media, both internationally and domestically.

The Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is located in the southwestern part of China with an area of about 1.2 million square kilometers and a population of 2.69 million in 2006. This area is characterized by a fragile environment, less-developed infrastructure, low level of industry, and high reliance on agriculture. Therefore, economic development in the TAR in the new century will certainly be associated with huge amount of investment that will not only promote production, but also lead to a transformation of its economic structure from traditional planning economy to market economy.

A floating population from the East will come in the wake of large investments in transportation, communication, irrigation, energy production and environmental protection, as well as with the development of manufacturing, commerce and service industries. The labor market in the West will not only expand in size, but will have to change its inner structure as well. Government assignment and regulations will play a lesser role in a local job market that will be more open to migrants. As the West is the region where several important ethnic minorities live, labor migration will increase interactions between the Han majority from the East and these local ethnic minorities to an unprecedented extent. Under the circumstances of rapid economic development, there is not only a broad space for cooperation between ethnic groups, but also an inevitable competition among them for individual opportunities and group interests. The ethnic relations in the West of China therefore will enter upon a new phase (Ma Rong, 2003).

Supported by a grant from Ministry of Education of China, a project titled “Study of Temporary Migration and Ethnic Relations in the West” has been carried out by the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology at Peking University since 2004. A part of this project is to conduct a survey in major cities in the West. Based on the information obtained from the Lhasa survey, this paper summarizes the basic characteristics of this migration flow in Lhasa and analyzes its patterns in comparison to temporary migration in other cities of China.

I. Literature Review and Survey Designing

¹ This paper was co-written with Dr. Tanzen Lhundup, China Tibetology Research Center. The first draft was presented at the 11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Study, Bonn University, Germany (August 27-September 2).

² For example, 16.3 billion, 5.8 billion, and 15 billion US dollars have been invested in transportation, communication, and irrigation projects respectively in the West during 2000-2001 (“Focus” Program of CCTV, April 2, 2002).

1.1 Migration Study in Tibet

There have been many critics on migration of the Han Chinese into Tibet areas since the 1950s. But for a long time, there have been almost no systematical data analyses based on reliable survey data on this issue. After “the Cultural Revolution”, demographic and sociological studies in China have paid much more attention to fertility growth and family planning programs in core regions rather than migration and ethnic relations in the Far West. One of the earliest studies of Tibetan population was carried out by Ma Rong in the late 1980s based on census data in English (Ma Rong and Pan Naigu, 1988a).

During 1988-1992, a cooperative project was conducted by the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology (ISA) at Peking University and the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) to study social and economic changes in Tibet. This project conducted a household survey in both urban and rural areas in the TAR, covering 1,300 households. One of the aspects covered by this project was demographic change, and several reports and publications came out based on the findings of this project (Li, 1989; Ma Rong, 1991; Ma Rong, 1993; Ma Rong 1994; Ma Rong, 1995; Ma Rong, 1996, Ma Rong, 1998; ISA and CTRC, 1997).

In late 1990s, a project led by Prof. Gelek and sponsored by the CCTS interviewed 301 households in Lhasa to study family and marriages. In his doctoral dissertation, Dr. Tanzen Lhundup conducted a survey in Shol Village at the foot of Potala Palace. He interviewed over 700 urban households in the late 1990s. The Institute of Population Study at Tibet University twice carried out surveys on temporary migration in Lhasa and summarized some basic characteristics of temporary migrants (Chen Hua and Sonam Rinchen, 1999). There are also some survey reports by scholars in different fields analyzing and estimating the impact of Qinghai-Tibet Railway on migration patterns in the future.

Western scholars also continually pay attention to Tibetan population studies, especially to the current development and demographic dynamics in Tibet. Based on their field research, Melvyn Goldstein and Cynthia Beall published articles on Tibetan fertility changes in Tibet, emphasized that birth control has not been in practice in rural Tibet (Goldstein and Beall, 1991:294-295, 297-299; Goldstein, Melvyn and Beall, 2002). Andrew Martin Fisher has published several reports on Tibet economy in recent years (Fisher, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

Several doctoral dissertations in US universities also concentrated on Tibetan studies. For example, Hu Xiaojiang at Harvard University analyzed the type of “migrants’ enterprises” in Lhasa market, emphasized that the temporary migrants from Han regions have been marginalized in Tibet’s job market and have a lot of disadvantages in competing, just as the “illegal migrants” in other nations (Hu, 2004). Dr. Emily Ting Yeh at University of California investigated the Han gardeners in Tibet (2006). Those gardeners rented a piece of land in city suburbs to growth vegetables. By selling the vegetables in market, they make their living and also reduced the prices of vegetables in Lhasa.

1.2 Research Design

We have maintained a research interest in migration in Tibet since our 1988 survey. Many data and information related to migration have been collected and our study continually received support from the local administration and research institutions in Lhasa. These collections established a solid base for the 2005 survey on temporary migration.

Household interviews using a standard questionnaire designed for specific research goals is a

very useful method to obtain reliable data for quantitative analysis. The 2005 Lhasa survey was a part of a research series organized by Ma Rong and includes the questionnaires administered in six cities in the China's West: (1) Lhasa (the capital city of the TAR); (2) Urumqi (the capital city of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region); (3) Yinchuan (the capital city of the Ningxia Hui autonomous Region); (4) Lanzhou (the capital city of Guansu Province), (5) Xining (the capital city of Qinghai Province), and (6) Gormo (the key intermediate city of the Qinghai-Tibet railway in the western Qinghai). The sample size in these six cities ranged from 1,500 to 3,500 and all interviews used the same questionnaire designed at Peking University. Therefore, it is now possible to conduct a comparative study of temporary migrations in these six cities.

Dr. Tanzen Lhundup from the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) was in charge of organizing the research team and conducting the interviews in Lhasa. During the preparation period of July – September, 2005, the team interviewed six District Offices and nine Public Security Stations in urban areas of Lhasa City as well as other government bureaus, in order to learn the basic residential distribution patterns of temporary migrants, government policies in managing temporary migrants, details about the registration system, and the distribution of economic activities of migrants.

From the interviews, we learned that temporary migrants in old Lhasa urban areas mainly concentrated in Barkhor and Tromsig Khang trade centers while those living outside the second circle road mainly concentrated in the western suburb and Jinzhuxilu (along the Lhasa River). Several neighborhoods for retired cadres and workers are located in the northern suburb. There are certain concentration patterns regarding their economic activities: (1) in old urban areas, the migrants are mainly Han, Hui, and Tibetans from the Kham region and Lhoka Prefecture who mostly engaged in retail sales; (2) in the western suburb, the main activities carried out by migrants include restaurants, entertainment, and other services; (3) in the northern suburb, migrants work on vegetable production, automobile repairing, and construction. There is abundant cheap housing available for temporary migrants to rent in the northern suburb. The target sites for this survey were identified on the basis of where temporary migrants live and work intensively, taking into account the diversity of their economic activities.

In order to prepare for the Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the City government of Lhasa organized a campaign to check registration records of all housing for rental and records of temporary migrants in Lhasa during June – August, 2005. This campaign provided us with the most detailed and updated information of temporary migrants. These records are very helpful for sampling. The team also discussed our survey plans with the officers and scholars from government institutions, Academy of Social Sciences of Tibet, and Tibet University for their advice and support.

During September 25 – October 20, 2005, interviews were conducted by the research team. Data was gathered on both individuals and members of the household by interviewing an adult member of each household. 20 students from the Department of Tibetan Language and Literature at Tibet University comprised the team. They went through a very carefully designed orientation and training program to understand the purpose of the survey and the items in the questionnaire. For the success of this survey, the structure of the interview team was very carefully designed and selected. Among the 20 interviewers, six were female, and six were from Chamdo and spoke the Kham dialect. They were mixed up in small groups during interviews for easier contact with respondents.

The respondents in Lhasa were selected carefully as five target groups: (1) workers employed by construction companies. Based on local statistics provided by Lhasa Urban Construction Bureau, we selected three companies according to their place of origin and number of employees from a total 148 construction companies with headquarters outside the TAR. The team conducted 177 interviews among the workers of the three companies; (2) small shop owners in retail sales who rent small shops along street. Among this group, 700 households among those around Barkhor area and another 174 households in International “Zhonghe Town” were interviewed; (3) gardeners producing vegetables in the northern suburb, 128 interviews were carried out among this group; (4) 180 cooks, waiters, and waitresses who were all temporary migrants were interviewed; and (5) 226 Taxi drivers as a special occupation filled mainly by temporary migrants were interviewed (see Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of Respondents in the 2005 Lhasa Survey

Occupation (Locations)	Respondents	%
Lhasa taxi drivers	226	15.4
Construction field (west suburb)	68	4.6
“Zuo-An” Coffee	5	0.3
“Tao-Yuan” Restaurant	12	0.8
“Tai yang dao” apartment areas	25	1.7
“Jiangsu” Restaurant	93	6.3
Shol Residential Committee	91	6.2
Construction field (Bank) (west suburb)	44	3.0
Barkor(intermediate circuit) Lugu Residential Committee	220	15.0
Tromsig Khang Market	249	17.0
Tromsig Khang street salesmen (north suburb)	140	9.5
Tea house, vegetable farmers	128	8.7
“Tian-Lu” temporary labor market	24	1.6
Temporary laborer on street	5	0.3
“Xiang Ba La” Restaurant	9	0.6
Small item market (International Town)	39	2.7
“Small Swan” Restaurant (International Town)	15	1.0
Renting apartments (International Town)	21	1.4
Gold-silver craftsmen (International Town)	12	0.8
Total	1,467	100.0

In this Lhasa survey, attention was also paid to several special issues: (1) the changes in residential patterns in urban Lhasa. Lhasa as the holy city in Tibetan history and the capital city of the TAR has a very special meaning in socioeconomic development and ethnic interaction; (2) Tibetan temporary migrants from Qinghai and Sichuan who speak different dialects and have different customs; (3) Taxi drivers in Lhasa. There are 12 Taxi service companies in Lhasa that hired a large number of temporary migrants. This industry provides a window to observe migration and ethnic interaction in today’s Lhasa; (4) Muslim migrants and their relations with native Tibetan residents. Besides the questionnaires, the team also spent a lot of time doing case studies around these issues for more in-depth studies.

II. Population Distribution and Geographic Differences in the TAR

2.1 *Regional Differences in Population Distribution within the TAR*

According to the residential registration, the total population of permanent residents in the TAR

has increase from 1,140,900 in 1951 to 2,554,400 in 2002 and Tibetans consisted of 96 percent of the total. The 2002 Population Sampling Survey provides a larger number. It estimated that the total permanent residents were 2,668,800 in the TAR.

Among the seven administrative units at prefecture level, Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo are the three with the largest populations (Table 2). About 64 percent of the total TAR population lived in these three prefectures that only consist of 25 percent of the total area of the region. During 1985-2002, the highest rates of increase were found in Nagchu and Ngari, 1.96 percent and 1.95 percent respectively (Table 3.)

Table 2. Population in the TAR (2000)

Region	Administrative unit (county, district)	Area (in 100,000 km ²)	Population (in 100,000)	Population density (person/ km ²)
Lhasa	8	2.95	40.95	13.88
Chamdo	11	8.69	58.22	6.70
Lhoka	12	7.96	31.78	3.99
Shigatse	18	18.20	64.14	3.52
Nagchu	10	37.68	0.94	0.03
Ngari	7	30.50	7.66	0.25
Nyingchi	7	11.70	15.01	1.28
Total	73	120.00	255.44	2.13

Source: Statistical Bureau of TAR, *Yearbook of the TAR (2001)*, Beijing: China Statistical Press.

Table 3. Population Changes in the TAR during 1985-2002

Region	1985	1995	2000	2002*	Annual growth rate (%)
Lhasa	32.39	35.66	40.37	40.95	0.31
Chamdo	46.39	49.72	57.33	58.22	0.27
Lhoka	26.10	28.30	31.53	31.78	0.10
Shigatse	49.98	55.38	63.03	64.14	0.40
Nagchu	26.58	29.95	36.28	37.68	0.96
Ngari	5.41	6.13	7.14	7.66	0.95
Nyingchi	12.63	12.91	14.38	15.01	-0.04
Total	199.48	218.05	250.33	255.44	0.38

* Population in 2002 only included registered permanent residents.

2.2 Urban Population in the TAR

The rural-urban structure of a population is an index of social-economic development, and the degree of urbanization is closely related to labor division in industries. The proportion of urban population in the TAR increased during 1978-2002, but the speed of urbanization in the TAR is still slow compared with the national level.

In 1990, the urban population was 13.8 percent in the TAR, compared to 26.2 percent for all of China. The percentage increased to 14.5 percent in the TAR in 2002. Another indicator of urbanization in China is the percentage of the population registered as non-agricultural residents who mainly live in cities and towns. It should be noted that a certain number of people living in urban areas still register as agricultural residents. The Chinese government restricts the transfer from agricultural to non-agricultural status in peoples' residential registration. The size of the non-agricultural population is generally smaller than that of urban residents. The distribution of

non-agricultural population in the TAR is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Rural-urban Distribution of Population in the TAR (2002)

Region	Total population (in 10,000)	Non-agricultural population (in 10,000)	Urban population (%)
Lhasa	40.95	14.17	34.60
Chamdo	58.22	2.86	4.91
Lhoka	31.78	1.20	3.78
Shigatse	64.14	4.29	6.69
Nagchu	37.68	2.38	6.32
Ngari	7.66	0.93	12.14
Nyingchi	15.01	2.61	17.39
Total	255.44	28.44	11.13

Source: Statistical Bureau of TAR, *Yearbook of the TAR (2003)*, Beijing: China Statistical Press.

2.3 The Ethnic Structure of the TAR Population

According to 1990 census data, ethnic Tibetans consisted of 95.46 percent of the total population in the TAR, while Han consisted of 3.7 percent, Hui 0.14 percent and the other groups 0.7 percent. The 2000 census shows that the percentage of Tibetans declined to 92.76 percent while Han increased to 6.06 percent, Hui reached 0.34 percent, and the other groups rose slightly to 0.84 percent. During this 10 year period, the percentage of Tibetans in total declined 2.7 percent and Han increased 2.36 percent. This change was largely related to Han temporary in-migration that is not counted by residential registration system but covered by the censuses. The ethnic structures of registered residents in the TAR and the changes during 1985-2005 are presented in Table 5. Compared with the census data, we found that registered Han residents did not increase much prior to 2000, but increased by 2005. Meanwhile, the growth of the Han temporary migrants was more revealed by registration records.

Table 5. Population of Ethnic Groups in the TAR by Registration (1985-2005)

Group	1985		1990		1995		2000		2005	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Tibetan	1,909,693	95.7	2,095,561	96.1	2,268,749	96.3	2,421,856	96.4	2,549,293	95.3
Han	70,932	3.6	67,407	3.1	67,772	2.9	72,122	2.8	104,647	3.9
Hui	1,529	0.1	2,269	0.1	2,357	0.1	2,132	0.1	1,453	0.1
Lhoba	2,036	0.1	2,325	0.1	2,690	0.1	2,856	0.1	2,932	0.1
Monba	6,445	0.3	7,463	0.3	8,084	0.4	8,471	0.3	9,488	0.4
Naxi	871	-	1,260	0.1	1,092	-	1,024	-	1,706	0.1
Mongol	72	-	79	-	118	-	104	-	221	-
Nu	227	-	378	-	394	-	430	-	447	-
Zhuang	31	-	50	-	31	-	50	-	59	-
Dulong	80	-	32	-	21	-	32	-	30	-
Lisu	62	-	15	-	23	-	41	-	21	-
Tu	90	-	116	-	150	-	151	-	285	-
Manchu	81	-	168	-	171	-	213	-	327	-
Bai	36	-	173	-	61	-	61	-	121	-
Buyi	12	-	7	-	5	-	15	-	44	-
Uygur	6	-	10	-	4	-	10	-	32	-
Miao	42	-	70	-	82	-	89	-	203	-
Yi	21	-	36	-	35	-	39	-	133	-

Sharpa*	1,403	0.1	1,819	0.1	2,131	0.1	2,152	0.1	1,880	0.1
Deng*	1,097	0.1	1,248	0.1	1,494	0.1	1,395	0.1	1,670	0.1
Others	42	-	34	-	76	-	98	-	540	-
Total	1,994,808	100.0	2,180,520	100.0	2,355,540	100.0	2,512,341	100.0	2,675,520	100.0

*: These two groups have not been officially recognized by the government.

Source: Statistical Bureau of the TAR, 2007: 33-34.

III. The Changes in the Population Size and Structure in Lhasa Urban Districts

3.1 Defining the Geographic Scope of “Lhasa”

In order to examine the population changes in Lhasa, a discussion on how to define the boundary of “Lhasa” is necessary. In the previous studies, different concepts of “Lhasa” with a varying geographic coverage were applied. This caused a lot of confusion. Whereas some defined “Lhasa” by the current administration system, including seven counties and the Lhasa Urban District, others only used this term referring to the old Lhasa urban areas, or even only to the central area of Barkhor (the area within the traditional “middle circle”). In this study, “Lhasa” refers to the administration area of the Lhasa Urban District, excluding the seven counties under the Lhasa City at the prefecture level.

3.2 Urban Population in Lhasa City

There are few data on the population in the Lhasa Urban District before 1959. One estimate is that there were about 50,000 -60,000 residents in Lhasa urban areas and that 30,000 – 40,000 of them were monks (Gelek and Jin, 1995: 47). The general agreement among scholars and local government in Lhasa was that there were about 30,000 residents in urban Lhasa, including those in suburbs. More accurate numbers of Lhasa’s urban population were collected by the Statistical Bureau of the Lhasa Urban District and are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. The Population under Management of the Lhasa Urban District (1964—2004)

Year	Household				Population			
	Total	Urban	Agricultural	Animal husbandry	Total	Urban	Agricultural	Animal husbandry
1964	10,262	7,111	3,079	72	39,363	28,601	10,492	270
1974	9,595	6,771	2,762	62	32,763	20,244	12,337	182
1984	9,924	6,639	3,205	80	32,128	19,191	12,500	437
1994	14,554	11,029	3,419	106	40,643	27,278	12,800	565
1999	14,950	11,309	3,524	117	43,071	28,902	13,382	784
2004	17,115	13,325	3,674	116	46,730	31,284	14,710	736

Source: Lhasa Urban District Statistical Bureau, *Yearbook of Lhasa Urban District* (1964-2004).

The number of households and population in Lhasa declined during 1964-1984. There are no plausible factors to explain the reasons for such a decline. One explanation is that some urban Tibetan residents moved out of Lhasa during the Cultural Revolution to avoid political pressure. Another explanation is that some Han cadres who were sent to Lhasa to work by the government succeeded in transferring out of Tibet during the early 1980s. After Hu Yaobang’s visit to Lhasa and his emphasis of the major role of Tibetan cadres in the administration, many Han cadres left. According to the registration records, there were 32,800 and 20,900 net out-migrants in 1981 and

1982 respectively (Statistical Bureau of the TAR, 1995:40). A large proportion of Han out-migration occurred in urban Lhasa.

The population in Lhasa has increased since the 1990s accompanying the urbanization process in the TAR. The “agricultural residents” in urban Lhasa was assumed to reduce, but this did not occur, mainly due to natural increase based on their higher fertility. In addition, the residents in rural areas moved to Lhasa after their retirement age and built houses in Lhasa suburbs. They did not change their registration status and this might contribute to the increase of Lhasa’s agricultural population.

Some records in the Lhasa Urban District Registration show that there were 2,896 in-migrants and 2,948 out-migrants during 1994-1998. These in-migrants included those whose application for transferring from agricultural to non-agricultural status and moving to Lhasa had been approved by the government policy. Their applications were either related to “spouse/family union” or retirement of cadres for health reasons. The out-migrants were mainly the students who went to other provinces for education (higher education in universities or entering Tibetan middle schools in cities). It should be noted that these records only covered the residents registered and managed by Street Offices and Residential Committees, and did not include the people directly under the management of the government institutions of the TAR and military force.

China has conducted five national censuses: 1953, 1964, 1982, 1990 and 2000. But the first two were not really carried out in the TAR. The data for the first were reported by the Kashag Government and the data for the second were mainly estimates based on residential registration. The 1990 and 2000 censuses provide more accurate and detailed data for Lhasa’s population.

From 1990 to 2000 the number of households increased from 32,131 to 71,942 in Lhasa Urban District. Among these, “family households” increased from 30,960 to 66,316 while “unit households” increased from 1,556 to 5,626 (the TAR Census Office)³. During this ten year period, the average annual rate of increase was 4.6 percent for “family households”, and 2.7 percent for “unit households”. At the same time, the annual population growth rate was 5 percent.

3.3 Ethnic Structure of Lhasa’s Urban Population

As the capital city and the political, economic and religious center of Tibet, Lhasa has been the place where the members of different ethnic groups have interacted throughout history. Lhasa has the most diversified ethnic population structure in the TAR.

Table 7. Population of Ethnic Groups in the Lhasa Urban District (1985-2003)

Year	Population	Ethnic group			
		Tibetan	Han	Hui	Others
1985	32,509	31,656	87	748	18
1986	32,687	31,834	76	769	8
1987	33,170	32,312	75	776	7
1988	35,224	34,338	76	797	13
1989	36,934	36,045	77	801	11

³ In the residential registration system in the TAR, families (couples with their children or other dependents) were registered as “family households”. Employees and their dependents in work units living in unit dormitories registered under the name of their unit and belong to the category “unit households”. Those registered under the work units are mainly the employees whose three-year work terms in the TAR were arranged by the central government. Some young Tibetan employees recruited from the TAR might register under the unit before they formed their own family and moved out of the dormitory.

1990	38,095	37,179	67	842	7
1991	39,071	38,167	65	832	7
1992	39,882	38,959	67	851	5
1993	39,995	39,082	54	851	8
1994	40,643	39,710	77	848	8
1995	41,085	40,162	49	865	9
1996	40,597	39,696	51	842	8
1997	40,676	39,782	49	839	6
1998	42,786	41,573	162	1037	14
1999	43,071	41,836	196	889	150
2000	43,366	42,296	90	863	117
2001	44,142	43,230	84	824	4
2002	44,793	43,931	51	809	2
2003	46,085	44,769	451	864	1

Source: Development and Planning Committee of Lhasa Urban District, ed. 2004, *Collection of Economic Statistics of Lhasa Urban District* (2004).

The registration records of the Lhasa Urban District for permanent residents living under the management of Street Offices show some dynamics in the population of all ethnic groups (Table 7). These numbers do not include the population under the management of the TAR government units and therefore are much smaller than the census data. This table and its coverage can show the population changes in the old Lhasa urban areas around the Barkhor. The reason why the period of 1998-2000 had more Han, Hui and other residents remains unknown.

More details on the ethnic structure of residents in the Lhasa Urban District is shown in Table 8. Most Han residents (470 by the end of 2004) lived in the units directly administrated by the TAR Government. Only a few Han (58) lived under Street Offices. But it should be pointed out that these were only registered permanent residents, and does not include temporary Han migrants who lived and worked in Lhasa urban areas.

Table 8. The Ethnic Structure of Registered Residents of the Lhasa Urban District (2004)

Street Office	Total residents	Ethnic group			
		Tibetan	Han	Hui	Others
Naqen	4,047	4,045	2	0	0
Tselgungthang	4,590	4,590	0	0	0
Dogde	2,172	2,172	0	0	0
Nyangrain	2,178	2,178	0	0	0
Barkor	6,691	6,603	31	56	1
Tromsig Khang	5,662	5,640	9	12	1
Kyire	7,229	6,477	8	744	0
Jebum Gang	8,659	8,632	8	19	0
Kunde Ling	1,830	31,827	0	3	0
Tashi	335	335	0	0	0
Gemarkunsang	601	601	0	0	0
TAR units	2,736	2,324	412	0	0
Total	46,730	45,424	470	834	2

Source: Development and Planning Committee of Lhasa Urban District, ed. 2004, *Collection of Economic Statistics of Lhasa Urban District* (2004).

Compared to the ethnic structure of the entire TAR, it is clear that the most diversified ethnic population live in Lhasa City, although not necessarily the population under the management of the Lhasa Urban District. The temporary migrants, who were covered by censuses but not by residential registration, live and work in Lhasa. Therefore, Lhasa is the place to study temporary

migration in the TAR.

IV. Temporary Migrants in Lhasa: Statistical Records

4.1 *The government policies in managing temporary migration in Lhasa*

How many temporary migrants live in Lhasa? This has been a hotly debated topic for a long time. Two points deserve attention in looking at this issue. First, the geographic coverage of the TAR cannot be mixed up with the Tibetan inhabited area which includes the Tibetan autonomous areas in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Second, the study of temporary migrants should be based on academic surveys, not on impressions or estimates. Some studies on temporary migration in Tibet in the western publications cannot provide data but mainly some estimates (Fisher, 2004a:1). Some academic studies also cite estimates (“between 40,000 and 50,000”, Ma Rong, 1996: 415; or “about 50,000”, Hu, 2004:28), or calculated Han temporary migrants based on the size of Han population.

In fact, there have not been many surveys on temporary migration in Lhasa carried out by foreign scholars or scholars in China. Therefore, this survey has special significance. In general, it is difficult to study temporary migrants in Tibet. On one hand, temporary migrants keep moving seasonally, and usually try to elude government registration to avoid paying fees and management charges. On the other hand, the management system of local governments towards temporary migration has been weak and incomplete, and cannot follow all the changes. “The Provisional Regulation of Social Security Management in the TAR” was issued by the Congress of the TAR in 1994. In Item 20, it was required that “the management of temporary and circulating migrants will be led by public security bureaus, the units hiring the temporary migrants and the Residential Committees where those migrants live will also be responsible in helping the management. The housing for rent in urban areas will be regulated according to ‘the Regulation of Urban Housing for Renting in the TAR’” (August 18, 1994). But because of the lack of personnel and experience in managing migrants, “the information of temporary migration in cities has been basically out of the management” (*Tibetan Commercial Daily*, Sept. 11, 2004).

There are two systems under the Lhasa Urban District Government to count temporary migrants in its administration coverage: Residential Committees and public security stations. Another group of temporary migrants, those who live in rented and purchased apartments belonging to the units directly under the TAR and Lhasa City government, was always missing from the statistics. Since the 1980s, Residential Committees in Lhasa have played a very important role in managing temporary migration. One of the functions of the Committee Member for Security is to collect “Registration Fees” from temporary migrants living in their areas, and to issue a “Certificate for Temporary Residence” to them. Residential Committees were active in these functions because the “Registration Fee” is a part of their income. But there have been no city-wide standard for the amount of the “Registration Fee”; they collect this “Fee” at various rates. Besides, Tibetan temporary migrants, regardless of whether they come from other parts of the TAR or from other Tibetan inhabited regions of China, do not need to register or obtain a temporary residence certificate. This makes the registration records more incomplete.

The City Congress of Lhasa issued a “Regulation of Managing Temporary Migration in

Lhasa” in 2000. This Regulation required that only public security stations have the authority to issue a temporary residence certificate. Residential Committees have no longer the power to oversee temporary migration. The TAR Government reformed regulations governing the household registration system in 2001. This new regulation stipulated that, “[there is] no time limitation on residence period, and if someone invests more than 100,000 RMB within the TAR, his spouse, children and cooperative partners may receive non-agricultural resident status”.⁴

The Lhasa Government announced that “Since September 10, 2004, the City Government will start to manage temporary migrants by a Temporary Residence Certificate System. The PVC Certificates which started on March 1 will not be issued but they will still be valid until the dates in the certificates. The new system will issue one certificate for one person and will be valid for one year. There will be no duplication in certificate issuing” (*Tibet Commercial Daily*, September 11, 2004). In 2005, the Lhasa Government started to issue national standard temporary residence certificates and charged 60 RMB for each.

The total number of temporary migrants who applied for temporary residence certificates was 11,185 in 2000. From the registration forms of the Urban District Public Security Bureau, the registered number of migrants was 52,812 in 2005. Those who rented apartments numbered 69,924. It is clear that a large number of temporary migrants neither applied for certificates nor reported their renting activities. The real number of temporary migrants is much larger. According to the survey carried out by Family Planning Committee of Lhasa City, an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 temporary migrants were in Lhasa during the winter (November – April), while in summer (May –October) they numbered about 170,000. The Lhasa Public Security Bureau estimated that temporary migrants in Lhasa vary between 100,000 and 200,000.

The impact of seasonal climates on temporary migration has been very strong in Lhasa. July to October is the peak period for Han and Hui temporary migrations. Tibetans have different patterns. Tibetan farmers and herdsmen in the TAR or other regions usually come to Lhasa after the Harvest (September) for pilgrimage and trade. Tourists from foreign countries and other parts of China usually came to Lhasa during June – October. They are accompanied by many temporary migrants working in all service activities related to tourism.

4.2 Statistics from the Commercial Bureau of the Lhasa Urban District

The Commercial Bureau of the Lhasa Urban District keeps registration records for enterprises, shops, and persons working in commercial business. Because many temporary migrants work in commercial activities, these records are useful for estimating the number of temporary migrants and their activities.

According to these records, there were 16,616 “commercial households” registered in the Lhasa Urban District Commercial Bureau in 2004. Among them, 13,020 came from other provinces, and 3,596 from the TAR. The numbers changed to 13,524 and 3,130 respectively in

⁴ Since the scores for university admission in the TAR is much lower than in other Han provinces, “there are some who help to register Han students from other provinces in Nyangchi Prefecture in the TAR. They charge the students about 5,000-10,000 RMB each. For example, only Heze Prefecture in Shandong Province had 70-80 students registered in Nyangchi to take exams. One reader informed us that the total registered students for university exams were 1,401 in 2004, 796 of them were temporarily transferred into Nyangchi, about 87.8 percent of the total Han students” (People’s Internet, June 28, 2004). This is one result of loose control over household registration in the TAR. This phenomenon is also found in other regions where the score of university admission is lower than that of other provinces. Students migrated from their home provinces to those “low score” regions for a better chance to enter universities. They were called “university exam migrants”.

early 2005. On average, each “commercial household” only had 1.49 persons in 1999 and 1.54 in 2001 (Hu, 2004:66). If we assume that all registered commercial households from other provinces are temporary migrants and each of them has three persons (a couple and one child) on average, there would be at least 40,572 temporary migrants in Lhasa working in commercial activities in 2005. But because many street peddlers did not register with the Bureau in order to avoid paying fees, the records are incomplete.

V. The 2005 Survey of Temporary Migrants: Structure and Characteristics

5.1 Age Structure and Sex Ratio of Temporary Migrants

Among the 1,470 respondents to our 2005 Survey, 1,022 were males (69.5 percent) and 441 were females (30.3 percent). Two-thirds of the total temporary migrants were aged 21-40.

Table 9. Age Structure of Temporary Migrants of the 2005 Survey

Age group	Population	%
1-10	1	0.0
11-20	203	13.8
21-30	487	33.1
31-40	492	33.5
41-50	206	14.0
51-60	41	2.8
61-70	7	0.5
71-80	1	0.0
Missing	32	2.2
Total	1,470	100.0

Source: the 2005 Survey.

In order to double check the age distribution of our survey samples, we also examined the records of temporary migrants kept by public security stations. Among the 7,420 temporary migrants registered in the Public Security Station of Beijing Zhonglu, 4,519 (60 percent) were males and 2,674 (36 percent) were females while the gender status for other 227 was missing in the records.

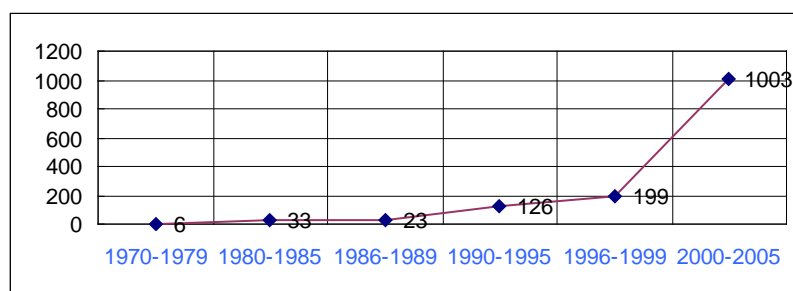
Table 10. Age Structure of Temporary Migrants Registered in Beijing Zhonglu Public Security Station (2005)

Age group	Population	%
10-15	3	0.0
16-25	1,101	14.8
26-35	2,786	37.5
36-45	2,253	30.4
46-55	522	7.0
56-65	75	1.0
66-75	4	0.1
Missing	626	8.4
Total	7,420	100.0

From similarities in Tables 9 and 10, it is clear that the quality of our sample in the 2005 survey is valid. It is also clear that the majority of the temporary migrants concentrated in the age groups of 25-45. They are the people at working age who come to Lhasa to work.

5.2 The dates temporary migrants came to Lhasa

Figure 1 The Time Migrants came to Lhasa



From Figure 1, the migration flows in Lhasa can be divided into three periods. The first period is between 1980-1995 with some increase but also a decline by 1989. In-migration increased significantly during the period of 1995-1999. Then the most rapid growth of temporary migrants came in the period 2000-2005. Among the 1,470 respondents in the 2005 Survey, 68.1 percent came to Lhasa during 2000-2005; 77.8 percent of them had stayed in their current jobs longer than one year.

5.3 The Place of Origin of Migrants in Lhasa

The analysis of places of origin is an important aspect in migration studies and is very helpful in understanding the migration trends and regional economic development patterns. From Table 11, we can see that Sichuan and Gansu are the two major provinces where 54.6 percent of temporary migrants came from. The other parts of the TAR only contributed 13.8 percent in the migration flow although they have the advantage of geographic proximity. Construction projects and tourism services are the main activities that absorb temporary labor. Han from Sichuan and Hui from Gansu do have some advantages in the following services: restaurants, retail sales, vegetable growing, transportation, etc. Tibetans own small hotels, sell handicrafts, run tea houses, etc. There might be some competition, but also complementary relations between Tibetans, Han and Hui migrants.

Table 11. The Place of Origin of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa

Origin	Migrants		Origin	Migrants	
	#	%		#	%
Sichuan	445	30.3	Zhejiang	16	1.1
Gansu	357	24.3	Jiangsu	9	0.6
TAR	204	13.8	Hunan	9	0.6
Henan	111	7.6	Shandong	8	0.5
Hebei	57	3.9	Ningxia	6	0.4
Chongqing	54	3.7	Jiangxi	5	0.3
Qinghai	37	2.5	Liaoning	3	0.2
Yunnan	21	1.4	Shanxi	1	0.1
Anhui	21	1.4			
Shaanxi	18	1.2	Total	1,470	100.0

Source: the 2005 Survey.

5.4 Job stability of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa

The main goal of people who come to cities is to find a stable and well-paid job compared with

their earnings at places of origin. In addition, to seek better living conditions, more interesting lifestyles, better schools for children, even better opportunities for their own education are all urban aspirations of rural people. In order to stay and live in cities in a sustainable way, the most important issue is to find a stable job. From Table 12, we can see that 77.8 percent of the migrants in Lhasa had worked on their current job for longer than one year. Only 22.2 percent, including newcomers, had worked on their current job less than one year. Job stability provides migrants a stable income and an environment for them to learn some skills.

Table 12. How long have been engaged in current job

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Longer than 1 year	1,066	72.5	77.8
Less than 1 year	305	20.7	22.2
Total	1,371	93.3	100.0
Missing	99	6.7	
Total	1,470	100.0	

5.5 Estimated period of Staying in Lhasa

Even when their jobs are relatively stable, not many migrants plan to stay for a long period of time in Lhasa. Among respondents to our 2005 survey, 704 gave estimates for how long they planned to stay in Lhasa. The largest groups planned to stay in Lhasa for one (18.5 percent) and two (21.9 percent) years. Some plan to stay for five years (16.1 percent), three years (14.9 percent), and even 10 years (12.5 percent) (Table 13). Tibetans seem to stay shorter than Han. 57.6 percent of Tibetan migrants planned to leave Lhasa within two years. The Han migrants came from a very long distance, so they need to stay longer to earn back their investment and travel cost.

Table 13. Estimated Period of Staying in Lhasa in 2005

Year	Han		Hui		Tibetan		Others		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
0.5	4	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	5.9	6	0.9
1.0	86	16.7	14	19.4	29	29.3	1	5.9	130	18.5
1.5	4	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.6
2.0	108	20.9	12	16.7	27	27.3	7	41.2	154	21.9
2.5	8	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	9	1.3
3.0	82	15.9	12	16.7	10	10.1	1	5.9	105	14.9
3.5	2	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.3
4.0	21	4.1	0	0.0	7	7.1	0	0.0	28	4.0
4.5	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
5.0	88	17.1	9	12.5	13	13.1	3	17.6	113	16.1
5.5	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
6.0	9	1.7	4	5.6	2	2.0	1	5.9	16	2.3
7.0	4	0.8	1	1.4	1	1.0	0	0.0	6	0.9
7.5	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
8.0	10	1.9	1	1.4	0	0.0	2	11.8	13	1.8
9.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
10.0	70	13.6	13	18.1	5	5.1	0	0.0	88	12.5
11.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
13.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
14.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
15.0	1	0.2	3	4.2	1	1.0	0	0.0	5	0.7
18.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
20.0	10	1.9	3	4.2	2	2.0	0	0.0	15	2.1

30.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	2	0.3
Total	516	100.0	72	100.0	99	100.0	17	100.0	704	100.0

In general, 38.2 percent of the Han estimated they would stay in Lhasa less than two years, while those Han (86 persons, or 16.7 percent) who intended to stay in Lhasa for more than 10 years should have long-term investments. Among the Hui, there are also a group (19 persons) who intend to stay longer than 10 years. The majority of migrants plan to stay in Lhasa for one to three year; only a small proportion of them might become permanent residents.

5.6 Potential destination of future movement

The majority of temporary migrants (78.8 percent) plan to return home. Hui seem less intent on returning home compared with others. 12.7 percent of Han migrants are considering moving to other cities in other provinces or regions. In contrast, only 3.7 percent of Tibetan migrants consider leaving the TAR. Table 14 clearly shows that majority of these migrants are truly temporary residents of Lhasa.

Table 14. Potential Destination if Leaving Lhasa

Ethnic group		Potential destination			
		Back home	Other city at home province	Other city in other province	Total
Han	Count	644	71	104	819
	%	78.6%	8.7%	12.7%	100.0%
Hui	Count	104	29	11	144
	%	72.2%	20.1%	7.6%	100.0%
Tibetan	Count	178	31	8	217
	%	82.0%	14.3%	3.7%	100.0%
Others	Count	23	0	1	24
	%	95.8%	.0%	4.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	949	131	124	1,204
	%	78.8%	10.9%	10.3%	100.0%

5.7 Religion and Political Status of Temporary Migrants

Because there was a lot of confusion in understanding the term “political status”, only 897 respondents answered this question. Among the 897 respondents, 65 (7.2 percent) were members of Chinese Communist Party and 62 (6.9 percent) were members of Communist Youth League. The rest 769 (85.7 percent) respondents did not belong to any political organizations.

In general, differences in people’s religious belief can pose barriers to their interaction. Some religions disapprove of people from other religions; other religions are more open and tolerant. That is why we paid some attention to the religious affiliations of temporary migrants in Lhasa.

Among the respondents of the 2005 Survey, 369 (25.1 percent) answered that they are Buddhists. Because there were only 235 Tibetans, a number of Han claimed to be Buddhists. Since there are 163 Hui migrants (the traditional religion of the Hui is Islam) covered in this survey, which means at least six people from other groups claimed their religion as Islam.

Table 15. Religious Groups of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa

Religious Group	Population	%
Tibetan Buddhism and Buddhism	369	25.1

Muslim	169	11.5
No religion	323	22.0
Others	88	6.0
No answer	521	35.4
Total	1,470	100.0

Source: the 2005 Survey.

5.8 *Marriage and Family of Temporary migrants*

The family is an elemental component of society. Marriages result from interactions between individuals from different families. Marriages, spouse selection, and intermarriages in Tibet have their own characteristics (Ma Rong, 2001). Migrants have a relatively higher intermarriage rate compared with native residents in other ethnic minority regions (Ma Rong and Pan Naigu, 1988b: 83). Marriage and family life impact the decision to migrate, the duration of staying, economic activities, involvement in the local community, and ethnic interaction of temporary migrants.

Among the 1,470 respondents of the 2005 Survey, 964 (64.4 percent) were married. The earliest date of their marriages can be traced back to 1953. Among all married migrants, one percent married during 1960-1969, 3.6 percent during 1970-1979, 29.4 percent during 1980-1989, 44 percent during 1990-1999, and 22 percent during 2000-2005. Their marriage dates are closely related to their age structure.

The majority of married migrants married within their own group (Table 16). But a few intermarriages did occur in Lhasa. Among 657 married Han migrants, 12 (1.8 percent) married Tibetan women, and 4 married Hui. Among 135 married Tibetan migrants, three married Han and two married Hui.

Table 16. Marriage Patterns of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa

Ethnic status of migrant	Ethnic status of spouse				Total
	Han	Hui	Tibetan	Others	
Han	640	4	12	1	657
Hui	1	78	5	1	85
Tibetan	3	2	130	0	135
Others	1	1	0	12	14
Total	645	85	147	14	891

Among the 640 Han-Han couples, 536 (83.8 percent) of their spouses came from their hometown (the same village or neighbor villages); they met at home. 55 (8.6 percent) married spouses from their province of origin. Many of them probably met in Lhasa and married due to sharing the same dialect and geographic identity. Only 22 (3.4 percent) married someone from another province. Among the 130 Tibetan-Tibetan couples, 97 (74.6 percent) married spouses from their hometowns, 21 (16.2 percent) married spouses from the same province, and seven (5.4 percent) married their spouse from other provinces. This marriage pattern shows that majority of temporary migrants in Lhasa, regardless their ethnic status, still keep close contact with their hometowns.

5.9 *School enrollment of migrants' children*

The interviews confirmed our impression that most temporary migrants left their children at home to be raised and educated. Among 754 respondents who reported having school-age children, 542

(71.9 percent) left children to attend school in their hometowns. 89 (11.8 percent) of these reported having difficulties paying tuition. About 198 (26.3 percent) of the migrants send their children to school in Lhasa, and 8.9 percent reported having difficulties due to schooling.

Table 17. School enrollment of migrants' children

Ethnic group	Location to attend school										Total	
	Lhasa		Hometown		Lhasa with difficulties		Home with difficulties		Out of school			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Han	71	12.0	404	68.2	38	6.4	69	11.7	10	1.7	592	100.0
Hui	11	18.0	27	44.3	4	6.6	18	29.5	1	1.6	61	100.0
Tibetan	49	54.4	18	20.0	19	21.1	2	2.2	2	2.2	90	100.0
Others	1	9.1	4	36.4	5	45.5	0	0.0	1	9.1	11	100.0
Total	132	17.5	453	60.1	66	8.8	89	11.8	14	1.9	754	100.0

Among the ethnic groups, more Tibetan migrants (75.5 percent) brought their children to Lhasa for education, but 21.1 percent reported having difficulties. Meanwhile only 12 percent of Han migrants brought their school-age children (Table 17). One purpose for migrating elsewhere to get a job is to earn more money for children's education. Because of this demand, a school named "Yu-cai" (literally, "talent training") was established in Gemarkunsang Community in Lhasa to recruit over one thousand students from migrants' families. This school has all grades from primary to high school, and hires teachers from other provinces at a high salary. Its school buses run along the main streets of Lhasa.

5.10 Educational background of temporary migrants

Educational background is one of the most important factors affecting occupation, income and ethnic interaction. About 10 percent of migrants in Lhasa are illiterate. The junior middle school graduates are the largest group (45.7 percent) of migrants, representing the general progress in "the National Nine-Year Compulsory Education Project" in the recent years. This project provides basic education (primary and junior middle school) for all Chinese citizens with no charge for tuition. 15.5 percent of the migrants received high school education. They have some advantages in job competition and better potential to build careers.

Table 18. Education of Temporary Migrants by Ethnicity

Education	Han		Tibetan		Hui		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Illiterate	32	3.3	76	32.3	29	19.9	0	0.0	137	10.0
Primary	148	15.3	83	35.3	64	43.8	13	48.1	308	22.4
Junior middle sch	518	53.7	61	26.0	42	28.8	7	25.9	628	45.7
High school	187	19.4	12	5.1	9	6.2	5	18.5	213	15.5
Professional sch	35	3.6	2	0.9	2	1.4	1	3.7	40	2.9
College (2 year)	29	3.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	1	3.7	31	2.3
University	16	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	16	1.2
Total	965	100.0	235	100.0	146	100.0	27	100.0	1373	100.0

Source: the 2005 Survey.

Among the ethnic groups, the illiteracy rate was only 3.3 percent for Han while 32.3 percent for Tibetans and 19.9 percent for Hui. The Tibetan migrants have less education compared with other groups. Among the Han migrants, 53.7 percent had a junior middle school education, 19.4

percent had a high school education, and 8.3 percent received more education than high school. The Han migrants have a relatively higher educational background, and therefore have some advantages in participating in local economic activities in Lhasa.

VI. Occupational Change, Income and Consumption of Migrants

6.1 Occupational Change

The occupational distribution of temporary migrants has changed greatly since 1980s. Around the beginning of the 1980s, temporary migrants from Sichuan and Gansu mainly engaged in activities such as carpentry, blacksmithing, cloth sewing, bicycle repairing, shoe making, watch or tape recorder repairing, photo studio managing, glass sales, etc. They came in small numbers and worked individually. Since the late 1980s, temporary migrants have come as construction workers, vegetable gardeners, as well as workers in all parts of the service sector such as restaurants. Their numbers increased rapidly since 2000 when the central government launched the national strategy of “Developing the West”. They followed the huge amount of investment and construction projects in the TAR and other regions in the West of China.

Among the 1,395 respondents who answered the questions about channels to find their current jobs, a large proportion (45.3 percent) said that they found the jobs by themselves. This group consisted of 38.4 percent among the Han, 68.4 percent among the Tibetans and 51.0 percent among the Hui. Relatives, friends, and fellow villagers, the other channels for job searching, made 40.9 percent in the total (Table 19).

Table 19. Channels of Employment of Temporary Migrants

Channel of employment	Ethnic Group									
	Han		Tibetan		Hui		Others		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No job	3	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.2
Middle man	16	1.7	1	0.4	3	1.9	1	3.7	21	1.5
By self	364	38.4	182	68.4	79	51.0	9	33.3	634	45.4
Village fellow	139	14.7	20	7.5	14	9.0	7	25.9	180	12.9
Friends	131	13.8	15	5.6	22	14.2	2	7.4	170	12.2
Relatives	168	17.7	34	12.8	16	10.3	2	7.4	220	15.8
Self-employed	62	6.5	8	3.0	12	7.7	4	14.8	86	6.2
Family business	18	1.9	0	0.0	3	1.9	1	3.7	22	1.6
Work for relative/friend	16	1.7	4	1.5	6	3.9	0	0.0	26	1.9
Construction	30	3.2	2	0.8	0		1	3.7	33	2.4
Total	947	100.0	266	100.0	155	100.0	27	100.0	1,395	100.0

We do can find some ethnic differences among the job searching channels. Han relied more on fellow villagers, friends, and relatives (46.2 percent). Hui migrants also have their network of friends and relatives, while Tibetans relied more on themselves. Middle men play a very limited role (1.5 percent) in job searches by temporary migrants. The pattern is similar in other western cities. For example, among 1,850 respondents in our Wulumuqi Survey in Xinjiang, 1.3 percent found their jobs through middle men, 46.3 percent by themselves, 25.6 percent were helped by friends, 11.5 percent by relatives, and 15.3 percent by fellow villagers (Ma Rong, et al. 2005).

Table 20. Occupational Change of Temporary Migrants

Previous occupation	number	%	Occupation in Lhasa	number	%
In school	112	7.6	Cadre, manager	9	0.6
Cadre, manager	29	2.0	Professional	17	1.2
Professional	14	1.0	Skill labor	39	2.6
Skill labor	55	3.7	Office staff	8	0.5
Office staff	7	0.5	Service labor	961	65.4
Service labor	335	22.8	Non-skill labor	139	9.5
Non-skill labor	125	8.5	Guards	1	0.1
solder	9	0.6	Farmer	10	0.7
Farmer	440	29.9	No job	10	0.7
No job	97	6.6	Others	46	3.1
Others	97	6.6	Self-employed	150	10.2
Self-employed	21	1.4	Missing	80	5.4
Missing	129	8.8			
Total	1,470	100.0	Total	1,470	100.0

Many temporary migrants changed their occupation after coming to Lhasa. Table 20 shows that 30 percent of these temporary migrants were engaged in agriculture before moving, 22.8 percent previously worked in services, compared to 65.4 percent of temporary migrants who now work in services. Another 10.2 percent of migrants reported their occupation in Lhasa as self-employed businessmen. Ten reported that they remained farmers: these were gardeners in vegetable planting operations located in the suburbs. Vegetable gardening by Han in Tibetan towns has been a tradition for nearly a century, as it was even mentioned in Charles Bell's book (Bell, 1928). Three-fourths of the temporary migrants work in services, confirmed our impression that the service sector where the majority of temporary migrants work.

About 84 percent respondents claimed that they were satisfied with their current jobs. Only 16 percent said they were unsatisfied. Attitudes towards current jobs are very similar across the ethnic groups in Lhasa.

6.2 Income and Consumption of Migrants

The living conditions of temporary migrants vary by location. Migrant laborers working in construction teams have the worst living conditions. They inhabit temporary tents with no running water or heating. Those working in trade and services usually can rent or share an apartment, and therefore have better conditions. Taxi drivers who make more money can effort better housing in suburbs.

In choosing the location of residence, 38.8 percent of the respondents preferred to live near their work site, 50.0 percent said they have other preferences (e.g., rent, condition of housing, etc.) than proximity to work site. We assumed that migrants would prefer to live near or share housing with those from the same ethnic groups. But the survey reveals a different reality. The vast majority of respondents (84 percent) denied that ethnic considerations factored in their housing selection, and only five percent said they prefer to stay with the people from the same ethnic group.

Table 21. Annual Income Distribution of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa (2005)

Income	#	%	Cum. %	Income	#	%	Cum. %
0-500	6	0.5	0.5	9,001-9,500	2	0.2	47.1
501-1,000	39	3.3	3.8	9,501-10,000	216	18.2	65.3

1,001-1,500	13	1.1	4.9	10,001-12,500	42	3.5	68.8
1,501-2,000	39	3.3	8.2	12,501-15,000	60	5.1	73.9
2,001-2,500	11	0.9	9.1	15,001-17,500	9	0.8	74.7
2,501-3,000	51	4.3	13.4	17,501-20,000	145	12.2	86.9
3,001-3,500	14	1.2	14.6	20,001-25,000	28	2.4	89.3
3,501-4,000	55	4.6	19.2	25,001-30,000	50	4.2	93.5
4,001-4,500	10	0.8	20.0	30,001-35,000	5	0.4	93.9
4,501-5,000	100	8.4	28.4	35,001-40,000	30	2.5	96.4
5,001-5,500	6	0.5	28.9	40,001-45,000	3	0.3	96.9
5,501-6,000	63	5.3	34.2	45,001-50,000	17	1.4	98.4
6,001-6,500	4	0.3	34.5	50,001-60,000	6	0.5	99.0
6,501-7,000	26	2.2	36.7	60,001-70,000	1	0.0	99.0
7,001-7,500	20	1.7	38.4	70,001-80,000	2	0.2	99.2
7,501-8,000	74	6.3	44.7	100,000+	10	0.8	100.0
8,001-8,500	17	1.4	46.1				
8,501-9,000	10	0.8	46.9	Total	1,184	100.0	

Income is a private issue everywhere, so it is very difficult to obtain information on temporary migrants' income in Lhasa. Since the interviews took place at work sites, people hesitated to mention their income in front of their co-workers. 1,184 respondents (80.5 percent) answered the question about their annual income (Table 21). 65.3 percent of the migrants earned less than 10,000 RMB annually, or 833 RMB per month. The few (4.9 percent) who reported their income to be less than 1500 RMB might be new arrivals or people who have been unemployed for a period of time. Meanwhile, about eight percent of migrants earned over 25,000 RMB, or 2,083 RMB per month. Therefore, there were many poor migrants while a few were relatively rich.

Figure 2 shows that people like to report their annual income by thousands (e.g. 1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000). This indicates that people reported estimates, not precise numbers. Most temporary migrants work in services, so their jobs vary by season. It is natural to provide a general estimate instead some detailed numbers. The average annual income of temporary migrants was 13,350 RMB, while their average annual consumption was 6,774 RMB. Among the consumption of migrants, the largest proportion went to rent (the average rent was 3,832 RMB, or 56.6 percent of total consumption). The rent in Lhasa usually includes (1) rent (shop and dormitory), (2) sanitation fee (including garbage disposing), and (3) electricity, gas and water. The second largest expenditure was for educating children (2,550 RMB on average). Migrants mailed money back to their hometowns to support children in school. Religious expenditures were only about 243 RMB on average. Even Tibetans reported that they only occasionally went to the monasteries, about 4 times annually on average. Only Hui reported that they try to worship daily.

Figure 2. Income Distribution of Migrants in Lhasa

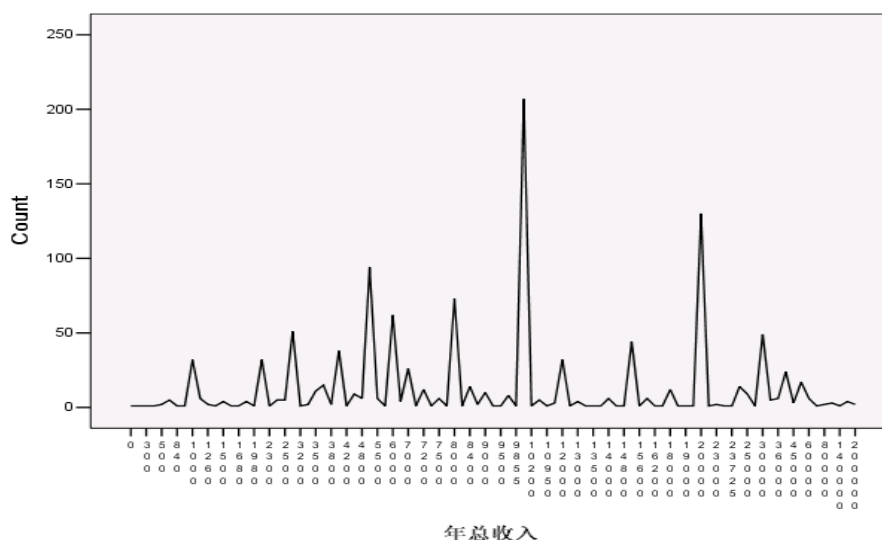
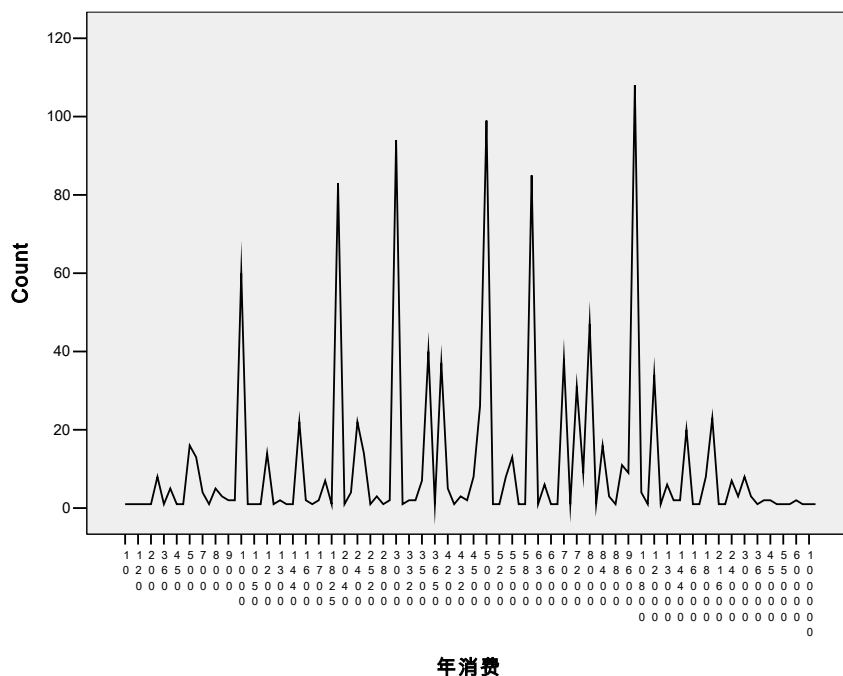


Table 22. Annual Consumption Distribution of Temporary Migrants in Lhasa (2005)(yuan)

Expenditure	#	%	Cum. %	Expenditure	#	1.0	Cum. %
0-500	37	3.1	3.1	9,001-9,500	12	0.2	78.2
501-1,000	90	7.7	10.8	9,501-10,000	0	0.0	78.2
1,001-1,500	44	3.7	14.5	10,001-12,500	117	9.9	88.2
1,501-2,000	96	8.2	22.7	12,501-15,000	40	3.4	91.6
2,001-2,500	41	3.5	26.2	15,001-17,500	30	2.6	94.1
2,501-3,000	101	8.6	34.8	17,501-20,000	2	0.2	94.3
3,001-3,500	12	1.0	35.8	20,001-25,000	31	2.6	96.9
3,501-4,000	78	6.6	42.4	25,001-30,000	12	1.0	98.0
4,001-4,500	19	1.6	44.0	30,001-35,000	17	1.4	99.4
4,501-5,000	125	10.6	54.7	35,001-40,000	4	0.3	99.7
5,001-5,500	23	2.0	56.6	40,001-45,000	1	0.1	99.8
5,501-6,000	87	7.4	64.0	45,001-50,000	0	0.0	99.8
6,001-6,500	7	0.6	64.6	50,001-60,000	0	0.0	99.8
6,501-7,000	40	3.4	68.0	60,001-70,000	1	0.1	99.9
7,001-7,500	41	3.5	71.5	70,001-80,000	0	0.0	99.9
7,501-8,000	47	4.0	75.5	100,000+	1	0.1	100.0
8,001-8,500	20	1.7	77.2				
8,501-9,000	10	0.8	46.9	Total	1,176	100.0	

The distribution of reported annual expenditures is shown in Table 22 by group and in Figure 3. It is a normal distribution showing the common pattern that people report their incomes and expenditures in round figures (e.g. 1,000 or 2,000 RMB). In general, migrants' expenditures were lower than their incomes. They tried to save money as a reward for their long-distance travel and work in a strange city.

Figure 3. Annual consumption of temporary migrants in Lhasa



Compared to annual incomes and expenditures among individual migrants, we may know more about their savings. From Table 23, we can see only 12.9 percent (139 respondents) of the total respondents were in deficit in 2005. Probably these were the newcomers (311 migrants arrived in Lhasa in 2005 in our survey sample) who came to Lhasa in 2005 and needed to pay rent and other investments to start their new work in Lhasa. It seems that about 41 percent of the total respondents can save at least 5,000 RMB per year, 25.4 percent can save at least 10,000 RMB, and 2.9 percent can save more than 40,000 RMB per year. Knowing that the annual pure income in rural areas of Sichuan and Gansu provinces was around 2,000 RMB, then we can see how strong the incentive is for these farmers to move to Lhasa to make money.

Table 23. The Comparison of Income and Expenditure of Migrants

Difference	#	%	Cum.%	Difference	#	%	Cum.%
> - 3,000	14	1.3	1.3	5,501-6,000	37	3.4	63.9
- 2,999 - - 2,000	10	0.9	2.2	6,001-6,500	13	1.2	65.1
- 1,999 - - 1,000	18	1.7	3.9	6,501-7,000	35	3.3	68.4
- 999 - - 500	26	2.4	6.3	7,001-7,500	6	0.6	68.9
- 499 - 0	71	6.6	12.9	7,501-8,000	24	2.2	71.2
1 -500	31	2.9	15.8	8,001-8,500	1	0.1	71.3
501-1,000	34	3.2	19.0	8,501-9,000	24	2.2	73.5
1,001-1,500	38	3.5	22.5	9,001-10,000	12	1.1	74.6
1,501-2,000	81	7.5	30.0	10,001-20,000	57	5.3	79.9
2,001-2,500	30	2.8	32.8	20,001-30,000	147	13.7	93.6
2,501-3,000	88	8.2	41.0	30,001-40,000	38	3.5	97.1
3,001-3,500	19	1.8	42.8	40,001-50,000	26	2.4	99.5
3,501-4,000	69	6.4	49.2	50,001-60,000	3	0.3	99.8
4,001-4,500	16	1.5	50.7	70,001-80,000	1	0.1	99.9
4,501-5,000	89	8.3	59.0	> 80,000	1	0.1	100.0
5,001-5,500	16	1.5	60.5	Total	1,075	100.0	

Pearson correlations⁵ between several key variables are presented in Table 24. The major

⁵ Pearson Correlation is a common method in social statistics to evaluate the relationship between two variables, such as education and income. A positive correlation coefficient means that when one

correlation patterns among the temporary migrants in urban Lhasa can be generalized as follows: (1) Males generally are slightly older (.069**), better educated (-.085**) and earn more (-.105**) than females; (2) Han are older (.157**), received more education (-.370**), and earn more (-.116**) than Tibetans (Han is coded as 1 while Tibetan coded as 3); and (3) expenses are closely related to income (.489**).

Table 24. Correlations between Variables

		ethnicity	Gender	B. Year	Income	Expense	Education
Ethnicity	Pearson Correlation	1	.155(**)	.157(**)	-.116(**)	-.105(**)	-.370(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1,455	1,452	1,427	1,175	1,169	1,373
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.155(**)	1	.069(**)	-.105(**)	-.040	-.085(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.009	.000	.176	.002
	N	1,452	1,463	1,436	1,180	1,172	1,380
Year of birth	Pearson Correlation	.157(**)	.069(**)	1	-.076(**)	-.040	.060(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.009		.009	.178	.027
	N	1,427	1,436	1,439	1,163	1,154	1,356
Income	Pearson Correlation	-.116(**)	-.105(**)	-.076(**)	1	.489(**)	.210(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.009		.000	.000
	N	1,175	1,180	1,163	1,184	1,111	1,116
Expense	Pearson Correlation	-.105(**)	-.040	-.040	.489(**)	1	.146(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.176	.178	.000		.000
	N	1,169	1,172	1,154	1,111	1,176	1,114
Education	Pearson Correlation	-.370(**)	-.085(**)	.060(*)	.210(**)	.146(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.002	.027	.000	.000	
	N	1,373	1,380	1,356	1,116	1,114	1,385

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 25. Regression Analysis

Regression	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	8041.921	1812.847		4.436	.000
Age	132.224	52.440	.075	2.521	.012
Illiterate	-4863.651	1750.423	-.087	-2.779	.006
Primary sch	-2554.048	1270.203	-.065	-2.011	.045
High school	9195.573	1509.731	.193	6.091	.000
College	7778.476	2246.325	.106	3.463	.001
Self-employed	5242.554	1591.729	.098	3.294	.001

*: Dependent Variable: Annual income.

F = 14.799; Sig. = .000.

We also analyzed the relations between annual income of temporary migrants and a series of other variables. Table 25 shows the result of the regression analyses⁶ with annual income as the

variable's value increases, so too does the value of the other value. A negative coefficient means the opposite. The larger the coefficient is, the closer the relationship is between the two variables.

⁶ Regression Analysis is a method to analyze the relationship between a dependent variable and several independent variables. The method is used to assess, for example, to what extent independent variables such as age, education, and ethnic status affect a dependent variable such as income.

dependent variable, and age, ethnic status, education, and occupation in Lhasa as the independent variables. Through the regression analysis, ethnic status does not show any significance. Neither do most occupational variables except self-employed businessman. The educational variables show the most important impact on migrants' annual income. The final regression equation is as follows:

$$\text{Income} = 8,042 + 132 \text{ Age} - 4,863 \text{ Illiterate} - 2,554 \text{ primary} + 9,195 \text{ High-school} \\ + 7,778 \text{ College} + 5,242 \text{ Self-employed};$$

The regression used a junior middle school education as the reference group for educational background. The regression equation means that, among the respondent migrants, one year in age equates with 132 RMB in his annual income, and those who are illiterate or have only primary school education will earn 4,863 RMB and 2,554 RMB less respectively compared with those having junior middle school education. Migrants with high school or college education earn 9,195 RMB and 7,778 RMB more. Self-employed migrants in trade or services earn 5,242 RMB more compared with other occupations. It seems that professionals and skilled laborers in Lhasa have no significant advantages among the temporary migrants.

6.3 Housing of temporary migrants in Lhasa

Among the respondents, 1,365 (92.9 percent) answered the questions about their housing. 80 percent of the migrants lived in housing they rent. 16.6 percent stay in a place provided by employers, usually in shops, workshops, tents at construction sites or dormitories shared with other workers. Only 43 respondents (3.2 percent) reported that they bought housing themselves (Table 26).

Table 26. Housing of migrants in Lhasa

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Bought	43	2.9	3.2
Rent	1,095	74.5	80.2
Provided by employer	226	15.4	16.6
Others	1	.1	.1
Total	1,365	92.9	100.0
Missing	105	7.1	
Total	1,470	100.0	

A large number of migrants lived in small rooms with areas between 10 and 20 square meters. About 42.5 percent and 41.5 percent of the respondents reported that their housing had a toilet and a kitchen (Table 27). In general, the cheap housing rented to temporary migrants is in poor condition despite rent being the largest expense of migrants in Lhasa.

Table 27. Housing with a Toilet or Kitchen

Facilities	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
With a toilet	334	22.7	42.5
Without a toilet	452	30.7	57.5
Total	786	53.5	100.0
Missing	684	46.5	
Total	1,470	100.0	
With a kitchen	319	21.7	41.5
Without a kitchen	449	30.5	58.5

Total	768	52.2	100.0
Missing	702	47.8	
Total	1,470	100.0	

6.4 Ethnic relations among temporary migrants

The survey asked respondents about impression of their relationship with members of other ethnic groups. Since this is a very sensitive issue, the reliability of the answers might be questioned. We know that some respondents might not express their real feeling in our interviews, but at least the information obtained by this question can be used as a relative indicator of ethnic relations or a reference in this regard. Table 28 shows that among Han respondents, 51.2 percent reported that their relation with minorities is “good”, 40.6 percent said it is “okay”, and 8.2 percent claimed it is “bad”. Among Tibetans who answered the question, only 6.5 percent claimed their relation with other groups is “bad”. Therefore, although there are some problems in ethnic interaction in urban Lhasa, responses to our survey questions suggest that the majority of temporary migrants (both Han and Tibetans) feel that ethnic relations are smooth in general. Bear in mind, this observation is based on answers to a one-time survey, and the respondents might not express their true opinions since this is a very sensitive question.

Table 28. Ethnic Relations among Temporary Migrants in Lhasa

Ethnic status of respondent	Relation with other ethnic groups			Total
	Good	Bad	Okay	
Han	457	73	363	893
Hui	113	4	36	153
Tibetan	141	14	59	214
Others	11	0	11	22
Total	722	91	469	1,282

VII. The Evaluation of the Government Management of Temporary Migration

Since the 1950s the Chinese government used to strictly control migration, especially rural to urban migration, under the planned economic system. Only the reform policies implemented in the 1980s started to loosen the control over migration. Now, with a status certificate of Chinese citizen, people may travel freely within China. The government is also learning how to manage and regulate temporary migrants in cities. Many various systems have been established in different cities. “Temporary residence certificate”, “work permit”, and “housing for renting regulations” are the basic regulations, among others. Many government institutions, such as public security stations (for registration), residential committees (housing and registration), commercial bureaus (issuing licenses for businesses), educational bureaus (for children’s schooling), civil affairs bureaus (for welfare), and others have difference functions relating to migration management. In the 2005 Survey we addressed some pertinent questions: How do these regulations work in reality? How do migrants consider these regulations and government officers? How is the relationship between temporary migrants and government officers? Some of the respondents answered those questions and their answers can be a reference in understanding the government’s work in migrant management.

From Table 29, we may see that only a small number of migrants (8.3 percent) keep in contact with the government. 12.9 percent feel that local governments set up some limitation on their job searching, and 8.6 percent claim that they face some limitations in renting or buying houses. But a large number of migrants (41.8 percent) said the government did well in regulating

migration. Only a small number of respondents (10.2 percent) think that the government did not pay enough attention to migrant management. 9.6 percent think it is necessary for the government to establish a unified institution to manage migration, 15.2 percent feel that the officers had some prejudiced attitudes towards migrants, 9.5 percent think that migration regulations should be adjusted in the future, 25.0 percent complained that government charged fees that are too high, and 24.1 percent have some suggestions to the government regarding migration management. These numbers indicate that the basic relationship between migrants and local governments is generally satisfactory. There are complaints, but they can get along.

Table 29. Comments on Government Management of Migration

Questions	Answers		
Do you keep contact with government?	Some contact	No contact	Missing
	122	889	459
Government has some limitations on jobs?	Some limitations	No limitation	Missing
	189	851	430
Government allows you to rent or buy housing?	Some limitations	No limitation	Missing
	126	839	505
Your evaluation of government in migration management	Good job	No good	Missing
	614	158	698
Did Government pay less attention to migration management?	Yes	No	Missing
	150	1,175	145
Do you think government should establish a unified institution in migration management?	Yes	No	Missing
	141	1,182	147
Do you think attitude of officers towards migrants (prejudice) should be improved?	Yes	No	Missing
	224	1,099	147
Do you think the regulations in managing migration should be improved?	Yes	No	Missing
	140	1,183	147
Did government charge too high management fee?	Yes	No	Missing
	368	955	147
Do you have any suggestions to improve government management of migration?	Yes	No	Missing
	355	970	145

VIII. Discussions

The 2005 Lhasa Survey is the first of its kind to study temporary migrants in the TAR and Lhasa. The results of this survey can provide a general picture of temporary migrants in urban Lhasa: their age and gender structures, where they came from, when they came, what kind of work they engaged before and after their arriving, how much they can earn, how they spent their money, their living conditions in Lhasa, and their relationships with other ethnic groups and the local government. Temporary migration has become a very important social phenomenon in today's China and it is closely related to economic reform and a new process of urbanization. Because Lhasa is the capital city of Tibet, the situation of temporary migration in Lhasa is an important part of the whole picture of development in China's West.

Based on our findings, it is clear that temporary migrants in Lhasa are mainly engaged in services. Their average annual income is above 13,000 RMB, less than that of the permanent residents of Lhasa but certainly much higher than that they can earn at home.

The TAR is an autonomous region established for Tibetans, and Lhasa is the religious center for all Tibetan inhabited areas. Ethnic interactions that occur in Lhasa will have a wide impact

on ethnic relations even beyond the TAR. Lhasa is therefore a very sensitive place to study ethnic relations. According to the answers to our questionnaire, less than 10 percent of respondents claimed that their relationship with other ethnic groups is “bad”. It seems that the relation between Han, Tibetans and Hui has been better than many have suggested.

In the future, the number of temporary migrants in Lhasa is expected to grow, partly due to the large number of rural Tibetans who will gradually join the migration flow, and partly due to the completion of the Qinghai-Tibet railway which will provide more convenient transportation linking Lhasa with other cities in nearby provinces. This survey therefore provides baseline data for future studies of migration and urbanization in Tibet.

References:

- Bell, Charles. 1928, *The People of Tibet*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chen Hua and Suolang Renqing, 1999, “A Research Report on Temporary Migration in Lhasa City”, *Journal of Tibetan University* 1999 (2)2-12; (3)3-14.
- Census Office of the TAR. 1992. *The 1990 Census Data of the Tibet Autonomous Region*. Lhasa: People’s Press of Tibet.
- Census Office of the TAR. 2002. *The 2000 Census Data of the Tibet Autonomous Region*. Lhasa: China Statistics Press.
- Development and Planning Committee of Lhasa Urban District, ed. 2004. *Collection of Economic Statistics of Lhasa Urban District* (2004).
- Goldstein, M. C. and C. M. Beall. 1991. “China’s Birth Control Policy in the Tibet Autonomous Region: Myths and Realities”, *Asian Survey* 31(3):285-303.
- Goldstein, Melvyn C., Ben Jiao (Benjor), Cynthia M. Beall and Phuntsog Tsering. 2002. “Fertility and Family Planning in Rural Tibet.” *The China Journal* 47:19-39.
- Fisher, Andrew Martin. 2002. *Poverty by Design: the Economics of Discrimination in Tibet*. Montreal: Canadian Tibetan Committee.
- Fisher, Andrew Martin, 2004a. “Urban Fault Lines in Shangri-La: Population and economic foundations of interethnic conflict in the Tibetan areas of Western China”. *Crisis States Working Paper*, 42, London: Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics.
- Fisher, Andrew Martin. 2004b. *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet: Challenges of recent economic growth*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Fisher, Andrew Martin. 2005. “Close Encounters of an Inner Asian Kind: Tibetan-Muslim coexistence and conflict in Tibet, Past and Present”. *Crisis States Working Paper*, 68. London: Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics.
- Gelek, and Jin Xisheng, eds. 1995, *Lhasa (100 City-county Socioeconomic Study)*, Beijing: China Encyclopedia Press.
- Goodman, David S. G. 2004. “Qinghai and the Emergence of the West: Nationalities, Communal Interaction and National Integration”. *China Quarterly* 178:379-399.
- Hu, Xiao Jiang, 2004, *The Little Shops of Lhasa, Tibet: Migrant Businesses and the Formation of Markets in a Transitional Economy*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Knud Larsen and Amund Sinding-Larsen. 2001. *The Lhasa Atlas Traditional Tibetan Architecture and Townscape*. London: Serindia.
- Institute of Sociology and Anthropology (ISA) and the Chinese Center for Tibetological Studies (CCTS), eds. 1997. *Social and Economic Development in Tibet*. Beijing: Press of Tibetology Studies (in Chinese).
- Li, Li. 1989. “An Analysis of Migration in Tibet during 1986-1987” (unpublished report in Chinese).

- Ma Rong and Pan Naigu. 1988a. "Demographic Changes in China's Tibetan-Inhabited Areas" , Dai Yannian, Edna Driscoll, Ginghong, and Zhu Yuan (eds.). *Tibet: Myth vs. Reality*. Beijing: Beijing Review Publications. pp. 63-70.
- Ma Rong and Pan Naigu. 1988b. "Mongolian-Han Intermarriages in Rural Chifeng". *Journal of Beijing University* 3:76-87 (in Chinese).
- Ma Rong. 1991. "Han-Tibetan Residential Patterns in Lhasa". *The China Quarterly* 128: 814-835.
- Ma Rong. 1993. "Migration Patterns within the Tibet Autonomous Region". *Population Studies* 5:26-42 (in Chinese).
- Ma Rong. 1994. "The Tibetan Population and their Geographic Distribution in China" (with Pan Naigu), Per Kvaerne (ed.), *Tibetan Studies* (Volume 1). Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. pp. 507-516.
- Ma Rong. 1995. "Economic Patterns, Migration, and Ethnic Relationships in the Tibet Autonomous Region, China." Calvin Goldscheider, (ed.), *Population, Ethnicity and Nation-Building*. Boulder: Westview Press. pp. 37-76.
- Ma Rong. 1996. *Population and Society of Tibet*. Beijing: Tong-Xin Press (in Chinese).
- Ma Rong. 1998. "Economic Patterns of the Tibet Autonomous Region", in G. E. Clarke, (ed). *Development, Society, and Environment in Tibet*. Wien: Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp.167-186.
- Ma Rong. 2001. "Marriages and Spouse Selection in Tibet", *Development and Society* 20(1): 79-117.
- Ma Rong. 2003. "Economic Development, Labor Transfer, and Minority Education in the West of China". *Development and Society* 32(2):125-145.
- Ma Rong, et al. 2005. "The Structural Characters and Employment Situation of Temporary Migrants in Wulumuqi City, Xinjiang". *Northwest Ethnic Studies* 3:5-42 (in Chinese).
- Shannon, Lyle and Magdaline. 1973. *Minority Migrants in the Urban Community*. London: Sage Publications.
- Shaw, R.P. 1975. *Migration: Theory and Fact*. Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.
- Statistical Bureau of the TAR. 1985, 1995, 2001, 2003, 2007. *Yearbook of the TAR (1985) (1995) (2001) (2003)(2007)*. Beijing: China Statistical Press.
- Yeh, Emily, 2006, "Migrant Farmers in Lhasa: Growing vegetables, growing disjunctures", a paper presented at the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Konigswinter, Gernamy. August 28th, 2006).