Population and Society in Contemporary Tibet

Rong MA

香港大學出版社
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press
14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

ISBN 978-962-209-202-0

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by Paramount Printing Co. Ltd., Hong Kong, China

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1

Introduction

Tibet has become a symbol of heaven on Earth in the Western imagination, the Shangri-La in clouds at the top of the Himalayas. Steeped in the mysterious religion of Tibetan Buddhism, it is a land of peace, harmony and compassion with no concern for money or material things. This is the image of Tibet in the West (Klieger, 2006: 215), where industrialization and modernization have led to political stability, economic prosperity, technical advantage and social welfare, but have also caused severe competition, work pressure, social stratification, income disparity and racial and ethnic tensions, as well as high rates of divorce and crime. It should also be noted that although Tibet seems idyllic to those Westerners who dream about it, few of them really want to live there.

But that is not the whole picture of Tibet. Many people do not know that before the 1950s there was no wheeled transportation in Tibet. Neither were there bridges over rivers, machinery, electricity or modern schools (Karan, 1976: 50).[1] Its economy was primitive and could hardly support its population, which consisted largely of monks. Like Europe in the Middle Ages, the monasteries and clergy dominated the administration, judicature, education and taxation. There was a serf system in Tibet and slavery, which, far from contradicting Tibetan Buddhism, was actually based on it. According to the Chinese government, these systems were backward and brutal and led to much suffering. Little of this was known to Westerners because few of them had visited Tibet before the 1950s.

The Tibet of yore was neither the paradise of Western imagination nor the hell of Chinese propaganda. Both descriptions formed just part of the picture. There are also two sides to the story concerning present-day Tibet under Chinese Communist Party control. The Tibetans in exile say their religion has been destroyed, their language and traditional culture are in danger of disappearing and Tibetans have become minorities because of huge Han Chinese immigration. Now Tibet is a hell under Chinese domination (Jetsun Pema, 1997). The Chinese government, however, paints a different picture of Tibet: because of social reform in the late 1950s, the serf system was abandoned and a million serfs and slaves were granted land and their freedom; government investment improved infrastructure and raised the standard of living; schools and healthcare systems were modernized; and people enjoy autonomy and religious freedom. Reports from Westerners who have visited Tibet recently present positive and negative views and are sometimes biased. Among the literature in English, some reports have described positively the liberation of the serfs and the tremendous social, economic and educational developments in the region (Karan, 1976; Bista, 1979; Epstein, 1983; Grunfeld, 1987: 164–175). Other reports speak of "forced assimilation" and a disaster for traditional Tibetan religion and culture as a consequence of the Cultural Revolution (Dreyer, 1976: 170; Avedon, 1984: 288–293; Goldstein and Beall, 1990: 140–144).

What is the truth about Tibet? Is it hell or heaven, or somewhere in between? As a Chinese citizen and a sociologist trained at an American university, I have access to information from both sides. I grew up in Beijing and during the Cultural Revolution spent five years in Inner Mongolia as a sheep herder in a nomad Mongol community. In the early 1980s, when Deng Xiaoping opened China to the world, I was lucky to receive a fellowship from the United Nations to study at Brown University in the US for a doctoral degree in sociology. My major was population studies and my minor was urban studies. The theories and methodology I learned at Brown were the foundation of my academic career. Puzzled by the opposing views of Tibet, I became interested in finding the reality and started my own survey there after returning to Beijing in 1987.

I believe that data obtained through a carefully designed sociological survey will offer a new perspective on the lives of Tibetans and present structure of Tibetan society. Many previous studies on Tibet have been based mainly on information provided by Tibetans in exile and the observations of short-term visitors there. Some western scholars have been able to carry out field research in small communities, but none of those studies has provided a quantitative analysis based on large-scale sociological sampling surveys. That was what I intended to do. It is almost impossible for western scholars to conduct region-wide questionnaire surveys in Tibet because of strict restrictions imposed by the Chinese government, which is afraid of negative reports coming from the surveys that would damage its image in the West. And in the 1980s Chinese scholars allowed to carry out surveys lack the necessary academic training and methodology; moreover many of them are not familiar with Western literature in the social sciences. Increasing numbers of Chinese scholars are returning to China with degrees from western universities but few are interested in Tibet. I have been lucky to have worked for 20 years with Tanzen Lhunduo, a Tibetan scholar at the China Tibetology Research Center and my research assistant during my 1988 survey in Tibet. For these reasons, I believe I have some advantages in Tibetan studies.

There have been considerable debates about the sensitive issue of political relations throughout history between Tibet and China, and this is the first subject raised when people in the West talk about Tibet. Because I am not a historian and Tibetan history is not my specialty it will not be the focus of this book. Based on systematic studies of historical materials and intensive interviews, these debates were summarized in Melvyn Goldstein's book *The Snow Lion and the Dragon* (1997), which provides an insightful description of the history of relations between Tibet and China. Christiaan Klieger's article "Riding High on the Manchurian Dream: Three Paradigms in the Construction of the Tibetan Question" has an excellent review of the interpretations of the historical relationship between Chinese dynasties and Tibet by the Chinese authority and Tibetans in exile (Klieger, 2006). These two works provide balanced material and discussions about the history of Tibet and I recommend them to readers.

The Focus of This Book

The aim of this book is to present and analyze demographic data and economic statistics as well as the changes in the past five decades in Tibet. To obtain reliable first-hand data I organized a sociological sampling survey in 1988 in three main regions of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).[2] I believe it was the first such survey in Tibet. After that, I organized a series of social-research projects in Tibet in the fields of poverty, education and migration. The latest two surveys were conducted in 2005 and 2008 on temporary migration in Lhasa and other towns in the TAR (Ma Rong and Tanzen Lhunduo, 2006).[3] I continue to examine all the TAR's census and official statistical data, which became available only after 1989, the year the first volume of the TAR's statistical yearbook was published.

To understand the whole picture and try to evaluate the accounts and criticism from both sides, several key issues become my main concern. I drew these from hot topics in international debates and tried to include them in the framework of my questionnaire. Since the Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India in 1959, many social and economic changes have taken place in Tibet. The main criticisms of China's policy in Tibet are: (1) Han immigrants now outnumber local Tibetans; (2) Tibet is exploited economically by the Han regions; (3) religious activities are forbidden in Tibet; (4) Tibetan language and traditional culture are being threatened and restricted by government policies; (5) autonomy in Tibet is not genuine because the Han Chinese dominate the TAR government; (6) the Tibetan population is declining because of the family-planning program, etc. (Pay, 1975: 497; *Asia Watch* Report, May 1988, February 1992; the reports of *Amnesty International*, 1992; Jetsun Pema, 1997). The Chinese government has also focused on these issues in response to criticism from Tibetans in exile and the West. These issues cover broad areas of the social sciences and humanities and cannot be tackled through just one research project. That's why I selected only those issues that can be studied through quantitative studies based on available demographic and statistical data related to these topics.

Because there are other ethnic groups living in Tibetans' traditional areas, for the sake of simplicity my study concentrated on the TAR, the "political" Tibet, not the "ethnic" Tibet.

Western anthropologists such as Melvyn Goldstein, Cynthia Beall, Nancy Levine and Graham Clarke, among others, have carried out field surveys in Tibetan areas since the 1980s. Most of their studies have been case studies. Very few studies by western and Chinese scholars have systematically analyzed statistical and census data. Andrew Fischer's book *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet (2005)* is the only one I know of that has used official statistics to analyze economic patterns in Tibet. In recent years Chinese scholars (including those from Han, Tibetan and other ethnic groups) have studied marriage, family, education, population change, agriculture, etc. in Tibet. Most of these studies have been descriptive. There have been only a few questionnaire surveys conducted in Tibet by Chinese scholars, and these have been limited in geographical scope and topic coverage. This convinced me that sociological studies of survey data combined with statistical and census data, supplemented by other research reports, might help in understanding Tibet's present demographic and social situation better.

Tibetan Studies at Peking University and the 1988 Survey

The 1988 survey was part of a national research project carried out at the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology (ISA) at Peking University. Since it was established in 1985, the ISA has paid special attention to studies of social development in China's frontier and minority regions under the guidance of its founder, Professor Fei Xiaotong.[4] To conduct these projects the ISA organized a series of systematic in-depth field research activities in the major ethnic minority areas of China: Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and minority areas of Qinghai, Gansu, Yunnan, Hunan and other provinces.

Following my suggestion, Professor Fei Xiaotong and Mr. Dorji Tseden, Director of the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) and the former Chair of the TAR, discussed this TAR research project in 1987. The CTRC provided a grant to support the project. Then an ISA-CTRC joint research team was formed. I served as project coordinator and led the team. This survey was also supported by Mr. Wu Jinghua, the CCP secretary of the TAR in the late 1980s, who gave the green light to our survey and provided local assistance. Therefore, my Tibet study received the necessary support from three important figures. In summer 1988 the research team traveled to the TAR to conduct household interviews. This project can be divided into four periods:

The period of preparation

In preparing the sampling procedure for the household interviews, I analyzed the social, economic, educational and demographic changes in the TAR and other Tibetan areas based on statistical and census data at the national and regional level (Ma and Pan, 1988a). These data helped us to learn the basic structure and characteristics of the Tibetan population and society: geographic distribution, age and gender structure, educational structure, industrial and occupational distribution of labor force, land and domestic animal distribution, income and consumption of rural and urban residents recorded by local statistical bureaus, etc. In addition, I also referred to research on Tibetan history, population, social organization, religion, culture, education, trade and production in the Chinese and English languages to obtain more useful information.

Designing the questionnaire

In household interviews a standard questionnaire, in Chinese or Tibetan, was used, according to the local situation. The questionnaire was designed to obtain basic information about all the household members on their age, gender, ethnic status, educational achievement, occupation, relationship to the head of the household and residential registration status. It also included questions about the basic economic situation of the respondent household: its annual income and expenses in 1987 (the year before the survey), housing and other durable consumer goods, arable land, pasture and animals. These items were considered as household property that did not belong to individual members.

Apart from the above, the questionnaire also compiled important individual information about the head of each household, such as his/her occupational changes, marital history, childbearing history, language capacity, migratory history, travel experiences, participation in religious activities, etc. The questionnaire included more than 130 questions in nine categories. Originally, I tried to ask the respondents about their attitude toward the Dalai Lama, but that question was removed because of opposition from the TAR government officers. In general, we expected the information and data obtained from the questionnaire interviews to provide a basic picture of the family, work and daily life of rural and urban Tibetans.

Sampling and household interviews

Based on analyses of the macro-level data, I decided to conduct household interview surveys that focused on three of the TAR's seven prefectures: Lhasa, Shigatse and Lhoka.[5] These three regions are the political, economic and population centers of the TAR.

I understand very well that a scientifically designed sampling procedure is the most essential step in collecting good-quality data. To obtain necessary basic information for sample designing and to conduct the interviews accordingly, the team went to Tibet twice in 1988. During the first trip we visited relevant government institutions and collected statistical data from the statistical bureaus at the TAR and prefectural levels. To ensure that the household interviews could be carried out successfully, the team also visited the capital towns of three prefectures and several counties (Lhasa, Chushur, Shigatse, Sakya, Gynatse, Yatung, Nedong). From the statistical bureaus of prefectures, we received all basic demographic and economic records at village level. The population data of each county can be double checked with 1982 census data. From prefectural statistics bureaus, detailed demographic and statistical data in 1987 for all 437 *xiang*[6] in three prefectures were systematically collected for the sampling procedure. We were lucky that those data were recently collected in all counties of the TAR to adjust administrative units from the previous district-commune system to a *xiang* system following the system reform in the rural TAR in the early 1980s. The data we obtained in the summer of 1988 were updated and are relatively accurate.

The method used in the sampling was "stratified multistage probabilities proportional to size." The three indicators used to select *xiang* were: (1) cultivated land per capita in 1987, (2) animals per capita in 1987 and (3) net annual income per capita in 1987. These three were calculated at *xiang* level and could be used as a measurement of unit stratification among all *xiang*. In the first step a total of 437 *xiang* (townships) were classified by these variables to select 50 sample *xiang*. They represent five groups of communities: upper (rich communities), upper-middle, middle, low-middle, and low (poor communities). In the second step, two to four villages were selected for each sample *xiang*, according to their population size. The plan was to interview 50 households in each selected *xiang*. If the village had a small population (e.g. only 10 to 15 households in one village), then four villages would be selected. Under China's rural residential registration system, all households (including those in the TAR, where relatives usually prefer to live next to each other) were recorded along with the location of their houses. In the third step, about 50 households were selected from residential registration lists of sample villages by the method of equidistance. In other words, the households were selected from village residential registration lists in a particular order (e.g. every four or five households in registration lists, say numbers 1, 5, 9, 13, 17 . . .

were chosen).[7] In our survey experiences in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and other provinces, the equidistance sampling method was an appropriate way to pick respondents in villages or urban neighborhoods.

Considering the geographic distribution of those selected villages in an area of about one million square kilometers, the transportation difficulties and language barrier (some of our team members could not speak Tibetan), we decided that household interviews in rural areas would be carried out by local interviewers, not directly by the team members. In fall 1988, during our second visit to Tibet, we organized two training programs in Lhasa for local interviewers. We asked the selected county governments to identify the local interviewers (two to three from each county) for us and send them to Lhasa to participate in this training program. The ideal composition of county survey teams was three interviewers, one from the county government (usually an officer from a county statistical bureau) and two from selected *xiang* (the statistical assistant or deputy *xiang* leader). The questionnaires for rural areas were printed in Tibetan.

During the training program, these interviewers learned to understand the questions and the coding methods. At the end of the training program, all interviewers had to fill out a questionnaire under the guidance of a team member to make sure they understood the questions and proper way to fill out the questionnaire. To control the quality of the answers we insisted that all questionnaires should be filled out by the interviewers, not by respondents themselves. Those interviewers who were recommended by county governments also took with them to Lhasa the residential registration profiles of selected villages. Our team members from Beijing could then do the sampling by household. The household interviews were thus conducted by these newly trained interviewers according to the predetermined list of sampled households.

Apart from the rural household interviews, the research team selected Lhasa as the site for urban-household canvasses. By studying Lhasa we hoped to learn more about the capital city of the TAR and also planned a comparative study between the urban and rural respondents. We faced some difficulties in sampling in urban Lhasa.

The administration and management of urban residents in China is organized into a hierarchy of “urban district,” “street office,” “residential committee” and “household.” The residents in urban Lhasa under the residential committees were placed into two categories: “residential households” and “unit households.”[8] Previously all urban workers in state-owned units were government employees. Those who worked in the urban collective sectors were not classified officially as government employees although, where welfare, health care, etc. were concerned, their situation was not unlike that of government employees. Most members of the state-owned units and a large proportion of employees under collective units are registered under their “unit households.”

In the profiles of the "unit households" we discovered that the household registration cards (every person in China must be registered with the local authorities at their place of residence; a registration card is the essential record of legal status of a household) in Lhasa were classified by individuals, not by household. In the records of these unit households, individual government employees and their dependents were distinguished by different colored registration cards. The red cards (employees) and blue cards (dependents) were filed separately. Although each person (employee or dependent) had his/her individual card there was no way of tracing their relationships (husband and wife, father and son, etc.). Because "family households" could not be identified within unit households, the family household sampling method could not be applied to unit households in Lhasa.

Faced with this dilemma we decided to exclude unit households from our study and focus our interviews on the urban residential households in four street offices (Barkor, Kyire, Tromsig Khang and Jebum Gang) in the old urban area of Lhasa. Because native Tibetan residents were concentrated in the old urban area, our samples in Lhasa would represent their situation and that was an important part of our survey. The sampled households were selected by equidistance in the list of the households under residential committees. The household interviews were conducted by our research team members with the assistance of colleagues at the Academy of Social Sciences of Tibet and the Department of Tibetan Literature at Tibet University. I personally interviewed about 70 urban households in Lhasa with my assistant Tanzen Lhundup, who became a Ph.D. student at Peking University under my guidance in the late 1990s.

The rural and urban household interviews took several months to complete. The filled questionnaires were collected, examined and coded in Lhasa. All information and data were put into a computer data file after the team returned to Beijing. The total number of collected questionnaires covered 1,312 households, 644 households from urban Lhasa and 668 households from rural areas. We did not reach our original goal of 2,500 households, firstly because owing to floods, 21 *xiang* failed to send interviewers to Lhasa for the training program; the team trained interviewers from 29 *xiang* only. Secondly, the trained interviewers from six *xiang* did not conduct the interviews because their jobs changed after they returned to their home counties. Among the 29 sample *xiang,* only 23 actually conducted household interviews. Considering the low population density, poor transportation conditions and loose administration in rural Tibet, especially in some remote areas, the results of rural interviews were considered acceptable.

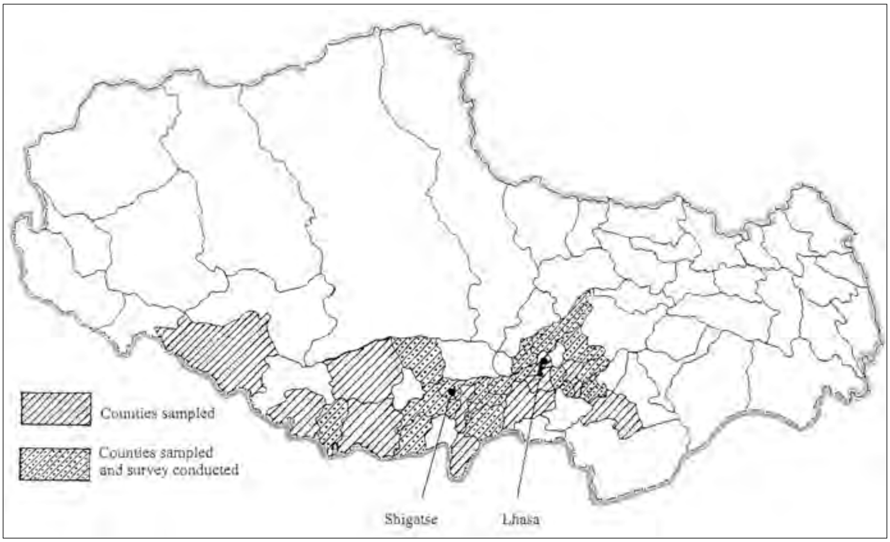

Figure 1.1. The Locations of Sampled Counties in Three Prefectures

Studies of selected issues

There were several key issues that we thought very important in understanding the general social and economic changes in Tibet. These issues were studied in terms of individual interviews or small-circle meetings with some Tibetan residents, scholars, senior monks, university students and local officials in Lhasa and other towns.

During household interviews in Lhasa from August to October 1988, the team selected five specific topics to study. They were: (a) housing in Lhasa, (b) unemployment among Tibetan youth in Lhasa, (c) market prices and inflation in Lhasa, (d) temporary migrants in Lhasa, and (e) the rotation system of Han government employees in the TAR. Some of our findings had an impact on social changes in the TAR. For example, one month after our report on housing in Lhasa was submitted to the United Front Department of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Yan Mingfu, the chief of the United Front Department, visited Lhasa to investigate the housing situation. Our report had described a serious discrepancy in housing between high-rank officers and poor Tibetan residents. As a result of his investigation we learned that in the following year the central government in Beijing allocated 25 million yuan to improve housing in old urban areas of Lhasa.

After the 1988 survey, the team members continued to conduct community and issue studies in different parts of the TAR. The issues studied included: the development and problems of manufacturing in Tibet, the production and management of handicrafts in Tibet, housing in Lhasa and other towns, school education in rural and urban areas in the TAR, the development projects of "Three Rivers Valley", migration into the TAR, etc. The major reports were published in 1996 as *Development Studies of Tibetan Society* (ISA and CTRC, eds.). One recent research project conducted in the TAR was the 2005 survey of temporary migrants in Lhasa City, in which 1,470 temporary migrant laborers in urban Lhasa were interviewed. A sampling procedure was carefully designed to cover major occupation groups of those temporary migrants (Ma Rong and Tanzen Lhundup, 2006). Because the same questionnaire was used in five other western Chinese cities (Urumqi, Hohhot, Yinchuan, Lanzhou, Xining and Gormo), a comparative study was made among these six cities based on the questionnaire interview data of a total of 12,239 individual migrants (Ma Rong and Ma Xuefeng, 2007).

The "Diffusion-Internal Colonialism" Framework

To analyze different aspects of the data and put them together to represent a social structure and its functions, a theoretical framework was necessary to guide our quantitative analyses. Because Tibet has its own history and cultural traditions, and has been relatively isolated from the outside world for a long time, its society and social changes must have unique characteristics. Therefore we should look beyond the common demographic and sociological approaches, such as demographic transition, urbanization, social stratification, modernization, etc, to study Tibet. Because the Chinese central government has been an important factor in Tibet since the 1950s, the relationships and interactions between Tibet and other regions of China have played a key role in the social, economic and cultural changes in Tibet. Our study casts data analysis under such a political background.

In studying the interactions between a core area and peripheral regions in the process of nation-building and national development, Michael Hechter proposed a two-model theory. The first was the "diffusion model' of national development. The second was "internal colonialism." The two models represent two different approaches of the dominating group in the core area towards minority groups in the peripheries. The assumption behind those models is that at the beginning there were only limited political, economic and cultural contacts between the core area and peripheral regions, but that those contacts increased significantly following social development. This situation is very similar to the relationship between Tibet and Han Regions of China.

According to Hechter, the diffusion model process can be divided into three stages.

> The first stage is pre-industrial . . . The core and peripheral regions exist in virtual isolation from one another. Events in the core have but

> slight influence in the periphery. The second stage occurs after the initiation of more intensive contact between the core and peripheral regions . . . the type of social structure founded in the developing core regions will, after some time, diffuse into the periphery . . . initial regional differences become muted following industrialization. At the last stage, the core and peripheral regions will tend to become culturally homogeneous because the economic, cultural and political foundations for separate ethnic identification disappear . . . regional wealth should equilibrate; cultural differences should cease to be socially meaningful; and political processes will occur within a framework of national parties, with luck, in a democratic setting, thereby insuring representation to all significant groups. (Hechter, 1975: 7–8)

The characteristics of the first stage of the "diffusion model" are similar to those of the relations between Tibet and central China before the 1950s. Based on Chinese government reports about development in Tibet, Tibet is going through the second stage and will eventually reach the third stage. Therefore, the diffusion model fits very well, according to the Chinese government's line.

In the "internal colonialism model",

> the core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially . . . The superordinate group, or core, seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system. It attempts to regulate the allocation of social roles such that those roles commonly defined as having high prestige are reserved for its members. Conversely, individuals from the less advanced group are denied access to these roles. This stratification system, which may be termed a cultural division of labor, contributes to the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two groups. Whereas the core is characterized by a diversified industrial structure, the pattern of development in the periphery is dependent, and complementary to that in the core. Peripheral industrialization, if it occurs at all, is highly specialized and geared for export . . . the disadvantaged group will, in time, reactively assert its own culture as equal or superior to that of the relatively advantaged core. This may help it conceive of itself as a separate 'nation' and seek independence. (Hechter, 1976: 9)

It seems to me that the above description of internal colonialism may fit the line taken by the Tibetans in exile and western critics.

This two-model approach provides a useful theoretical framework for this study in guiding data analyses and interpretations. Michael Hechter applied these models to study the relationship between the Celt periphery and British core area from 1536 to 1966. Other scholars have used a similar framework to study relations between majority and minority regions in national developments in Latin America and Europe. All those studies provide insightful information and references for our Tibet case, as well as a comparative study. I have tried to follow this theoretical framework in this book, especially in Chapter 6 for the analysis of economic relations between the TAR and other parts of China.

The Data of This Study

The data and information used in this book come mainly from the following sources:

1. Statistical data released by the government, including national and regional statistical yearbooks, census data, population yearbooks and local statistical reports. These are the only sources of extensive and longitudinal statistical data, and they provide a basis for comparison with the findings of our survey data. Those data have been widely used by the United Nations, the World Bank and other international organizations to analyze and predict the country's future. Like all data sets, of course, these have their limitations in terms of size and content of items and accuracy. As one scholar argues, "Regardless of their accuracy, the official data are the only sources available capable of providing an overview of the macro society and economy, particularly the non-household sectors, i.e. the government and corporate sectors . . . the official data carry considerable importance in policy making, just as inaccurate census, survey and GDP data in the West carry similar importance (Fischer, 2005: 7)."

   Therefore, even when the absolute numbers are not very accurate, the basic trends (increase or decrease, relative references in cross-sectional and longitudinal comparisons) that emerge are probably indicative. Because the statistical data are published annually, the data for successive years have to follow data from previous years. Otherwise the whole system would appear to be inconsistent and would lead to considerable public questioning. It is almost impossible for any artificial adjustment of these statistical data because that would cause a systematical change from the village to national levels. Even if someone wanted to adjust the data because they were worried about the negative impact of national-level statistics, they wouldn't be able to do it because local statistical yearbooks would already have been published. In general, the Chinese census data have been accepted by scholars and international experts because of their importance in indicating the macro structure of the Chinese economy and society.

2. Chinese-language research literature (books, articles, reports, etc.) on Tibet, including articles published in several major journals such as *Tibetan Studies* (Academy of Social Sciences of the TAR), *Tibetology in China* (The China Tibetology Research Center), *Tibet in China,* and *Education in Tibet*. Our review of literature refers also to other publications, such as *Series of Tibetan Studies* and *Translation Series of Foreign Tibetan Studies*. Most of these have not been translated into English. Introducing information provided by Chinese publications allows readers in the West to hear from different sources and to come to their own conclusions.
3. English-language publications on all aspects of Tibet studies, ethnic minorities in China, Chinese history and population in China. I searched libraries at Harvard, Brown, UCLA and Duke for relevant books and journal articles when I was a visiting professor at those universities. This book also cites publications by western human-rights organizations such as *Asia Watch*.
4. The questionnaire data obtained from our 1988 household survey and the 2005 temporary migration survey. The official documents and personal-interview information obtained from field research in 1988 and subsequent years, including local government reports, meeting notes, interview records, unpublished reports of other surveys, etc.

My biggest regret is the language barrier. Because I cannot read Tibetan I could not make use of valuable materials in such sources as government documents, tax records, population records, trade records, etc. of the *Kashag* government before the 1950s. These materials would have been very useful in helping us understand Tibet's past and present economic structure. Some members of our team were young Tibetan scholars, but I could not ask them to translate such a huge number of original documents. I hope that, with the help of Tibetan colleagues, some of these materials will be available in the future.

The Structure of the Book

The book consists of 10 chapters.

Chapter 1 is an introduction. This chapter outlines the focus of this study, discusses the major issues in sociological studies pertaining to Tibetan society, introduces the 1988 survey as a major source of our analysis, discusses the theoretical framework of the diffusion-internal colonialism approach and introduces the main data sources for this study.

Chapter 2 defines the geographic scale of "Tibet," discusses the population of Tibetans in China and their distribution patterns, and analyzes the changes in Tibetan population in the past five decades based on the census data.

Because the Han population in Tibet has been a very sensitive issue and there is so much in print about Han in-migrant flows, Chapter 3 focuses on the Han population in the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas of China. It begins with a historical review and ends with a description of the situation today.

Chapter 4 analyzes the changes in fertility, mortality, migration and urbanization in the TAR based on the census data and official statistical records. These four are the principal fields in demographic studies. A structural comparison between the Tibetan and the Han populations is also presented.

The focus of Chapter 5 is migration. There is a review of international and cross-provincial migration, albeit brief owing to the paucity of documentation. Based on the data collected in our 1988 survey, the major part of this chapter discusses several key issues in migration studies, such as the origin-destination comparison, reasons for migration, occupational changes before and after migration, information channels and a comparison between natives and migrants. Periods of travel are also discussed to examine people's geographic mobility. From the analysis that emerges, a general pattern of migration in the TAR becomes clear.

Chapter 6 discusses the economic patterns in Tibet before and after the 1959 land reform. The statistical data on production, finance, transportation and consumption are used to identify the basic characteristics of Tibet's economy. The theoretical framework of core-periphery relations in the diffusion-internal colonialism framework in western literature is referred to in the analysis.

After a brief discussion of the basic characteristics of urbanization in Tibet, Chapter 7 compares the rural-urban differentials in income, consumption and housing in the TAR in more detail, based on our 1988 survey data.

Chapter 8 focuses on marriage patterns and spouse selection in Tibet. Combining information from previous research literature, the statistical data, and the information from our 1988 survey, this chapter discusses several important issues in marriage studies: marriage types, polyandry, decision-making in spousal selection, geographic distance between spouses before marriage, Han-Tibetan intermarriage and divorce.

Chapter 9 begins with a historical look at traditional education in Tibetan monasteries, discusses the development of modern school education and considers several issues such as bilingual teaching and school segregation in Tibet.

The focus of the final chapter is the residential patterns in Lhasa. Chapter 10 reviews the conditions for daily communication among Lhasa residents, discusses the differences between the native Tibetan neighborhoods in the old urban areas and the unit household areas in the new construction zones, in which these particular migrants make up a majority of the residents. An "index of dissimilarity" is calculated to examine the degree of Han-Tibetan residential segregation in this city and the factors related to this residential pattern.

The book is designed to provide readers with data analysis based on the author's own questionnaire survey and systematical analyses of statistical data. These numbers and percentages might help us to understand the social, economic and demographic situation in Tibet, to learn about Tibet from its past to its present and to obtain a whole picture of Tibet from the macro to the micro-level. It is difficult to evaluate from what people have heard and read the degree to which the information is biased. Tibet has never been heaven or hell. Although some questions remain unanswered we hope that these issues will be addressed in future studies.

Our 1988 survey and relevant research are just the beginning of a series of studies on ethnic relations in contemporary China. Other studies have been carried out in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan. These studies point to many unintended consequences of social policies, some unique to socialist societies and others universal, and also reveal some aspects of society that are difficult to change even with the most enlightened policies. Based on the 1988 survey and study of relevant literature, I published a book in Chinese titled *Population and Society in Tibet* (1996a) that many colleagues encouraged me to translate into English. That book has been widely cited in China as well as in the West. This book is based on the Chinese version, with updated statistics, census data, survey analyses and discussion of writings.

Even today, the 1988 survey has significant meaning in the study of Tibet, not only because it was the first large-scale sociological sampling survey ever undertaken in the TAR. The year, 1988, was also very significant in understanding the dynamics of system reform in China. The reform, which started with decollectivization in rural areas in the early 1980s, which freed farmers and revived rural markets, was followed by rural-urban migration and the appearance of private business in cities and towns. Within several years, the social system had experienced fundamental changes and caused new social problems and conflicts, which were the main reasons for the 1987 Lhasa demonstration and 1989 Beijing student demonstration. Therefore, the information obtained from the 1988 survey provided a record of socioeconomic changes in Tibet for that historical moment and a reference to longitudinal studies of Tibetan society.

I studied sociology at Brown University from 1982 to 1987 and received my doctoral degree under the guidance of Professor Sidney Goldstein, a well-known demographer in the fields of migration and urbanization. The topic of my dissertation was "Migrant and Ethnic Integration in Rural Chifeng, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China." To collect data for the dissertation I conducted a household sampling survey in the summer of 1985, covering 2,100 rural households. I carried out a second household-interview survey in 1987 also in the Chifeng area, but this time interviewed town residents, and covering 1,314 households. The 1988 Tibet survey was my third household questionnaire survey. It was also my most difficult because I could not conduct the rural interviews by myself owing to language barriers. However, the survey was successfully completed and the results form the core of this book. The 2005 Lhasa temporary migration survey and other research we conducted in the TAR in 2008 after the March 14 Lhasa riots were also very successful. Whatever the limits of the survey conception and data, this book, at the very least, is an attempt to achieve large-scale sampling survey data in Tibet and it is presented in the hope of generating discussion and creating a basis for future studies.

Notes

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. There were no solid bridges in Tibet before the 1950s; people crossed rivers using rope bridges or animal-skin rafts. The 13th Dalai Lama imported two cars from India in 1928 for his personal use in urban Lhasa. The British agency in Gyantse imported three trucks in 1930. Because of poor road conditions the trucks were used only two or three times, between Gyantse and Pagri. Around 1931, there was a small mint and a gun factory in Lhasa with about 120 employees. A small hydroelectric station was closed soon after it began operating in the early 1930s (Tanzen and Zhang Xiangming, 1991b: 87–88, 136).
2. The administrative structure in China is: central government (Beijing), province or autonomous region, prefecture (in the TAR that also means the Lhasa Urban District), county, *xiang* (town) and administrative village (which could include one or several natural villages depending on population).
3. The English version of this article was published in *JIATS* in 2008. (*JIATS*, No. 4, December 2008), THL #T5561, 42 pp. (http://www.jiats.org/ or http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/)
4. Professor Fei Xiaotong (Fei Tsiao-tung, 1910–2005) was an internationally acclaimed sociologist and anthropologist. He received his Ph.D under the guidance of Professor Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics in 1938. His doctoral dissertation, *Peasant Life in China*, was published by Routledge Press in 1939 with a preface written by Malinowski. He returned to China in 1938 during the war against the Japanese and until the 1950s taught at Yunnan University, Qinghua University and the Central College of Minority Nationalities. He was criticized as one of the six "famous rightists" in 1957 and suffered a great deal during the Cultural Revolution. He became active again in the late 1970s when Deng Xiaoping came to power. He served in many important positions, such as Chairman of the Democratic League (a non-communist political party), Vice-Chairman of the National Council of Political Consultation and Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress (China's Parliament). He established the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology (ISA) at Peking University in 1985, serving as its first Director. He remained an academic supervisor and its Honorary Director of ISA until he passed away in 2005.

5. Lhasa City is an administrative unit at the prefectural level with eight counties to administer, including the Lhasa Urban District, which is the equivalent of a county-level administrative unit. The seven prefectures in the TAR are: Lhasa, Shigatse, Lhoka, Chamdo, Nying Chi, Naqchu and Ngari.
6. In 1987 the administration of rural areas was in transition ("abolishing districts and establishing *xiang*"); preparation work for the transition provided the most recent and reliable data for those newly established *xiang*.
7. Residential registration files in rural China record residential location (e.g. from the east end to the west in each row of houses in a rural village or an urban street) or former productive teams (the households of one team usually live next to each other). From previous research experience in Inner Mongolia, we found that the ideal method of selecting samples was by equidistance (Ma, 1987). The sampling procedures were designed and conducted by Professor Hao Hongsheng of the People's University of China. He received his MA degree at the University of Michigan and was a student of Professor Leslie Kish, a leading American sampling expert.
8. Because these unit households were organized based on "work units" (*danwei*) (Li and Wang, 1996), the number of residents within each unit household may range from fewer than 10 to several thousands depending on the nature and size of the work unit. The largest units in Lhasa were transportation companies that had more than 4,000 employees, mainly truck drivers. The Han residents registered in unit households were mainly the government-arranged temporary migrants who worked in the TAR for a service term only (usually three years, sometime eight years in recent arrangements).

Chapter 2 The Geographic Distribution and Changes in the Tibetan Population of China

1. When the Dalai Lama negotiated with the central government of China in 1982, one important request was that any solution must include that the Tibetan-inhabited areas in Qinghai, Sichuan and Yunnan be unified into one "Great Tibet." The speech the Dalai Lama made at the European Parliament in 1988 stated that Tibet and the Tibetan-inhabited areas in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan should become an autonomous, democratic political body (Goldstein, 1997).
2. In marginal areas where Tibetans and other ethnic groups lived together, the identity of some local tribes is still being debated. For example, a group in Jiarong (Sichuan) was recognized by the government as "White Horse Tibetans," although they prefer to become an independent ethnic group or join the Qiang group. There were 734,438 residents in China who remained "unrecognized people" in the 2000 census.
3. "In 1800 the number of Putia (Tibetans who lived in Tibet and other countries) probably did not exceed 6 million, and the population under direct management of the Lhasa government was certainly much lower than 4 million (Fletcher, 1978:96)."
4. Hugh Richardson estimated a Tibetan population of about 300,000 during this period (Richardson, 1962:4).
5. The average annual growth rate was 1.9 percent for the total population of the TAR according to the registration numbers in 1964 and 1982.
6. When a couple has their first child and decides to have no more, they can register with their work unit for a "one child certificate." This status will provide some benefits to the

couple, including a monthly subsidy, reimbursement for some healthcare expenses for the child, priority for school enrollment for the child, priorities in housing assignments, even job promotions and vacations for the couple, etc. These benefits vary by cities and work units.

Chapter 3 The Han Population in the Tibetan-inhabited Area

1. This is cited from the speech of the Dalai Lama to the United States Congress in 1988.
2. The Han population discussed in this book excludes military forces because no data are available. Estimates of the military force in Tibet vary from between 14,000 and 750,000 (Grunfeld, 1996: 252).
3. *Asia Watch* also pointed out that the boundaries claimed by Tibetans in exile are problematic, "their Amdo Province includes the whole Qinghai Province . . . where in some areas Chinese have lived for several centuries (*Asia Watch*, 1988a: 42)."
4. In his book *Tibet and the Tibetans*, Shen Zong-lien described the Han shops in Lhasa and presented his photos with Han merchants (Shen Tsung-lien and Liu Shengqi, 2006: 209).
5. The Agricultural Office in Lhasa administered all people who otherwise did not have lords (e.g., runaway serfs). They might be farmers or in other activities.
6. Since the census data for age groups and occupations were provided only for provinces and autonomous regions, the comparisons of age and occupations between Han and Tibetans in other Tibetan-inhabited areas by prefecture or county are not available.
7. From the 1950s to 1970s, they worked in the TAR for indeterminate periods of time. In the 1980s people were sent to TAR to work for three-to-five-year periods.

Chapter 4 Analysis of the Population Structure in the Tibetan Autonomous Region

1. For example, if a large transportation team with hundreds of trucks was managed by the transportation bureau and then transferred to a construction company, all workers (truck drivers) would change their industrial category from transportation to construction.
2. Permanent residents in Lhasa are registered in two categories: individual resident household and collective unit household. The registration of these two categories of residents was under two separate secretaries at a local public security station. During our survey in 1988, we found that because the secretary in charge of registration of individual residents went on vacation, several thousands residents were not included in that station's statistical report for that year. Therefore, these residents were overlooked in population statistics from the local to the TAR and national levels.
3. In general, the birth quota (citizens must obtain a certificate before the birth of their child) is issued by the mother's work unit or residential committee, not the father's. The quota system is an important measure of China's family-planning program.
4. One important point needs our attention. In Chinese official statistics of urban population, some villages (rural population) within city-administration boundaries were included as part of the urban population. This standard has misled people's assessment of China's urbanization levels for a long time, especially with the "city managing counties system," which changed the population of these counties overnight from rural to urban when the administrative order went into effect. In order to overcome this confusion, the 1990

and 2000 censuses had two standards in measuring urban population; (a) counting all population (including rural) within urban administration (county towns, cities); (b) only counting the urban population under urban residential committees living in urban areas. The second standard represents real urban residents. The data cited above for 1990 and 2000 censuses are calculated by the second standard.

5. For example, there were 3.0–3.5 million temporary migrants in Beijing, which had about 12.8 million permanent residents in urban areas in 2005.
6. In a survey conducted in the late 1990s, it was found that the arable land per capita was fell by 19.9 percent from 1981 to 1996 in rural TAR mainly because of high fertility and limited land resources (Goldstein et al., 2006: 206).
7. According to government transportation records, 848,790 tons of grain were delivered to the TAR from 1982 to 1992. If the TAR's population during that period is estimated at 2 million, 53 kg grain per capita were imported into the TAR annually, while 78 percent of the total labor force of the TAR was engaged in agriculture in 1992. The statistical yearbook of the TAR has not released the transportation records of imports and exports or by items in recent years.
8. My personal experience indicates that free health care is provided in town hospitals. I was ill and visited a hospital in Gyantse in 1988. The doctor asked whether I was a resident of the TAR and charged me a fee because I wasn't. A receipt wasn't issued; the hospital had no need for them because local patients do not pay for health care service and few outsiders like me visit hospitals in small towns.

Chapter 5 Migration in the Tibetan Autonomous Region

1. http://www/xizang-zhiye.com/gh/ex/lwzhengfu/tcv.html.
2. The structure of China's administration system is as follows: the central government, provincial (municipality, autonomous region) government, prefectural (special cities at prefectural level) government, county (banner) government, *xiang* (town) government. Under the management of *xiang* governments, there are "administrative villages" (the formal brigades) and "villagers' groups" (the formal productive teams). "Natural village" refers to a residential gathering with an obvious distance from other villages that might have several thousand residents or only several households. "Administrative village" is an official unit and may only cover one big natural village in high-density plains, or several natural villages in low-density mountain areas.
3. It does not mean that in-migration really fell in the 1980s. The new in-migrants, both Han and Tibetans, went to live in unit households under the new system, and did not move into the crowded old urban areas with their poor infrastructure and services.
4. The 2000 census does not provide data showing the rural-urban occupational breakdown.
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 variable's value increases, so too does the value of the other value. A negative coefficient means the opposite. The larger the coefficient, 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.

Chapter 6 Economic Patterns and Transitions in the Tibetan Autonomous Region

1. According to the 2000 census, the total population of ethnic Tibetans in the PRC was 5.42 million. Of these, 2.99 million (55.3 percent) lived outside the TAR (PCOSC, 2002a: 20).
2. Mostly were from wool and leather. Cotton clothing were largely imports.
3. "Nearly half of Tibet's trade with India was carried on Siliguri-Kalimpong road (through Yatung) (Karan, 1976: 43)."
4. The value of the rupee increased in 1900: 1 (British India) Rupee = 0.196 US gold dollar in 1897, (versus 0.207 in both 1898 and 1899) and 0.324 US gold dollar in 1900 (also in 1903*) (The World Almanac and Encyclopedia 1898* and volumes of the following years). The increasing value of the rupee shows a more significant growth of Tibet-India trade during the period.
5. "Khe" is a very special unit to measure both the weight and the area of cultivated land in Tibet. One Khe is equal to 14 kg in weight, or a piece of cultivated land on that 14 kg barley or wheat may sow. Because land quality varies, the area of "Khe" in land measuring is also varying. It is roughly equal to one mu (Tanzen and Zhang Xiangmin, 1991a: 85).
6. Mahayana Buddhism is different from Tibetan Lamaism (Karan, 1976: 65–67).
7. There were several hundred Hui in Lhasa before 1952, living in a neighborhood (He-Ba-Lin) near the Jokhang. A study reported that about 1,000 Hui went into exile in 1959 (Fang Jianchang, 1988: 109–112).
8. There were also some Han artisans and gardeners (planting vegetables) in Tibet (Bell, 1928: 31), but no data on their numbers.
9. It was estimated that the total number of Tibetan refugees who went into exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan in 1959 was 50,000 to 55,000, including 5,000 to 6,000 monks (Grunfeld, 1987: 187). Another estimate suggested a total of 91,000 Tibetans in exile in 1959, 74,000 from the TAR (Zhang Tianlu, 1989: 10).
10. According to the definition in the SBC: "net income" of rural residents = total annual income — productive expense — taxes — depreciation of fixed productive assets — contract contribution — survey subsidy (SBC, 1989: 759).

Chapter 7 Income and Consumption of Rural and Urban Residents in the Tibetan Autonomous Region

1. The Lhasa Urban District is an administrative unit at the county level. It included some 11 *xiang* in its suburbs in 1982, which, by 1988, were consolidated into four. The *xiang* include villages where peasants are registered as agricultural residents. The same situation exists in Shigatse City and other towns in the TAR, as well as some other parts of China.
2. From 1965 to 1990, the total percentage of the non-agricultural population increased from 16.5 percent to 19.4 percent in China as a whole, while it increased from 9.7 percent to 13.7 percent in the TAR (SBC, 1991: 82; SBT, 1991: 125). Since these numbers caused a lot of confusion among western scholars, the 1990 census applied two criteria to measure China's urban population. The first criterion followed the administrative boundaries; the second criterion only tallied the residents registered in urban residential committees.
3. I interviewed a nun who had resumed secular life in her sixties. Her room was looked wretched and she really did not have any stable income, living on occasional donations. Her eyes filled with tears when we asked about her income. On another day, during our interviews a Tibetan who owned a large truck and tractor repair shop told me that he earned 35,000 yuan in the previous year. They represented extremes of poor and rich in Lhasa.

4. The impact of the new system in pastoral areas in western Tibet is best described in Goldstein and Beall (1990: 161–162).
5. Private transportation businesses numbered 1,928 in rural areas in the TAR in 1988 with capital of 18.1 million yuan. The total value of their businesses was 31.2 million yuan (Zhuang Yongfu, 1990: 14).
6. These two standards were calculated based on total power and total tractor numbers in the TAR in the same year.
7. In Han regions, when the husband dies and leaves a son above the age of 18, it is common that the son is registered as the household head, not the mother.

Chapter 8 Tibetan Spouse Selection and Marriage

1. For studies of polyandry, there is other literature focusing on local communities in the Himalayan regions outside Tibet that provided helpful insights into understanding Tibetan marriages (Prince Peter, 1963; Parmar, 1975).
2. *Shika* (estate or manor) was the basic economic and administrative organization in Tibet before 1959. There were three kinds of *shika*: those maintained by an aristocratic family, by a monastery and under the direct management of the *Kashag* government. For example, in Dongkar *dzong* in 1956, 72 *shika* could be classified, with 82 percent belonging to monasteries, 12 percent to aristocratic families and six percent to the government. (TSHSSEG, 1987a: 3).
3. "Sororal polygyny (it is a marriage type) in which a man marries two or more sisters (Goode, 1982: 94)."
4. The socio-economic hypothesis was supported by Tibetans who practiced polyandry. For example, Tashi Tsering, in describing his two fathers and the family, said, "We saw this custom as an effective way to conserve resources and enhance the material well-being of the family. Polyandry . . . prevents fragmentation of the family's land across generations (Goldstein, et. al., 1999: 7)."
5. Other studies believed that marriages rules in Tibetans "prohibit descendants of paternal sides forever, and allow descendants of maternal sides to marry after seven generations (Lu Liandi, 1986: 194)."
6. For Tuoji *shika* (in Lazi County), "*Tre-ba* marriages were mainly decided by their parents . . . while there was much looser parental control about spouse-selection among the *Du-jung* (TSHSSEG, 1989c: 112)." For Niu *shika* (Shigatse), "the marriages of aristocrats or rich *Tre-ba* were basically arranged by their parents, the young people of poor *Tre-ba* and *Du-jung* families had more freedom in their marriages (TSHSSEG, 1991: 397)." For the Lhoma Rangshog Tribe (Nagchu *dzong*), "Parents usually had a strong voice in selecting spouse for their children, but there were relatively more marriages based on the decision of young people themselves among the poor (TSHSSEG, 1989a: 49)."
7. "*Qian-dou* (*phyi-thab* in Latin)" is a kind of serf who has left his "lord" and lived in other places. Their status is similar to that of the "*Du-jung*." They usually had some skills but no lands assigned from their lords ("*Tre-gang*" or "*Man-gang*"). They had to pay "tax" to their lords and rent to the house owners, but did not have to provide free work to their lords.
8. For example, there might be four methods for spouse-selection: parents make the decision, self-selection but must have parental approval, self-selection and joint decision by parents and their children (Herter, 1981: 147).

9. Other channels include: (a) job transfer of government employees, (b) family reunion (for separated couples to move and live together or old parents who move and live with adult children), (c) job distribution of college graduates and demobilized military officials, and (d) government resettlement projects (students sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, demobilized soldiers in military corps, migration projects for farmers who suffered from natural disasters).
10. If there were more than one couple in the household and one of them intermarried, this household was classified as a "united household." Therefore, our assumption is a rough estimate. According to the 1990 census reports, 72 percent of the united households (1,900 households) had from two to four persons, and another 11.7 percent (309 households) had five persons. A united household with more than five people in it comprised 16.3 percent of the total (COT, 1992a: 180). We may assume that households of two to five individuals were "one-couple households" since three or more children per couple was very common in the TAR. Therefore, "one couple per one household" is the situation in most cases.
11. For detailed information about property distribution, who kept the children, and the methods for deciding who was responsible for children's expenses, please refer to *Survey Reports of Social and Historical Studies in Tibet* Volumes 3 and 5 (TSHSSEG, 1989a: 50, 228; 1989c: 115, 324).
12. "Lay officials were normally recruited from the estate-holding, hereditary, lay aristocracy, which consisted of 150 to 200 families. These were differentiated internally into a small group of about 30 higher-status families, known as *Depon Mitra*, and about 120 to 170 lower or 'common' aristocracy families (Goldstein, 1989: 6)." Other studies classified Tibetan nobles into three groups: six *Yab-gzhis* families (families of the Dalai Lamas), five senior noble families (*Depon*) and about 200 common noble families (those who own land, *Geba*) (Petech, 1973: 18). Another study classified the hierarchy of the Tibetan aristocracy as four groups: six *Yab-gzhis* families, five *sDe-dpon* families, about 30 *Mi-drag* families and around 200 ordinary aristocrat families (Tsering Yangdzom, 2006: 26–27).

Chapter 9 Educational Development in the Tibet Autonomous Region

1. *Si-shu* are traditional private schools designed to give students a very rudimentary education. They usually have only one teacher and the number of the students can range from several to more than 40. Historically, the teaching content has been reading, writing and the study of Confucian classics.
2. The list included a total of 23 Tibetan students who had studied in western-style schools and also their names, ages, places where they studied, what they studied and positions at the time. Among these students, four went to England, six to India, 10 to Darjeeling or English school in Gyantse, and three visited England or India for a short time (Wu Zhongxin, 1953: 92–94).
3. "The British Indian government established two English schools for Tibetan aristocratic youth in Gyantse and Yatung in the 1920s. They were closed within three years. Another new English school was established in 1945 but closed in three months (Li Yankai, 1989: 351)."
4. "According to the monastery's regulations, monks would not pay tuition to learn Buddhist scriptures and would be provided food, clothing and a place to sleep. These expenses were covered by the monastery's income as well as the subsidies from the local government."

This book described the major monasteries for *Geshe* training and their curriculum (Yang Shengying, 1989: 149–150; Li Yankai, 1989: 353–355; Zhu Jielin, 1989: 395–413).

5. There are several estimates of the number of students in the First Primary School of Lhasa. One estimate is that "it reached about 200 at the most (Editorial Group of Education in Tibet, 1989: 130)." Others suggested that "the year 1946 was the peak for this school . . . with about 300 students, there were four generations (or about 200) of graduates who completed the six year program (Tanzen and Zhang Xiangming, 1991b: 301)." Another article said that from 1938 to July of 1949, "only three generations graduated from this school with a total of eight graduates (Yu Yonggui, 1994: 134)." Another report noted that "this school only recruited students with Han blood (Tibet Research Group of Education Study Project of Ethnic Minorities, 1989: 27)." This is different from other studies, since most of them claimed the presence of some Hui and Tibetan students although their numbers were relatively small. Besides, "the Muslim mosque established a Hui Muslim primary school in Lhasa in 1910 . . . The courses included the Arabic Koran, Urdu, Tibetan, and Chinese. It had about 110 students. When the First Primary School was established in 1938, all students from this Muslim school transferred to the new school (Tanzen and Zhang Xiangming, 1991b: 302)."
6. There were about 60 *Geshe* degrees of various kinds offered each year and more than 1,000 monks could apply to take the exams (Sun Ruoqiong, 1990: 44). For more details about monastic education, see "On Monastic Education in Tibet (Zhang Husheng, 1990)."
7. According to estimates by Wu Zhongxin, the annual number of students who graduated from *Si-shu* but did not go on to the *Tsigang* school was 30 to 40. These were "intellectuals" with some education but who remained outside government employment. They usually worked for large estate owners (Wu Zhongxin, 1953: 92).
8. Melvyn Goldstein suggested four levels for the three major monasteries: *tratsang*, *khamtsen*, *mitsen* and *shagtsang* (1989: 30).
9. The "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" was signed by the representatives of the Dalai Lama's government and the central government on May 23, 1951 (English text refers Karan, 1976: 89–91). Before the agreement was signed, the Chamdo Primary School was established in March, 1951. In 1952 there were 12 primary schools in the Chamdo region under the government's management with a total of 600 students (Dorji Tseden, 1991: 71).
10. "Led by Jungnay of Drepung monastery's Gyeba college and by the abbot of Sera Che college, a meeting regarding the school was held in each monastic college. These discussions produced an agreement that if the (*Kashag*) government was unwilling to close the school on its own, the *dobdo* monks of the three major monasteries would be sent en masse to close the school by force (Goldstein, 1989a: 424)." From this description, we can see how seriously the monasteries reacted to the modern schools.
11. There are different opinions about the consequences of this policy. One author reported that "this reduction meant that some children could not attend school any more and had to leave . . . A huge price was paid, and these schools in the TAR have not recovered since then (Yu Yonggui, et al, 1994: 142–143)."
12. Those expenses can be divided into three parts. The first was related to the construction of dormitories and classroom buildings and this part was provided by the central government (e.g. 9.5 million yuan and 19.5 million yuan in 1985 and 1986 respectively). The second

part pertained to grants for running the classes (50,000 yuan for 1 class annually) and supporting the students (120 yuan for stationery, 100 yuan for clothing, 36 yuan for health care, 50 yuan vocation fee, 30 yuan for heating per capita annually plus 36 yuan per capita as a monthly subsidy in 1985). This part was provided by the TAR government. The third part was the grant provided by host provinces to meet the construction budget shortage (it varied by province from 0.15 million yuan in Hunan to 1.2 million yuan in Shaanxi in 1985) and to subsidize the daily needs of students (that varied from 150,000 yuan in Zhejiang to 650,000 yuan in Tianjin in 1985). The standards of the above items were raised in the following years according to inflation and the financial situation of the government. The government provided a total of 66.75 million yuan to support inland "Tibetan Classes" from 1985 to 1989 (39.95 million by the central government and 26.8 million by provincial governments (Editorial Committee of TAR Chronicles, 2005: 362–364).

13. There were 9,933 Tibetan students in middle schools under this "three guarantees" program in 1992 (Editorial Group of *Educational Yearbook of China*, 1993: 654). In 1981 the TAR government decided that all ethnic minority students in high schools would receive a stipend. In 1982 the government decided that for middle and primary schools all minority students who lived in the school dormitories would received a stipend while only 80 percent of the minority students who lived at home would receive a stipend (Tanzen and Zhang Xiangming, 1991b: 319). In 1995 the TAR government detailed the "target groups" eligible for the "three guarantees" program: all students in boarding schools in pastoral areas, students whose parents both were farmers or herdsmen. If one of the parents was a farmer or herdsman, 50 percent of the grant was issued. The "assistant grant" was offered to: students who were not in boarding primary schools but lived in border areas, students who were from poor farmer/herdsman families and not in boarding middle school, students who had at least one parent who was not a government cadre/employee in urban areas (Zhou Wei, 2003: 258). The detailed implementation standards of the "three guarantees" program and school tuitions in the TAR were introduced by the *TAR Chronicles* (Editorial Committee of the TAR Chronicles, 2005: 315–318; 310–312).
14. "Literacy" in the TAR was measured by ethnic groups. For Tibetans, the standard is "can read and write general Tibetan words, can read Tibetan newspapers and documents, can write letters and short papers, and can manage simple accounting." For Han, the standard is "can recognize and write over 1,500 Chinese Putonghua words, can read newspapers and papers, can write letters and short papers in Chinese Putonghua, and can manage simple accounting (Editorial Committee of the TAR Chronicles, 2005: 536)."
15. In middle schools, "after learning Chinese for only three years (in primary school), they had to compete against (Han) children who were using their native tongue (Bass, 1990: 80)."
16. The codes of variables in Table 9.15 are:
    "Educational achievement": illiterate (1), primary school (2), junior middle school (3), high school (4), professional high school (5), college and above (6).
    "Gender": male (1), female (2).
    "Place of birth": within county (1), in other county within prefecture (2), in other prefecture within the TAR (3), other province (4).
    "Registration": non-agricultural (1), agricultural (2), pastoral (3).
    "Religion": Gelugpa sect (1), Nyingmapa sect (2), Kargyu sect (3), Sakya sect (4), Bon (5), Islam (6), other religions (7), no religion (8).

Chapter 10 Residential Patterns and Social Contacts between Han and Tibetan Residents in Urban Lhasa

1. This number does not include military personnel.
2. In the Chinese urban system (city-town-rural), *xiang* is classified as "rural" although the population size and extent of residential concentration of some sites where the *xiang* government is located are actually quite large, especially in coastal areas (Ma Rong, 1990).
3. For example, the ratio of Group A and Group B in a city is 20: 80, and their distribution is uneven among city districts. If the calculated Index of Dissimilarity (ID) is 32, that means 32 percent of Group A or Group B will need to move from their current district into other districts where the size of their group is too small.
4. If the counting unit is too small to use a household as the unit in an extreme case, the result would be complete segregation. If the counting unit is too large, using the city as the unit in an extreme case, the result would be complete integration.
5. The calculation formula of ID in this study is:

   $$ID = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^{n} | t_i / T - h_i / H |.$$

   Here t_i and h_i are the number of Tibetans and Han in #1 unit household; T and H are the total Tibetans and Han within the relative district office.
6. According to the 1990 Census, Drepung Monastery had 775 monks (765 were Tibetans and 10 were Hui); all the monks in the other major monasteries in Lhasa were Tibetans (609 in Sera, 107 in Gandan, 106 in Qusang and 93 in the *Jokhang*).
7. For example, 60 employees of the Barkor Primary school were Tibetans, 125 out of 126 employees of the Jebum Gang Primary school were Tibetans and one was Hui; among 25 cadres of the Barkor District Office 24 were Tibetans and one was Hui; among 31 policemen of the Jebum Gang Public Security Station, 30 were Tibetans and one was Han.
8. In 1959 there were only two middle schools in Tibet; in 1965 the number of middle schools increased to four and in 1979 to 55 (Lhapa Phuntso, 1984: 518–522).
9. Using incomplete registration records, there were 52,800 temporary migrants in Tibet from other provinces from June to August 1985. Among them 51 percent were from Sichuan, four percent (1850) from Jiangsu and three percent (1670) from Fujian (Liu Rui, 1988: 153). Our 2005 Lhasa survey found that among the temporary migrants, 30.3 percent were from Sichuan, 24.3 percent from Gansu and 13.8 percent from other areas within the TAR.
10. In the 1980s these stores were rented to and registered in the names of relatives who had permanent jobs in work units in Lhasa so the government could be sure to find them for tax-collection purposes and to maintain the condition of these properties.
11. A small group of Hui businessmen are from Gansu Province. They usually live with relatives or friends in the Hui neighborhood in the Wabalin Resident Committee under the Kyire District Office.
12. The work of repairing and rebuilding Tibetan-style houses in the old urban district is done by local Tibetan construction teams that are collective enterprises and usually managed by local authorities.

13. These schools are under the guidance of the City Education Bureau when it comes to their curricula and examinations, but they manage their own employment, finance and operations.
14. The three famous monasteries (Drepung, Sera, and Ganden) are in the suburbs, about 5.5, 3 and 20 miles away from the city respectively (Goldstein, 1989a: 24).
15. This is a traditional use of empty monasteries, as with Tengyeling Monastery, which was destroyed by Tibetan government forces after it sided with the central government in 1912. The remains of its buildings were used as a post office in the 1930s (Chapman, 1940: 151).
16. In 1951 the "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" was signed by delegates from both the central government and the *Kashag* government of Tibet (For the English version of this Agreement, cf. Karan, 1976: 89–91).

Index