

Economic Coexistence and Cultural Separation
--A Case Study of Changdu's Urbanization in Tibet, China

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Abstract: During the process of urbanization in China, eastern and coastal areas have developed their urbanization models with the development of township enterprises, and the common development in rural and urban areas. In the border areas of the central-eastern China where the majority is Han Chinese and the western minority areas, Changdu has developed a different urbanization model from that of the east, which is based on the external forces, including governmental investment in the construction of infrastructure, the supply of the materials from other places, and the cultural and economic contribution of the immigrants from the inland. The dynamic mechanism of urbanization and the diversity of ethnic groups in labor market have determined that the inland immigrants and local Tibetan can only be attached to the economic chain, forming an economic community. Under the surface of economic coexistence is cultural separation, as well as the weak integration of different ethnic groups. In the future, it's necessary to improve the knowledge and skills of local Tibetans, stimulate their willingness to initiate entrepreneurship and to integrate into urban life, enhance their self-confidence through the acceptance of Han culture and modern concepts, and interact with different ethnic groups with a positive attitude, so that we can achieve the goal of urbanization of people as the main subject and integration of different ethnic groups in the city.

Keywords: urbanization, border areas, economic coexistence, cultural separation

Introduction

Urbanization is also called population urbanization, which refers to the transformation from agricultural population (a single or a group) to non-agricultural population and the assembling process of population in city (Chen,Shi,1990). It is also a kind of social change that the urban communities take the place of rural communities (Li,2005). Although the original city appeared in the Paleo-neolithic

community (Mumford, 1989), the growth of the population, surplus of agricultural products, demand for defense, religion and trade all are the motivating factors in the development of the early urban cluster. The actual urbanization came into being after the Great Britain's Industrial Revolution in the 18th century. Different developing models of urbanization have taken shape in Britain, America and other western countries, and the study of urbanization has made great progress in the last 200 years.

The city is the important composition of human civilization history, which has been running several thousand years in China. Many Chinese scholars study the market system, society structure and the urban development history of the ancient Chinese cities and towns. However, the actual urbanization has begun in China since the founding of New China, if it's studied from the aspect of the western urbanization theory in which the mark of urbanization is that the urban dwellers account for 10% of the total population (Gao, 1991). The Chinese urbanization stepped into a period of fast development in 1980s with the appearance of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei city circle, the Yangtze River Delta city circle and the Pearl River Delta city circle, and it has formed different urbanization models such as the South Jiangsu Model and the Pearl River Model.

Due to the special natural and geographic conditions, plural ethnic culture and history course, the ethnic minority areas in western China have shaped a urbanized path different from that of the coastal areas in eastern China (Zhou, Guo, 1996). Especially in those border areas of the central-eastern China where the majority is Chinese Han and the western minority areas, the mutual trade prospered and the interactions between different ethnics were frequent for the tribute relations with the Central Dynasty in the past. After the founding of New China, the national policy support and the development of tertiary industry have attracted more immigrants. Therefore, the urbanization in these areas has its unique features. What's the urban development dynamics mechanism of those border areas? What are the main characteristics of their urbanization? What kind of relationship between the locals and immigrants has been formed in the process of urbanization? What are the impacts of different ethnic culture on the urban development? Those questions all have become

research subjects that are worthy of further discussion.

Literature Review

A Spanish engineer named A. Serda was the first one who put forward the concept of urbanization in 1867, which marked a new beginning of the urbanization research. Different scholars from different disciplines have different understanding and definition of urbanization, but its basic meaning refers to the process of population gathering in the urban district, which was created by the industrial revolution, and the changes that happened in the district and society (Yu,Ning,1983). The urbanization in the western countries can be composed of three parts: industrialization and urbanization from the mid-18th century to 1950, the de-urbanization from 1950 to 1990 and re-urbanization in 1990s (Zhou,2013).

“Pulling and pushing force of population”, “industry aggregation effect”, “agricultural surplus”, and “industrial motivation” are the motive forces in the urbanization of European and American cities (Zhang,2011). Though the development of industry is regarded as the main driver for the western urbanization, it has different impacts on the development of the city in different phases. Riefler pointed out that in the antebellum period intraregional exchange was an important determinant of the urbanization process so that the antebellum period could be called the age of commercial urbanization. From 1870 to 1900, manufacturing growth comes to the fore as a prime determinant of urbanization patterns (Riefler, 1979).

Different countries have developed their own urbanization models, and the coverage and number of cities had been increasing since Great Britain’s Industrial Revolution. During that period, those big cities annexed those small ones, forming an urban belt. Simultaneously, the British government paid attention to the promotion of urban civilization and formed a market-dominating model under the macro control of the government. America has embarked on an urbanization road that the core cities

complemented with the outskirts, forming three metropolitan areas: New York-Boston-Washington metropolitan, Chicago-Pittsburgh metropolitan and San Francisco-Los Angeles-San Diego metropolitan(Wan,2014). Supported by industry, Germany and France, attaching great importance to the historical tradition, the cultural heritage protection and the humanistic spirit, have metropolitans such as Frankfurt, Paris and Munich in the urbanization. Meanwhile, the developments of small and medium-sized cities were equally valued (Wei,2008). In general, the western urbanization presents the model of “clustering to be a central city and then scattering around to form an urban belt”. In the era of globalization, the urban development becomes more informationized, more service-oriented, more ecologicalized, and more humanized (Castells,1996;Wan,2014).

Compared with the western countries, the urbanization started later in China. The Chinese urbanization in the modern sense started from the early years of the New China, and accelerated gradually in 1980s. The proportion of urban population increased from 15.39% in 1957 to 29.9% in 1997 (Xu,Wang,Yang,2001). So far, the small city and town strategy (Yang,Liao,1984;Fei,1991;Zhou,Guo,1996;), the large and medium-size city strategy (Song,1985;Zhang,Tan,1998;Wang,2000;Qin,2001), and the pluralism strategy are the major theories of the Chinese urbanization. As to the driving mechanism of Chinese urbanization, the scholars have generalized the following mechanisms: the market driving mechanism(Gu,Li,1998;Wang,2003), the governmental policy driving mechanism (Xu,Li,2009;Zhou,1997;Sun,2001), the foreign capital driving mechanism, and tourism driving mechanism and so on (Xue,Yang,1997;Sun,Bao,2006;Huang,2012).

For the diversified natural geographical conditions and regional history, different regions have developed their own models of urbanization, such as the South Jiangsu model, Wenzhou model and Pearl River model. Relying on government-led economic development in the rural township, South Jiangsu model is a kind of collective urbanization. The raw materials, capital, sales needed by the township enterprises are provided by the government, and its momentum gains from the accumulation of collective funds and the forceful intervention of local governments. The

transformation of rural surplus labor shows up as the local farmers' nearby transformation, so as to promote the expansion of small-town scale. Based on family-based industry, Wenzhou model is a kind of market-oriented industrial urbanization. Farmers rely on their own strength to raise funds through multi-channel for the construction of industrial district. By introducing the reform of the market mechanism, guiding migrant farmers getting rich in urban areas, the government provides the plan and service, guiding enterprises into the city to make investment in the public infrastructure so as to achieve a unified enterprise development and urban development. Therefore, a large number of local farmers have achieved the labor transfer on the spot. With the advantage of being close to Hong Kong and Macao, the Pearl River model is a kind of rural urbanization model that strongly develops the processing enterprises and export goods, and its driving forces are the introduction of foreign capital and the central government's developing policy "Advance Development". Transformation of labor is mainly interprovincial migrant transfer (Ren;Zhang,Gu,2003;Liu,2013;). Thus, the urbanization in the eastern and coastal areas has the following characteristics in general: attracting labor locally, non-agricultural developing path featured by the dispersed rural industry development, the development of rural industries and small towns construction including the tertiary industry, and the implementation of joint development between the rural and the urban.

However, the western minority areas with small populations and vast territories are rich in natural resources and tourism resources. With less employment pressure, the wealth brought by the development of commercial trade and tourism is no less than industry, so the western minority areas should follow a path of urbanization different from that of the coastal areas (Zhou,Guo,1996).Li pointed out that Tibet with undeveloped industrial base could strongly develop diversified enterprises in rural areas, township enterprises of ethnic handcraft, and tertiary industry to compensate for the lack of industrialization, thus achieving the purpose of rural urbanization (Li, 1999). Xiang believes that the western region of urbanization should be based on central cities, and belt town areas should be developed alongside the traffic arteries

(Xiang,2004). Urbanization is accompanied by the migration of the population. Therefore, the immigration and adaptation problems were of concern to the scholars, such as the impact of migration on the structure of the urban occupation (Lipset,Bendix,1959), culture and economics among migrants(Eriksen,2010), and the relationship between immigration and native migration in New York (Hempstead,2003).

Most of the previous studies are about the urbanization of rural areas in the eastern coasts and the western China, while ignoring the process of urbanization and minority ethnic relations characteristics in the border areas of the central-eastern China where the majority is Chinese Han and the western minority areas. This paper will probe deeply into this field, generalizing the features and causes of its urbanization. On the basis of previous study, this paper has compared its model of urbanization with that of other cities in China. At the same time, we have detected a series of problems that have appeared in the urbanization of this area, especially the ethnic relations. Dealing with these problems will help promote the improvement of the city's overall development and the ethnic relations.

Research design, and the development of Changdu city

In history, the border areas of the eastern-central China where the majority is Chinese Han and the western China were important regions, where the ethnic groups exchanged with each other frequently and materials circulated fast. In order to strengthen the rule of other neighboring ethnic groups, the central government sent military force to the border area. Therefore, the economic exchanges between different ethnics, the inland military force and the administration of government staff are the crucial factors of the urban development in this area. Situated at the east of Tibet, Changdu is the only way that must be passed from Yunnan and Sichuan into Tibet. Located at the upstream of Lancang River, it faces four towns of Sichuan

province---Dege, Baiyu, Shiqu, and Batang on the east side, is adjacent to Linzhi on the southwest side, connects to Naqu on the northwest side, and has a common border with Yushu of Qinghai Province. It has been a very important transport hub of the eastern Tibet since the ancient times.

The unique natural geographical conditions can be attributed to the production of Chinese caterpillar fungus, fritillaria, musk, saussurea involucrata and other rare medicinal herbs in Changdu. Having attracted many people from Gansu, Sichuan and Hunan to come here for business, Changdu has become an important gathering place for the ethnic groups, such as Han Chinese, Tibetan Chinese, Hui Chinese and Naxi Chinese. The total population of Changdu is 583,600, and the Tibetan Chinese accounts for over 95%, which is the main part of the total population. For several decades now, the rate of Changdu's urbanization has reached 26.29% in 2000.¹ During July—August 2014, we conducted participant observation and in-depth interviews in Changdu county and Jiaka Village. We have made detailed investigations on the daily life of the masses in Changdu, the economic activities that occurred on Changqing Street, the land expropriation process of Jiaka village and the changes of the means of livelihood. To have thorough research on the people's anticipation to the urban development and the ethnic relations, we have interviewed the local businessmen, the businessmen who moved from inland, the administrators, the Tibetan employees and the villagers of Jiaka.

The development process of Changdu

The developing process of Changdu can be divided into the following three stages.

On the first stage, the great Qiangbalin Temple was built in the East Tibet in the Ming Dynasty. As its leader was canonized as “PagbalhaHutuketu” by Emperor Kangxi of Qing Dynasty, an increasing number of people immigrated here and lived nearby, forming a settlement set, with the temple as the center.

On the second stage, Tucheng was built in Changdu and then the construction of

¹Data from the Tibet Autonomous Region Statistical Yearbook.

Tucheng expanded to the nearby area during the Emperor Yongzheng's period of the Qing Dynasty. As officials from the central government got the access to Tibetan areas, many Han Chinese from inland came here for business. Various Han Chinese temples, cemeteries, public buildings appeared in Changdu, and ultimately the modern city was shaped in Changdu(Wang, 2004). In the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic of China, the population of Tibetan was larger than that of Han in Changdu.

On the third stage, Changdu with the modernity got developed when liberated by the Communist Party. In the early 1950s, the central government selected and introduced a group of workers, teachers, doctors, engineers and technicians into Tibet, and built a number of power plants, hospitals, schools, telecommunication institutions, banks and other infrastructures in Lhasa, Xigaze and Changdu. After the Third Plenary Session, the assisting work from Tibet's counterparts of inland was officially launched, and most of the funds were used for infrastructure reconstruction of urban housing, urban expansion, municipal construction, public service facilities and other infrastructures. The urbanization of Changdu began to accelerate.

In recent years, a large scale of urban construction has been conducted in Changdu, and a great many new blocks, roads and bridges were built up. Since 1994, with the aid funds and materials worth RMB 700 million from Chongqing, Changdu has completed 99 construction projects, including Changqing Street, Liberation Square, and Changdu Library, making Changdua new look. In 2013, Changdu's GDP reached RMB 11.25 billion, which was the first time to exceed 10 billion, with a year-on-year growth of 25.4%. The tourist volume reached 0.9646 million with a year-on-year growth of 34%. The added value of primary industry, secondary industry, and tertiary industry achieved RMB 1.83 billion, 4.64 billion and 4.78 billion respectively, with a year-on-year growth of 3.9%, 43.3% and 20.2%. The financial revenue was RMB 750 million, with a year-on-year growth of 36.4%. The tax revenue was RMB 1.058 billion, which was the first time to exceed 1 billion, with a year-on-year growth of 62.8%. Rural per capita net income was RMB 5831, (including cash income of RMB 4600), with a year-on-year growth of 17.5%. The per

capita disposable income of urban dweller was RMB 17120, with a year-on-year growth of 9.8%.²

The characteristics of economic development in Changdu

Different from those inland cities with industrial development to promote urbanization, Changdu only has a snowflake brewery and a cement factory, and their economic contribution is small. Its economy is mainly composed of the tertiary industry, including restaurants, retails, real estate, etc. Changdu is the only way that must be passed from Yunnan, Sichuan to Tibet on the Ancient Tea Horse Road, so that different people, including Han, Hui, Bai, gathered here for the exchange of goods and the development of commercial activities, which laid a solid foundation for the handicraft industry and retails in Changdu. For the enlargement of Changdu and the favorable national policy, more and more local Tibetan and inland Han, Hui, Bai develop their business here, which makes the multi-ethnic groups, mainly composed of Han and Tibetan, become the main body of economic activities. In 2002, the former agricultural market was dismantled, and the government relocated the practitioners to Changqing Street, a famous commercial street in Changdu. There were only 260 stalls initially, but in recent two years, more and more local Tibetan are willing to develop retail, other ethnic people from inland also gradually increase. In July 2014, the number of stalls engaged in retail increased to 437(registered in Industry and Commerce Administration of Changqing Street). We had a survey on the product types and the basic information of operators of central Changqing Street (excluding the stalls in the lane):

Product Type/ Shopkeeper's Ethnic Group	Tibetan Chinese	Han Chinese	Hui Chinese	Bai Chinese
Clothes	77	78	0	1

²Data from: <http://forum.home.news.cn/thread/133458816/1.html>

(including the Tibetan and Han clothes and accessories)				
Objects of daily use	10	16	0	0
Small appliances	5	16	0	0
Religious objects	2	0	0	0
Food (vegetables, dries fruits, candies and biscuits)	14	3	0	0
Beef, butter	11	7 (employee)	0	0
Carpets and bedding articles	0	0	1	0
Chinese caterpillar fungus and dZi	0	0	1	0

Table 1 Shop Number and Product Type³

From the table, we find that a complete range of goods in Changqing Street can meet the demand of ordinary people, monks, as well as the people from different ethnic groups. Although the goods sold in Changqing Street are similar, most of the Han clothes and small appliances can only be found in the Han Chinese's stores, while most of Tibetan clothes, religious objects, beef, butter, and food sold by the Tibetans, so that the relationship of practitioners in Changqing Street is complementary rather than competitive. Changdu is a relatively free space composed of different ethnic groups with different languages and from different areas. In such a

³Data from the investigation and statistics in Changqing Street, on 20, July, 2014.

place, being affected by the fixed stalls and economic incentives, operators build their own social network through relatives or fellow villagers. We found that most Han Chinese only associate with Han, and only communicate with those who are nearby or from the same province. Half of the Han here can't speak Tibetan language so that they usually communicate with Tibetans in Chinese or by gesture. A few Tibetans once did business in Lhasa. They improved their Chinese level, expanded knowledge and horizon in their interactions with tourists. After return to Changdu, they start a business in Changqing Street and actively communicate with Han in the nearby shops in daily life. Apart from these people, most of the Tibetan operators only associate with Tibetans. Being asked about the ethnic relations, they think that there is no difference and no competition between Tibetan and Han when doing business here, and they are willing to coexist peacefully.

The commodities in Changdu come from many different places. In addition to butter, a few of the vegetables, beef and mutton that are produced locally, the rest of the commodities are transported from across the country. Due to Changdu's unique location located in the border area of Sichuan, Yunnan, Qinghai and Tibet, it's an important transportation hub of materials and personnel flow. Most vegetables, grains, small appliances and objects of daily use are imported from Chengdu. Tibetan clothes and religious objects come from Lhasa. Jewelries sold by Bai come from Yunan. Carpets and woolen fabrics sold by Hui are from Gansu. Han clothes and shoes are from different part of the country. The Tibetan treat the cattle and sheep as their wealth, and the lack of greenhouse planting technology results in the dependence on import of food and commodities, which is completely different from the inland urbanization that surrounding countryside becomes the supplying place of commodities for the cities. Lack of local supplies also creates the dependence on import goods, which leads to the high price of commodities. On the other hand, high profits attract more Han from all over the country to run business in Tibet, which also inspires the local Tibetan to engage in retail industry. For example, a Han couple who comes from Gansu Province, engaged in clothes and shoes business in Changdu tells us that their monthly income is up to RMB 20000, with net income about RMB

8000-9000(per capita disposable monthly income is RMB 4500).⁴

The impact of inland Han on local Tibetan

Han Chinese from the inland provide the main body of economic activity in Changdu, and their business types are very diverse, such as selling building materials, lighting, clothing, fruits and non-staple food, Henan bread, baby supplies, bedding, DVD and so on. Most of them are running restaurants. They have introduced the modern products and concepts into the Tibetan areas, which has a direct impact on the Tibetans' opinions on commodity and economy and also has changes the lifestyle of the locals.

Firstly, the Tibetans in Changdu gradually have the awareness of consumption and investment, and the requirement of brands when consuming is gradually promoted. At present, more and more people wearing Han Clothes are seen on Changqing Street, and a great many Tibetans, who gradually have accepted the inland products and businessmen, also go to the restaurant for meals. The Tibetan customers we interviewed in the department stores and in Changqing Street said that they were fond of those products of convenience that they had not seen before. The president of Sichuan chambers of commerce told us, "In the past, people did not reserve money. They were used to buy and wear precious jewels, or build new house with the money. Now, they start to consume. Some of the Tibetans have bought stores, and then rent them to the Han Chinese."⁵

Secondly, the living standards and consumer demand of the local Tibetans are promoted greatly. In addition, the lifestyle and the modern concepts are introduced and improved. The stores selling DVD and baby supplies are remarkable components of the Changdu Markets. Being fond of singing and dancing, the Tibetans would dance the Tibetan Guozhuang in groups on festival days. Even after a whole day of working, they would indulge in some impromptu dancing if the mood takes them. On

⁴ Per capita disposable monthly income of 2014 in Gansu is RMB 1734, and in Beijing is RMB 3659. Data from: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-02/28/c_127526301.htm

⁵Information from the interview with the president of Sichuan Chamber of Commerce in Changdu on 23, July, 2014.

the Liberation Square, the video put on the large screen at 8 pm would attract the men and women, the old and young from downtown to dance together. Whenever a new song is put on the square, people would rush to the shops to buy videos, which is both a commercial signal, but also a cultural signal. Tibetans like modern music recorded in the DVD, rather than the vocal songs or musical accompaniment. In the traditional past, except the breast milk for the child's upbringing, people mainly relied on domestic cow milk. Paying less attention to hygiene, child peeing in the pants is often the case. Some will use nappies, but others do not use. But now in Changdu, many locals will go to the baby shop to buy milk powder and diapers, and some would buy three or four bags of diapers at one time. The increase in consumer demand has stimulated the economic development in Changdu, which also have reflected that the hygiene awareness and consumption concept of the Tibetans gradually get close to modernity and rational direction.

Thirdly, the local Tibetans began to have the awareness of quality-related returns, complaints and recalls, and they would seek help from the industrial and commercial administrative personnel when tough problems occur. At present, the economy in Changdu could not catch up to that in other regions, the product qualities in retailing department could not reach the inland standard. Therefore, the quality-related issues often occur, especially the small household appliances and electronic problems. A head from the administrative office for industry and commerce once said, "Many Tibetans are not aware of the invoice. If they think the price is reasonable, they would pay the money for the products, not asking the warranty period or some other product agreements. If faults appear when using, such as the machine breaks down in a week, they would negotiate with the shop owner. Generally, the shop owner would accept the terms put forward by the buyers in the negotiation. If the negotiation failed, they would call us for help, we would ask the shop owner to accept refunds or exchanges."⁶

By researching the developing history of Changdu and the characteristic of the

⁶Information from the interview with the administrator of Industry and Commerce Administration in Changqing Street on 7, August, 2014.

current urban economy, the multiple ethnic groups are the backbone of Changdu's urban development, including the local Tibetans and the immigrants for the reasons of the national administrative transfer or the economic benefit, and Han Chinese account for the large part of the immigration. To achieve a balanced modernization and construction of the country, the government has invested a great deal of manpower, material and financial resource in Tibet, which brought many jobs to the local and foreign workers. Thus, we can conclude that urbanization in Changdu is driven by the external force, which can be shown as the governmental investment in the construction of infrastructure, the supply of the materials from other places, and the cultural and economic contribution of the immigrants from the inland. The construction, economic development of Changdu and the Changes of people's lifestyle are all the result of the motivation by external forces.

The impact of urbanization on ethnic relations: Economic coexistence and cultural separation

Urbanization not only includes converting agricultural population to non-agricultural population who are gathering in urban areas, but also the tight bond between urban and rural areas, as well as the modernization of people's lifestyle and value (Zhou, Guo, 1996; Sun, 2001). In particular, the increasing number of urban immigrants in transformation of modernization in China led to a more diverse ethnic population with different cultural background and social status. As a result, whether urban immigrants could adapt to city lifestyle well and how their relationship with local citizens is like are crucial factors to the development of urban areas. An efficient way to solve this issue is the emergence of society that consists of economic and structural mergence. For urban immigrants, social mergence means the tolerance of each other's culture and the tendency of recognizing each other's identity; for individual immigrants and their family, social mergence means the shortening of

social distance between immigrants and local citizens and the mutual respect of each other's habits and behavior (Zhang, Yang, 2014). Although Changdu has been a city where various ethnic groups have gathered for a long time, the people are tied together as an economic community just by attaching to economic chain, without trying to recognize each other economically and socially. It showed as a wide cultural distance in terms of social relationship.

Firstly, the urbanization of Changdu has attracted a large number of immigrants who are Han. However, those immigrants didn't have sense of belonging as if they were not part of the city in there. Consequently, they did not have a strong motivation to learn the local language of Changdu that is Tibetan. What lies behind this fast growth and harmonious coexistence society is an isolated, fragile and unstable social structure and ethnic relationship.

Case 1

Mr. He who is a 27 years old Hunanese opened a restaurant called "Xiang Cai Lou" with his wife in Changdu. They moved to Changdu in March 2013, because his wife's brother-in-law worked as a teacher and a sister was doing business there. Since they were all doing great there, Mr. He and his wife decided to follow them and started a business there, too. His restaurant opens every day, from 10 am to 12pm, which brings them net income around RMB 200,000 a year(annual per capita income is RMB 100,000).⁷ So far, most of the customers are the ones who have been to the restaurant before, among whom are either introduced to it by Mr. He's friends or come from the same place as Mr. He---Hunan Province. Because Mr. He and his wife don't have permanent residency in Changdu, they are not eligible for social welfare and all the insurance. Even under such circumstance, Mr. He says that he's here only for business, and he does not want to consider that much since what he planned was to make some money here for a few more years and then return home. When not doing business, they usually have fun with people who also come from Hunan. They only meet with Tibetans when doing business. In terms of the adaption to the life in

⁷ Annual per capita disposable income in Hunan Province is RMB 26570, and in Beijing is RMB 43910. Data from: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-02/28/c_127526301.htm

Changdu, he said:” I am definitely an outsider, local people treated me like someone who is from outside. That’s because we have totally different lifestyle, and I can neither understand nor speak the local language, despite the fact that most local people in urban area can speak Chinese and can communicate with me successfully.” Mr. He would not try to make friends with local people as he feels that local people have prejudice towards Han Chinese who lived there. “They think we come here just for making money out of them...and local people are stubborn, they won’t listen to us even if we have tried to explain everything. It’s really difficult to be friends with them.”As Mr. He said.⁸

Just like Mr. He, Han Chinese who have already lived in Changdu in the recent years have all been advised to come here by their relatives who lived here, because they were being told that there is a huge space for economic development and numerous opportunities here in Changdu. They have settled here under the help of their relatives here and started their life gradually here. In terms of internal willingness and actual action, Han Chinese are inclined to make friends with Han Chinese, and extend their social and economical circle based on people who come from the same place as them, eliminating their fear and upset that emerged from starting a new life in a new place. Most of the people including stall keepers in Changqing street, owners of restaurants and bosses of construction teams indicate that their purpose of coming to Changdu is purely for money-making, and has nothing to do with permanent residency. Thus, they do not have a strong sense of belonging in this city, being excluded in the local social welfare system. They can be classified as floating population, who commute between Changdu and hometown on a regular base. In daily life and work, their communication only happens when they have to it in business, which means that they can never be a part of the local social community. Meanwhile the opinions that Han Chinese has on Tibetan would also have an effect on other Han Chinese who have not known local people much, which lead them to communicate with Tibetan knowing that they could never be friends with them. For instance, what Mr. He mentioned before about those thoughts of how Han Chinese

⁸ Information from the interview with Mr. He, the boss of Xiangcailou, on 23, July, 2014.

had on Tibetan also came not only from his own experience but also from his friends. In the entire interview, we often heard from interviewee the following:“Local people here are really tough, as long as you said something they dislike, they will suddenly become hostile, and some of them will even fight with you.”“ One of our friends who is doing construction business told us that many Tibetan thought our government has a lot of money with so many construction projects going on right now, so they asked for money from government and their bosses every day. If you don’t give them the money, they will make trouble.” Stories and opinions like that were frequently being discussed about in Han Chinese group, and spread widely, from small business owners to entrepreneurs to construction teams. This would not only influence the thoughts of immigrants who had already lived in Changdu for a while, but most importantly would have an impact how the new immigrants think of Tibetan. It will hinder the establishment of virtuous relationship between immigrants and local citizens.

Secondly, the urbanization of Changdu has offered a large amount of opportunities for the transfer of local labor. However, without a steady labor structure, local Tibetans are still in a passive position, and they do not want to be friends with Han Chinese. In Changdu, only people who have been well educated can work in governmental institution, and for the rest of its citizen would only work in service or labor industry, for example, servers in restaurant, truck drivers or construction workers. A relatively more stabilized job is to work as a server in restaurants or shopping malls. Now Tibetan servers are widely scattered in shopping malls, restaurants, and hotels in Changdu, and most of them are females.

Case 2

A 21 years old Tibetan server---Xiao Mei, who works in a restaurant run by Han Chinese, can earn RMB 1700 per month.⁹ Her main work are serving the dishes, and cleaning. Since she does not know how to keep accounts or invoice, her salary is much lower than Han Chinese servers can earn (their salary is RMB 2000 per month).

⁹ Per capita disposable monthly income of 2014 in Tibet is RMB 1835, and in Beijing is RMB 3659. Data from: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-02/28/c_127526301.htm

She lives with her sister and brother-in-law in Changdu. Their apartment is around 50 square meters, which is located in the edge of city center and thus is cheaper than usual. She had two jobs before working in this restaurant, and both jobs were as servers in restaurants. This was because she likes this kind of job since it can allow her to surf on the Internet during the interval of working. Moreover, working as a cooker for construction workers in the field is tiresome and the working condition in the construction is bad, even though it can earn 3000 RMB per month, as she once experienced. So she's more willing to work in a restaurant. Her advantage in finding a job in a restaurant lies on her capability of speaking and writing Chinese. She has to work seven days a week, and 2:30 pm to 5:00 pm every day is off-shift time. If she has an emergency that she has to deal with immediately, she could also ask for a leave from her Han boss, and she still can get paid for the leave. In Xiao Mei's opinion, her boss is very nice from this perspective, and she's willing to work here. But, at the beginning of April each year, she will quit the job and come back to the city for a new job by June the same year, because her family needs her to come back home to help with the digging of caterpillar fungus in hometown. This instability of hiring a Tibetan bothers the boss of the restaurant a lot. Xiao Mei's favorite things to do in her spare time are surfing on the Internet using her cellphone, listening to music and go shopping with her sister. It is rare for her to socialize with her Han Chinese colleagues in the restaurant, and the few friends she made here are all from her hometown---Jiangda.¹⁰

Xiao Mei's experience is a miniature of the life of most Tibetan female workers: they normally do not receive higher education, and they settle down in the city with the help of their relatives there, living on the edge of the city. They will frequently change their jobs, and mainly work in construction sites and restaurants. Even though they have come to the city to work, there is still a strong tie between them and rural areas where they come from. It's hard to form a steady structure of labor market under the circumstance that local workers, like Xiao Mei, have tend to change their jobs frequently because their family in hometown needs them. Their social network is

¹⁰Information from the interview with Xiao Mei, a waitress in a Han restaurant, on 23, July, 2014.

normally composed with people from the same place as them, and there is seldom Han Chinese in it. Thus, despite the fact that a growing number of Tibetans have become a part of city's economy and a common subject of market economy with Han Chinese, Tibetan and Han Chinese have only been connected together through economical needs, without forming an active interaction circle. There is still a gap between them culturally and socially. Moreover, under the influence of their relatives back in hometown and economic network restriction, Tibetans who work in city always have to come back to hometown, which makes them impossible to actually be part of the people who work in the city. This has blocked the development of their career in the city.

Thirdly, what comes along with the development of Changdu and economy is the consuming needs, awareness of investment, and value of modern hygiene. However, their poor understanding of competition, market, wealth and their traditional thought---Equalitarianism have a negative effect on the progress of urbanization in rural area in Changdu. In the past, the livelihoods in those areas were mainly planting, along with grazing animals. At the end of 1990s, with the expansion of needs in caterpillar fungus, digging caterpillar fungus had become the major work for people there. In their traditional minds, the number of livestock, such as cow and sheep, and caterpillar fungus was the standard used to measure the level of richness of one family. This was quite distinct from the way Han Chinese did, who mostly treated the number of land as the standard. In 1983, the government in Changdu decided to divide the land which owned by the village according to the number of the population there and gave it to individuals, and that only happened for once. In 2013, when those land were about to be used to build fur, toy and power factories after Jiaka county being included in the economic-technological development zone in Changdu, they started to realize that how many land they have means how many compensation they could get out of it. People in Jiaka said that every family tried to measure their land in a maximum way in order to get higher compensation. For families who lived far away from others, they tried to included the land around them and report them as their property, and some of them even cultivate again to expand their property. Everyone in

Jiaka knew about this, but no one said anything. Until July, 2014, after the government published the details of compensation of each family, some people started to complain about those families that seized the common property of the village and got more money because of this, and asked them to hand out the extra money which they was not supposed to get in the first place and should be given to those kids who did not get any land after 1983. After several meetings, they still couldn't reach a consensus on this issue.¹¹

Land expropriation has been a big problem in the process of urbanization. If the standards, laws and regulation of the land sub-division are clear, the conflicts resulting from the land expropriation can be settled according to the related regulations. However, the policies and regulations in Tibet remain obscure, and the Tibetans lack legal awareness. The policy of allocating lands to peasants put into practice in Changdu in 1983. The government just parceled the land in accordance with the current population, not taking the mobility of the population into consideration. Since that, the structure of land distribution has been fixed. As to the land area of each household, the village committee and government did not make any records. Especially to the land reclamation, the government did not issue any related regulations, and also did not register the reclaimed land of each household, which led to the conflicts in the land expropriation. The relevant land data was hard to be consulted. In addition, lacking of the awareness of policies and regulations, the Tibetans did not have correct understanding of the “public notice”, believing that the conflicts could be resolved in the Village Meeting according to the social norms of justice. Undoubtedly, many of the villagers remained silent during the land measuring and public notice. Until the date was expired, they put forward their objection when the compensation of the land expropriation was going to be given out. It is the carelessness of the administrative staff, the imbalance between the organizing rules of the standard market and the traditional equalitarianism principles, the Tibetans' maladjustment to commercialization on the aspect of the wealth value that led to villagers' disadvantage position of economy and culture in the urbanization.

¹¹Information from the participant observation and interview with villagers in Jiaka, 24 July- 5 August, 2014.

Conclusion and discussion

Urbanization is a necessary part of modernization. China has embarked on a different way of urbanization from that of the west for a late start, an unbalanced structure of motive power such as labor from rural areas with poor education that could only do simple tasks and be unable to shift from agricultural production to the modern industrial production, the government's institutional arrangement for the population migration and urban development sequence (Zhang, 2011). As far as the South Jiangsu Model, Wenzhou Model to the Pearl River Model are concerned, we find that the development of township enterprises, the common development in rural and urban areas, have been the main ways of urbanization development in east China. But in west China, especially in the border areas of the central-eastern China where the majority is Han Chinese and the western minority areas, Changdu has developed a different urbanization model from that of the east, due to the ecological diversity, complicated ethnic relations, single rural livelihood model, weak economic foundation, especially the separation in culture and the skills of ethnic minorities.

Firstly, the rural urbanization in the east is based on the rural industry and the development of township enterprises, with industrialization as the main dynamic mechanism. The industrial foundation in Changdu is relatively weak. In addition to the national investment in infrastructure construction projects, the development of urban economy relies mainly on the tertiary industry, with most people engaged in the retail and service industry, so that the internal impetus of urbanization is slightly insufficient. Anyway, both Tibetan and Han can find their own positions in the economic chain, linked together, forming a relatively stable economic structure.

Secondly, most of the rural surplus labor force in the east has shifted to the second and tertiary industry. The labor transfer model in south Jiangsu is nearby transformation of local farmers, while the model in Pearl River Delta is

interprovincial migrant transfer. The rural labor force in Changdu is still on the stage of exploiting. The nearby transformation quantity of local farmers is far less than the immigrants from inland to Changdu, who were engaged in retail or construction before moving to Changdu and have higher-level education and skills than the local Tibetan. On the whole, the multi-ethnic groups with Han from inland and Tibetan consist of the market labor force in Changdu.

Thirdly, rural labor force in the east gradually has the intention of settlement in the process of urbanization, while the inland Han are commuting between home and Changdu, having no intention to settle down. The Tibetans commuting between rural and urban areas by the constraint of original livelihood model, makes the whole city featured by high mobility. The dynamic mechanism of urbanization and the diversity of ethnic groups in labor market have determined that the inland immigrants and local Tibetan can only be attached to the economic chain, forming an economic community. They gather in the city for the purpose of economic benefit rather than emotion.

Under the surface of economic coexistence is cultural separation, as well as the weak integration of different ethnic groups. Firstly, there is no interaction between inland immigrants and local Tibetans. With many contradictions in the cognition and interaction and deep cultural separation, they formed independent groups after breaking away from the common economic chain. Secondly, most of the Tibetans neither form the initiative willing in the process of urbanization, nor promote skills actively in order to integrate into city, but accept the national support and the guidance of Han Chinese passively, which leads to their duality of identity and occupation, as well as the disadvantage position in economic activities. Thirdly, cultural separation brought by the Tibetan tradition results in the failure to reconcile social contradictions and cultural distinctions during social transformation, as well as the difficulty to adapt to the new changes brought by the urbanization in a short time.

Urbanization is not only the expansion of urban space, but also the modernization of people as its main subject. In the border areas of the central- eastern China and the western minority areas, including Changdu, although the natural conditions and economic foundation are poorer than that of inland and coastal areas,

the commercial activities along the traffic arteries since ancient times have been continuing. In the future, with the external force such as the national financial input and the economic contribution of inland immigrants as an opportunity, Changdu should develop the deep processing of agricultural products and tertiary industry with Tibetan characteristics in order to increase the internal motivation and demand, especially to improve the knowledge and skills of local Tibetans, stimulate their willingness to initiate entrepreneurship and to integrate into urban life, enhance their self-confidence through the acceptance of Han culture and modern concepts, and interact with different ethnic groups with a positive attitude, so as to achieve the goal of urbanization of people as the main subject and integration of different ethnic groups in the city.

Meanwhile, for the belief of Tibetan Buddhism to the reverence of nature, Changdu has paid attention to the protection of holy mountain and water, also laid emphasis on the harmony of human and nature, as well as human and traditional culture. For example, based on the most religious meaning “samsara” in Tibetan Buddhism in the process of Changdu’s urbanization, Changqing Street is designed as the fission mandala form in which the public square is passed by the city roads. With the fountains of water cultural meaning, it makes the center of the city meet the needs of commerce, residence, as well as the demand of the spirit of local Tibetan (Yu, Wang, Zhang, 2002). It appeared different degree of environment problems and alienation of people in the process of urbanization in the West and China. For example, urbanization is second only to agriculture as an agent of stream degradation in the USA and high urbanization is associated with low fish abundance (Morgan,Cushman,2005).During the industrial process, family system declined and collapsed in big cities. People focus on the creation of technology and commerce, thereby becoming a slave to the production and consumption, with a sense of alienation and inanity (Tillich,1959). Prostitution resulting from the lack of economic opportunities and acute housing shortage, maladjustment to the city life and its urban way have been social problems in Asian countries (Narain,1960). The concept of ecological protection, the harmony of humanity and nature, and the urban design ideas

in Changdu can become the referential experience of western and Chinese modern city development, promoting the realization of urban sustainable development.

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