

Han and Tibetan Residential Patterns in Lhasa¹

Ethnic conflict remains surprisingly persistent throughout the world. The persistence is particularly surprising in socialist countries, where one might have thought that the narrowing of income gaps between all ethnic groups, the favored investment projects in ethnic minority regions, the official emphasis on equal education and occupational opportunity (often in favor of minority groups), and affirmative-action programs to ensure that ethnic minorities were well-represented in national congress and official positions would have provided significant new contacts and created new relationships among ethnic groups.

In the summer of 1988, a survey was carried out to study the social and economic changes and current situation of the Han-Tibetan relationship in the Tibet Autonomous Region². With survey data on ethnic contact in the city of Lhasa, this article examines to what extent our initial assumptions about new ethnic relationships have been realized, and, if there are still serious problems among ethnic groups, what are the reasons. This study indicates many unintended consequences of social policy, some of them unique to socialist societies and others universal, and the aspects of society which are difficult to change even with the most enlightened policies.

Introduction

The Tibet Autonomous Region was founded in 1965 on the Tibetan Plateau with an area of about 1.23 million square kilometers. In the 1990 national census, of a total of 4.8 million Tibetans in China, 2.1 million lived in the Tibet Autonomous Region (*Renmin ribao*, 14 November 1990). Tibetans in Qinghai Province and southern Gansu are recognized as the Amdo subgroup and those in western Sichuan Province and the eastern part of the Tibet Autonomous Region as the Kham subgroup. These two subgroups speak different dialects, neither of which is the same as the main dialect of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Since the Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India in 1959, many social and economic changes have occurred in Tibet. Some reports describe liberation of former serfs and tremendous social, economic and educational development in this region (Karan, 1976; Bahandur Bista, 1979; Epstein, 1983; Grunfeld, 1987: 164-175), while others describe the disaster the Tibetan traditional religion and culture suffered during the Cultural Revolution (Avedon, 1984:288-293; Goldstein and Beall, 1990: 140-144). Based on information provided by the Tibetans in exile, "forced assimilation" was also reported (Dreyer, 1976: 170). Because little sociological research has ever been done in Tibet, a study based on data analyses and interview materials would be helpful for understanding the present situation and the basic patterns of Han-Tibetan relationships in Tibet. The Lhasa study may also provide information about general issues of ethnicity in China.

Residential patterns directly affect the chances of members of different ethnic groups communicating with each other in their daily life, and are therefore important indicators of

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relations between ethnic groups, especially in cases involving migration of one group into an area inhabited by another (K. Taeuber, 1980: 280; Zanden, 1983: 227; Wilson and Taeuber, 1978: 51-78; Shannon, 1973). In this survey of Tibet, therefore, special attention was given to residential patterns.

Table 1: The Percentage of Han in the Total Population by County, 1982

| Percentage | Number of counties | |
|------------------|--------------------|---|
| Less than 1.0 | 40 | Together, 93% of the counties in TAR |
| 1.0-5.0 | 21 | |
| 5.1-10.0 | 6 | |
| 10.1-20.0 | 2 | (Chamdo, Pome) |
| 20.1-30.0 | 2 | (Shigatse, Nying chi) |
| Higher than 30.0 | 1 | (Lhasa, 36.8% Han) |

Source: The 1982 National Census data.

The total population of the Tibet Region in 1986 was 2,024,938, of whom 205,915 lived in cities and towns, 107,725 in Lhasa City. The second-largest city, Shigatse, had a much smaller population of 25,306 (Statistical Bureau of Tibet Autonomous Region, 1989: 139-141). For many centuries Lhasa has been the political, religious, economic, cultural and population centre of Tibet, and has played a very important role in the Tibet Region (Goldstein, 1989: 24-30). It is also very important for the study of ethnic relationships in Tibet. Of the Tibet Region's total population in 1986, 95.7 per cent were Tibetans, 3.6 per cent were Han and 0.7 per cent belonged to other groups, and of the 72,340 total Han population, 52.5 per cent lived in the urban areas of Lhasa City (Statistical Bureau of Tibet Autonomous Region, 1988: 140-141)³. From Table 1, based on 1982 data, one can clearly see the residential concentration of the Han in Tibet. Lhasa is the only place where the Han and Tibetans can communicate with each other on a large scale, and it is therefore the best indicator of the state of the Han-Tibetan relationship. For all these reasons, Lhasa was chosen as the place for the survey.

Conditions of Social Communication and the Factors Affecting the Conditions

Before looking in detail at the Han-Tibetan relationship in Lhasa, it would be helpful to introduce the basic theoretical framework in the study of ethnic communication. First, the channel and extent of communication between ethnic groups are very important, especially where the groups have different languages, religious beliefs, cultural traditions and economic activities. A basic condition for communication is that a large proportion of the members of the two groups should have the chance to meet and talk to each other. Generally, sociologists study the situation and extent of ethnic communication in the following aspects:

1. Residential patterns. This reflects the possibilities of all the members of one ethnic group having members of another ethnic group as neighbors (Zanden 1983: 227; Luhman and S. Oilman, 1980: 162). The situation may be very different depending on whether the two groups are mixed within the same neighborhood or live separately.

³ This number does not include military forces.

2. School patterns. This reflects the chances people of school age from different ethnic groups have to communicate with each other. They may study in the same schools and same classes, or in separate schools (Zanden, 1983: 230-31.). This aspect is very important for the ethnic relationship when the students become adults. Attention should also be given to teachers, whose ethnic identity and attitude towards members of another group usually has a strong influence on their students.

3. Ethnic structure of work units. This indicates the opportunities for people with jobs to meet and talk with those from other ethnic groups at their work place. Racial and ethnic discrimination in employment opportunities is one of the central issues in ethnic stratification (Horowitz, 1985: 669).

4. Ethnic structure of customers at places of entertainment. This indicates the possibilities for members of different ethnic groups (including the unemployed) to communicate with each other outside work: whether they join the same club, go to the same bar, tea house, cinema, theatre, etc. Entering informal social networks is an important indicator of ethnic assimilation (Gordon, 1964: 71-73).

5. Ethnic structure of religious organizations. This shows the possibility and frequency of communication between members of different ethnic groups in their religious activities (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970: 203).

The above five points are major aspects of inter-group contact and communication in the study of racial and ethnic relationships at the aggregate level (see Table 2). Communication between members of different ethnic groups through intermarriage or personal friendship networks are also very important (Gordon, 1964: 70-80), but basically occur on the individual level. Because this study concentrates on the situation at the aggregate level, the aspects at the individual level are not discussed. Besides, the intermarriage rate is very low in Tibet compared with other minority autonomous areas (e.g. Inner Mongolia, where the 1982 census showed that of married Mongolians, 15 per cent had married Hans, Song Yougong, 1987: 372).

Table 2. Aspects of Communication between Ethnic Groups

| Aspect | Place | Members involved | Level 1 | Level 2 |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Residential pattern | Neighborhood | All | Block | Building, yard |
| School pattern | School | Students (teacher) | School | Class |
| Work activity | Work place | Persons having jobs | Factory, bureau | Group |
| Entertainment activity | Club, bar, etc. | All | Club | Group |
| Religious activity | Temple, church | Persons believing religion | Sect | Temple, church |

The conditions of communications between ethnic groups are very complex and are affected by many factors. The most important ones related to this study are:

1. Historical. The relationship between ethnic groups in the past may give a positive or negative impact on the relationship at the present time (Pye, 1975: 489-497).

2. Language. Language barriers (if they exist) certainly have a bad effect on communication between different ethnic groups (Gordon, 1964:70-71). That is why people have concerns about the ethnic and language background of potential new neighbors. This factor is more important for school children who may be separated by school or class because different

languages are used in teaching.

3. Religious. Ignoring or despising the objects which other groups worship will always cause tension. People's social norms, value judgments and customs are usually related to their religious beliefs. If customs and religion are not respected it could lead to dissatisfaction and conflict (Ma Yin, 1981: 18; Li Weihai, 1981: 549-555). In some cases, religion becomes an essential component of ethnic identity and membership (Nagata, 1981: 92), and some studies found that churches played important roles in residential segregation (Simpson and Yinger, 1985: 309-315).

4. Type of traditional economic activities. For example, in China, Mongolians have been engaged in animal husbandry for centuries, Erlunchun in hunting, and Han in agriculture (Fei Xiaotong, 1989: 16-17). Such differences in industrial structure may affect their customs, and limit contact at their work place (Sullivan, 1978:166-167).

5. Policy implications. The direct or indirect policies towards minority ethnic groups and the relevant laws or regulations (regarding language use, employee recruitment, intermarriage, residential settlement, etc.) may have a strong impact on racial and ethnic relations (Ma Yin, 1981: 14-16; Connor, 1984: 254-277).

6. Impact of important events. Under certain circumstances, an individual event affecting members of different ethnic groups (either positively or negatively) may have a strong impact on ethnic relationships for a time, in just one area or even in the whole country.

This article will introduce the main findings of the research on residential patterns, ethnic structure of work units and school patterns in Lhasa. Because attention is concentrated on "unit households" for residential patterns (which are also work units in Lhasa), the first two aspects will be combined. The final section will discuss why residential patterns were formed in the current way.

Basic Residential Patterns in Lhasa

Because the residential registration system in China is different from those in other countries, a brief introduction is necessary to show how the system works in Lhasa. As in other parts of China, all permanent residents have their official residential registration. They are registered as either "agricultural residents" or "non-agricultural residents" according to where they live and the economic activity they are engaged in.

Most "non-agricultural residents" live in cities or towns. They obtain food and housing from the government and have jobs arranged by the government. This group also includes some people who are sent to work in rural areas but keep their status as "non-agricultural" and receive the accompanying benefits. "Agricultural residents" are peasants and herdsmen who supply themselves with food. The transfer of their status from "agricultural" to "non-agricultural" is restricted and has to be approved by the government.

Generally, residents are allowed to move and change their place of residential registration from one individual household to another within the same city or town. However, it is usually difficult to transfer official registration from a village to a city, or from a small city to a large city. By these restrictions, the government has been able to control the number of permanent urban "non-agricultural" residents who need government subsidies.

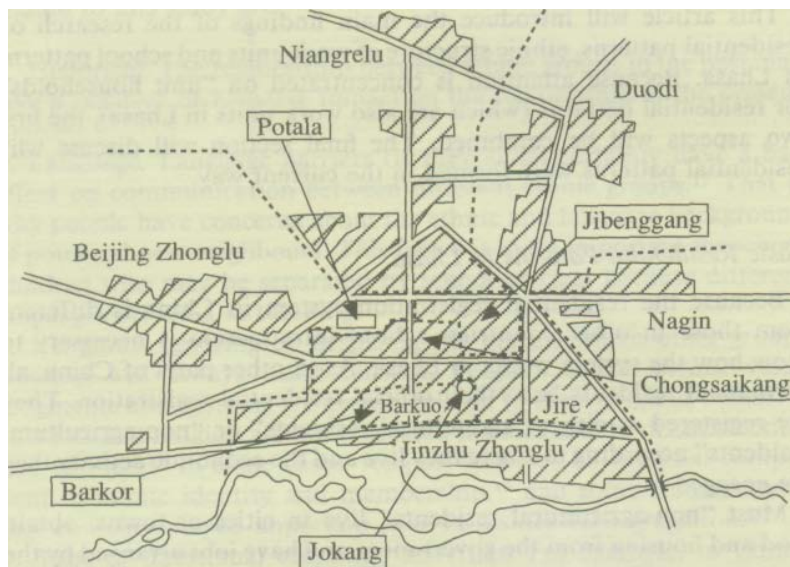
In urban areas, work units (*gongzuo danwei*, which are usually government institutions or

related to the government) can also register as individual households - "unit households" (*danwei jitihu*). In this case, the officers appointed by each unit obtain grain and other coupons for all individuals under the respective unit household, and distribute them among those individuals. The coupons are obtained from the local public security police station which runs the registration system.

The residential registration system in Lhasa is somewhat different from that in other Chinese cities. The unit households in other cities only include those young unmarried employees who recently graduated from college or high schools. When they marry and obtain housing, their registration is changed into individual households. Only after obtaining an apartment or separate housing can an employee who used to be registered under an urban unit household (as one residence card in the unit's *hukoubu* - residence booklet) obtain an independent residence booklet.

In Lhasa, individual urban households (under a "resident committee" - *jumin wei yuanhui orjuweihui* in abbreviation) and members of a unit household (under the unit) are different categories managed by two different residence systems. Most individual urban households live in traditional Tibetan-style houses, which are either owned by the residents or belong to the local government who confiscated them in the late 1950s when their owners went to India, although some confiscated houses were recently returned to their original owners when they came back to Tibet. Some local cadres and rich residents now build themselves new houses (still in the Tibetan style) in the suburbs.

Figure 1. Location of Nine Public Security Stations in Lhasa City

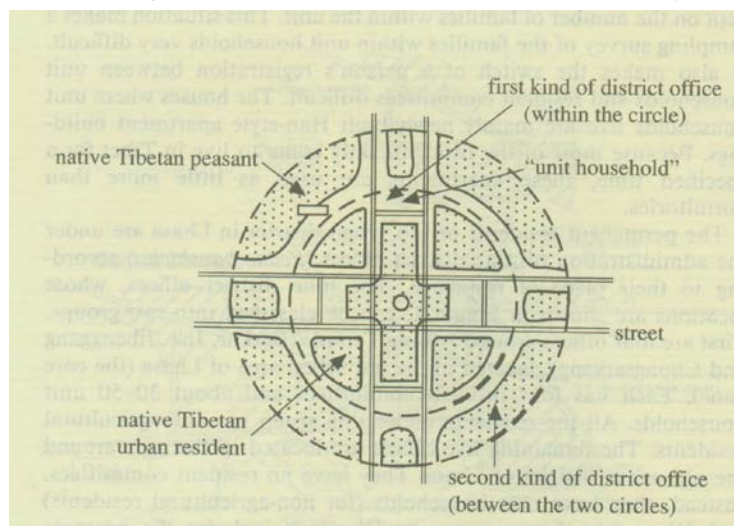


The unit households in Lhasa include all the members of the respective unit (employees and their dependents). In other words, they include those who have married and live as individual families who would be registered as individual urban households in other cities. The size of unit households varies from less than 50 to over 2,000 people. Small unit households are mainly service institutions and stores in the old urban district and their employees are mainly Tibetans. Large unit households are government institutions and enterprises, such as a transportation team which owns several hundred trucks and has a population of over 2,000.

Unit households in Lhasa only keep records of the number of employees and their dependents living in the unit. No information is kept on the number of families within the unit. This situation makes a sampling survey of the families within unit households very difficult. It also makes the switch of a person's registration between unit households and resident committees difficult. The houses where unit households live are mainly newly-built Han-style apartment buildings. Because most of the residents only come to live in Tibet for a specified time, these apartments are used as little more than dormitories.

The permanent residents of the urban district in Lhasa are under the administration of nine public security stations according to their place of residence. The nine stations, whose locations are shown in Figure 1, can be classified into two groups. First are four around Jokang Temple (Barkor, Kyire, Jebum Gang, and Tromsig Khang), located in the old urban area of Lhasa (the core zone). Each has three to five resident committees and about 30-50 unit households. All the residents under this group are non-agricultural residents. The remaining five offices are located in the zone around the old urban district of Lhasa. They have no resident committees. Instead, they have unit households (for non-agricultural residents) and Xiang (the former commune)⁴ which includes the peasants (agricultural residents) living in suburbs. Figure 2 shows the basic residential pattern (not the precise geographic map) of the residents in Lhasa by the classification of district offices to which they belong and their status in residential registration.

Figure 2. The Residential Pattern of Lhasa City



According to official statistics, the residents under the resident committees are mainly native Tibetans who have lived in urban Lhasa for generations. There were a total of 8,396 individual urban households under these resident committees by the end of 1987. Among them, less than 20 households were Han. About 300 households were Hui and 20 belonged to other groups. Over 95 percent were Tibetans. Most areas under the four district offices (within the smaller circle in Figure 2) are within the old urban area of Lhasa, formed around the late 17th century (Lhapa Phuntso, 1984: 42; Chodrak Trinley, 1985: 78) (see Figure 3).

⁴ In the Chinese urban system (city-town-rural) Xiang is classified as rural, although the size of the population and the extent of residential concentration of some sites are actually quite large, especially in coastal areas. See Ma Rong, 1990, "The development of small towns and China's modernization," *Zhongguo shehui kexue (Social Sciences in China)*, No. 4 (July 1990), pp. 131-146.

The residents under the unit households in Lhasa are employed by the government or by institutions managed by the government (such as factories, bureaus, transportation teams, hospitals, schools, shops, etc.) and their dependents. These residents can be divided into three groups. The first (about 53 per cent) are Han who migrated to, and have worked in, Lhasa for a long time. The second (about 33 per cent) are Tibetans who migrated to Lhasa from other areas of Tibet or other provinces. The Tibetan migrants from Chamdo, western Sichuan, Qinghai and Gansu speak different dialects and could constitute several subgroups according to their place of origin. They may also have a social distance from native Tibetans. The third group (about 14 percent) are native Tibetans from individual urban households of the Lhasa old urban district who have moved through the process of employee recruitment. The Han-Tibetan ratio varies by district office.

Under Xiang administration, the residents are native Tibetan peasants. The total number of these peasant households, registered as agricultural residents, was 2,354 in 1986. Because these Xiang are located in suburbs, they are also urban district offices in the administrative system.

The urban area of Lhasa City thus consists of three kinds of residential organizations (resident committee, unit household and Xiang), and the residents were under two groups of district office management and with two kinds of registration status. The residents under the first two organizations are non-agricultural and those under the third are agricultural. Table 3 is a breakdown of Lhasa residents by the status of their residential organizations, their registration status, ethnic status and migration status.

The basic outline is: of the 108,000 permanent residents in Lhasa City in 1987, about 27,500 native Tibetan urban residents lived in the old urban district, about 37,800 Han (migrants) and 33,300 Tibetans (about 70 per cent migrants and 30 per cent natives) lived in unit households, and about 8,000 native Tibetans lived in nearby suburbs. These three groups live in separate zones. Most of the unit households consist of a large yard surrounded by walls or fences, and the majority of employees and their families live and work within this area. Therefore they have limited chances (especially the Han) to contact native Tibetans, who mainly live in the old urban district or in the suburbs. For this reason, the Han (who work in governmental units and live in the yard of their unit) are, to a certain extent, actually separated from native Tibetans in Lhasa.

Table 3: Structure of Lhasa Residents by Ethnic Status, Migration Status and Residential Organization

| <i>Administrative level</i> | <i>Residential organization</i> | <i>Registration status</i> | <i>Structure of residents</i> | <i>Migration status</i> | <i>Occupation</i> |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|
| District office | Residential committee | Non-agricultural residents | Tibetan | Native-born | Various jobs* |
| | Unit household | Non-agricultural residents | Tibetan, Han | Tibetan: majority migrants Han: migrants | Government employees Government employees |
| Xiang | Unit household | Non-agricultural residents | Tibetan, Han | | |
| | Village | Agricultural residents | Tibetan | Native born | Farmers |

* includes self-employed, workers in government and in collective enterprises, and unemployed.

Construction materials and styles are different in the separate zones. Han-style buildings in the unit household zone are made of brick, while Tibetan-style houses in the old urban district

are made of stone (with special types of roof, window, stairs, etc.). Because of these differences in their appearance, visitors to Lhasa can easily distinguish them from each other.

Ethnic Structure of Unit Households and Their Index of Dissimilarity

The Han do have the opportunity to communicate with Tibetans working in the same unit. Through these co-workers (some of the Tibetans are natives or have relatives or friends among the residents in the old urban district), some Han may try to contact the native Tibetans. Therefore, as unit households are largely separated from the native Tibetan resident quarters, this study will concentrate on communication between Han and Tibetans within unit households, which are both residential and work places. Barkor (in the centre of the old urban district with 39 unit households and 2,461 individual urban households) and Nyangrain Road (with 52 unit households, a rural population of 3,903 and no individual urban households) were chosen to represent the two different district offices. Their locations are shown in Figure 1.

Index of dissimilarity (ID) is used quite often in studies of residential patterns. It indicates the difference in the percentages of ethnic groups in each small area (counting unit) from that of the total in a large district or a city (Farley, 1977: 500; Wilson and Taeuber: 1978: 51-78). It is argued that the ID is strongly affected by random departures from evenness when the number of minority members is small compared to the number of area units. This is considered to be its weakness (Massey and Denton, 1988: 284). However, because both the Han and Tibetan populations are quite large, while the number of units is relatively small, there should be no problem in applying this measurement of residential segregation to the Lhasa study.

As pointed out in many studies, it is very important to choose an appropriate counting unit in calculation of the ID, one that is not too small or too large⁵. Blocks (or census tract) are usually used in urban and natural villages in rural areas. In the Lhasa study, "unit household" seems to be the proper counting unit and the ID indicates the differentials of the ethnic structure of the unit households from the district office to which they belong.⁶ The result of calculation is shown in Table 4.

Because these two district offices studied in 1988 are located relatively near the old urban district, the Han-Tibetan ratio (around 1:1.2) in their unit households is higher than average. The other district offices in western and southern Lhasa have higher proportions of Han in their unit households. The ID calculated for these two offices is around 43.9-46.2. This means that under the conditions of 43.9-46.2 per cent of their residents switching between unit households (either Han or Tibetans), the ethnic structure of each unit household would be the same as that in the whole district office. The study that was based on the 1990 census in 10 District Office of urban Lhasa shows the similar residential pattern as that we found in the 1988 survey (Table 4). It indicates a certain level of Han-Tibetan segregation among these unit households.

⁵ See K.E. Taeuber and A.F. Taeuber, 1965, *Negroes in Cities*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. If the counting unit is too small (an extreme example would be using a household) the result would be a complete segregation; if too large (e.g. the city) the result would be a complete integration.

⁶ The calculation formula in this study is:

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

t_i and h_i are the number of Tibetans and Han in one unit household; T and H are the total Tibetans and Han within the relative district office.

Table 4: Indexes of Dissimilarity (ID) of the Unit Households Lhasa, 1988 and 1990

| District office | Han-Tibetan ratio* | ID of resident | Number of units | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| | | | “Balanced” | Han double Tibetan | Tibetan double Han | Only Tibetan | Total |
| Barkor 1988 | 1:1.70 | 43.9 | 10 | 5 | 19 | 5 | 39 |
| Nyangrain 1988 | 1:1.22 | 46.2 | 22 | 5 | 24 | 1 | 52 |
| Kyire 1990 | 1:1.79 | 34.1 | 20 | 9 | 29 | 3 | 61 |
| Jebum gang 1990 | 1:1.11 | 39.6 | 17 | 12 | 24 | 6 | 59 |
| Tromsig khang 1990 | 1:3.82 | 40.6 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| Kunde ling 1990 | 1:0.96 | 42.8 | 15 | 48 | 30 | 3 | 136 |
| Barkor 1990 | 1:1.03 | 57.2 | 8 | 14 | 19 | 3 | 44 |
| Tashi 1990 | 1:2.41 | 35.8 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 14 |
| Dogde 1990 | 1:1.10 | 40.1 | 40 | 5 | 19 | 2 | 72 |
| Naqen 1990 | 1:1.29 | 48.1 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 17 |
| Tselgunfthang 1990 | 1:3.90 | 53.1 | 0 | 5 | 14 | 7 | 26 |
| Nyangrain 1990 | 1:1.75 | 38.7 | 19 | 5 | 33 | 7 | 64 |
| Total 1990 | 1:1.29 | - | 159 | 110 | 193 | 33 | 504 |

* Han as 1.

The only ID calculated for other areas of minority ethnic groups in China is from my survey in Inner Mongolia in 1985. For Han and Mongolian residents, 54.8 was the ID calculated for 26 villages in Wongnioute Banner (Inner Mongolia), higher than that in Lhasa (Ma Rong and Pan Naigu, 1989: 185). A study of segregation in American cities during 1960-70 found that the ID varied between 60 and 98, also very high (Simpson and Yinger, 1985: 259-262). But it should be pointed out that the ID calculated in Lhasa only refers to unit households, which are already largely segregated from the old urban district where almost 100 per cent of residents are Tibetans. The ID here shows that even within the zone of "unit households," there is still a quite high level of segregation. Because there is no similar counting unit in the old urban district, it is difficult to calculate the ID for the whole city.

Table 4 also gives the number of units where either Han or Tibetans were concentrated. The question is, what kinds of units have more Han and what kind of units have more Tibetans? Among 91 total unit households under the two district offices examined, the Han-Tibetan ratio is around the middle level in 32 unit households. Three groups (a total of six unit households) have all Tibetan residents: religious organizations, e.g. two monasteries; local government and its units, e.g. Barkor Public Security Police Station and Barker Primary School; and local stores and trade agencies. In addition, there are 43 unit households with populations consisting of at least twice as many Tibetans as Han. Only 10 have twice as many Han as Tibetans in their population.

For the first group, it seems natural that Han seldom become monks in Tibet. Tibetan Buddhism is different from the population Buddhism (Mahayana) of the Han areas (Karan, 1976: 65-68). Because residents of the old urban district are Tibetans, it also seems natural to have Tibetans as officials in local government, and they are also the majority in most enterprises in Lhasa, as in the whole Tibet region (see Table 5). The number of Tibetan technicians and industrial, clerical and professional workers is increasing rapidly, compared to the situation in the past.

Generally, the percentage of Han in the total population is higher in units which require

employees to possess a higher education and more technical experiences (e.g. the Bureau of Earthquake, Bureau of Meteorology, Centre of Electricity Supply), and there are more Tibetans than Han in units dealing with religious, local administrative, cultural and trade affairs (e.g. the City Religious Bureau, Agricultural Machinery Factory, City Film Distribution Corporation, and local stores). Modern education has become more developed in Han than Tibetan regions. It will take time for more local Tibetans to qualify for positions requiring training⁷. The ethnic bias among unit households also shows large natural divergences based on ethnic background in Lhasa, which increases difficulties in social contact and co-operation between Tibetans and Han. Such large natural divergences would divide any society and make it difficult to carry out development projects.

After examining these units, it seems that distribution of Han and Tibetans among the unit households is related to the nature of the work. The ethnic groups have advantages in certain jobs because of their cultural and educational backgrounds. There is no evidence that any ethnic group is discriminated against in employee recruitment, though Tibetans may have priority in both recruitment and promotion in government institutions.

In Tibet, the proportion of Tibetans in local Communist Party organizations at all levels is generally high, although it seems that the lower the administrative level, the higher the proportion of Tibetan employees. For example, there were a total of 594 cadres under the Lhasa Urban District government in 1988. Of the 92 cadres who worked in Party organizations, 86 per cent were Tibetan and 11 per cent Han; of the 231 who worked in administration, 80 per cent were Tibetan and 17 per cent were Han; and of the 271 who worked in schools and the education system, 75 per cent were Tibetan and 21 per cent were Han. Since 1949, promoting cadres and professionals from ethnic minority groups has been an important aspect of government policies in ethnic minority affairs.

Table 5: Distribution of Han and Tibetans by Occupation in Tibet (%)

| | Han | Tibetan | Others | Total | Total |
|----------------------------|------|---------|--------|-------|-----------|
| Administrative/managerial* | 26.5 | 72.3 | 1.2 | 100.0 | 18,815 |
| Professional and technical | 32.9 | 66.1 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 42,634 |
| Clerical | 42.8 | 55.8 | 1.4 | 100.0 | 16,561 |
| Sales workers | 23.1 | 74.7 | 2.2 | 100.0 | 5,581 |
| Service workers | 32.8 | 66.2 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 12,706 |
| Farmer/herdsmen | 0.2 | 99.6 | 0.3 | 100.0 | 837,305 |
| Industrial workers** | 26.5 | 72.6 | 0.9 | 100.0 | 82,572 |
| Others | 47.6 | 51.0 | 1.5 | 100.0 | 414 |
| Total | 5.4 | 94.2 | 0.4 | 100.0 | 1,016,387 |

Source: The 1982 national census data.

* This group is usually called "cadre" in China.

** Workers engaged in industrial production, transportation and related activities.

This situation is similar to that in other regions inhabited by minority ethnic groups. Major leaders of these autonomous regions are from minority groups. Also, there is a higher concentration of cadres and professionals from minority groups in Party organizations and

⁷ There were only two middle schools in Tibet in 1959, then four in 1965 and 55 in 1979 (Lhapa Phuntso, 1984: 518-522). The percentage of the population with a middle school education or above was 0.32 in China as a whole (Han comprise 92% of the total population of China) compared with 0.07 in the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1990 (*Renmin ribao*, 21 November 1990).

administrations as compared with other units. Table 5 shows the occupational distribution of Han and Tibetans in the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1982. It indicates that relatively large proportions of Han were found in the occupational group as "clerical," "professional and technical" and "service workers." Only through the training of more scientists, technicians, managers and teachers from minority ethnic groups can the occupational structure of minority groups begin to resemble that of Han, and only then will the ethnic ratio among work units be more in balance and the level of ethnic bias by work unit begin to decline.

Residential Patterns of Spontaneous Temporary Migrants

There were estimated 40-50,000 spontaneous temporary and circular migrants in Lhasa in the summer of 1988, about 40 per cent of the city's permanent residents. Because their number was so large, their residential patterns and their impact on the Han-Tibetan relationship in Lhasa cannot be ignored. They can be broadly classified into four groups according to their purpose in coming to Lhasa.

1. Several thousand Tibetans from other areas come on pilgrimage. Most of them arrive after harvest in October, and leave before the traditional Tibetan spring festival in February (Liu Rui, 1988: 152-153). Most live in the suburbs in special camps for pilgrims, some stay with relatives in the old urban district, some stay in hotels. In most cases, they have no contact with the Han in Lhasa.

2. Tibetan businessmen come mainly from Qinghai, Gansu and Sichuan Provinces and Chamdo (the eastern part of the Tibet Region). They buy and sell medical materials, wool, leather, jeweler, butter, tea, etc. They usually stay with Tibetans and their customers in Lhasa are mainly Tibetans.

3. In the past, the number of Han businessmen and craftsmen in Tibet was very small, but it has increased rapidly since the recent reform policies which allow people to travel freely and engage in private business. They are mainly from Sichuan Province, some even from eastern coastal provinces⁸. A large proportion (especially those who own stores or restaurants) stay with relatives in unit households. Such connections are basic conditions for them to open a business in Lhasa⁹. The rest rent rooms in the old urban district and work as street peddlers. In household interviews, it was found that they have very limited contact with their Tibetan house-owners¹⁰.

4. The Han construction workers come in teams from nearby provinces to build houses and roads for the government and unit households by contract. They live at construction sites in the unit household zone, which usually are a distance from the old urban district. They have no contact with native Tibetans¹¹.

⁸ Figures from incomplete registration show a total of 52,800 temporary migrants in Tibet from other provinces during June-August 1985, with 51% from Sichuan, 4% (1,850) from Jiangsu and 3% (1,670) from Fujian Province (Liu Rui, 1988: 153).

⁹ These stores are rented to and registered in the name of their relatives who have permanent jobs in work units in Lhasa, so the government can find them for tax collection purposes, and to maintain the good condition of the properties.

¹⁰ A small group of Hui businessmen are from Gansu Province. They usually stay with relatives or friends in the Hui neighborhood in Wabaling Resident Committee under Kyire District Office.

¹¹ The work of repairing and rebuilding Tibetan-style houses in the old urban district is taken care of by local Tibetan construction teams, which are collective enterprises and usually managed by local authorities.

Based on this situation, it seems that spontaneous temporary and circular migrants in Lhasa have a residential pattern similar to that of permanent residents. To a certain extent, the residential pattern of permanent residents has an impact on that of temporary migrants. It is clear that, at a certain level, there is ethnic separation of the Han and Tibetans in Lhasa for both permanent and temporary residents.

The number of spontaneous temporary Han migrants in Lhasa is very large. Han businessmen, craftsmen and construction workers, who have more training and are from more advanced regions, have obvious advantages in competing with native Tibetans in the local work market. During household interviews many urban native Tibetans complained about this. It seems that some restriction on this type of migration is necessary to avoid tension between Han and native Tibetans. If the opening and development policies in the Tibet Region are aimed at helping native Tibetans learn technical skills and increase their income, rather than to allow Han temporary migrants to dominate the local work market, such tension will be reduced.

Conditions of Han-Tibetan Communication in Primary and Middle Schools in Lhasa

School segregation is an important issue in ethnic segregation. The findings of surveys of Mexican-Americans in California in 1970 and 1972 show that school segregation is closely related to residential segregation (Simpson and Yinger, 1985:343), as well as being partly the result of it (Wilson and Taeuber, 1978: 52). If members of two ethnic groups live in separate neighborhoods, their children will go to schools within their own neighborhoods and have limited chances to communicate with each other. By using the school as the counting unit, IDs were calculated for primary and middle schools in Lhasa (Table 6). Tibetan and Han students usually study in different classes so as to be taught in their own language - this is the main reason for segregation.

Table 6 shows that school enrolment patterns in Lhasa parallel its residential patterns. By the nature of their relations with urban administration, schools can be classified into four groups. First are primary schools within the city managed by the local administration. Of the 18 schools in this group, 14 are located in suburbs (the outskirts) and four in the old urban district (the core zone). Because of the high concentration of Tibetans in both areas, the Han-Tibetan ratio among the students was 1:9 in 1988. The second group are primary schools within the city managed by unit households. There is a relatively high concentration of Han in these unit households (located in the middle zone). The ratio of Han to Tibetan students in these schools was about 1:0.9. Thirdly are the middle schools in Lhasa managed by the city government, which are usually located in the middle zone. Their students are from both primary schools managed by work units and those managed by administration of the old urban district, and the Han-Tibetan ratio was between the two above (1:1.48). The final group are schools in counties under the Lhasa City administration and schools under Xiang in Lhasa suburbs (the outskirts). In both, the local residents are native Tibetan peasants, and there was only a total of 14 Han students in the middle schools of seven counties in 1987. Primary schools in these counties have a similar pattern.

Table 6: Indexes of Dissimilarity of Han-Tibetan Students in Primary and Middle Schools in Lhasa, 1988

| Type of school | Location | Han-Tibetan ratio | Index of dissimilarity | Number of schools |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Students: | | | | |
| Primary school: | | | | |
| — local administration | (Core) | 1: 9.03 | — | 18 |
| — work unit | (Middle) | 1: 0.88 | 52.1 | 22 |
| Middle school: | | | | |
| — urban district | (Middle) | 1: 1.48 | 31.1 | 11 |
| — county | (Outskirts) | 1: 84.4 | 58.7 | 7 |
| Teachers / staff*: | — | 1:0.91 | 20.9 | 14 |

*Working in schools under the city administration.

Therefore the old urban district, unit households and suburbs are three distinct parts of Lhasa City and each has its own characteristics in school patterns as well as residential patterns.

In areas under some district offices, the ratio of Han-Tibetan students in unit-managed primary schools is relatively higher than the ratio of Han-Tibetan residents in unit households (e.g. 1:0.9 as against 1:1.2-1.7 in Barkor and Nyangrain Road). One probable reason is that the average size of unit households with a concentration of Han is larger than those with concentrations of Tibetans. In the two district offices discussed above, the average size is 421 people for the unit households where the number of Han was double or more that of Tibetans; while the average size of the unit households in which the number of Tibetans was double or more that of Han was 126. A unit household can establish its own primary school only if the number of employees and their children is large enough. Therefore, some Tibetan children from unit households without their own schools must attend other schools in their neighborhood.

Teachers have a pattern similar to students, but they have a better balance of ethnic distribution among schools. The Han-Tibetan ratio of middle and primary schools managed by the city government was 1:0.9 in 1988.

The ID for schools is close to 60 in the suburbs. That for the primary schools managed by unit households is as high as 52.1, while the ethnic ratio is 1:0.88. This means that segregation is relatively strong in these schools. The ID is lower for middle schools because their student sources are from both unit-managed and local administration-managed primary schools.

The ID for the teachers is as low as 21. This results mainly from the course systems and the distribution method of new teachers. Most urban schools need both Han and Tibetan teachers, and new teachers who graduate from colleges and are appointed to schools are both Han and Tibetans.

Among the four groups discussed above, contact between the Han and *native* Tibetan students is more likely to occur in the first group—the primary schools managed by the local administration. Of four primary schools in the old urban district, only two enrol both Han and Tibetan students, other two only Tibetans. Table 7 shows the class structure of the two primary schools which have both Han and Tibetan students. One school (*shiyān xiǎoxué*: experimental primary school) started to have "Tibetan language classes" in 1986 and all newly-enrolled Tibetan students study in the new classes. In another school (*shī diér xiǎoxué*: city second primary school), the number of "Tibetan language classes" has increased since 1986. There is a clear trend that Tibetan students have become more concentrated in their "own classes" with

the recent emphasis on Tibetan language in teaching. Since 1986, the situation of Han and Tibetan pupils studying in the same class has lessened. Because students usually have more contact with their classmates than those in other classes, communication between Han and Tibetan pupils in school has consequently also decreased.

Table 7: Class Formation of Two Primary Schools with Both Han and Tibetan Students, 1988

| | <i>Tibetan class</i> | | | <i>Han class</i> | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>No. of class</i> | <i>No. of Tibetan students</i> | <i>No. of Han students</i> | <i>No. of class</i> | <i>No. of Tibetan students</i> | <i>No. of Han students</i> |
| <i>Experimental Primary School (Shiyan xiaoxue):</i> | | | | | | |
| First grade | 2 | 81 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 64 |
| Second grade | 1 | 51 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 84 |
| Third grade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 68 | 83 |
| Fourth grade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 43 | 52 |
| Fifth grade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 96 | 90 |
| No. of teachers | — | 16 | — | — | — | 37 |
| <i>City Second Primary School (Shi di er xiaoxue)</i> | | | | | | |
| First grade | 3 | 155 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 64 |
| Second grade | 2 | 122 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Third grade | 1 | 65 | 0 | 2 | 38 | 46 |
| Fourth grade | 2 | 85 | 0 | 2 | 35 | 39 |
| Fifth grade | 2 | 72 | 0 | 2 | 36 | 36 |
| No. of teachers | — | 24 | — | — | — | 25 |

Factors Affecting Conditions of Social Communication between Han and Tibetan Residents

The formation of the present residential patterns in Lhasa is largely due to the historical factor. Cultural factors (language, religion, etc.) and economic factors (occupational and income differentials, etc.) also have an impact on Han-Tibetan communication following, or through, residential segregation. The present residential pattern has developed from the situation in the 1950s. Figure 3 shows the core urban district in 1916 and 1935, and the expansion of the city since then.

According to the description written by Chapman, in 1936 “the city itself is surprisingly small, a compact square of buildings only two or three miles in circumference” (Chapman, 1940: 151). “It was a thickly settled district with very narrow lanes and crowded two to four floor Tibetan style stone houses,” the area “to the east of the Jokang was the old business area of Lhasa, containing numerous shops and the residence of shopkeepers” (Karan, 1976: 55-56). There was a population of 50-60,000 in Lhasa in 1936 (20,000 residents and 30,000-40,000 monks). Because the population was approximately the same in 1952 as in 1936 (Liu Rui, 1988: 69), one can assume that the size of the urban district also remained the same.

Besides Potala and Jokang, there were many small monasteries and many *lingkas* (gardens) outside the old urban district¹². Next to these monasteries and gardens, there were some large stone buildings which belonged to senior nobles and relatives of Dalai Lamas (Chapman, 1940: 15-170; Fa Zun, 1943: 35; Karan, 1976: 55). In the late 1950s, the masters

¹² The three famous monasteries (Drepung, Sera and Ganden) are located in suburbs about 5.5, 3 and 20 miles away from the city respectively (Goldstein, 1989: 24).

and monks of these monasteries fled to India, and the houses and the land were then used for public affairs and government institutions¹³. Some houses belonging to nobles who had fled were distributed among the homeless urban Tibetans. Many new units have been established in the zone around the urban district and gradually expanded into suburbs along the newly constructed roads (Karan, 1976: 56-58).

Meanwhile, some stores and rebuilt houses along streets within the old district were turned into small unit households (stores, primary schools, theatres, cinemas, etc.) to serve local residents (see Figure 2). But the main body of the unit households is located in the "middle zone" between the old urban district and the suburbs. This zone for unit households was established mainly by migrants from other regions (both Han and Tibetans) in the past 30 years, and was not the result of the migration within the city.

There could be several reasons for setting up these institutions in this zone instead of in the old urban district. First, the latter has always been very crowded. To build houses in the outer zone was much cheaper than to buy houses and land within the old district (including moving out the residents of the old houses and resettling them at the government's expense). To use the small empty monasteries and their land saved money and avoided possible problems between the government and local residents.

Figure 3. Expansion of Lhasa City

Secondly, to build new houses and buildings in the zone outside the old urban district would make the construction of facilities such as the water supply, sewers, electricity supply communications and streets much easier because they would use only desert land, only government

¹³ This is the traditional way to use empty monasteries. Tengyeling monastery was destroyed after it had sided with the central government in 1912, and the remains of the buildings were used as the post office in the 1930s (Chapman, 1940: 151).

funds, and only government institutions would be involved. The modern buildings along the new streets would give the old city a modern face, which the city authorities and construction designers could be proud of.

A third reason was that almost all the Han arrived in Tibet after 1951¹⁴. During 1911-51, a very small number of Han officers and merchants remained in Lhasa, but most of those who arrived after 1951 had never been in Tibet before, and knew nothing about Tibetan language and culture. Such a situation (language and cultural barriers and lack of contact in the past) resulted in a social distance, and reduced the possibility of contact between Han and native Tibetans and hence any incentive for them to live closely to each other.

A fourth reason was that a major part of the Han in these unit households are actually circular migrants whose job appointment and migration have been arranged by the government. Some of them work in Tibet for only three years, some for five years. Their tenure depends on which year they were sent to Tibet. Unit households and their apartment buildings were designed for these circular migrants as their offices and dormitories. It was easier for construction and management to locate these buildings in a separate zone outside the old urban district.

But when this residential pattern emerged, the trend of most Han living in a separate zone continued in urban construction and adversely affected the conditions of social communication between Han and native Tibetan residents. In the future, this consequence should not be forgotten by the construction planning and designing department of the city. Because the old urban district had become very crowded, the city authority recently had plans to provide house in suburbs, but these plans were not very successful, apparently; because of shortage of stores and services, and the difficulty of visiting Jokang Temple on pilgrimage. This shows that besides the cost of land, construction and transport, the ethnic factors and customs of residents should be given adequate consideration.

Conclusions

There is to a certain extent both residential and school segregation between Han and Tibetans in Lhasa. Ethnic residential segregation exists among both permanent and temporary residents. It seems that residential patterns emerged without the government's intention. Compared with other factors (cost and convenience) planners usually ignored the impact of construction plans on ethnic communication. It is a common phenomenon in all countries that people are concerned more about the physical design and appearance of cities while paying too little attention to the social conditions of the residents.

One special factor in the Han-Tibetan relationship in Lhasa is that most Han came to Tibet after 1951 and just for a short, specified period of time. This means that most Han have no long-term plans for social contact with native Tibetans. They hesitate to learn Tibetan language and culture, maintain their own customs while living in separated resident quarters, and are eager to return to their place of origin. Such an attitude also has a bad effect on Tibetans' attitude towards Han. In this aspect, Tibet is quite different from other minority regions such as Inner Mongolia where there is no labor circulation. For example, the relationship between Mongolians and Han in Inner Mongolia is reported to be generally good, they make friends from

¹⁴ In 1951 the "Agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet" was signed by delegates of the central government and the local government of Tibet (Karan, 1976: 89-91).

another group, live in the same village or neighborhood, and have a certain level of intermarriage. The proportion of Han in the total population reached 81 per cent in Inner Mongolia in 1990(China Population Information and Research Centre, 1991).

Housing policy in China and other socialist countries also has an impact on residential patterns in Lhasa. Since 1949 the Chinese government has made limited investment in housing construction as compared with industrial production. Housing is considered not as a productive but as a consumption item undeserving of investment. Furthermore, with funds for housing, government policy has favored government institutions and their employees. City construction bureaus, which repair and build houses in old urban areas and rent them to residents, have only received limited funds. In 1988 the funds for housing construction in the old urban district in Lhasa only comprised 0.6 per cent of the total budget of the Tibet Autonomous Region. In contrast, government institutions (unit households) have much more funding to build their office and apartment buildings. Such differences increased the gaps in housing and living standards between the residents of unit households (where most Han live) and the residents of the old urban district (where native Tibetans live). The residential patterns of temporary migrants, caused by insufficient planning, also strengthened ethnic segregation in Lhasa.

A certain level of school segregation is partially the result of the residential segregation in Lhasa, as is also the case in other countries. Language difference is an important factor separating Han from Tibetan students in schools and classes. In recent years, the government has re-emphasized the policy of using Tibetan to teach Tibetan children, which will continue or even strengthen the trend that Han and Tibetan students study in different schools or at least in different classes.

During the research in Lhasa, I felt that Tibetan residents in the old urban district had limited knowledge about Han living in the same city. I was told that Tibetans, especially women and the aged, have no chance to meet Han in their daily life. I also found that there are many misunderstandings about traditional Tibetan culture and customs among the Han.

Partly due to the complicated relationship between Tibet and the Han regions in the past, partly due to different cultural and religious traditions between Tibetans and Han, the process of social contact and ethnic integration in Tibet has been very complicated. The residential pattern in Lhasa is only one facet of its complication. In order to understand the social, economic and cultural changes which have occurred in Tibet during the past few decades and their impact on the ethnic relationship, more social research in Tibet and comparing the findings with the studies of other countries will be very helpful.

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