

Migration of Minor Ethnic Community in China: How Buyi Ethnicity Appears as Waste Picking Group at Wangjiaqiao Village, Kunming

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Abstract More than 300 Buyi ethnic people living collectively at Wangjiaqiao Village, Kunming. Not only they are living collectively, but also they are working collectively as waste pickers. They have migrated to Kunming from Guizhou Province and become waste pickers because of different reasons based on some push and pull factors; somehow their personal choices are actually influenced by both natural force and human factors. In this paper, the reasons why those people have chosen to migrate and become grouped waste pickers are discovered. Also the research was aimed to understand the lifestyle of them, and why they are living like that. For example, even though those people have enough money, they prefer lower standard of life in Kunming, and I was interested in the reasons why they prefer the lifestyle even they have capacity to live in better environment and improve their standard of living. At the end of this research, findings demonstrate that the phenomenon is not only related to merely personal choices, but it is also largely related to governmental policies.

Keywords Ethnic minority, Migration, Buyi ethnic group, Push and pull Factors, Waste picking group, One-child Policy, Marginalized group

1. Introduction

Buyi ethnic group is one of the minor ethnic groups in China, its documented population is around 2.8 million (National Statistics Bureau of China, 2010), and most of the its population live in Guizhou Province, and live in Yunnan Province, Sichuan Province, and even Vietnam [17]. There is a particular Buyi ethnic group living at Wangjiaqiao village in Kunming, Yunnan Province, which has a population more than 300, and they are members of 60 families. This ethnic group came from Guizhou Province, they have migrated to Kunming and now they are living waste pickers. Interestingly, those people work as waste pickers systematically, their system has its own strategy for ranking, people at different hierarchy earning different money and being responsible for varied links within the industry. There has been another interesting issue that in fact many of those people are not poor, some of them even earn more than some white collars, but they have chosen to stay in the urban village where the living environment is harsh, averagely a pair of parents is fostering three to five kids in a tiny room that is around 10 square meters.

Migration could be divided into domestic and

international, and also categorized into units such as individual, family, or community [15]. In the research, the focus was domestic migration of Buyi ethnic group, which is happening in the unit of great group, and within China.

There have been two aims for conducting the research, first is to understand the cause of migration of Buyi ethnic group from Guizhou Province to Kunming, and second is to know their recent life.

1.1. Literature Review

1.1.1. Migrating to Cities and Becoming Waste Pickers

Collective waste picking is a common phenomenon globally. The waste pickers have been seen that living at the bottom of society [10]. Internationally, there are seven significant waste picking communities in the world. For example, the waste picking communities could be found in India, in Brazil, in Philippines, and in Mexico. Even though the waste picking communities are living in different societies, members of those communities in fact are facing to similar problems such as terrible living circumstances, discrimination, health problems, and problems related to their social well-being [14]. From the example of those globally famous waste picking communities, people could find that usually those waste pickers have chosen to live surrounding the dumps, especially large-scaled dumps, and most of them come from rural areas in the countries, they have migrate to urban areas, and then they have become

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waste pickers. There are thousands of waste pickers living in every waste picking community that has been mentioned above, they have to work hard every day to get a little money to survive [14].

Waste picking is seen as a part of strategy for poor people to improve their lives [10]. This kind of people is seen as an exception of the common categories of migrants in cities, for instance, workers, including contract workers and temporary workers. Comparing to the common categories of migrants, the migrants as waste pickers get less attention from societies. According to Meng (2012), there have been 2.3 million waste pickers in China; those waste pickers see the work of waste picking as an opportunity for employment and getting income in the modern society. For the waste picking communities in Nanjing, there have been three categories of waste pickers, such as local residents, unemployed persons, and migrants who come from other dumps. The latter members have come to the dumps mostly because of relations formed through geographical links and blood relationship, which means they are from the same places or they are relatives of the first generation of waste pickers at those places. And the scale of those communities has become more and more larger as the amount of urban consumer waste and the increase of income for doing the job. There have been two kinds of waste pickers, some of them are full-time waste pickers, and the rest of them are part-time waste pickers. The part-time waste pickers are picking waste during their free time from job [11].

Buyi ethnic families were doing agriculture in their hometown, but the harvest somehow is lower than expectation because of the climate. So many farmers, especially ethnic farmers have chosen to migrate to cities for earning money. Kunming is not the only destination of those Buyi ethnic families, but it is a preferring choice of them. Firstly, Kunming is not far away from Guizhou, where is their hometown province. Secondly, the climate of Kunming is agreeable, the adaption is much easier than in other cities, also the risk of children to become sick is less because of the agreeable climate in Kunming. And most importantly, comparing to other cities, the price of living in Kunming is quite lower even though the earnings in bigger cities are more [11].

The migration happens not basically because Buyi ethnic people want to earn money in urban areas or they want to change their social position; further more, they are considering about their children, including the education and modern life of their children, and they are preferring the convenient urban life. The reasons of migration varied according to characteristics of gender, age and community role [10].

The group of waste pickers is renting tiny and simple rooms in urban-rural fringe like Wangjiaqiao Village in Kunming; usually they live in space could be seen as slums in city. According to Lv (2008), those ethnic people live with garbage they have picked. Even though those migrants move to Kunming as families, the wives have become waste

pickers more often than husbands, and rather husbands going outside for buying garbage and selling the garbage for higher prices more often. It is rare that couples going outside for working together, unless the amount of garbage is huge [10]. Mostly house owners are not willing to rent rooms to the waste pickers, so the waste pickers have to rent rooms in slum-dwellers, and many of them are living in the temporary accommodation with cheaper prices. The rooms are without bathrooms, some of the waste pickers take shower in public bathrooms, and some of them take shower in their landlords' bathrooms. For living better, they feed animals and pile up miscellaneous items around their rooms, which has caused their neighbors keeping distance from them. The smell and hygiene that caused by the job of waste picking has not only impacted on the urban relationship to the waste picking community, but also lead to some diseases to those people.

1.1.2. How Waste Picking Communities Live in Urban Areas

"Most of the recyclers work 'informally', receive very low pay, and are often not recognized by governments or the public", written by Gutberlet (2016), she used the "recyclers" to stand for the waste pickers, in her opinion, she believes that the waste pickers actually are helping recycling services because it is impossible for allocating and recycling waste merely depends on governments. Even though the waste picking communities are helpful for the waste governance. Waste pickers living collectively surround dumps and informal settlements is a common phenomenon in many countries. The communities are living in dirty and simple environments, usually they are living in the bad environments for quite long period, and they smell, eat and touch waste every day, consequently, those waste pickers always face to health problems such as skin disease, tuberculosis, malnutrition, and trichinosis [6]. Waste pickers are living surround the dumps, the settlements of them are mostly rigged up and informal, many of them are living with the waste they have picked, even they are living in the settlements that made from the waste. Waste pickers often work around 10 hours per day regardless of weather condition [14]. Many of the waste pickers are living in terrible circumstances, facing to serious health issues, discrimination, and the younger generations of the community are probably facing to the same kind of problems as well.

The waste pickers are living in ripped up settlements in Nanjing, and they are facing to the same living environment and problems as the global example [11]. In fact, the average income of those waste pickers is not low, for instance, according to Lu (2014), the waste pickers work in Shuige Dump, Nanjing, were earning at least 3 thousands to 4 thousands RMB per month. Those waste pickers are living in settlements like a slum, "it is hard to use toilet, hard to live during rainy days, also it is hot in hot weathers, cold in cold weathers" said by an interviewee. The waste pickers claimed that they have to bear the terrible working and living environments, and often the environments make them sick,

but they have no choice, most of them come from poor rural areas with their families, because they could not get good jobs in the urban areas, so they have become waste pickers. Mostly they are doing the job for fostering their children and giving their children better education to break away from the bottom of society [9].

The model of life of Buyi ethnic people in Kunming are multiple, some of the couples are living with their children, some are living with their children and parents, some couples are living separately because of their jobs, and some are living without children and parents. Usually they work hard as waste pickers, going outside early and coming home late at night. Always those people live closely to each other, particularly they are having close connection with their relatives that have migrated together. Adult couples are the mainstream that is doing waste picking, at the same time, children are assistant to it, or even for some elder children, they are picking garbage for getting pocket money [7]. Not only they are living closely to each other as a community, but also they pick waste collectively in order to maximize the capacity of physical labor, thus many of Buyi ethnic waste pickers are having relatively stable incomes [12].

Groups of Buyi ethnic waste pickers are connected to each other and they are having a kind of harmonious collective life; on the other hand, they are marginalized in the urban areas, those waste picking communities are constructing their insulating spaces in the urban areas [8].

1.2. Theoretical Foundations

1.2.1. Choice Theory

Choice Theory was developed by William Glasser [16], Glasser has claimed that Choice Theory's ten axioms and behaviors were done for achieving basic needs [5]. The central aspect of Choice Theory is that human beings are internally motivated instead if externally motivated. Being motivated internally means that things and events outside do not make people to behave, which means that what drives human behavior are internally developed notions of what is most important and satisfying to them. Crawford and his fellows (1993) stated five basic needs that direct human behaviors. Most basically, people need to survive, so surviving is the first-layer basic need to all human beings. Secondly, people need to belong to others, such as individuals or communities. Then, the need for gaining power is basic as well. Finally, human beings also need to be free and have fun. To behave for fulfilling the basic needs was also the major concept of Glasser's expression of Choice Theory.

Even though human needs are essentially the same for everyone, the behaviors through which individuals choose to satisfy those needs may be quite different. The different ways those have been chosen to satisfy the needs for people usually determined from different experiences. And more importantly, the behaviors are rational not only for present needs, but also for future needs [2].

1.2.2. New Economics of Labour Migration Theory

New Economics of Labor Migration is categorized into the 21st century migratory theories; Badie and Withol (1993) have developed the theory for explaining the characters of modern migration. The theory states that the migratory decision is not solely made by individual options, rather the wider social circumstances need to be considered as well. The most important part of the social circumstances is household. Firstly, the migration may be caused by the insufficient income in the home place; secondly, migrants are sending remittances to relatives stay in the home place. Information from Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis in United States (2012) said that the changing location-specific nature and lower moving costs recently are affecting the migratory decision-making [3]. This theory could be assistance to the research on migratory reasons of Buyi ethnic group; somehow it could explain how the group of people was making the decision of migrating to Kunming.

2. Methodology

The used research method was qualitative method, and the method for data collection was individual interviews and observation. The research was conducted in Kunming, Yunnan Province, China. Wangjiaqiao Village in Kunming is a particular settlement of Buyi ethnic migrant waste picking groups that come from Guizhou Province. Those Buyi ethnic migrant people are living in the village collectively and they are keeping similar lifestyle with each other. And I was working as an intern in an organization that is located in the village and providing services for residents who live in the village. So Wangjiaqiao Village has been chosen as the research site of the research.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

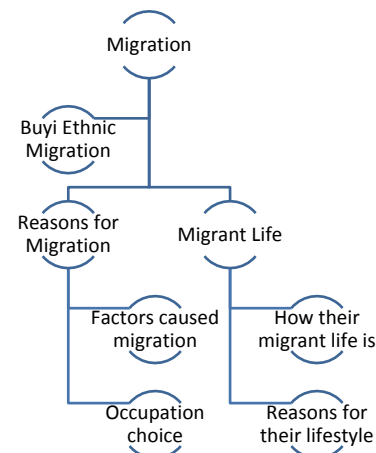


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of the Study

As in Figure 1, the research looked at the migration of Buyi ethnic group that from Guizhou Province to the Wangjiaqiao Village in Kunming, Yunnan Province. There are mainly two aspects the research was interested in. First,

the reasons for migration, and second, migrant life of Buyi ethnic group in the Wangjiaqiao Village, for example, how they live and why they live like that. The choice theory and new economics of labour migration theory were helpful for exploring factors for the migration and lifestyle of Buyi migrants.

2.2. Research Questions

Following the statements of theoretical foundations and conceptual framework, two research questions were arisen:

1. What are the main causes of the migration for Buyi ethnic group in Wangjiaqiao Village, Kunming, and why they have chosen to be systematical waste pickers?
2. What is the common lifestyle of the group and why they live in the way?

2.3. Data Collection and Data Analysis

Methods for data collection were based on the qualitative research method, and for getting more specific information related to personal opinions from members of the community; and as oral interviews were more convenient for the ethnic people who were not good at writing language, individual interviews and observation were chosen as the methods for data collection.

Here is a data planning matrix table (Table 1) gives an overview to the data collecting sources and methods, including the details about the reasons why the sources and methods have been chosen. There are also some aspects such

as justification, practicalities of the process of data collection.

There have been four interviewees selected for doing the individual interviews, method for sampling was snowball sampling. There were not only interviewers came from the ethnic community, but also a few participants come from Yunnan Heart to Heart Community Care Center where has been always providing services to the community, it had connections with Buyi ethnic group, and work with Buyi ethnic group, so they got knowledge of the group. There were two participants form Buyi ethnic group, and two participants were from Yunnan Heart to Heart Community Care Center. Following the basic information of the interviewees is displayed in Table 2.

Another important method for data collection is observation. There have been two major reasons for why the method of participant observations has been chosen. First of all, the participant observation is convenient to conduct in Wangjiaqiao Village; the researcher was working in the community and went to the community every working day, so the observation could be frequent. Second, the observation sometimes could help to get more information about how those Buyi ethnic people live in the village, and the observation could apply on wider scale of the community in the village, since the researcher had chances for visiting the of Buyi ethnic community, so the researcher got information about how they live in their lives, such as where they live, what kind of houses they are living in, or what they are spending for.

Table 1. Data Planning Matrix

Research Questions	Data Sources and Methods	Justification	Practicalities	Ethical Issues
1. What are the main causes of the migration for Buyi ethnic group in Wangjiaqiao Village, Kunming, and why they have chosen to be systematical waste pickers? 2. What is the common lifestyle of the group and why they live in the way?	*Individual Interviews	*Interviews can give more information about experiences that the participants have been through; also participants' personal voices are important in this research and can give closer perspective to understand what the research was looking for.	*Informal interviews, there is no need for translation. *It is easy to access to Buyi ethnic people live surround the village, but it is more difficult to interview them formally. *Mostly, Buyi ethnic people can listen and speak the Common Chinese, the communication could go well.	*No identifying information, fake names in report *Verbal consent
	Observations	*Getting information as an outside observer can make the research more neutral.	*Easy access to living environment of Buyi ethnic communities, observations are convenient.	*Keep the truth of what have been observed.

Table 2. Information on Participants

Ms. B, who is a member of Buyi ethnic community, she has been to Kunming for 15 years, she used to be a waste picker and now she is still living with her community. Ms. B can understand and speak Chinese language.
Ms. X is a member of Buyi ethnic community as well; she comes from a different village in Guizhou Province. Her husband is retrieving and selling more valuable waste materials, and sometimes she helps her husband for packing the materials.
Ms. M is a staff that working at Yunnan Heart to Heart Community Care Center, she is working for ethnic minority, so she is familiar to the community, which means she can give some useful information about the community.
Ms. C is also a staff working at Yunnan Heart to Heart Community Care Center; she is working for women, especially disadvantaged women in Wangjiaqiao Village. She knows some information about Buyi ethnic community.

Data collected from the individual interviews and the observation were transcribed first immediately after the activities. Transcripts were coded under two categories of information, the first category is the reason of migration from Guizhou Province to Kunming and how they have chosen to become waste pickers. And the second category is lifestyle of Buyi ethnic community that work as waste pickers in Kunming, and why they are living like that. Method that used to conduct data analysis is called conversational analysis, which means the important conversations would be recorded, and then useful information could be sorted out and added into the data analysis process. The categorized information could answer the research questions in order.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1. How Buyi Ethnic Community Migrated to Kunming and Became Waste Pickers

Based on the information that collected from the field research, many of the members in Buyi ethnic waste picking community at Wangjiaqiao Village in Kunming are from the west and south of Guizhou Province, according to Ms. M, the west and south of Guizhou Province do not have fertile soil, so farmers in those areas always suffering from poverty and famine because they could not get enough products from their lands.

“Many of them have chosen to go outside from their home villages since they wanted to escape from the penalty of violation to the One Child Policy, in their home villages, the penalty is very strict, pregnant women could be forced to abortion...so they got away from the villages and migrated to urban areas where they would not be monitored” (Ms. M).

The infertile soil is one of the reasons that caused the migration; the other important cause is related to China's special One Child Policy. Since most of Buyi ethnic families are averagely having more than two kids, so they escape from their hometown for avoiding the strict penalty from the violation to the policy. So they have temporarily given up their lands and social welfare in home villages, and have come to Kunming city.

“I have a relative, she told me that I could come to Kunming, the weather here is great, and she said she could help me to find a job, and I could get more income compared to doing cultivation at home, so I came to Kunming” (Ms. B).

“We came to Kunming because of the introduction from relative, you know Kunming is very close to Guizhou and the climate here is quite good, so we have decided to come here. At that time my family has come to Kunming and we were doing odd jobs for our relative. Later my husband started to work by himself...now we have come to here for several years, we go back to Guizhou Province very often, living here is very convenient for going back” (Ms. X).

Not only Ms. B and Ms. X said they have come to Kunming because of the climate here, but also people they know were saying that. According to the observation, there

have been several groups that located in different parts of Wangjiaqiao Village, even though they are not living together, in fact they are connected to each other. Usually relatives and people come from the same rural village are living in the same group, and different groups are connected. Members who migrated to the place earlier often introduce members who migrated to the urban village later, and often they are relatives or friends from the same rural village. And most of the members of Buyi ethnic community have chosen to migrate to Kunming because of its mild climate, close distance from their hometown, which means they can quickly go back to home if any there is any emergency with lower expense.

After Buyi ethnic people had migrated to Kunming, they have become collective waste pickers initially in another urban-rural fringe.

“Firstly my family moved to here and all people I knew were doing waste picking job, so my husband and I had to do the same job as them. And even we wanted to have other kinds of job, there are not many private factories here, and we have no working skill, so we did not really have a choice” (Ms. B).

There are mainly three reasons why a relatively significant population of Buyi ethnic people has choosing to be waste pickers. The first reason is that those people were peasants before, they have migrated to urban areas like Kunming without any working skill that urban labors should have, so basically they had limited choice for what they were going to do for surviving in urban areas. Second, they feel that working as waste pickers is quite free to them; for instance, they do not have to obey working timeline, and other people do not control them. Third, those waste pickers earn money everyday as long as they work and sell materials, and they do not face to the risk that their salaries might be in arrears, especially nowadays this situation always happens to workers and white collars. Even though people outside the community may think the income of picking waste is low and the waste pickers are poor, actually the average income of the waste picking community is even higher than many people who have regular jobs. Also according to Ms. M, being waste pickers in urban areas has become a traditional working custom to Buyi ethnic community; it has become a long-term collective behavior.

“We were at the lower level of this community, so I could earn several thousands RMB per month, for some members who work at the middle level and higher level in the system, they can earn much higher than us. Sometimes the higher-level waste pickers could have annual income around 1 million RMB if the market was good. Recently the economics is not good, they can earn about 200 thousands per year” (Ms. B).

According to Ms. B, the average income of waste pickers in the system was not low; sometimes the incomes of some waste pickers were very high. This could be an important reason that large number of Buyi ethnic people has become waste pickers after their migration to urban areas like Kunming. Later because of the governmental resettlement

projects, now Buyi ethnic waste picking groups are living at Wangjiaqiao Village, where is very close to the downtown of Kunming.

3.2. Lifestyle and Roots of the Lifestyle

The settlements of Buyi waste picking community at Wangjiaqiao Village, were quite similar to each other, they had some common characteristics. First of all, the settlements are ripped up and informal, they look like the construction of slums. Second, the rooms are theoretically too tiny to accommodate at least 5 family members, but practically, at least 5 people are living in a tiny room. And then there are many families live as a group in a space could be rented to the waste-picking group. One of those settlements is worse than the two else, once the day is rainy, it will be hard to cross the yard, because the floor is naturally made of mud. Also according to the observations, the rooms are dark and rarely have a window, at the same time, waste that has been picked will be piled up in the rooms, which means the waste pickers have to work with garbage, eat with garbage, and even sleep with garbage. I have asked the interviewees and some people that did not involve in the formal interviews, they answered as below:

“We have to make sure that others cannot steal our property. We had rent a room to pile up the materials and shared with our neighbors, we shared the rent as well, but later we have realized that it could not work because there was someone wanted to occupy more space of the room, it was unequal, so finally we stopped renting the common room. It will be expensive if my family rent a room to storage the materials; also it is insecure for us because we want to watch our property directly instead of putting them in the other room” (Ms. X).

Renting a common storage room somehow often causes conflicts between us, if we rent by ourselves, the expense is not cheap, and finally our income will be lower. So we prefer store the materials inside our room (Ms. B).

“It is impossible for them to rent a room in formal buildings at the village; they have to find a place where they can put garbage in, a landlord who can stand for the smell and bad living environment. So they have to live in the informal settlements” (Ms. M).

It is hard to rent rooms for waste pickers since local landlords often do not want to rent rooms to them because they used the rooms to store garbage. And basically members of the community work for their own families, no matter how much they earn, they have to live in the informal settlements for saving money, and more importantly, the owners of those settlements can stand for the environment, also the accommodation must be cheaper compared to formal accommodations. The community members are trying their best to save money, except their living expenses and educational expenses for children, they save the rest of money for constructing formal houses in their home villages, most of them are going back to their hometown, this choice sometimes is not part of their willingness.

“Usually because of Hukou, our children have to go back

to Guizhou Province for finishing education, and if we want to have social welfare in Kunming, we have to have Kunming Hukou, which is not easy for us” (Ms. X).

Because the waste pickers know that they are going back to their hometown in the future, so they do not care about what kind of settlements they are living in, for example, they would not require any environmental quality of the community in Kunming, or any decoration, also they do not ask for big and bright rooms. Not only those people are saving money for constructing houses in their home villages, but also they are saving money for some cultural reasons. Buyi ethnic members are preparing gift of money to their friends and relatives for ceremonies such as weddings and celebrations of being adult. It is a huge expenditure of Buyi people in their lives.

“They said they came here for earning money, not for coveting pleasure, so rather than use money to live in better environment or pursuing material life, they prefer save the money for the future” (Ms. M).

At Wangjiaqiao Village, the members of Buyi ethnic community are collectively living in several groups, and those groups are more or less connected to each other. Because they are ethnic minority and there have been some linguistic barriers, so the community seems isolated from the mainstream society, but their connection inside the community is close. The living environment of the community could somehow be seen as slums in this urban-rural fringe, the informal settlements, dirty sanitation, and pungent odor, also the water system is poor. No matter how much money they earn, they have chosen to stay in the settlements for saving their money, either for some cultural reasons and future planning.

Based on the observations, Every Buyi family at least has two children; some families have five to seven children. Buyi ethnic families choose to have so many children because in their opinions, more children is the significance of more blessing, especially more sons. And then, because the parents have given up the social welfare in their hometown, so they give birth to many children and they believe that the children can well support them when they get older. Even though strangers may think the lifestyle of those Buyi people is weird because they are putting themselves to great inconvenience for saving money, and they give birth to too many children and they are somehow not fostering their children in good quality based on the mainstream value.

Looking at the surface, the choices of Buyi ethnic people at Wangjiaqiao Village in Kunming might be unusual, but the choices that made by those Buyi ethnic people sometimes are not based on their willingness and situation in the society. For making decisions, they have to consider about their recent situation, future plan, and their next generations, those aspects have largely influenced their lifestyle.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

Same as the international situation, many members of

Buyi ethnic waste picking community in Kunming are from rural villages; the lands are infertile at the villages. And more importantly, most of the members have violated the One Child Policy in China, for escaping from the strict penalty for the violation and forced abortion. So they decided to migrate from their hometown to urban areas.

With the recommendation from relatives and friends, the members have chosen to move to urban-rural fringes in Kunming, Yunnan.

There are several reasons for the decision, firstly, they prefer the climate of Kunming than climates of other places; the climate is mild, which is good for children to grow healthily. Second, the price level is relatively lower in Kunming; those people could be less stressed. Third, Kunming is close to Guizhou Province, if there is any emergency in their hometown, they can go back in short time, and the expense for traveling will be relatively cheaper. The collective migration has been achieved step by step, and now in Kunming, there are more than 300 Buyi ethnic waste pickers are living and working as a community.

In Kunming, the number of small-scaled factories is quite small, especially within the city; also the working skill level of the migrant ethnic people is quite lower, so initially, the former migrants had become waste pickers. Being a waste picker does not require any working skill and certificate. The later comers are following the former ones since the system had been constructed, and also they are not skill workers too. According to the information that collected from the field research, being a waste picker is a great choice for Buyi people because they believe that it is free and they can get money whenever they want as long as they are working, there is no need for being await for the day for salary payment.

The living environment of the community is terrible, they are living in informal settlements with garbage, and they are always discriminated by other people because of their job. Buyi ethnic people are trying their best to save money for their future and cultural ceremonies; they are doing their choices based on their own situation and for their families. Nearly every Buyi family has three to five children, some families have six to seven, they give birth to so many children because of not only cultural belief, but also they are expecting their children to support them in their old age.

Largely because of the Hukou, children in the community finally have to go back to Guizhou for taking university entrance examination, this is the main reason why members of the community are sure that they are going back to Guizhou and may not come back to Kunming again. Also it is hard for them to get Kunming Hukou and stay in Kunming for the rest of life, there are many obstacles such as high price of apartment, lack of taxation certificate and social welfare, also the harness of taking part into the mainstream society. Further more, Buyi ethnic community members are considering their future needs rather than present needs, they believe that their futures are in their hometown, so they keep saving money in Kunming and investing money to life in Guizhou.

In fact, those people have been forced to migrate to urban areas like Kunming and they are also forced to go back to their home villages because of governmental policies, and their children are facing to failure on examination because of it too. The children are forced to go back to take examination, but the exam contents are largely different between Kunming's version and Guizhou's version, which may eventually impact on educational opportunity and future development of those children. So here is the recommendation to further research on the educational problems of Buyi ethnic migrants that largely caused by requirement of Hukou. The research should be interesting and helpful for solving the problems.

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