

**PREFERENTIAL POLICIES FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA:
A CASE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 2001-2015**

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DARAMALLA SAIDAI AH



**Chinese Division
Centre for East Asian Studies
School of International Studies
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
New Delhi 110067
2017**



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
CENTRE FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI- 110 067 (INDIA)

Phone : 91-11-2670 4346
FAX : 91-11-2670 4346

Date: 25th July, 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Preferential Policies for Ethnic Minorities in China: A Study of Higher Education, 2001-2015" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

D. Saidaiiah
DARAMALLA SAIDIAH

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Srikanth
Chairperson
Centre for East Asian Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
CHAIRPERSON, CEAS

Varaprasad Sekhar Dolla
25/7/17
Supervisor
Centre for East Asian Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
SUPERVISOR

Dedicated to,

My family

Society and

Teachers

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Abbreviations

CCP- Chinese Communist Party

GATS- General Agreement on Trade and Services

CSY-China Statistical Yearbook

HEI-Higher Educational Institutions

LREA-Law of Regional Ethnic Autonomy

KMT-Kuomintang

MOE- Ministry of Education

NAA-National Autonomous Areas

NAR- Nationality Autonomous Regions

NBSC-National Bureau of Statistics of China

NHEEE- National Higher Education Entrance Exam

NPC-National People's Congress

PRC- People's Republic of China

ROC- Republic of China

SEAC-State Ethnic Affairs Commission

USD- United States' Dollar

WTO- World Trade Organization

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Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Affirmative Action has been envisaged as an effective policy in many countries to address inequality among people through government support. It became a world phenomenon after the United Nations Convention on Inequality. In 1989, “the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racism, article 2.2 clearly mentioned that affirmative action programs may be required of countries that ratified the convention in order to rectify systematic discrimination.” Furthermore, it mentions that such programs “shall in no case entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved” (United Nations Committee on Human Rights 1989). Accordingly, many of the countries across the world have been taking initiatives for disadvantaged people in diverse fields. These initiatives are mostly in the form of “Affirmative action” policies and they are being called with different names in different countries. These affirmative action policies are aimed at those who have been left behind, for various reasons, for long time. Often, these people’s disadvantages are results of historical mistreatment meted by society such as “slavery” in America and “untouchable” in India. Generally, the affirmative action tries to achieve equality in society by providing special assistance for disadvantaged people in education, employment and other various areas. The nature of affirmative action policies is very flexible and different from region to region because of diversity of countries. Hence, countries across the world have been practicing various affirmative action policies by extending to different walks of life of people.

China is one such country with a great diversity in terms of culture, religion, language, region and ethnic groups. According to the People’s Republic of China (PRC)

Constitution, there are 56 officially recognized ethnic groups or (nationalities) are living in China. According to the 2011 National Population Census, the biggest ethnic group is the Han nationality and constitutes about 91.51% of the total population of China. Rest of the 55 ethnic groups constitutes 8.49 % of the total population. These fifty five ethnic groups have been categorized, officially, as ethnic minorities or “minority nationalities”. There is a huge variation in the size of ethnic groups minorities as well as the Han majority. Among ethnic minority groups the biggest is the Zhuang nationality with over about 17 million people. The smallest ethnic group is the Lhoba nationality, with 2965 in the 2010 census. Likewise, the Tibetans (5.4 million), Mongols (5.8 million) and Uighurs (8.4 million), and these ethnic minorities are found in all parts of the country (Wu, X. 2014).

The number of China’s national minorities is small relative to its total population, but the areas they have traditionally inhabited account for almost 60 percent of the territory of the country, mainly the border and remote areas which are of strategic importance and are extremely rich in natural resources. In terms of country as a whole with such multi ethnic and cultural differences bringing people together is a big challenge to the government. To build China into a unified country has also been one of the core issues for PRC’s. To address the minorities problems and incorporate and integrate them into Chinese state and make them to participate in building modern China the PRC government has been pursuing certain, exclusively, minority policies. The policies that China has been following to address the ethnic minorities groups are preferential policies which is known in other countries as “Affirmative Action”.

The People’s Republic of China had, officially, recognized this diversity and in order to develop these ethnic minorities and bring equality among its all ethnic minorities China started special policies. Adhering to this diversity Chinese government evolved a number of policies for ethnic minorities in the constitution of the PRC. These policies are envisioned specially for non-Han ethnic minorities, also known as ethnic minorities. Though, China is a multi-ethnic country, but in reality the Han ethnic group is the single majority ethnic group in the country and lives in all regions. Therefore, the modern Chinese leaders envisaged equality and unity of all ethnic groups. The PRC Constitution

stipulates that “All ethnic groups in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the ethnic minorities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's ethnic groups. Discrimination against and oppression of any ethnic group are prohibited.” Citizens of all ethnic groups in China enjoy all equal rights accorded to citizens by the Constitution and law.

The PRC's government and leaders are convinced that ethnic relations will be stabilized only when the living standards of minorities are greatly improved. In order to bring equality among non-Han ethnic minorities the PRC's leaders endowed certain laws and rights in the constitution of China.

Since the establishment of PRC in 1949 China has been practicing various preferential policies for its ethnic minorities. The China's preferential policies cover diverse areas of ethnic minorities' everyday life. There are preferential policies in family planning preferential, education preferential, employment preferential, economic preferential, and political preferential.

A Case Study of Higher Education, 2000-2015

China economic reforms, China has made notable achievements in economic growth and education. As a result of those reforms China in the area of education has made huge progress. However, there are educational gaps still exists between various groups. Because of unequal economic development gap between the urban and rural areas increased, inequality income distribution, unbalanced development among various regions, and other inadequate distribution of educational investment and resources, not everyone with normal abilities can acquire the same education. Economically most of the China's minority communities are located in underdeveloped areas in western China where local government rely on the central government foe funds (Hu 2001). As for livelihood the population in western China relies on agriculture (63.5 percent) with smaller proportions working in industry (12 percent) and services (24.5) (Long 2004, 257). Despite the fact that education development is viewed as a basic state policy in China, the ratio of public expenditure on education does not keep pace with the GDP

growth rate which indicates that the percentage of government expenditures on education still remains low.

As part of this larger framework China has been encouraging ethnic minority communities in higher education from the beginning of PRC. There have been many preferential policies to support minority education. But China entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 needed Changes in education system. As a result a new form of private autonomous institutions affiliated with public universities has emerged and charge much higher tuition fees than their affiliated public institutions. Preferential policies for ethnic minorities in education have raised new debates about effectiveness and fairness of policies that will affect over nine percent population.

1.2 Literature Review

The study on Chinese preferential policies is not free from limitations. The following literature reviews deals with three different dimensions and are arranged accordingly. The first section reviews theoretical debates on the theme. The second section delineates preferential policies in China. The third section focuses on case study of preferential policies in higher education.

Affirmative Action in Theory

Mao Zedong in Selected Works of Mao Zedong, (1958) goes on to suggest that although the ethnic minorities constitute mere 6% of the total Chinese population they inhabit an extensive of 50 to 60 per cent of China's total territory. Acknowledging this reality, the government should strive to nurture good relations between the Han and the non-Han minority nationalities. He stands for equality of all ethnic nationalities. For that every national has to be part of that unity by forsaking differences among them. Therefore there should not be any kind of extremism; whether it could be Han nationalism and local separatism. Thus, the key to this problem lies in overcoming both the Han chauvinism and local ethnic nationalism. Therefore, both the Han chauvinism and local nationalism are destructive to the unity of the nationalities thereby unity of the country. Therefore, what Mao Zedong indicated is a very important aspect of social reality in China that there

are different minority nationalities and differences among Chinese minorities, and in order to overcome these existing differences government should play greater role.

John Rawls in his “A Theory of Justice”, (1971) talks about the justices and disagrees with the traditional arguments about of justice. The traditional philosophical argument of justice is that the debate of freedom and equality overlaps. But, he argues that the notions of freedom and equality are not mutually exclusive as they presume but they can be coexisted. The “A Theory of Justice” is all about tries to establish equilibrium between freedom and justice. Rawls endeavors to build up a contemplated record of social equity through the social contract approach. This approach holds that a general public is in some sense an understanding among each one of those inside that society. Rawls starts his work with the possibility of equity as reasonableness. He recognizes the fundamental structure of society as the essential subject of equity and distinguishes equity as the principal as the first virtue of social institutions. In the wake of considering the primary attributes of justice as fairness and the hypothetical prevalence of this approach. Rawls takes two principles of justice and he distinguishes them. In the first principle of justice he says, every individual should have equal rights along with everyone in the society. In the second principle, that inequalities ought to be organized so that there should not be special advantage of the individuals so that no one is prevent from advantages of no one. Rawls, “A Theory of Justice” (1971), is extensively acknowledged as a vital contribution to the thought and the nature of justice.

Preferential Policies in China

Fei Xiaotong (1988), in his “Plurality and Unity in the Configuration of the Chinese People” came up with a new concept of unity with diversity which attracted great attention in China. The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 triggered serious concerns among Chinese leaders. One of them relates to its policies for national minorities. According to some scholars, Chinese policies for its national minorities were inspired by the USSR experience. In this background the work of Fei is very important one in changing and redefining Chinese preferential policies. This study elaborates the Chinese preferential policies. Fei Xiaotong came up with a new theme “Unity with Diversity”. According to him, the Chinese became conscious of national entity as it today recent one

due to the China's confrontation with the Western powers, but their formation into a single nation has been the result of a historical process of millennia. The historical situation was the simultaneous existence of a multitude of ethnic groups who were separated and independent of each other. During a long period of mutual contact many groups were mixed, aligned, or integrated, while others were divided and became extinct. In time the groups unified into one group which consisted of a number of subunits that kept emerging, vanishing, and reemerging, so that parts of some subunits became a part of others, yet each retained its individual characteristics. Since 1949, the Chinese government has been promoting equality of all ethnic people and made it as one of its basic policies principles. However, inequality between Han and other national minorities continues to widen.

In addressing the way forward to bring equality among these minorities he underscores cooperation among Chinese minorities as the key. Since, China's national minorities are underdeveloped preferential policies are offered them to help to improve their economy and culture. During the industrialization, the shift from agriculture to industry, gap widened among Chinese minorities and also poses different challenges as Hans do not possess resources whereas non-Han regions are endowed with natural resources a basic requirement for industrialization but lacked technology and capital. He suggests that while extracting these resources policies should be made to improve the underdeveloped ones by assisting them through various measures.

Ma Rong (2004) in "Ethnic Relations in Contemporary China: Cultural Tradition and Ethnic Policies since 1949" says that the Chinese government has adopted the ethnic minorities' policies on the line of "Soviet Union". As part of these policies Chinese government have been giving various preferential policies for ethnic minorities. He says that these policies contains two important variations one is political and other one is the combination of socio-economic and cultural. In terms of political ethnic minorities have been given political preferential in their regions. Meantime preferential policies in other areas have improved socio-economic conditions of ethnic minorities. These improvements strengthened ethnic identity of ethnic minorities and prompted group consciousness among them.

“In general, government policies in ethnic affairs can be classified into two major types. The first one emphasizes racial and ethnic minorities as distinct political groups/entities and tries to establish a political framework in which each group has its position. (e.g. the Romans in the Roman Empire); the second type distinguishes different groups by culture/civilization standards and emphasizes the differences among the groups in social norms and moral ethics” (Ma, R. 2004).

However, in the case of China the relations between Han and non-Han ethnic groups are not about the political but the culture in nature. The collapse of the Soviet Union indicates that this policy orientation provides an institutional basis for national disintegration when internal and external powers work together. Therefore, he says that the disintegration of Soviet Union is an indication of the weakness of Soviet Union model. Thus, changes are needed in ethnic preferential policies for longer run. He favors for second type of policy which promotes the assimilation or acculturation among ethnic minorities.

Burry Suatman (1998), in “Preferential policies for Ethnic Minorities in China: The Case of Xinjiang” argues that the debates about affirmative policies in several countries about the propriety and effectiveness of government programs for weaker sections of the society. For him China's preferential policies of ethnic minorities are broader in nature and wider in reaching out them. He says, that “Preferential policies for ethnic minorities in China are implemented in family planning, school admissions, the hiring and promotion, the financing and taxation of businesses, and regional infrastructural support.” He argues that the Affirmative action for ethnic minorities have facilitated greater social parity, however they do not promote positive ethnic relations. To prove his assumption he takes the case study of the Xinjiang province. Therefore, he says that the China's preferential policies stand out the debates over their functions and results.

Preferential Policies in Higher Education

Minglang Zhou ed. (2009), “Affirmative Action in China and the U.S.: A Dialogue on Inequality and Minority Education” has attempted to evaluation of Chinese ethnic preferential policies. This work also compares the Chinese notion preferential policies

with the Western notion of Affirmation Action. The Chinese preferential policies, he says, are large and broader, while the Affirmative Action in the U.S is limited and narrow. He also disagrees with the western scholars and their understanding of Chinese preferential policies is inaccurate. Further, he continues, China has been evolving its own preferential policies of ethnic minorities applies diverse areas not unlike in only employment and education.

Xing Teng and Xiaoyi Ma in “Preferential Policies for Ethnic Minorities and Educational Equality in Higher Education in China” (2009), focus on regional inequalities in education regardless of ethnicity. China has long been following preferential policies to support minorities’ education. These preferential policies for minorities had never been static and there has always been change as and when required. However, with China’s transition to a market economy from a centrally planned economy beginning in the 1980s, preferential policies in higher education have generated new issues. Since, China adopted the market economy there have been many changes relating to education system, mainly higher education system. The authors argue that the preferential policies based solely on ethnic identity cannot meet the needs of diversified and stratified minority communities in a plural society. Therefore they suggest that educational equality should be surveyed from various angles and recommend multiple concepts of educational equality.

1.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

- 1) What are factors that led China to initiate preferential policies for ethnic minorities?
- 2) Why did China choose ethnicity as a base for preferential policies?
- 3) What are the key aims and goals of China’s preferential policies?
- 4) Has China been using preferential policies as a tool to legitimize its rule over minorities?
- 5) Do the preferential policies create and consolidate identity assertion among ethnic minorities?

- 6) Has China's move to market economy created new inequality among ethnic minorities?
- 7) What has been the nature of opposition to affirmative action for ethnic minorities in China?
- 8) What are the some of the preferential policies affected by China in the realm of higher education and their impact on minorities?

Hypotheses

1. Chinese preferential policies for ethnic minorities had limited impact in empowering them.
2. China's transition from state planned economy to market economy created new inequalities as well as debates about its preferential policies for ethnic minorities in higher education.

1.4 Definition, Rational and Scope of the Study

Definition: There is no single but many different definitions about Affirmative action across the world. "Affirmative action is a government or private programme designed to address historical injustices against specific groups by making special efforts to provide members of these groups with access to educational employment and other opportunities". Broadly, "Affirmative action" is a positive step to increase the representation of those on the margins and minorities in the employment, education, and culture.

Rationale: China is one of the few countries, which has a long history in supporting its disadvantaged, Ethnic Minorities, groups by providing affirmative action. The policies are based on ethnic minorities who are non-Han ethnic communities consisting very small numbers but some of these are larger than many European countries. Though their population is less, the region they live in is more than half of entire China. These ethnic minorities are mostly backward and under developed in comparison to Han people. For PRC stability and unity are major issues and at same time to develop these people

requires great deal of governance, which China has been managing from the beginning. By examining “Preferential Policies for Ethnic Minorities in China: A Case Study of Higher Education, 2001-2015” the study aims to understand these complexities.

Scope of the Study: In the highly interconnected global community sharing each other’s experience to formulate policies is gaining currency. Since China and India have some similarities in this regard there is a scope to learn from each other’s trajectories. The time frame chosen for the study is the period from 2001 to 2015.

1.5 Research Methodology

Countries have been pursuing affirmative action for long and the PRC is one of them. However, there are ideological differences over equality and justice related to disadvantaged and their upliftment. This was clearly visible during last the few decades and continuing even today though purpose is the same. The study would use John Rawls theory of justice. This research would be based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include government documents White Papers and others relevant sources. Secondary sources include books, newspaper reports, journals and online articles and video clips and other materials. In the study, Affirmative action is the independent variable and the government, the dependent variable. Equality and change in China’s ethnic minorities would be intervening variables.

1.6 Structure of the Study

This dissertation is organized into five chapters.

The introductory chapter briefly discusses the context and rationale of the study, literature review and the structure of the dissertation. Chapter two focuses on policies for ethnic minorities before PRC, followed by preferential policies for ethnic minorities since from the establishment of PRC. Though China has been pursuing policies for ethnic for the uplift of ethnic minorities from the beginning the existing inequalities between Hon and non-Han Chinese continue to remain. The third Chapter looks at change and continuities in China’s preferential policies for the ethnic minorities. So China has been bringing changes based on circumstances, which forms part of the chapter. China has

been pursuing various policies for ethnic minorities' education since the beginning of economic reforms in 1978. This forms the central theme of the fourth chapter, the present intensification of market competition and simultaneous increase of expenses and inadequate funding of the central government for ethnic minorities in education. These changes have led to new debates about effectiveness and fairness of policies that will affect over nine percent population. This chapter will be looking at these issues. The final chapter is a concluding part, it comprises of the summary of the main arguments and themes of the earlier chapters.

Chapter-2

Preferential Policies in China: A Conceptual and theoretical Critique

2.1 Introduction

China is a multi-ethnic society with immense diversity. Each ethnic minority group represents distinctive characters and makes huge contributions to the Chinese society. They have been living together for thousands of years with mutual respect and cooperation. The rulers of China are welcomed, respected and followed by the various ethnic minority communities. However, certain incidents that had occurred now and then undermined this diversity and were aimed to assimilate them into single identity. But such attempts never succeeded. There are certain instances in which ethnic minorities embraced and assimilated into single identity. But these happened voluntarily and individually as some of ethnic minorities were attracted towards majority community for different reasons. This diversity stood the test of time and the Chinese society is still surviving as one nation by embracing and encouraging diversity. But end of the Qing Dynasty's rule in 1912 the changes that were unfolding in China and around the world prompted the Chinese leaders to think about bringing together all ethnic communities. In this regard, Sun Yat-sen, a prominent leader of the Republican China and considered as the "Father of the Nation" who initiated a process where by all groups can be brought together. He adopted moderate methods to reach out to ethnic minorities. He appealed for cooperation between both the majority and the ethnic minority groups. But this was disrupted by the subsequent Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek. The nationalist government adopted rather coercive and assimilation policies toward ethnic minorities. As a result, the gap widened between ethnic minorities and Han-dominated establishment. In the meantime, the emerging political forces i.e. the Communists took various initiatives to reach out to the ethnic minorities.

In this chapter an attempt is made to understand the complexities and diversities of the Chinese society. The question of ethnic minorities is not about ethnicity alone. There are various other issues which revolve around the other facets of life. Therefore, it critically explores the various methods that Communists adopted besides their theoretical bases for addressing the ethnicity related issues. It also juxtaposes the Marxist perspective to the western view on justice.

2.2 Understanding Preferential Policies

Justice has been the central theme of governments throughout the world. But there is no universally accepted conceptualization of justice. It is, rather, contextual to given time and given situation. There have been a number of debate both at the theoretical as well as practical i.e. policy levels. “Yet the, precise, meaning of justice remains ambiguous, and the existing theories of justice and equality put forward by various political philosophers to explain it have failed to capture the way people in general think about issues of justice in social their context. The principles of justice must be understood contextually, with each principle finding its expected home in a different form of human association. Since, modern societies are complex, the theory of justice tends to be complex too” (Miller, D. 1999). When brought to social, economic and political contexts justice finds its place in social justice at the policy level. These social justice policies are aimed at inclusion of disadvantaged groups into to the nation-building process. Affirmative action policies are one such step in this direction to extend the public hand (states or governments) to historically disadvantaged communities. These affirmative action policies are formulated under various names in different countries across the world as a result of this endeavor.

Broadly, “Affirmative action policies are those that an institution or an organization actively engages its in efforts to improve opportunities for historically excluded groups in the society. Affirmative action policies in general focus on employment and education of historically disadvantaged groups” (Messerli, J. (2010). In the higher education institutions, affirmative action applies to college admission policies so that an equal access to be provided education for historically disadvantaged groups such as women and minorities.

The modern state has tried to address the question of justice at both political as well as policy levels. At the political level, most of the modern states have provided equal rights, irrespective of individual advantages or disadvantages. At the policy level across the world, various forms of governments have adopted one form of policy or the other to fill the gap among diverse communities. These policies are given various names in numerous countries where disadvantaged groups are provided preferences and quotas. Such examples are, “Affirmative action” in the United States, “positive discrimination” in Britain, “reservations” in India, and “standardization” in Sri Lanka. The group preferences and quotas have also existed in Israel, Australia, Brazil, Fiji, Canada, Pakistan and other countries” (cited in Sowell 2004). In the United States “Affirmative action” is provided for African Americans in employment and admissions to colleges and universities. In India, reservations are available for ‘Dalits’¹ and ‘Tribal’² communities in education, employment and representation in the legislative bodies of local, state and national level. The Indian government has also extended reservation policies to the OBC (Other Backward Class, is a common term used by the government of India to classify castes which are economically and educationally backward groups). The People’s Republic of China (PRC) has also been pursuing special preferential for its national minorities, (now-a-days the Chinese government has been extensively using the word ethnic minority instead of earlier term ‘national minorities’ to address minority groups), in the name of ‘preferential policies’ to address their backwardness. The PRC government has been providing preferential policies to minority communities to enhance their position in the Han-dominated Chinese society by virtue of their majority.

2.3 Ethnic Minorities in China

China is a multi-ethnic country with many nationalities. It is also a complex country like few other countries in the world where so much diversity in terms of culture, region, religion, language, costumes exists; yet it has survived as one nation. According to the

¹ Dalit means “oppressed” or “broken/ scattered” is considered as ‘Panchama’ jati and kept out of Hindu

² Traibals are being called with different names such as “Adivasi orIndigenous” people of India who constitute about 9 percent of the total population of India. After independence they are being referred as “Scheduled Tribes.”

Chinese Constitution, “there are fifty six officially recognized ethnic groups or ‘*minzu*’ (nationalities) incorporated into the territory of the PRC, out of which fifty five belong to ethnic minority groups. The 2011 National Population Census highlights the fact that the largest ethnic group, the Han nationality, constitutes about 91.51 per cent of the Chinese population and rest are about 8.49 percent of the population and are officially identified as ‘nationalities minorities.’ There is a great variation in the size of these minority groups” (Wu, X. (2014). The CCP government from the beginning its rule has been practicing special policies for its “ethnic minorities,”³ and guarantees the right to equality among all ethnic groups. The preferential policies⁴ are Chinese form of “Affirmative action” policies as it is known elsewhere. China has one of the oldest and wider ranges of state promoted preferential policies for its ethnic minorities.⁵ Equality and unity of ethnic groups are the basic principles to resolve the ethnic differences stated in the Constitution various other and relevant laws. The Constitution of the China stipulates that “All ethnic groups in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the ethnic minority communities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's ethnic groups. Discrimination against, and oppression of, any ethnic group are prohibited.” The “Minority groups may be characterized as: subordinate units of complex state societies, having physical and/or cultural that set them apart from majority” (Dreyer, 1976). As mentioned earlier, there are fifty five national ethnic minority communities ranging in numbers from millions to few thousands which is very low proportion to total population of China. But they play a crucial role in many aspects of the government.

³ The Chinese government has officially recognized 56 nationalities in China including the majority Han group and 55 minority groups. See, The Information Office of the State Council, *White Paper: National Minorities Policy and its Practice in China* (Beijing: The Information Office of the State Council, The People's Republic of China, 1999).

⁴ China's Preferential policies is alternative name of Affirmative action in most of the countries and reservation policies in India for historically backward communities.

⁵ Sautman B. (1998) also says that apart from China's preferential policies the Indian “reservation system” is the he continues, “only India's system of “reservations” for its “scheduled tribes” is older and as extensive. Preferences accorded Indian ethnic minorities must be shared with “scheduled castes,” who outnumber “scheduled tribes” two-to-one. In some Indian states reservations are also given the even more numerous “other backward classes,” so that in a few states the preferred population approaches half the total inhabitants.”

According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China 2011, census conducted in accordance with the Regulations on National Population Census and the Circular of the State Council on the Conduct of the 6th National Population Census, “the total population of China was 1370536875. Of which, 1225932641 persons or 91.51 percent were of Han nationality, and 113792211 or 8.49 percent were of various national minorities. Compared with the 2000 population census, the population of Han nationality increased by 66537177 persons, or 5.74 percent; while the population of various national minorities increased by 7362627 persons, or 6.92 percent” (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011).

Though national minority’s population is very low when compared to that of Han population, but the ethnic minorities’ location is very important in contemporary China. Their strategic location has considerable bearing on China’s national security and sovereignty. The ethnic minority population is concentrated in 64.3% of China’s total land area; including 90% of the country’s border regions (Dreyer 2014). About 30 ethnic minority groups have their members in China as well as in neighboring countries (Zhu, Y., & Blachford, D. 2006). Apart from their strategic location, the minority regions have huge natural resources which are contributing for China’s economic development. The “large land areas inhabited by ethnic minorities happen to contain most of China’s natural resources such as 75% of grasslands, 40–50% of forests, oil, gas, minerals, and precious metals” (Zhu, Y., & Blachford, D. 2006). In the contemporary China, development and economic modernization saga is incomplete without the recognition of contribution made by minority regions. In addition to the natural resources, “the minority regions contribute significantly to other aspects of China’s economic and cultural development such as border trade and tourism” (Zhu, Y., & Blachford, D. 2006). While some of these regions have been demanding for separation from China, and on the other hand their influence nevertheless on China’s politics, security and economy is substantial. Therefore, policy and governance play a greater role in bringing them together as one country. This complexity and diversity of Chinese ethnic combination is not recent phenomena, and managing the relations between ethnic minorities and majority ethnic groups is crucial for sustaining its steady economic growth and maintaining a harmonious society.

The Chinese society is not a homogenous one as often seen by many, rather it is a culturally diversified and multinational state (Zhu, Y., & Blachford, D. 2006). There are some ethnic minorities who maintain their distinct identity in every aspect. According to them the Chinese became conscious of national entity only during the past century, as a result of China's confrontation with the Western powers. However, "their formation into a single nation has been the result of a historical process for more than two millennia" (Fei Xiaotong 1988). He has forgone to say that

"The historical situation was the simultaneous existence of a multitude of ethnic groups who were separated and independent of each other. During a long period of mutual contact many groups were mixed, aligned, or integrated, while others were divided and became assimilated into the other ethnic groups. In time the groups unified into one group which consisted of a number of sub-units that kept emerging, vanishing, and reemerging so that parts of some sub-units became a part of others, yet each retained its individual characteristics. At the same time it can be affirmed that these groups, who lived independently of each other for long periods, developed their respective civilizations to cope with widely different natural environments. Owing to historical reasons, China's national minorities lacked the means to develop their economy and culture in the past. Hence they needed to be treated differently from the dominant ethnic community so that they can move along with others" (Fei Xiaotong 1988).

Most of the modern nations are so complex and competitive in every course of human organization. In such competitive system preferential treatment is necessary for the disadvantage communities' and governments must extend its hand to help them. As a result, many who had concealed their ethnic identity previously now readily acknowledge that they belong to national minorities. Concrete steps have been taken both by legislation and in practice to end the inequality that has prevailed among the ethnic groups in China over the past millennia. Thus, "the Chinese government has made it one of its basic policies to assure equality between ethnic groups, a policy which was factored into the constitution. However, inequality between Han and other national minorities continues to widen" (Fei Xiaotong 1988).

With such diverse country and combination of multi-ethnic minorities: to bring them together and unify the country as a single nation is a major governance and policy

challenges for any country. Indeed very few countries have successfully evolved measures to reduce differences between majority and minority communities. Among them China and India,⁶ and few other countries stand out as examples.

2.4 Historical Account of Ethnic Minorities

Addressing the question of differences within a state among different ethnic groups and national minorities is very crucial. If states fail to find adequate solutions it would invariably affect its integrity and survival. Therefore, many countries in the world tried to adopt a variety of means to balance differences among such groups. In the case of China's diversity and multi-nationalities and differences among them, China started pursuing preferential policies for its ethnic minorities in diverse areas. The present forms of preferential policies for ethnic minorities are continuation of the Chinese Communist Party's overall policy of minority inclusion in revolution.

Not pertaining to their population, the unique characteristics and strategic geographic positions of ethnic minorities have an important bearing on policy making. The policies related to their socio-economic, political and cultural conditions have huge impact on China. Since the national unity is one of the core issues of China, the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) ethnic minority policy is to maintain national unity and internal cohesion, the minority's social, economic and demographic characteristics always have a direct impact on the policy decisions towards them. Balancing the ethno-cultural diversity and integrity with national integration and social cohesion has been a major challenge for the Chinese policy makers. The Chinese national policies vis-à-vis minorities are not recent and new (White Paper 1999).

The relationship between Han and non-Han national groups has never been smooth. The feeling of Han superiority over national minorities prevailed and national minority suspicion towards Han's has always been there with them. As a result, the national minorities tend to regard the Han nationality with suspicion and distrust. Thus, there is a

⁶ In India where the so called "ex-untouchable", "Tribes", as now they are being called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectably, have reservation system for their upliftment and very recently OBC (Other Backward Classes) have been added to this list.

need to understand the historical process in order to assess the present and contemporary national minority policies of the PRC.

It can be safely posited that the cultural superiority is not a present day concept of Hans. In fact, it has evolved over a long period of time. This has begun as means of intellectually compensating for the Han inability to maintain physical control over the non-Han people” (Grunfeld 1985 p.57). It further evolved into a concept of a Chinese state defined by its cultural boundaries rather than the territorial boundaries. Though the Hans considered themselves to be culturally superior, this view was not shared by the non-Hans. “There were instances in China's past in which non-Han formed alliances that excluded the Han or even openly conspired against them” (Hancall 1968). And this cultural superiority of the Hans persisted until Sun-Yat-sen's time. And to overcome this cultural superiority of the Hans, Sun tried to reach out to ethnic minorities through cooperation. In 1924 at the “First National Congress of the Kuomintang Sun asserted that "The nationalism of the Kuomintang has a twofold meaning, the self-determination of the Chinese nation, and the equality of all national minorities in China” (Dreyer 1976). The contradictory pronouncements on the national question did little to alleviate the ambiguity, Sun’s favored the dying out of individual nationalities in order to unite them in a single and political whole, but he also called upon the government to help and guide the weak ethnic groups. The reversal of Sun views point of national minority treatment was followed after Chiang Kai-Shek came to power. The theory of greater Han, popularized by Chiang Kai-shek and the right wing elements of the ruling Kuomintang, was the most notorious innovations of the Republican period. Overall, the policy during Chiang Kai-shek was meant to eradicate the distinctive characteristics of national minorities and reunite them with the greater Han race through forcible assimilation.

The then new political force, the Chinese Communist Party was highly influenced by the Soviet Union model of treatment for National minorities. The Chinese Communist Party, for the first time, considered the national question in July 1921. The Chinese Communist Party appears to have accepted unquestioningly the Marxist-Soviet pronouncement on minorities (Dreyer 1976). The minorities were promised self-determination and autonomy on the lines of Russian Communist Party model (Dreyer 1976). The manifesto

of the party's second congress in 1922 proclaimed Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkistan to be autonomous states (pang) and envision their voluntary unification with China proper in Chinese Federated Republic (Cited in Dreyer 1976). Mao Zedong, in the course of time, moved away from the commitment self-determination and separation to minority nationals a clear evidence on the basis of incidents that happened during the liberation movement. Chinese Communist minorities' policies as it developed prior to liberation incorporated the equality of nationalities. Right to self-determination replaced by right to autonomy within a unified state.

The Chinese Communist Party has evolved its policies on national minorities from time to time. "From Soviet model of "multinational state" building to "one nation with diversity" (see Conner 1976; Fei Xiaotong 1989). The CCP took the Marxist line of approach to address the national minority issue in China. The "Soviet model of multinational state-building is considered the blueprint for the PRC's handling of the national question" (Maxwell and Minglang Zhou, 2009). The CCP, "as early as 1922, during its national second congress, acknowledged Lenin's view that "different nationals are advancing in the same historical direction, but very different zigzags and bypaths," and some nations are more cultured/and advanced than others" (Maxwell and Minglang Zhou, 2009). Thus the task concerning the national question was twofold: externally to fight against imperialist oppression and exploitation to achieve freedom and emancipation of Chinese people of all nationalities, and internally to fight against oppression and exploitation of the small nationalities by the big ones, so that the minority nationalities could achieve freedom from their dual oppression (Liu Xingwu and Alatan, 1988).

The origins of present Chinese preferential policies can be traced back to the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) second congress in 1922. In fact, minority policies are, according some sources, as old as the Chinese history. The Chinese preferential policies for minority nationals are aimed at equality among all nationals and protection of their identity. The national minorities are not uniform or homogenous communities. They have distinctive characters which have been embraced, propagated and practiced by the respective ethnic groups for a long time. It is this distinctiveness that kept ethnic

minorities distance from Han people. This distinctiveness is diverse across region, religion, language, costumes, and so on (Fei Xiaotong 1988). Throughout history they have maintained their uniqueness as distinct from Han Chinese, while maintaining and cooperating with them. In the course of time, these were supported and welcomed by their contemporaries. The various rulers of China also respected this distinctiveness of ethnic minorities and maintained mutual respect for each other, though there were confrontations now and then among them. The relations between Han and non-Han people were not smooth. The non-Han people were considered as barbarians and evil by race, and therefore they were treated as secondary citizens throughout history. Therefore, the tributary system can be understood in this way. The traditional Han Chinese attitude toward the ethnic minority people, especially frontier peoples is one in which the non-Han people were considered to be at a “lower” stage of civilization as compared to the Han.

However, in modern times, Sun Yat-sen tried to change this attitude during his time, but after Sun, under Chiang Kai-shek the great pan-Hanism revival took place. Mao Zedong used this to his advantage to fight against nationalist forces under the united front. Mao had extended his hand to national minorities and urged them to join the revolution. He assured equality for all nationals and guaranteed that they could develop in their own way. But there are many fundamental differences between Mao’s thought and ethnic minorities’ needs. Therefore, Mao’s urge for unity got little support from them. Because of the non-Han, even Han people were also comparatively religious before the rise of PRC, people are religious. Moreover, ethnic minorities’ religious beliefs and the Communist model of national unity overlapped. There is a close connection between the national question and the religious beliefs in China. There are some regions where national minorities hold power and rule the region by themselves. Now it is clear that the issue of national minorities is beyond the question of equality. Understanding national minorities is not as simple as it appears. It needs to be addressed in various dimensions. Though their proportion of population is very little to total population but they are very important for the unified Chinese nation building. Therefore, the task concerning the national question was twofold: integration of national minorities into China and

assurances of their independence (independence in representative terms). To deal with this complex and highly sensitive, yet very pertinent to national issue was not easy.

China is not only multi-ethnic country but at the same time it is also multi-region country. In some of these regions ethnic minorities predominantly majority communities had evolved on their own way. Every region has its own social, political and cultural identity which is different from majority Han people. Historically, the relationship between ethnic minority people and majority Han people was not always normal. Therefore the question of ethnic minorities is two-fold: first their place in Han majority country and second, their role in the state. This question that has risen many times is how to resolve and assure the apprehensions of ethnic minorities.

Given the situation, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Mao Zedong endeavored and nurtured a careful approach to resolve the national minorities issue in the communist framework.

2.5 Preferential Policies and Equality

The twentieth century witnessed a bitter ideological rivalry between Marxism and Liberalism among nations. This divergence can also be seen in state-sponsored affirmative action policies around the world. In this section, we shall have a brief look at how several political ideologies and theories perceive the notion of equality. Further, how various thinkers from all sorts saw at it from different angles. Interestingly, there is unison in their view of thinking and nearly all of them have similarity in talking about the justice to all persons and groups, however they have different standpoints in their notions of justice. It is this aspect of justice which leads to the acceptance of affirmative action. Hence, the demand for justice generally compels the state machinery to resort to the defensive against discrimination of any kind and makes move to initiate policies. It is in this background that China as a multi-ethnic country has maintained equality between its minority nationalities and majority Han, by pursuing preferential policies for fifty-five national ethnic minorities in various fields.

The word equality is a very loaded and multifarious and has no single delineation. But there are diverse opinions and thoughts on equality. Since it such complex and not easy to

visualized it in particular way. Because, of this complexity many people have attempted to understand it in their own point of view. Hence, there are various ways to understand equality. Other words equality never exists in its complete form. In other words, equality never exists in complete form, rather it is contextual in a given context and situation. Therefore, equality is not fullness as such rather equality is always opens debates. In a contemporary plural societies there are divergent of opinions about equality. However, they may hold diverse opinions but they support the one form of equality over other form of equality. Even in the thought level, various schools of thought hold the opinions about the equality that the complete equality is very difficult to have.

As it is an observation of many shades and implications, it has been observed by philosophers from different angles. There are a variety of ways to express the idea of equality in different contexts and various writers had tried to emphasize some forms of equality over others. In other words equality never exists in complete form, rather it is contextual in a given context and situation. In society, while there are those who, being indifferent to, or even dismissive of one aspect of equality are deeply committed to another aspect of it. For example, most schools of thought in fact cater to the view that complete equality would be difficult to come by. But while others argue that egalitarian distribution is inimical to freedom and development, there are some that insist on precisely the opposite, that egalitarian distribution is a necessary prerequisite to any meaningful freedom and development. However, this issue related to equality is not new and recent; it was there throughout history in one form or the other.

Than what is that the equality means to a common man and how we understand it. The notion of equality can be considered that the people who are at the realm of state affairs both traditional form as well as modern sense are biased towards society. They behave in such a way that eventually facilitates few with more advantage than others. By using these advantages they prevails over other, hence the inequality arises in society. In the longer run these inequalities continues the people those who are not treated equal will rise against the system. Therefore, the idea of equality comes from within society, because of some using the state for their own purpose by undermining the common good. These kinds of inequality and undue advantage of some continue to exist in our own time.

Therefore, the inequality is not a natural rather it is a created condition by some for their own advantage. And these are the people who always dominate the public space and institutions, thereby they continue to cause for inequality in society. For those who want equality, they demand at the first stage the privileges that are created by some should be abolished. In order to achieve the well-being of all, men there should not be any barriers related to equality. At same time there should be necessary stapes taken to ensure for those who are pushed into inequalities not by them but the by the society.

There are many theoretical works which were proposed by different theoreticians and schools of thought. But very few of them had made their presence in public discourse, one such example is Rawls's 'theory of Justice' (1972). While Rawls's "Theory of Justice" is very important in a liberal and democratic society, there are other kinds of justice that prevail in the communist societies 'Marxist-Leninist' frame work of justice.

2.6 Marxist-Leninist Theory and the National Minorities

The growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century was accompanied by heightened awareness of ethnic differences. It raised questions about the methods by which diverse ethnic groups might be incorporated into the state system. The questions about minority issues such as their identity, language, culture, and their role in society and administrative institutions were debated as part of the larger nationalist discourse. In China the question of national minorities is not only political but also social and religious, because China is a multi-ethnic nation and multi-religious country. Therefore, there is a close connection between the national unity and the religious question in China. The non-Han people are comparatively religious; moreover, their religious unity and their national unity overlap. To find a solution for these questions the Chinese leaders turned to Karl Marx to shed light on some them.

The "Marxist-Leninist Theory" on the national question defines the methodology for dealing with specific questions concerning the status of different nationalities. According to communists, nations are artificial units which are a creation of capitalism and which are bound to disappear when capitalism is replaced by communism. The capitalist class uses different nationals for their purpose and keeps the nationalities divided and

submissive. These nations and nationalities disappear or vanish when the proletariat seizes power. In practicality this tells us a different story about national issues under communist regimes where these different nationalities are led and also lead movements for separation. In the case of former Soviet Union⁷ and some of the present China's minority regions are leading revolutionary movements for their separation. However, this study does not focus on this facet of national minorities in China. But rather it will focus on the policies for minorities within the domestic context.

In China the question of equality is driven by Marxist ideology led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The ideological inspiration was drawn from Soviet Russia, which in turn was dependent upon Marxist views about minorities. But Marxism did not articulate about minority nationals it focused on backwardness of national minority as a creation of capitalist class in historical mode of production process for their own benefit. According to Marx, what is called national consciousness is merely a manifestation of bourgeois state of society. Nationalism is a tool of the bourgeoisie which allows them to mask class differences and encourage tensions with the proletariat of other countries and enables the bourgeoisie to perpetuate their own rule (Dreyer 1976).

After Marx it was Lenin who addressed the national question in more detail. The draft he presented at the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Workers Party in 1903 included the right of self-determination for all nationals comprising the state" (Lenin, 1964). The self-determination can imply many meanings. Thus he later made it clear that it was the right to political independence. But that does not mean separate nations for nationals, in other words it could be understood in the larger perspective of Marxism. At same time Lenin's self-determination of nationalities created further apprehension as to what extent and areas there can be self-determination. However, it was Stalin who, elaborated furthered the Soviet nationalities policy. Stalin explained nation from four essential angles; a common language, a common economic life, a common geographic area to live in and a common psyche based on the common culture (Jiang Ping (ed.)

⁷ Soviet Union was a multi-national country until it disintegrated in 1991. National identity was a one of the most important reasons for Soviet Union's disintegration. When Soviet Union disintegrated China was concerned about it and they had the most important change in their ethnic policy. Earlier ethnic minorities used to refer as national minorities but not anymore.

1994). He also supported the right of self-determination by maintaining that “A nation has the right to determine its own destiny, it has the right arrange its life as it sees fit without of course trampling on the right of other nation” (Lenin and Stalin 1975). However, Stalin formulated certain questions as to how exactly should a nation arrange its own life. What forms should its future constitution take, if the interest of the majority of the nation is kept in mind? Stalin found the answer to these questions in "regional autonomy." Stalin maintained that the advantage of regional autonomy would apply over a definite territory having a definite proportion of population. This is not the concept to augment divisive tendencies across the barrier rather for breaking those barriers and uniting the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, a division in terms of classes. Allay the minority nationalities apprehensions about the status of their culture, customs, language, religion and etc. This can be done by as Stalin says that "equal rights in all forms should be guaranteed as an essential element in the solution of the national question" (Lenin and Stalin 1975 pp.70-77).

There are various western theories on equality and social justice. Among many the communitarian theorists had taken the debate on social justice to a higher level. Particularly John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (1971) had dominated the entire discourse on social justice in the second half of the twentieth century. In this section we look at Rawl’s notion of justice. It will enable us to understand the notion of justice from a different prospective.

2.7 Western Perspective on Justice and Minorities

The concept of equality has no precise meaning. It has been evolving as a concept thus widening its horizons. Starting from Plato, the concept of justice has a prominent place in Western philosophy. For Plato, Justice is a part of human virtue and the bond, which joins them together in society. After Plato, there are other philosophers and schools of thought who had taken up the issue forward such as: utilitarian and social contract theoreticians, who conceptualized justice in their own way. In this line of thought, John Rawls is a prominent one: his ‘Theory of Justice’ is a very important work. It states that: “Justice is the first virtue of social institution” (Theory of Justice 1973); in which he talks about ‘different principles of justice.’ The Theory of Justice is the master piece of John

Rawls on the subject of justice, in which he argues for an upright understanding of liberty and equality. Central to this effort is an account of the circumstances of justice (inspired by David Hume), and a fair choice situation (closer in spirit to Immanuel Kant) for parties facing such circumstances. Rawls came up with a new concept with “justice as fairness”. According to the principles of justice, the parties are not self-sufficient but they have ends to meet. To advance the ends, the parties associate with others, which are possible only by cooperation on commonly acceptable terms.

For any society the primary subject should have a fair basic structure which should facilitate equal justice for all without biases. Since the basic structure is the primary subject of justice, its effects are so profound and that they present from the start. Moreover, as the structure contains various positions in various circumstances, at the same time the institutions of society provide certain advantages to some over the others to start. Rawls says that a society is self-sufficient and cooperative in nature. A conflict of interest prevails over distribution of benefits produced by their collaboration (Rawls 1973, pp. 4-5).

Like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant, Rawls belongs to the social contract tradition. However, Rawls' social contract takes a different view from that of previous thinkers. Specifically, Rawls develops what he claims are principles of justice through the Original position. This Original position is a hypothetical and artificial, in which everyone decides principles of justice from behind a veil of ignorance. In which,

“no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like. Therefore he says, I assume that the parties do not know the circumstances of their society. That is, they do not know its economic or political situation, or the level of civilization and culture it has been able to achieve” (Rawls 1973 p. 118).

If an individual does not know how he will function in his own conceived society, he is not likely to grant privilege to any one class of people, but rather develop a scheme of justice that treats all fairly. According to Rawls, ignorance of these details about oneself will lead to principles that are fair to all. In the absence of any one's detail prior to their

position in society no one is likely do have privilege over others. In such a situation, the need to develop a scheme of justice to treat all fairly is required. Rawls says that those in the Original Position shall adopt a strategy to maximize the prospects of the least well-off.

Before moving further it is imperative to keep in mind that the original position is both hypothetical and ahistorical. Rawls tried to answer the issues through different principles of justice concerning distributive principles. Rawls argues that the parties in the original position shall adopt two such principles, which would then govern the assignment of rights and duties and regulate the distribution of social and economic advantages across society. Rawls believes that this principle would be a rational choice for the representatives in the original position for the following reasons: Each member of society has an equal claim on his society's goods. Natural attributes should not affect this claim, so the basic right of any individual, before further considerations are taken into account, must be to attain an equal share in the material wealth. John Rawls tried to address justice through different principles. There are two such that he talks about, the first principle is liberty, and second principle is wealth. The First Principle of Justice underscores that each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others. The basic liberties of citizens are, roughly speaking, political liberty (i.e., to vote and run for office), freedom of speech and assembly, liberty of conscience, freedom of personal property; and freedom from arbitrary arrest. However, he says:

“liberties not on the list, for example, the right to own certain kinds of property (e.g. means of production) and freedom of contract as understood by the doctrine of laissez faire are not basic; and so they are not protected by the priority of the first principle”
(Rawls 1971, p. 54).

The first principle is more or less absolute, and may not be violated, even for the sake of the second principle, above an unspecified but low level of economic development (i.e. the first principle is, under most conditions, lexically prior to the second principle). However, because various basic liberties may conflict, it may be necessary to trade them off against each other for the sake of obtaining the largest possible system of rights.

There is thus some uncertainty as to what exactly is mandated by the principle, and it is possible that a plurality of sets of liberties satisfy its requirements. Rawls secondly notes that:

“Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone’s advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all” (Rawls 1971, p. 54).

The basic liberties also include liberty of conscience and freedom of thought; freedom of the person, which includes freedom from psychological oppression and physical assault and dismemberment (integrity of the person); the right to hold personal property and freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure as defined by the concept of the rule of law. These liberties are to be equaled by the first principle.

2.8 Summary

China is a one of the ancient civilizations in the world. It has several ethnic groups, fifty six to be precise. Among them the Han nationality is the largest group and constitutes more than 91 percent of total population and the rest of fifty-five ethnic groups constitute about 9 percent population. China had been a multi-ethnic empire legitimated on the basis of loyalty to the emperor. These national minorities co-existed with Han people and some have maintained their distinctive character. In the course of time, these groups have developed distinctive way of life apart from the Hans. The relationship between national minorities and Hans is a combination of both cooperation and cohesion and sometimes confrontation. There were attempts to bring both the national minorities and Han people under one umbrella. The nature of those attempts were coercive and conflicted, hence unity was incomplete. In modern time it was Sun Yat-sen who to reached out to the national minorities by mutual cooperation and assurances. After Sun, the relationship between national minorities and Han people worsened. The revival of the great Han chauvinism took place. The then Kuomintang government had adopted forced assimilation of minorities into the Han fold and eventually some of ethnic groups turned against Kuomintang government. Thereafter, the Chinese Communists tried to reach out to the national minorities. The communists adopted ‘Soviet model’ of Marxist-Leninist

theory to reach out to the national minorities. However, initially they imitated the Soviet model and eventually they understood the weakness of Soviet model and deviated from it. Thus, subsequent chapters will be looking into government policies of ethnic minorities with a focus on changes and continuities.

Chapter- 3

China's Preferential Policies for Ethnic Minorities:

Changes and Continuities

3.1 Introduction

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the CCP led government has been pursuing different policies to bring equality among all people. To achieve its objectives the Chinese government is committed to provide equal social and political rights to all ethnic groups as part of the inclusive and non-discriminatory policies for the welfare of all people, while achieving the principle of ethnic equality and unity. The CCP has adopted a comparatively reasonable system of ethnic minorities' policies in a unified yet diverse country of 56 ethnic groups that coexist but have distinct identities. Although China is a single Han majority-dominated country in every common space by more than 91 percent population, the fact is that the PRC constitution grants equality to all ethnic people. It also promises protection for their safety, security and prosperity and yet ethnic inequality in China is evident. Since the ethnicity of minorities and ethnic related backwardness is one of the key focus areas of the Chinese government policies for ethnic minorities. While China stands for the equality of all ethnic groups and committed to the development of the ethnic minorities, due to the distinctive characters and nature of ethnic relations, it has been evolving special policies for the ethnic minorities. These ethnic policies are a combination of political, socio-economic, cultural, and educational facets. Within this framework, the state has been providing all kinds of necessary assistance and help to the ethnic minorities to develop on their own choice.

The Chinese government began to formulate policies for national minorities in 1949. Over about seven decades of PRC establishment in 1949, the Chinese government has been providing a variety of ethnic minority policies under the name of preferential

policies in diverse areas. Over the years many changes have taken place in the Chinese society. The PRC government is continually framing various ethnic minorities' policies to facilitate changes in their lives. In the process there are some continuities and changes in Chinese government preferential policies. This chapter tries to explore the changes and continuities that have occurred in Chinese preferential policies.

After the collapse of the Qing dynasty, the Chinese Government policies towards ethnic minorities have undergone dramatic changes. Since the fall of Imperial China and the rise of the new Republican government of China witnessed a different phase in ethnic policies. During the Qing rule, many of ethnic minorities and their regions had remained fairly independent. The Republican government sought to integrate the country and focused on preserving the unity of the multi-national state including ethnic minority majority groups. However, this was not smooth as it faced resistance from them. The Republican leaders in the process of integrating made little efforts to sort-out apprehensions of ethnic minorities. Initially Sun Yat-sen dealt with this criticality in a more sensitive way and stood for unity and cooperation among all nationals. But after Sun his successor pursued the issue more aggressively and adopted forceful integration. This aggressive policy of the nationalist government further caused fears among minorities about their future in Han majority dominated society. "Despite their intentions to unify the country, Republican and Nationalist leaders had effectively lost control over minority regions, as China became politically fragmented leaving minorities either to govern themselves or to be under the purview of local warlords" (Xing, L. *et. al.* 2012). Meanwhile, the then emerging political force, Chinese Communist Party, tried to reach out to national minorities through various promises. The CCP sought cooperation between the Communists and national minorities to fight against Kuomintang government.

3.2 China as a Unified Country

The People's Republic of China is a multi-national and united country where fifty six nationalities live together. The CCP recognized the nationalities question as one of the major challenges to unite China. The question of national minorities was the major challenge for bringing the Chinese people together to establish a single strong country.

The establishment of the PRC in 1949 saw the need to build a country that was militarily secure and economically self-sufficient (Tam, S. M., & Wu, D. Y. 1988). The CCP inherited diverse and fragmented China divided into different ethnic groups and some minority majority regions. These minority regions were independent in many ways before the establishment of PRC in 1949. But at the same time the differences between Han and ethnic minorities were hurdles in the way to achieve unity among them. This is the major challenge and threat to the unity of any country in the immediate or longer time. So, it was the case of China where the majority Han community still constitutes more than 90 percent and the rest of fifty-five ethnic groups constitute a minor portion of total population i.e. less than 10 per cent. In terms of socio-economic and political development, the Han people are relatively more advanced whereas the ethnic groups are less developed and lead distinct of life style which is different from the Han people. However, the differences between Han majority ethnic group and ethnic minority groups were a hurdle to the unity of China. In this chapter, the focus will be on policies related to national minorities within the larger framework of “One China” including all minority regions. Even after more than six decades of liberation, China still remains a single nation, what was once considered a fractured nation? Otherwise this would not have been possible for the Chinese Communist Party to lead a country with such diversity for these many decades.

According to the Communist leaders, the society is divided on the basis of two classes: the capitalists and proletarians. The question about nations and nationalities has a very vague concept in Marxism which says that nations are artificial and created by capitalist forces. These artificial units will disappear once capitalism is replaced with communism. (Moseley, G., and Chang, C. I. 1966), say that “When the proletariat seizes power throughout the world, then the nations and nationalism will disappear.” In case of China the “nationals” occupy a very prominent place. When we look at the ethnic groups in Chinese historical prospective, the ethnic groups existed for thousands of years. So, no matter however small the ethnic minority population is, the ethnic minorities are very significant to China’s national unity and security. The geographical location of ethnic groups is also very important.

The Chinese Communist Party's victory over the KMT had facilitated advantages to CCP in order to develop its own plans about national minorities and minority regions. The CCP adopted Soviet Policy with changes which were suitable to Chinese realities. On the one hand, the experiences with KMT were still present among minorities and the other hand, there was a need to distinguish party policies from that of KMT as far as possible. Two themes run through the People's Republic of China's (PRC's) official policy towards its ethnic minorities: equality and distinctiveness (Llata and Barrera 1975). Equality is the extent to which minorities were treated as equals to the Han, such as a complete freedom to federate and administrate their region by their own choice within one China. Distinctiveness is the extent to which special characteristics of national minorities, needs and concerns, such as the preservation and development of cultural traits were recognized and addressed. It is obvious that the CCP's preferential policies are intended to improve living standards of minority nationalities. The national minorities' policy makers visualized that under the preferential policies, the minority nationals get better treatment than they got under the preceding administrations.

Since 1949 the Chinese leaders saw the need to build a country that was militarily secure and economically self-sufficient, hence possible sources of friction were to be avoided through political integration and allowance of cultural distinctiveness. The overarching principle was thus "unity in diversity" and all must share the unity of the motherland as Chinese which emphasized that all minorities have equal rights in self-administration and in economic and cultural affairs. In concrete terms these were manifested in such policies as regional autonomy and the right of each group to develop and use its own language. These policies were institutionalized first in "the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" (1949), elaborated in the subsequent constitutions and codified. Thus the national minorities were assured constitutional guarantees for their development and status.

The Chinese government's policy with respect to national minorities question was reflected in the 1949 "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference." In chapter six of the Common Program "All nationalities within the frontier of China are equal. They are to practice unity and mutual help... Acts of discrimination,

oppression and division contrary to the unity of nationalities are forbidden.” Also “Regional autonomy must be put into practice in areas where national minorities live together, with various organs of self-government being established according to the size of population and the area inhabited by the nationality. Nationalities which live in scattered places or within other autonomous regions must all have the requisite number of representatives in the organs of political power where they reside.” And also Common Program stated that “the People’s Government must help the broad mass of the people of each nationality to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational facilities” (Moseley, G., & Chang, C. I. 1966).

“China is one of the few countries in the world where state sponsored preferential policies for ethnic minorities⁸ are very much prevalent. The Chinese ethnic preferential policies apply to ethnic minorities majority areas and to individuals who are minorities” (Sautman, B. 1998). The Chinese Communist Party saw the preferential policies as a tool to improve the socio-economic conditions of national minorities and to bridge the gap between Han and minority people. Because most of the minorities live separately from main stream China where development is remote when compared to coastal region where Han people live.

3.3 Ethnic Minorities

The Chinese government has adopted preferential policies as a means to include ethnic minorities in the predominately Han majority country. Under these preferential policies, the ethnic minorities were guaranteed the right to equality for all people irrespective of their ethnicity along with Han people in social and government spheres. In the Chinese Constitution (all), article 4 states:

“All nationalities in the People’s Republic of China are equal. And it also says, the states protects the lawful rights and interests of the national minorities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality unity and mutual assistance among all of China’s nationalities” (the Constitution of PRC).

⁸ description of minorities is very sensitive issue in China, initially the ‘national minorities’ was very often used to describe minorities but recently the word ‘ethnic minority’ is using to call minorities

By doing so, the Chinese leaders assured the ethnic minorities of their safety, security and prosperity in unified China. A conducive social atmosphere had been created for ethnic minorities in which they can treat each other on equal terms and create unity, friendship, harmony and mutual cooperation amongst themselves.

These ethnic minority groups have their distinctive features in many diverse areas, which had developed and followed by ethnic minorities over thousands of years. The distinctive features have been respected and promoted throughout history irrespective of their ethnicity throughout Chinese history. There were no specific official efforts made to define the ethnic groups as minorities. However, the need for identification of ethnic minorities emerged along with the establishment of People's Republic of China. After the founding of the PRC, the state has initiated comprehensive programmes to verify the ethnic groups, whether they belonged to any ethnic minority. The project of identification of ethnic minorities was not a simple task and it evolved over a period of time. The current policies for ethnic minorities are the result of continued efforts made by the Chinese government to implement the specific ethnic minorities' policies for them. According to this any group which fulfills the required criteria is qualified as ethnic minority group, including past or present defined qualities under which exist today, irrespective of place, size, population and development.

Like in many other aspects, "the Chinese ethnic practice had been influenced by the Marxist doctrines" (Mullaney, T. 2011). The Marxists had developed many theories on nationalities. However, the most influential definition of nationality in China came from Stalin. China's recognition of ethnic minorities was constructed around Stalin's nationality theory, which later became the base point for some scholars to denote the ethnic minorities in China as minority nationalities (Wang 2004). Then the question is what Stalin said about minorities' characteristics which make them as minorities? We could get some clue from Stalin's work on Marxism and the Question of Nationalities. Stalin says, for any nationality which claims to be a separate nationality has to have the following features. A nationality was a historically-formed, stable group with a common language, common region, common economic life, and common psychological

characteristics (Stalin 1953).⁹ Accordingly, the Chinese government has used each group's "self-descriptions, historical documents, and opinions from other parts of the population to define a particular minority" (Feng, Y., & Cheung, M. (2008)).¹⁰

By the late 1980s, the Vice Director of the "State Ethnic Affairs Commission" (SEAC) Huang Guangxue concluded that the criteria used in the Project to identify included: 1) whether the proposed group fits the characteristics of the Stalinist definition; 2) the majority will of the group, the advantages and disadvantages of future development, and its influence over other groups in similar situation; and 3) the unity of the [Chinese] nation (Linzhu, W. 2014). In 2005, CCP readjusted the ethnic identification criteria, which includes:

"a historically constituted, stable community of people who, in general, share common characteristics of historical origins, mode of production, language, culture, customs, and a sense of solidarity; for some minorities, religion also plays an important role in their formation and development process" (Cited in Linzhu, W. 2014).

3.4 Policies for Ethnic Minorities

The "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" clearly states that equality, unity, mutual assistance and prosperity together are the principles of socialist ethnic relations. It opposes any kind of division among Chinese people whether it is between Han chauvinism and local-nationalism. It further says that the state will facilitate and make all necessary efforts to promote prosperity of all the ethnic groups in China. Under these guiding principles, the Constitution and other relevant laws ensure that ethnic minority persons have all the rights that any Chinese citizen normally enjoys. The Chinese government has assured all the ethnic minority groups of transforming these into realities.

⁹ Also see on, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm>

¹⁰ Cited in Feng, Y. & Cheung, M. (2008). "Public Policies Affecting Ethnic Minorities in China," *China Journal of Social Work*, 1(3), 248-265

3.4.1 Ethnic Policies of the PRC, 1949-1957

China's ethnic minority's policies have been evolving from time to time. Though China had national minority policies before CCP took over power in China but they did not have any formal structural policies. It was only after CCP assumed power in 1949 by replacing Kuomintang government that China's national policies took a proper shape. These policies were aimed to attain a balance between national minorities with the Han and promote friendly relational among all nationalities. Indeed the Chinese Communist Party recognized the importance of national question as one of major issues in the Chinese Revolution and therefore, the liberation of national minorities regions was part of China liberation. There are two ways to resolve the national minorities question before CCP. The first is forced assimilation of national minorities with Han people which is similar to Han's chauvinist elements of Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek. This is a dangerous proposition for national minorities issue and escalates tensions into more complicated level.

This is something which the CCP leadership wished to see because there in the past, the Han chauvinist elements of Kuomintang compelled national minorities to oppose the Chiang Kai-shek government. The other way to resolve the national minorities question is ensuring equality for all nationalities. Thus the CCP basically adopted the Soviet doctrine, according to which the ethnic minorities' majority regions was given "so-called autonomous status". According, to the percentage of population in the particular place, these areas are categorized as province, prefecture, county or township levels. In these Autonomous areas minorities would have some freedom for the use and practice of the language and the customs of the respected nationality. They can practice it as far as they do not contradict with the CCP government. In these autonomous areas they could even continue with the traditional political practice as long as those practices do not oppose socialism. Meanwhile, the party engaged in training the national minority cadres on the communist lines. The CCP leadership was of the view that the main stream leaders were not well informed about the various minorities and their practices. In order to avoid direct interference in national minorities' issues by the outsiders, the CCP chose to train

minority cadre to administer on behalf of them. The CCP leaders trained some minorities who were also communists, but they were not enough of them to take care of the administrative and other work. Here the CCP worked at two levels. On the one hand it supported the minorities autonomy guaranteed by the constitution. On the other hand, it had initiated minorities' inclusion into Chinese structure by training them.

There are other important aspects which need to be understood and explored such as the relationship between Han and non-Han nationals and relationships among the ethnic nationals. Any imbalance in dealing with national minorities will destabilize frontier regions and this in turn will affect China's stability and security. To avoid this, Chinese leaders handled the ethnic minorities with care and sensitivity. Most of the ethnic minorities have different kinds of systems developed over a period of time. The national minority societies are unequal among themselves as hierarchical relations prevail. The Han regions were undergoing tremendous changes and new kind of administrative and social changes were initiated. Therefore, any failure to handle national question correctly will have repercussions for unity. Training of national minorities on party lines can be seen in this direction.

“Meanwhile, the party made various efforts to speed up the transition period into socialism and the homogenization of national minorities' culture. A network of 'nationalities institutes' was established in order to educate minorities. They were trained as teachers, administrative cadres, veterinarians, and even entertainers to carry out pro-communist messengers” (Dreyer 1993).

There are various autonomous regions operates at several level in China. Among them,

“the main autonomous regions are: Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which was established in 1955, Guangxi Zhuang and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regions in 1958, and Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965. Apart from these, other autonomous bodies were created, by 1965, 29 autonomous prefectures and 64 autonomous counties/leagues were set up, by then, 35 of the 55 ethnic minorities had their own autonomous areas” (Lai, H. 2009).

The “General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Minorities” in 1952 specified that the autonomous government should compose mainly of members of the minority groups through appropriate representations; the respective area’s local language should be used in it. The Constitution of 1954 endorsed that autonomous regions to administer their own local finance within the legal limits, develop their own rules and regulations in light of local political, economic, and cultural conditions, and organize local security forces in line with the national military system. Overall this period can be understood as moderate and accommodative. The policies initiated under the Chinese People’s Republic were quite flexible and tried to win over the confidence of national minorities. Serious attempts were made to address the fears of the ethnic minorities. The newly adopted “Constitution of People’s Republic of China” reflected the Chinese Communist Party’s commitment to national minorities’ development and security. Accordingly, there onwards, the Chinese government initiated a wide range of policies in various fields.

3.4.2 Radical Ethnic Policies, 1957-1976

After the good started of the process of reaching out to the ethnic minorities in the 1950s, at the end of the first decade China had witnessed the many changes. The CCP leaders initiated a lot of radical reforms on the socio-political and economy fronts of the country. The earlier moderate and cooperative ethnic minorities policies came under attack by the then changing political situation. The shift was clear; in fact it was accommodated and encouraged by the political establishment from the top. The state was focused on forced and rapid integration of ethnic minorities in the larger Chinese identity, which was contrary to the earlier policies. It was also a turbulent period when large scale disruption and disorder took place at the national level. After few a years of moderate and flexible system of People’s Republic of China towards its minorities the PRC leaders wanted to know minority people’s opinions about government. In 1956 and 1957, the government conducted an enquiry of minorities work. The ethnic minorities were asked to express their opinion about party and government. The responses of ethnic minority surprised the government. What they had found was that the opinion of ethnic minorities was not faded way that they wanted to secede from China. Some of them said that the idea of

“Autonomy” was a pretext to assimilation of ethnic minorities. There was another group who said that the party’s work of socialism and collectivization was against of minorities’ special characteristics. These findings forced the CCP to rethink about ethnic policies and the party responded suitably. Accordingly, the Chinese government initiated some efforts to deal with certain complaints made by the minorities. On the other hand, the CCP carried out an anti-rightist campaign. In most of the cases, the campaign’s main target was ‘local nationalism,’ they thought that the local nationalism was against socialism. In the anti-rightist campaign of 1957-58, “the people who made moderate demands for ethnic autonomy were branded as rightist and condemned” (cited in Lai, H. (2009). The prime victims were some of the traditional power holders. The traditional ethnic leaders were replaced by young minority party cadre who were trained by the party. However, “the campaign against local nationalism was far from a thoroughgoing purge. The United Front continued in both theory and practice” (Dreyer 1993). However, while there were measures to build the confidence of national minorities over Chinese government going on there were some major changes also taking place in the country’s polity. These changes were mostly related to economic and political policies of the PRC. In order to overcome the growing dissatisfaction of the Chinese people, the government came up with different policies. Among which “The Great Leap forward” and “Cultural Revolution” and basically these policies were aimed at the national level.

Here the “The Great Leap Forward”¹¹ needs our attention. Among many reforms, the Great Leap Forward is one of the large scale reform initiatives. The GLP's goals were: increasing production, simplifying administration, eliminating over involvement of bureaucratic official and eradicating red tapism in administration, and thereby achieving pure communism in China. But many scholars consider it as a major disruption in the social structure. And on the economic front it was a failed experiment at a huge cost to the economy. The years of the “Great Leap Forward saw economic regression, from 1958 through 1962, being the only period (other than the Cultural Revolution) between 1953 and 1976 in which China's economy shrank” (Mirsky, J. 2009). And in words of political

¹¹ The Great Leap Forward is one of the major policies of Mao, this initiative to bring the changes in administration and achieve pure communism.

economist Dwight Perkins, the “Great Leap Forward” was a result of “enormous amounts of investment that produced only modest increases in production or none at all. In short, the Great Leap was a very expensive disaster” (Perkins 1991). When it came to national minorities it also equally affected them as it did to the rest of the people. The minority regions also witnessed the establishment of communes, huge common dining halls, virtually compulsory day care for children, and backyard blast furnaces as these were the common features of the Great Leap Forward. It did also affect the minority culture which was in some ways unique to minorities.

The spillovers of its effect were also seen on the political front. By then untouched minority groups, what the party propaganda referred to as ‘the socialist transformation’ were also included. Eventually these changes led to class struggle. Due to this several high-ranking traditional minorities leaders whom the party had cooperated with were expunged as counter-revolutionaries. And then what was considered ‘Local nationalism’ was replaced by Han chauvinism. The Great Leap Forward eventually resulted in further increasing the gap in minority areas and became failed attempt, just as it had been in dominated areas in Han China. “There was one crucial difference: ethnic minorities, unlike Han, perceived the Leap as being imposed on them by outsiders in an attempt to destroy their culture and ways of life” (Dreyer, 1993). The ethnic minorities expressed their resentment and resistance in different forms. Whatever intention behind The Great Leap Forward this initiative caused great disturbance irrespective of regions and ethnic groups. Especially the minority groups saw it as an imposition from outside and an attack on their distinctive culture. Though preventive measures were taken, it was too late however and irreparable damage had already been done.

After some interval the “The Great Leap Forward” was followed by yet another revolution. This time it was the “Cultural Revolution 1966-76”¹² which was very radical in nature which attacked nationalities and religion. The radical assimilation line was followed in ‘cultural revolution’ by its propagators.

¹² The “Chinese Cultural Revolution”, was also known as the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong initiative, was a large scale socio-political movement that took place in China between, 1966-1976

“The leaders of the Cultural Revolution interpreted the nationalities problem as a class problem and interpreted it in the most extreme possible fashion. Since nationalities problems were also class problems, then nationalities became target. Since class differences were to be done away with, nationality differences were to be done away with also. Consonant with this logic, Red Guards attacked the "four olds" in minorities' areas. They called for an end to the united front, which they regarded as "class capitulationism," and demanded an end to concessions to minorities' special characteristics. Class struggle, they argued, must be introduced into minority areas; autonomous areas themselves should be abolished” (Dreyer 1993).

The state agencies in charge of united front, nationalities, and religion were viewed as revisionist and urged for abolishing of them. A number of prominent political and religious leaders of autonomous regions, including Ulanhu of Inner Mongolia and the Pachen Lama of Tibet were branded traitors or revisionists. Many Nationality Autonomous Areas (NAAs) were abolished. Culture, diet and customs of ethnic minorities were deemed backward and were prohibited (Lai 2009).

The radical assimilation was to some extent was successful during the “Cultural Revolution”. For instance, communes were setup in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, where they had never existed. In addition, Communes were re-imposed in other minority areas, where they had been dissolved. And many of those whom the radicals referred to as entrenched power holders in minority areas were indeed removed from the office. But the net result of the Cultural Revolution could not have been entirely to their liking. Quite a few members of the old guard in minorities areas, including nobles, headmen, and Living Buddhas, were retained. Some of the minorities' special characteristics were retained, and the autonomous areas were never abolished. Members of minority groups continued to be identified in public. Part of this failure to achieve assimilationist goals was the fear, that pushing minorities too hard would risk border defense.

3.4.3 Deng Xiaoping era

After turbulent and quiet disturbing period of ethnic policies under the “The Great Leap Forward” and “Cultural Revolution” the mid-1970’s witnessed some tolerance and flexibility in ethnic policies. In fact, the Cultural Revolution was quite a disturbing factor

in China's political system. Policies became still more tolerant since 1978 with Deng Xiaoping's return to power. He pursued a variety of policies in administration as well as at the development level. In the realm of Administration in 1979, the Party and the State Council approved a report that safeguarded ethnic minorities' rights to equality. Deng Xiaoping had several tasks whose main motive was to develop the country. In 1980, in the "Summary of Talks on the Work in Tibet", the Party introduced eight ethnic policies that emphasized respect for the autonomy of ethnic minorities. The people's government of autonomous regions and areas (i.e., the administration sanctioned by the Constitution), which were closed during the latter Mao era and replaced by other political bodies such as the Revolutionary Committee, were also reopened. In the 1980s, the state even shifted its emphasis from integration of ethnic groups to co-existence. The PRC's 1982 Constitution restored and extended the privileges for regional ethnic minorities autonomy, stipulated in the Constitution in 1954. In 1984 the Law of Regional Ethnic Autonomy was promulgated.¹³ It had 27 articles, including four on legislation and cadres, 11 on economy and finance, 11 on culture, education, health, languages, and management of population, and one on public security.¹⁴

For the economic development Deng wanted to ensure good relations with all nationalities. He realized that it was necessary to have a stable society and cooperation among people for any development. While focusing on development he also tried to reach out to minority people.

“One was to induce minorities to give their utmost to his Four Modernizations drive to expand productivity and raise living standards. A second was to portray the PRC as a benevolent patron of minorities, in order to further some of the aims of China's foreign policy. These included strengthening relations with Muslim countries, particularly those that are wealthy and could invest in the PRC. It also included those Muslim states that are strategically located and might therefore become targets for Soviet expansionism. A third motive was to persuade Taiwan that it, like the minorities, could expect favorable treatment from the central government if the island were to be absorbed into the PRC” (Dreyer, 1993).

¹³ Cited in Lai, H. (2009). “*The Evolution of China's Ethnic Policies*”. East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

¹⁴ Ibid

Since the mid-1990s, in response to eruptions of mass protests and violence in Xinjiang and to a lesser extent Tibet, the state has emphasized economic and later cultural integration of ethnic minorities. One of the major moves concerning this was the Western Development Programme.

China's preferential policies are basically aimed at the inclusive development of ethnic minorities in various areas. Furthermore some of the major aspects of the lives of the ethnic minorities were influenced by preferential policies. As a part of inclusive development, preferential policies can be seen as the main tool in narrowing the economic and social gaps between Han and ethnic minority peoples. The geographical location of ethnic minorities had direct influence on their underdevelopment. The majority of ethnic minorities live in the western region of China and which is underdeveloped due to lack of development of basic infrastructure. And it is considered as the most backward region compared to any other region in China. Because of their remote geographical location and living in remote areas, these areas are less developed even when China was witnessing rapid development, and it had little impact on ethnic minorities lives when compared with the Eastern region. The living standard gap between minorities and Han further widened. Due of this unequal development between minority and majority inhabited regions and other regions, the equality between Han and ethnic minorities has remained elusive.

3.4.4 Post-Deng Era

After Deng Xiaoping, his successors had continued more or less the same policies without many changes. The Chinese government's focus turned towards west and central to develop these regions. Eastern region heavily benefited from China's reforms more than the other regions. Once China reached a comfortable stage in the eastern region, it started efforts to balance and decentralize development into other regions, particularly western region. As part of these plans, the CCP leaders initiated a number of reforms in diverse fields. The western development program is one such big initiative.

Western Development Programme

Since its 'Opening Up' policy, China had seen rapid growth over the last three decades and has been transformed immensely. During last three decades China has witnessed an average of 10 per cent growth rate and remained the fastest growing economy in the world until recently. It was started by Deng Xiaoping and continued by successive Chinese government leaders. However, this growth was mostly confined to the eastern region due its geographical location, among other reasons. The eastern region is the most developed region in China than any other region. When it comes to ethnic minority areas they are largely constituted in the western region. This western region has remained mostly untouched by China's development saga. The Chinese government has been mainly focusing on development which its the primary goal and seeks to transform China on the economic front. Once it has built a strong base in the eastern region it turned its focus towards other regions.

As part of development project of other regions, China has initiated a number of projects. The "Western Development" programme is one among such programmes. In late 1999, after two decades of pursuing coastal development, Chinese leaders announced a change in China's regional development strategy and initiated the western (Lai, H. H. 2002). Jiang Zemin proposed the Western Development strategy during the Ninth NPC in March 1999 (Jing Bao, February 2000: 30), formally spelling it out in two speeches of June 1999. In 2000, China started a new drive to develop the western region under the name of 'Develop-the West'. As part of this drive the Chinese government has launched various new projects. The 10 newly-launched major projects: The five key projects in preparation and the 78 ongoing large and medium-sized projects have made the western region a hot investment spot.¹⁵ Along with these projects, the Chinese government has also provided for various other preferential policies. Starting from 2001, the Chinese government has offered preferential policies to the western region in terms of capital inputs, investment environment, internal and external opening-up, development of science and education, and human resources.

Western Development Strategy: A Chronicle

“1999: the “Western Development” guidelines are clarified.

2000: the “Western Development” plan begins.

2001: the official website of the “Western Development” program is launched.

2002: construction of the “West-East Gas Pipeline” begins.

2003: the policy of “Returning Grazing Land to Grassland” comes into effect.

2004: the Law on Promoting Western Development is listed on the legislative plan of the 10th National People’s Congress.

2005: compulsory education tuition and fees become exempt in western areas.

2006: the Qinghai-Tibet Railway begins operation.

2007: the ministry of Finance invests 280 billion Yuan in the west to support key projects”.¹⁶

3.5 Other major Changes in Minority Policies

The spirit of the PRC’s constitutional principles reflects in some policies which are specifically initiated for ethnic minorities by the Chinese government. China has been pursuing wide ranging exclusive policies for ethnic minorities. These policies are intended to bring equality among all nationalities in the predominantly Han dominated majority ethnic group on the one side and on the other, a tiny proportion of a combined groups of 55 ethnic minorities are living together in China. In terms of development, these ethnic minorities are underdeveloped compared to the Han community. In such conditions, ethnic minorities need special support from state to improve their lives. The Chinese government seems to be sensitive enough to understand the needs of minorities. As a result, there are a number of exclusive ethnic minorities policies are being

¹⁶ For more details, http://en.chinagate.cn/features/Western_Development/2010-01/04/content_19175519.htm

implemented by the government. Restricting itself to the aim of this work, this part of chapter will look into some of important ethnic minority policies, such as ‘Regional Autonomy,’ Cultural, Minority areas, Financial and Population special policies.

The Chinese government had chosen Regional Autonomy as one way of resolving the national question of ethnic minorities. As posited earlier, before the PRC came into existence, these ethnic majority regions were independent in terms of political rule under the Chinese rulers. The PRC leaders recognized the complexity of issue of autonomy of ethnic majority regions. The minority leaders were assured that they continue their autonomy under China’s constitutional framework. As a result, ethnic minority inhabited autonomous regions were established after careful consideration.

3.5.1 Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities

As defined by the Chinese Constitution, the People’s Republic of China is a unitary multi-national State created jointly by the people of all its nationalities. However, there has been long history beyond the creation of present PRC. The Chinese People’s Republic is a state in which many nationalities are united (Dreyer, J. T. 1976). The population of national minorities ranges from a few thousands to millions. The national minorities are spread across China mostly around border areas and mainly in western region. Some of these national minorities are a majority in some regions such as: Tibetan, Uighur and Mongol to name few.¹⁷ This is the result of historical development under various regimes that had ruled China. In the process, these national minorities have developed distinctive socio-political, economic and linguistic features. These were respected by the contemporary Chinese rulers and some attempts were made to unify, but these attempts were not successful and were met with resistance from minorities. This contentious issue continued till the establishment of PRC in 1949.

The modern architects of China knew and understood this complex issue well. Any mismanagement of governance will widen the gap between minorities and government and eventually the unity of nation will be affected. Given this complex and sensitive nature of ethnic minority regions and past experiences of, particularly Kuomintang

¹⁷ These minority groups are not only majority in their regions but also they dominate public spheres.

government's forced assimilation policy, and mishandling was in the memory fresh. The CCP leaders were well aware of the consequences of forced assimilation. Any attempts made in this manner would perpetuate the division nationals further. The aim of united and greater China will never be accomplished. The forced assimilation does not recognize the equality of all and also there is very little scope to continue the diversity of faiths, culture, and costumes of different nationals. The other way to resolve the national question within China is to recognize this ethnic diversity and various differences among all nationals. The other way is to guarantee equality of all nationals and provide them with legal protection. This is what the CCP has inclined to resolve national question and it is reflected in China's Constitution. This is the way which can bring nationalities together and it has ideological support too.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China clearly states that equality, unity, mutual assistance and prosperity together are the principles of socialist ethnic relations. And it opposes any kind of division among Chinese people whether it could be Han chauvinism or local-nationalism. It further says that the state will facilitate and make all necessary efforts to promote prosperity for all the ethnic groups in China. Under these guiding principles, the Constitution and other relevant laws ensure that ethnic minority persons enjoy all the rights that any Chinese citizen should have. It transformed these into reality and the Chinese government has assured all ethnic minorities of such a country for all communities. The Autonomous Regions in China are part of these balanced policies. Therefore China's regional autonomy policy for ethnic minorities is well considered and accommodative in nature. Regional autonomy of ethnic majority regions suggests that under the leadership of the state rests with the ethnic minorities and they themselves undertake the administrative responsibilities too, and manage their affairs according to the local prevailing situation and culture.

There are different autonomous regions for ethnic minorities. They include "Autonomous Regions", "Autonomous Prefectures", and "Autonomous Counties." In 1952, the Chinese government delineated the Programme for the Implementation of "Regional Ethnic Autonomy of the People's Republic of China." The 1954, PRC's Constitution viewed

ethnic minorities as an integral part of the Chinese political system. Later in the 1980s, PRC enacted a law on “Ethnic Regional Autonomy.”

As of now there are 5 ethnic autonomous regions, 30 ethnic autonomous prefectures and 120 autonomous counties. Along with these three layers of autonomy for ethnic minorities, there are more than thousands of ethnic townships established (for more details about various autonomous regions see Appendix-2).

3.5.2 Preservation and Development of the Cultures of Ethnic Minorities

The unique feature of Chinese society is its diversity that exists in terms of multi-ethnicity religion, language, culture, customs and beliefs. Accordingly, China has been nurturing its pluralistic character of its social fabric with care and in an organized manner. However, it has not always been smooth sailing and the situation has not been entirely conflict free for China. There are conflicts and coercion among various groups when one group seemed to interfere into other group’s interest. There are incidents where major and minor clashes have taken place. In history whenever there is assertion of one group’s identity particularly that of Han people over minorities identity it has met with resistance. After PRC’s establishment, Mao warned about the division among the ethnic group. He said that both Han chauvinism and minority separation will harm the unity of China. It is clear that he indicated that division could cause disruptions in the diverse Chinese society. As a result, China has been weaving social fabric by taking special care.

Ethnic minorities have been living in China for thousands of years, and have a long history of separate culture of their own. Over the years they have developed distinctive cultural traditions. These unique cultural traditions were always respected and protected by various Han and non-Han rulers. To continue this great tradition, the Chinese government is committed to protect and preserve the traditional cultures of ethnic minorities. The Chinese government allows ethnic minorities to follow traditional culture. This traditional culture is not the same as that of other ethnic minority groups. Most of ethnic minority groups have a different folklore, traditions and customs. The Uyghur in Xinjiang have Islamic tradition and they follow it in their everyday life. The Tibetans who have Buddhist tradition follow the Mahayana Buddhism. Likewise, other ethnic

minorities have different traditions, cultures and customs. They have different modes of production and lifestyles, and different forms of dress and adornments, diet, homes, etiquette, and rituals followed during marriages and funerals (Xing, L.*et. al.* 2012). A country as diverse and complex like China has the responsibility to protect its sensitive social fabric. Thus China has taken the responsibility to protect and preserve the traditional cultures. However, the ethnic minorities often complain about the Chinese government's excessive intervention in their social conduct. They also protest against the regulation of their day-to-day life and religious beliefs.

3.5.3 Special Preferential Policies for Minority Areas

Along with above discoursed ethnic minority policies there are various other preferential policies for ethnic regions, which are aimed at elevating ethnic minorities' social, educational and economic position. Historically large numbers of ethnic minorities are relatively backward and are less developed compared with Han people. To enhance their position the Chinese government has initiated special preferential policies. These policies cover areas like finance, education and culture.

Financial Preferential Policies

Minority people are less developed compared to their counterparts, the Han people. Reasons could be many like their geographical position, lack of capital, unskilled work force, low human resources and their traditional economic system and religious way of life. It is evident that most of the ethnic minorities follow one or the other religion. Most of the ethnic regions remained untouched by the reforms initiated by Chinese government. Whenever Chinese leaders tried to push reforms hard, if not harshly, in some instances, where the Chinese did not differentiate among ethnic groups and regions, they met with stiff resistance from minority regions' local leaders. Even ethnic minority regions endowed with rich natural resources had not exploited them. Even today ethnic areas have not witnessed any significant industrialization. Over the years, there has hardly been any major or large scale industries established.

Meanwhile, China has been on the course of reforms beginning with land reforms, community farming and cultural reforms. These reforms had created a stage, whereupon

1978 economic reforms had faced a little resistance to implement them. As a result, China has witnessed unprecedented economic growth for almost four decades. Particularly eastern China became a playground for 1978 reforms. Today eastern region has emerged as the most developed region among all regions of China. At the same time a new kind of situation has emerged from this development. It became the cause for unequal development among regions and unequal distribution of wealth among people. In other words, it was the ethnic regions and ethnic minorities who have been left out of China's development saga. Hence the ethnic minority regions need resources for the smooth functioning of administration and meet their expenditure. Therefore China has the responsibility to fulfill the needs of ethnic minority communities. It is in this background that the State has been giving some special financial preferential treatment in the form of tax incentives and tax exemptions and further if there is deficit in financial operation of ethnic regions, Central government would fill the gap.

Preferential Policies in Population Control

Ethnic minorities in China have different ways of lifestyle in public as well as private life. These are drawn from their respective religions and customs. Considering the distinctive customs of ethnic minorities, China seems to take minorities into consideration while pursuing social reforms. Thus the CCP government has formulated social policies for the betterment of ethnic minority communities. One of the important policies pertaining to social policy related to ethnic minorities is the minorities' preference over the birth control policy. In 1979 China flagged off the "One-Child Policy" as a part of the family planning policy. This policy was aimed at controlling population of China. After continuing for almost four decades, the policy was revisited and relaxed in 2013. As part of this policy government had given exemption for ethnic minorities. The ethnic minorities were exempted from the 'One Child' policy and they were allowed to have more than one child.

Summary

China has a long history of preferential policies, perhaps one of the oldest countries in the world. The People's Republic of China has been on the course of continuing these preferential policies since its establishment in 1949. However, affirmative action policies are not new in Chinese history and these policies were there even before the inception of PRC. These kinds of policies were practiced in China by various dynasties under various names and forms. After the collapse of the Qing dynasty's, the new Republican government abandoned Qing dynasty, ethnic policies. Under the Qing rule, many minority regions were remained fairly independent. The new Republican government sought to integrate the country and also insisted on preserving the unity of the multi-national state. But later, the Republican government headed by Chiang Kai-Shek had pursued an aggressive integration policy to assimilate ethnic minorities. He had paid little attention at and as a result, the Republic government faced resistance from ethnic minorities.

After the establishment of People's Republic China in 1949, the government under the Chinese Communist Party had officially formulated policies for national minorities. Over the last seven decades the Chinese government has been pursuing a variety of ethnic minority policies under the name of preferential policies in diverse areas. In this process there have been many changes which mean that there is some continuity and some change in Chinese government's preferential policies.

Though China's preferential policies have been in practice from the inception of PRC, ruptures took place. During the last seven decades of PRC history, China has undergone many changes. These changes have had both positive and some negative impact on Chinese society. Both the Han and ethnic minorities have been affected by these changes. At same tie there were apprehensions, misunderstandings and suspicion raised by both sides. Some of the ethnic minorities were accused of supporting the separatists groups in their regions. Similarly, ethnic minorities too have complained of strict control of government and Han dominance. After the PRC came into existence, for few years the CCP government addressed the ethnic minorities' issues with a moderate approach. But later on China took an aggressive stand on the integration of ethnic minorities into the

Chinese society. Particularly two important incidents the “Great Leap Forward” (1958-62) and the “Cultural Revolution” (1966-76) had caused disturbance equally among all ethnic groups. The moderate approach towards ethnic minority communities resumed again in end of 1970s. Since then China has been on the course of gradual implementation of economic reforms.

China has succeeded to keep the nation unified even after more than six decades. One of the reasons is its diverse and fragmented policies towards ethnic minority people in general and ethnic regions in particular. To assure equality for all ethnic minorities in a single Han-majority dominated country, China has been initiating many policies. The Chinese constitution from the beginning to the current period has guaranteed equality of all nationals irrespective of their strength and position. Apart from constitutional guarantees China has also been pursuing various policies in the name of preferential policies. The China’s preferential policies for ethnic minorities cover diverse areas. However, most of the ethnic minorities are still underdeveloped considering the overall progress that China made in the last six decades. Even after four decades, China’s economic growth did not change the ethnic minorities’ lives substantially as it had changed Han people’s lives.

Chapter-4

A Case Study of Preferential Policies for Ethnic Minorities in Higher Education

4.1 Introduction

The Chinese government has adopted preferential policies as a means to ensure the inclusion of ethnic minorities in to the predominant Han majority country. As part of these preferential policies, the ethnic minorities guaranteed the right to equality for all people irrespective of their ethnicity along with Han people in social and government spheres. According to the constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982), Article 4 states, "All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. And it also says, the state protects the lawful rights and interests of the national minorities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities." By doing so the Chinese leaders assured the ethnic minorities of their safety, security and prosperity. A conducive social atmosphere has been created for ethnic minorities whereby they can treat each other on an equal basis and create unity, friendship, harmony and mutual cooperation amongst themselves.

Today China is one of the a few countries, which has developed tremendously in terms of education. China's literacy rate is about 91.6% (age 15+ who can read and write), and gender wise there is not much gap between male and female education which is 95.7%, and female education stands at 87.6%. Before the Communist party came to power in 1949, about 80% of China's population was illiterate (60 Years of Educational Reform and Development 2009). Since its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China has witnessed spectacular achievements in its education, capturing worldwide attention. Notwithstanding the numbers, education among ethnic minorities still remains backward. It is in this background that this chapter attempts to examine the education system in

China. Further it will evolve into various other issues related to higher education in general and higher education among the minorities in particular.

4.2 Education System in China

The Chinese government accords much importance to education. It recognizes the importance of education in the society and its impact on the country's progress. Its leaders believe that education can change the society and that education is the basis of country's development and modernization. The CCP leaders consider that education could play a greater role in shaping the society. Today, China's education system can be considered as one the biggest in the world. China is the most populous country in the world with huge diversity, which gets reflected in China's education system too. Education structure in China is not only huge but also diverse. China's education is entirely, almost, state-sponsored with little private player participation. Chinese state plays a major role in education and exercises great control over educational institutions. However, in recent years it had witnessed a shift in education from strict control to monitoring and supervising. The Chinese government has evolved a planned and structured education system. Hence, over the years it has achieved remarkable progress and placed itself in a better position.

In China, the Ministry of Education is assigned the discharge of educational responsibilities. The Ministry of Education is a key authority that steers the in Chinese education institutions. It plays a crucial role in education system and it controls, suggests, supervises and monitors the educational institutions. China has evolved mechanism to oversee and promote educational development. As part of the larger framework, China has formulated various laws and regulations for the smooth functioning of education. They are basic instruments for exercising proper control over and implementation of educational policies in a complex system. The Chinese government uses these laws and regulations to promote and provide quality education to the students. The Ministry of Education drafts the laws and sends them to the National People's Congress for approval. Once they are approved by the National People's Congress, from there on it sends them to the State Council to pass these laws.

The Ministry of Education of PRC is the organization of the State Council that oversees education throughout the country. The State Council is the chief administrative authority in China and is chaired by the Premier. The Ministry of Education is responsible for carrying out the policies of the Communist Party of China (CCP), as well as the regulations and laws adopted by the National People's Congress. There are lengthy and elaborate frameworks based on which the Ministry of Education exercises control and involves as a responsible authorized organization. Some of the responsibilities where it involves, as mentioned in its official website, are listed in the following table.

The Chinese Ministry of Education and the provincial educational authorities work closely on the policies related to higher education admission in line with the central government admission principles. The Ministry of Education supervises over education policies and takes necessary steps so that these policies are properly implemented and also frames procedures for senior secondary syllabus, content and examinations. The Ministry of Education further looks into gaokao¹⁸ examination content. At the provincial level, education is actively managed by the provincial educational authorities. These provincial educational authorities have authority to oversee gaokao process. They take responsibility for gaokao applications, conducting gaokao examination and managing candidates' enrolment. Today in China, the gaokao is broadly considered to be the most important exam. While exercising its jurisdiction under the Ministry of Education guidelines, the provincial education authorities can accommodate their own policies according to the local needs. At the same time, these provincial education authorities do not bypass or violate the Ministry of Education policies. Both the Ministry of Education and the provincial educational authorities work closely according to the direction of central government by striking a balance between central and local needs.

In Chinese educational hierarchical structural order, the next level is the provincial education, which is very important in governmental order. At the provincial level, education is placed under the control of education departments or commissions. The next level is county level where the counties education bureaus have been given the responsibility. Once the Ministry of Education adopts or enacts the policies and laws,

¹⁸ Guakao means "High Test" or "Higher Education Exam" which is an annual based examination.

then they are sent to the provincial level departments of educations or universities for implementation. However, the laws and regulations are enacted by MoE flexible and they can be changed according to the local needs. Here these local education authorities, bureaus and departments of education, have the freedom to formulate their own rules along with national policies. Governments at the provincial-level have the freedom to add, accommodate, and execute their own policies according to the local needs within the purview of the laws. These policies are not out of the purview of national policies; rather they are part of the central government policies. Furthermore, these provincial-level administrative divisions have been delegated into county and township levels. These are flexible and clearly visible at the functional level where local authorities often formulate or adjust policies for some specific reasons. Thus, the central government originally formulates educational policies for general purpose across the country. At the same time, it does not remain rigid in implementation, because of its diversity. Therefore, the central and local authorities coordinate for practical reasons.

China has an elaborate education system through which it operates its educational institutions. There are three layers of education that are being offered. These layers are pre-school education, primary and secondary education, and higher education. The pre-school education is the basic and beginning of the education in China. The government has taken the responsibility for providing pre-school education. These pre-school institutions function as kindergarten for three years and operate as full-time or part-time and boarding. In 1986, the Chinese government had considered education as being necessary for China's modernization process. Thus, it came with big reforms in education. As part of that China wanted to promote more inclusive education policies among its people and made primary education compulsory for all children. China is committed to it and promulgated the "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China" in 1986. Under this law, every child is provided free and compulsory education for nine years. The Chinese students in China must complete nine years of compulsory education. Most students study six years in primary school but some schools follow five years primary school model. Primary education begins at age of six for most of the children and this is followed by 3 to 4 years of junior secondary education. As a result over the years, the admission ratio for primary education in 2014 was 103%

compared with 104% in 2006. The secondary education gross enrolment ratio was 94% compared with 64% in 2006 (UNESCO-UIS, 2016 in OECD, 2015). Higher education has played a very prominent role in China's modernization and its government gives great importance to it. Higher education includes various types of education provided by different institutions: general and technical universities, professional universities, and military institutions. There are also special institutions, medical schools and colleges, different independent colleges and adult higher education institutions of various types.

4.3 An Overview of Higher Education in China

China has a very centralized education structure and the Ministry of Education, supervises it. Earlier it used to be called by the name of State Education Commission. The Ministry formulates the educational policies for the entire nation. It supervises and guides provincial governments about its laws and policies, to be implemented by provincial governments in provincial level education institutions. Today, China is one of the few nations having state sponsored education system. It has been the case in China that education is strictly controlled by the state. Since the establishment of PRC, China continues to control over the education system. Indeed, when the PRC came into existence the CCP government had either private educational institutions closed or converted them into state-run institutions. However, the Chinese government for the first time had let some space for private education owing to the drawbacks of government education system and undesirable results of state sponsored education. The first ever private higher education institution after PRC government was founded in 1982. Higher education includes various types of education provided by different institutions.

At the heart of the Chinese higher education is gaokao. The debate about the Chinese higher education is incomplete without mentioning gaokao system. The gaokao or the National Higher Education Entrance Examination (NHEEE) is a nation-wide entrance examination for higher education in China. In order to pursue higher education in China, students have to take this exam. Gaokao is essential for admission to higher education in China. Students appear in this exam after the completion of secondary schooling. It is an annually held exam for higher education. Gaokao, literally means "high test", is an abbreviation of the much longer official name, the National Higher Education Entrance

Examination, the academic qualification test for almost all high school graduates hoping to receive undergraduate education (Zhuang Pinghui, 2017). It has become an established educational practice in China. The first gaokao was held in 1952, as a standard examination practice. Later, after it had been in practice for some years, the changes had taken place during “Cultural Revolution” this practice was stopped. When chairman Mao Zedong decreed that educated youth must be “sent down” to the countryside to “learn from the peasants” (Zhuang Pinghui, 2017).

At the national level, the Ministry of Education is responsible for universities level admissions. It sets admission quotas in consultation with the universities. However, these quotas are not uniform across all universities. Chinese universities have freedom to choose their own admission quotas (Zhou, M., & Hill, A. (ed.), 2009). Accordingly, Chinese universities choose their own criteria for ethnic admission policies. However, various universities set different criteria but they are practiced within the framework of preferential policies. Provincial level universities follow their individual criteria for admissions. This involves both the Ministry of Education and the provincial education authority. These provincial education authorities make plans for admission quotas with the consent of the Ministry of Education. This is a continual process that takes place every year. These negotiations happen between provincial authorities and universities over university quotas, provincial quotas and other quotas.

Table.1 Chinese Higher Education Institutions (2014)

Under Central Govt. & Under Provincial or Local govt.

	Total	Sub-total	*MOE-affi.	*Other Min-affi.	Sub-total	Educational department affiliated	*Non-ed. Depart. Affiliated	*Local ent. Sub.	*Private insti.
Graduate Schools & institutions	788	284	73	211	499	433	65	1	5
Universities	571	107	73	34	459	432	27		5
Research institutions	217	177		177	40	1	38	1	
Regular HEIs	2,529	113	73	40	1,689	1,053	592	44	727
Bachelor degree awarding institutions	1,202	110	73	37	672	604	68		420
Tertiary certificate awarding institutions	1,327	3		3	1,017	449	524	44	307
Vocational & technical colleges	1,186								
Adult HEIs	295	13	1	12	281	94	146	41	1
Other private institutions	799								799

Source: <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01>

* Ministry of Education Affiliated, Other Ministry Affiliated, Non-educational Department affiliated, local enterprise subordinated and Private institutions.

For web link:

http://gse.buffalo.edu/org/inthigheredfinance/files/Country_Profiles/Asia/China.pdf

Hong Shen *et al.* (“and others”) (2017) “Higher Education Finance in China”

4.3.1 Sources of Education and Management

Even today Chinese government is the most dominant player in education sector. The state plays a paramount role in providing financing, maintenance and management. The Chinese government finances education from the kindergarten to the higher education. Over the years, education has undergone many reforms. Though education is sponsored by the government, it is nonetheless a decentralized. Currently, education fund comes from different sources: central government, provincial governments, and local governments and also from other organizations like industrial organizations, public and businesses institutions etc.

The Chinese government is a major contributor of education. According to 2014 China Statistical Yearbook (CSY), government investment of higher education stood at 493.3 billion Yuan (\$71.6 billion USD) and constitutes about 60.3 percent of the total amount. Meanwhile, private investment stood at 3.4 billion Yuan (\$0.4 USD) with 0.42 of total percentage. Tuition fee is one of the major resources in higher education and it contributes about 204 Yuan (\$320.3 USD) by sharing quarter of total fee 25.05 total percentage. The Chinese higher education also receives funds from donors contributing to the Higher education amount is about 4.4 billion Yuan (\$0.6) higher than private investment sector and adds 0.53 total percentage.

4.4 Ethnic minorities in higher education

The government of the People's Republic of China has always placed great importance on the development of ethnic minorities education, and has been pursuing various educational policies for ethnic minorities' in accordance with their need (Yang, R., & Wu, M. 2009). The ethnic minorities have different and distinctive characteristics. These distinctive features not only exist between majority and minority communities but also within minorities themselves there are enormous differences. Taking these peculiar and rather very complex and sensitive aspects into consideration is very important in minority educational policy formulation. Accordingly the PRC government initiated numerous policies for ethnic minorities' education. Over the years, from the beginning of the PRC government about seven decades ago, China has been able to pursue a stable and

continuous minority educational policy, except during the Cultural Revolution Period (1966-76). As a result, ethnic minorities' education in China has been on a gradual development course. And yet some ethnic minorities fall far beyond when compared with Han ethnic people's educational achievements. Meanwhile, China has achieved remarkable progress in the last four decades particularly after the reforms. Thus, remarkable achievements have successfully promoted the development of ethnic minorities' education. These developments took place as part of China's overall development agenda. It is true that ethnic minorities' education has been progressing but this progress is minimal. Whatever improvement that the ethnic minorities had witnessed is inadequate in an increasingly changed and competitive society. Thus, there arise different kinds of problems in recent years. Therefore social audit of new ethnic minorities' education policies which are necessary to ensure and encourage the sustainable development of ethnic minorities education.

A majority of the ethnic minorities live in the western regions. Historically these regions are materially underdeveloped. Most of the ethnic minorities lead traditional lifestyles and depends upon traditional works. The large number of ethnic minorities has a strong sense of history and follow age old religious traditions. They strictly follow religious rules and live their life accordingly. This is one of the reasons for ethnic minorities' backwardness. Education among majority and minority ethnic groups is based on religion and local language. Considering ethnic minorities distinctive education system, China has been formulating minority education policies with care and sensitiveness. Thus, China adopted two way approaches: on the one hand continuing traditional ethnic minority education; and on the other, it has gradually started introduction of modern education among the ethnic minorities.

By realizing the complexity of traditional ethnic minority education system, China has been pursuing realistic approach towards ethnic minorities' education. The Chinese government is addressing this complexity from different angles. This includes various preferential policies such as admissions quotas in educational institutions from local level to national i.e. from kindergarten to higher education. Likewise, lower tuitions fee, and in some cases fee exemptions, special financial support in the form of various scholarships

are also being granted. And also establishing ethnic minorities educational institutions at the central, provincial and local levels. As part of the preferential policies, many ethnic minorities' centric universities have been established in the western region. Institutions like the Central National University, the Northwest Normal University, Southwest Nationality University, Xinjiang Normal University, Yunnan Nationality College, Qinghai Normal University, Qinghai Nationality College, and Inner-Mongolian Normal University.

Over the last six decades, China's efforts to improve ethnic minorities education yielded some fruit. Today ethnic minorities education has improved to a large extent. Some of the ethnic minority groups have exceeded their counterparts in education i.e. Han people. Some of these ethnic minorities have even emerged as an elite group among ethnic minorities. However, their proportion is very minimal to the total ethnic minority population. They were mainly constituted around urban and metro cities, particularly in the eastern region. These are the people who are part of China's economic growth and have actively participating. It will be as mistake to link this to their ethnic minority identity. But will fair to see them as individuals belong to different ethnic minorities groups. As a whole, many of the ethnic minorities are still unaffected by these changes. So in the field of education many ethnic minorities fell behind national literacy averages.

4.4.1 Preferential Policies in Higher Education

The CCP has always stressed on the importance of minority education. To promote education among ethnic minorities, the CCP has been encouraging them by giving special incentives. It has been continuing for last six and half decades with some break in between. By the time establishment the condition of higher education of ethnic minority was the lowest in China. Many of the ethnic minority communities had not had a modern education system (Xing Teng and Xiaoyi Ma, 2009). They were at the bottom. Historically, they were out of the educational reforms that were taking place elsewhere. Owing to their unique way of life did not mean that they were entirely uneducated. Most of the ethnic minorities population lead their life according to religious texts of their respective religions. Some of the large ethnic minorities groups have separate religion of their own within China. Large ethnic groups like Tibetan follow Buddhism, while

Uyghurs in Xinjiang practice Islam. Eventually the ethnic minorities education is drawn from religion although not entirely. At the same time they were receiving traditional religious education but the number of such students was very minimal.

Once the PRC formation was over, the CCP leaders wanted the ethnic minority groups to participate in the state functions. At that time, ethnic minorities were yet to be entirely integrated into the new Chinese system formed after 1949. Still some of the minorities wanted to continue their privilege of autonomy that had been in practice for a long time. The CCP leaders sensed that the existential practice could lead to trouble in the future. Hence, they wanted changes in minority administration structure. Particularly Mao Zedong, the most influential leader in China, wanted structural reforms among ethnic minorities. Taking clue from past experience he charted out a careful strategy and chose not to directly interfere into ethnic relations. As part of the plan, Mao regarded minority training and territorial autonomy (see the third chapter) as two key projects at the beginning of the PRC (Zhou, M. 2009). More or less these themes became the basis for ethnic minorities' policies for the last six decades.

The PRC headed by Mao's initiative preferential policies for ethnic minorities have three dimensions. A "*Huangpu*" approach to minority education, proportional representation of minority groups in education and special quota system (Zhou, M. p. 60, 2009). The Huangpu was for training cadre on the party lines and ideology. Thus, any anti-party forces can be isolated from the ethnic minority groups. In this regard the PRC government released two important documents; "Preliminary Plan for the Training of Minority Cadres." It proposes an elaborative minority-school system, quotas, special funding, student financial aid and medium of aid. The Second document is "Preliminary Plan for the Funding of the Central Institute for Nationalities" which mentions about the goals, organization and curriculum of minority universities. The current practices of ethnic minorities in education are inspiration. However, post-Mao Chinese leaders have continued with changes introducing with flexibility. At the same time, they undermined the political aspects of minority education. Though China has been giving special attention to ethnic minority education from the beginning, there was no substantial improvement in ethnic minority education. Meantime China had undergone different

experiments, particularly “the Great Leap Forward (1958-62)” and “Cultural Revolution (1966-76)” which are very important. Whatever little resources were available they were diverted until recently for this purpose. These initiatives became a cause for disturbances in Chinese ethnic minorities relations. Hence, any desirable level of improvement in minority education could be achieved.

In order to encourage education among ethnic minorities, the Chinese universities and educational institutions have been giving preferential treatment to these communities students. There are various preferential policies at various levels of education for ethnic minority groups. In higher education extra points were given to ethnic minorities students in colleges and university. For the same purpose, there is a national level entrance exam conducted every year. The gaokao or the National Higher Education Entrance Examination (NHEEE) is an annually held nationwide entrance examination for higher education in China. In order to pursue higher education in China, students have to take this exam. Gaokao is essential for admission to higher education in China. However it had stopped during the Cultural Revolution. During this time junior and senior secondary students were sent to the villages. As part of “Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement”¹⁹, these students were asked to work with farmers. The gaokao was reintroduced in 1978 immediately after Deng assumed the power (Xing Teng and Xiaoyi Ma 2009).

4.5 A Case Study of Higher Education, 2001-2015

China has transformed itself into a strong and modern nation over the last six decades. In a way it has built the nation carefully by brick from the base. Over the years, China has emerged as a strong country in the world. Today China stands as the world’s second largest economy with \$11 trillion, or 14.8% of the world economy. The U.S. as world’s largest economy with \$18 trillion, represents a quarter share of the global economy i.e. 24.3% (World Economic Forum, 2017). This is the result of constant efforts made by the Chinese leadership with the agenda of rigorous and consistent reforms. Among the numerous reforms, there are two reforms which have been considered game changers.

¹⁹ As part of the “Cultural Revolution” Chairman Mao initiated the “Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement” reform policy educated youth sent to villages to live and learn from farmers.

First, the one that was started four decades ago, the other 1978 Opening Up reform and second, the reforms that began in 2001, with China's entry into World Trade Organization (WTO). China has enormously benefitted from its entry into WTO both internally as well as externally. Internally, China attracted the highest number of foreign investors across the world and they fueled its economic growth. Externally, China has emerged as manufacture hub and has trade surplus with many countries.

China's entry into WTO has facilitated economic growth of the country and people's income. This is reflected in numbers: China's per capita income has seen an impressive rise from. 3487.8 (US\$), in 2007 to 6496.6, (US\$) in 2015 (World Bank). But the enhanced benefits created by the WTO have not been distributed equally across the all regions. That is reflected in the imbalanced regional development and urban and rural income sharing. The region that benefited most from China's entry into WTO is the coastal region. According to 2012 data, per capita income of China region wise: the Eastern provinces 32713.51; Central provinces 22451.0; Western Provinces 22475.10; and Northern Provinces 22816.19 (all in Yuan) (China Statistical Year Book 2013). Due to its geographical location the eastern region seemed to be the most advantaged and most developed region than any other region in China. Most of China's local and international trade takes place in this region. Another phenomenon is the widening of rural and urban inequality. Region wise rural per capita income of China in Western Provinces, is 13919.23; Central Provinces, 9829.41; Western Provinces, 8857.15; and Northern Provinces 15710.99 (all in Yuan) (CSYB 2013).

China's entry into WTO in 2001 obviously helped the Chinese economy and society in many ways. At the same time it has also created concerns in certain areas and among them education is one area. A year before China's entry into WTO, the WTO had included educational services under the realm of General Agreement on Trade and Services famously known as GATS. The GATS treated education as tradable commodity along with other commercial services. Most of the countries around the world consider education as people's basic right. Otherwise GATS classification of education as a commodity affected large sections of societies across all countries. Thus in the China, it

happened at two fronts; one at the economic level and the other at level of access to education.

4.5.1 Impact of WTO on Higher Education and Ethnic Minorities

China has long been practicing state-sponsored education in general and higher education in particular. China made a law for nine year compulsory education for all its children. In 1986, China passed the "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China". Under this law, 9 years compulsory education has been provided at various levels. The Chinese government has also been financing the higher education and students are not charged fees. In 1997, the tuition fee for higher education for all students including the ethnic minority students was high. It was a burden with low income people irrespective of their ethnicity (Xing Teng & Xiaoyi Mi, 2009). However, higher education in China is still predominantly public, although the private sector in this field has been growing rapidly.²⁰ At the same time Chinese education system has taken new dimensions and attracted public attention. Under the GATS norms and rules, education is defined as a service commodity and thereby a tradable item. According to it, governments should not discriminate between educational institutions whether they are operated by government or private.

The government funding is the major source of education funding in China. Responsibilities of education funding are given to the three respective tiers of administration central, provincial and local. Regional and local governments are the key sources of education funding. There is, therefore, a close relationship between the availability of educational resources and educational funding. This also a major dimension of education and plays a key role in ethnic minorities' education. Consequently, ethnic minorities' education is closely connected to the minorities' inhabitation and regional location.

For the last four decades China has transformed in an unprecedented manner. Beginning from 1978, China has been initiating a plethora of economic reforms in the country. Since

²⁰ For more details, http://gse.buffalo.edu/org/inthigheredfinance/files/Country_Profiles/Asia/China.pdf

then the Chinese economy has witnessed constant and steady growth. These initiatives have accelerated the Chinese economy and hugely benefited it. These economic reforms have also created abundant opportunities for people. Over the years, this development has also helped the Chinese people and made them prosperous. However, this development did not take place all over China uniformly but this development became regional-centric. Consequently, the rapid growth of Chinese economy has been leading to greater economic and social inequalities between regions. Most of the development concentrated in coastal region. The regional inequality became a major issue and played a key role in development. Generally, regional inequality has a greater impact on people's life and their progress. The modern economic reforms have played a minimal role in bridging the gap among regions. The four decades of development did not help in filling gaps between the regions and instead it widened further. So in the case of education too there are significant regional differences among regions. At the regional level, education is funded by local governments raised locally and they lack in resources. Therefore the funding of public education is inadequate and the government is not able to meet educational expenditure. Subsequently, the fair distribution of public educational funds is a greater challenge for these institutions. Eventually, they do not compete with the institutions located in the developed coastal regions. Most of the Chinese universities are located in the coastal region and coastal provinces and cities like: Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Jiangsu, Liaoning, Zhejiang, Hubei, Guangdong, Shandong, and Shanxi. For ethnic minority students entry into these universities has become a great financial burden. Most of the minorities are from underdeveloped regions and therefore affording higher education has become costlier in the western region.

In this scenario, the Chinese government is committed to the ethnic minority students in providing equal opportunities for all. The Chinese government has been encouraging minority students through various means to support them in higher education. There are many detailed special programmes to support minority students such as: tuition fee concession or complete fee exemption, and also providing several scholarships programs. They can access various central and local governments' scholarships such as the national scholarship, the national encouragement scholarship, state grants, work-study programs, national student loans among others for assistance.

Table.2 Estimated Higher Education Expenses Borne by Parents and Students First Degree, Academic Year 2012 in Yuan and USD

	General level (Public *INSTs)	High level (Public INSTs)	Average level (Public INSTs)	Low level (Private INSTs)	High level (Private INSTs)
Tuition: Yuan- USD (\$)	4,500 Yuan \$ 653	16,000 Yuan \$2324	3,973 Yuan \$577	8,000 Yuan \$1152	13,000 Yuan \$1888
Books & other educational Expenses	200 -29	800-116	513-74	200-29	800-116
Sub-total cost of education	4,700-682	16,800-2441	4,486-651	8,200-1191	13,800-2005
Lodging	800-116	1,200-174	857-124	800-116	15,000-2179
Food	3,000-435	10,000-1453	3,007-436	3,000-435	10,000-453
Transportation	500-72	1,000-145	414-60	500-72	1,000-145
Other Personal Expenses	1,000-145	2,000-290	1,323-192	1,000-145	2000-290
Sub-total cost of living of student	5,300-770	14,200-610	5,601-813	5,300-770	14,200-610
Total	10,000-1453	31,000-4574	10,087-1465	13,500-1961	18,000-2615

Source: University information and questionnaire on GSSL in 2012.

*NSTs, Institutions

For web link:

http://gse.buffalo.edu/org/inthigheredfinance/files/Country_Profiles/Asia/China.pdf

Hong Shen *et al.* (2017), “Higher Education Finance in China.”

4.6 Summary

China's preferential policies are basically aimed at inclusive development of ethnic minorities in various areas. Over the years the major aspect of the lives of the ethnic minorities are influenced by preferential policies. As part of inclusive development, preferential policies are formulated as an effective tool in narrowing the economic and social gaps between Han and ethnic minorities. The ethnic minorities are relatively poorer than their counterparts. And yet, it is mistake to come to conclusion that all ethnic minorities are poor and backward. There are some ethnic minorities people who are quite rich. But at the same time their proportion is very low and their progress is at an individual level. The geographical location of ethnic minorities has a direct influence on their under development. The majority of ethnic minorities live in the western region of China and this region is underdeveloped. The geographical location is also one of the reasons for their under development, and it is considered as the most backward region in China than any other region. Due to their remote location, these areas were less developed even when China was witnessing rapid development. It had less impact on ethnic minorities lives when compared with the eastern region. The gap in the living standard between minorities and Hans has further widened. Because of this unequal development between minority and majority regions equality between Han and ethnic minorities remains elusive. Therefore, an elaborative mechanism is needed to encourage more minority students to higher studies.

Apart from the regional and local governments, the Chinese central government also contributes its share of funding. China's central government provides funds to the various regional and local governments. However, these funds are in most cases fall short of actual demand. Therefore, there is a gap between resources available in coastal region and underdeveloped western region. Thus, inequality is inherent among ethnic minorities in higher education. Inequality in higher education is caused by geographical location underdevelopment, low income and inadequate funding among other factors. This could be the case of all ethnic groups those who live in underdeveloped region and rural areas. At the same time, there are variations in access to higher education among ethnic

minorities who live in cities. Though the Chinese universities have special preferential policy concessions to the minority students in admissions and encourage them to pursue higher education through various other means; these are nonetheless inadequate to meet their needs because of the exorbitant cost of life surrounding the higher education.

Chapter – 5

Conclusion

China has long been a multi- ethnic society with diverse religions, regions, languages, and cultures. They have been coexisting together for a long time with mutual cooperation and respect for each other. Many of the Chinese rulers as well as ethnic minorities embraced and have always been embracing the plurality of ethnicity from time to time. They had, most of the time, tolerated, respected, and encouraged this diversity to continue. However, there were incidents now and then to assimilate them into a particular identity by undermining this diversity. But this attempt faced considerable resistance from some ethnic minorities.. At the same time, there are some incidents in which ethnic minorities embraced and were assimilated into a single identity. But this was not forced assimilation rather it happed voluntarily and individually as some of ethnic minorities were attracted toward majority community for different reasons. But at the end of Qing Dynasty's rule in 1912 the changes taking place in China around the world prompted the Chinese leaders to think about bringing together all ethnic communities. In this regard Sun Yat-sen initiated a process where by all groups could be brought together based on his understanding of the complexity of social fabric of Chinese society. Thus, Sun adopted moderate methods to reach out to ethnic minorities. He appealed cooperation between both the majority and the ethnic minority groups. But this was disrupted by the subsequent Kuomintang government led by Chiang Kai-shek. The nationalist government adopted rather very coercive and assimilation policies toward ethnic minorities. As a result, the gap widened between ethnic minorities and Han dominated establishment. Meanwhile, the then emerging political force, the Communists Party took the initiative to reach out to ethnic minorities. Against this background, this work has tried to trace the initiatives that People's Republic China, led by CCP government, has been implementing.

Today there are 56 officially recognized ethnic groups living in China. Out of which fifty five ethnic groups are defined as ethnic minorities belonging to different ethnic minority groups. According to the 2011 National Population Census, the Han ethnic community is the largest ethnic group constituting about 91.51 per cent of the Chinese population and the rest of the 55 ethnic minorities population constitutes about 8.49 percent of the population. These ethnic minorities live all over the China. However, large proportion of ethnic minorities' population lives in western region of China. Ethnic minorities in this region have been relatively living independently from the rest of China. Western region has been a great concern of China for its safety, security and economic development. Though national minorities' population is very low when compared to that of Han population, the ethnic minorities location is very important in contemporary China. Their strategic location has considerable bearing on China is national security and sovereignty. The ethnic minority population is concentrated in 64.3% of China's total land area; including 90% of the country's border regions. About 30 ethnic minority groups have their population in China as well as in the neighboring countries. Apart from their strategic locations the minority regions have huge natural resources which are contributing to China's economic development. The large land areas inhabited by ethnic minorities happen to contain most of China's natural resources such as 75% of grasslands, 40–50% of forests, oil, gas, minerals, and precious metals (see Chapter two). In such a situation the apprehensions of ethnic minorities are not strange about safety and security and their role in the state. On the other hand, China needs ethnic minorities' cooperation for the overall development. Therefore, China has been dealing with ethnic minorities with care and an effective system. As part of that, the Chinese government, from the beginning, adopted special policies and measures for its "ethnic minorities" and guarantees the right to equality among all ethnic groups which is enshrined in the Constitution of PRC. Hence, equality and unity among ethnic groups are the basic principles resolving ethnic questions mentioned in the Constitution and other relevant laws. The China's preferential policies of ethnic minorities are Chinese form of "Affirmative action" policies as it is known elsewhere. China is one of the earliest countries to initiates these policies and has elaborated state-sponsored preferential policies for ethnic minorities.

The Communist government adopted the “Soviet model” to reach out to the national minorities. The Soviet Model is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of national minorities. According to it, national minorities are creation of bourgeois class. This is a conspiracy against unity of oppressed class and they use them to weaken unity among depressed people, however, they understood the weakness of Soviet model and deviated from it. Therefore, Mao Zedong, the main force of PRC establishment stood for unity of minorities. As it is evident those ethnic minorities earlier used to refer as “National Minorities” but recently they are being called as ethnic minorities.

There is a long history behind formulation of ethnic minorities’ preferential policies. Before the establishment of PRC, Mao consistently urged unity of ethnic minorities with communists. Because, they are as oppressed as any other Chinese people and victims of misrule. Therefore, in order to overcome from misrule and suppression, unity between ethnic minorities and communists is underscored. Thus, the Soviet Model of Marxist-Leninist theory of national minorities is best suited to build a broader unity among all. It also talked about unity of all nationals after liberation. But Chinese ethnic minorities were not entirely controlled by any contemporary system and in many ways they were independent. This was one of the reasons for ethnic minorities’ hesitation to join with communists. In this background the first and second questions can be answered. The first question is what are factors that led China to initiate preferential policies for ethnic minorities? And why did China choose ethnicity as a base for preferential policies? In a fragmented society like China in which, on the one hand, out of 56 ethnic groups a single Han majority dominates every walk of life. On the other hand, 55 ethnic groups which share space with their counterpart. Yet, they represent distinctive characteristics which are in many ways different from that of Hans. The question of national minorities in China is not as simple as it appears to be. China is not only multi-ethnic country but at the same time it is also multi-region country. In some of these regions ethnic minorities all majority communities and evolved their own system in accordance with the Chinese system. Every region has its own social, political and cultural identity which is different from majority Han Chinese. Historically, the relationship between ethnic minorities and Hans is not always normal. Thus the reasons behind why ethnicity became central to China’s preferential policies for ethnic minorities are understandable. The People’s

Republic of China was not completely united when it was founded as it is now. In the course of the last seven decades of PRC, efforts initiated over a period made China more united than what it was in the 1930s.

China's preferential policies are basically aimed at an inclusive development of ethnic minorities in various areas. Historically, China's ethnic minorities have different perspectives about life and the way that ethnic groups have been leading from years have made them different from one and other. These differences prevail in every walk of their day to day living. To reduce the differences among ethnic groups while continuing diversity is the key element of ethnic minorities' preferential policies. As a part of inclusive development preferential policies can be seen as the main tool in narrowing the economic and social gaps between Han and ethnic minorities. The ethnic minorities are relatively poorer than their counterparts. At same time there are differences among them because some ethnic minorities are more developed compared to other ethnic minorities at individual and as well as groups. But at the same time their proportion is very low and their progress is at individual level. Apart from ethnic difference the geographical location of ethnic minorities has a direct bearing on their underdevelopment. The majority of ethnic minorities live in western region of China which is relatively underdeveloped. Hence, the necessity of the ethnic minorities preferential policies aimed to ensure unity of all ethnic minorities on all fronts. As a result, over the years major aspects of the lives of the ethnic minorities are influenced by preferential policies.

The question of whether China has been using preferential policies as a tool to legitimize its rule over minorities is very complex and combined with other issues. China, as part of its preferential policies for ethnic minorities, has created Ethnic Autonomous regions. Out of 55 ethnic groups few ethnic groups are majority in their respective inhabited places. These ethnic groups, while cooperating with Chinese rulers have also been maintaining autonomy for many years. Historically, attempts have been made to assimilate the ethnic minorities into China and society but people resisted. Thus the leaders of modern China determined to unify them as against the changes that were occurred in the early twentieth century. Taking cue from history Chinese Communists Party tried to reach out to ethnic minorities through various measures. Thus, the Chinese

government, since the establishment of PRC in 1949, has been implementing various special ethnic policies. So China introduced Autonomous Regions for ethnic minorities' regions and other autonomous regions at various levels. There are different levels of ethnic minorities' autonomous areas existing in China. They include, at highest level autonomous regions, in the middle autonomous prefectures and next level autonomous counties. As of now there are 5 ethnic autonomous regions, 30 ethnic autonomous prefectures and 120 autonomous counties. Along with these three layers of autonomy for ethnic minorities there are more than thousands of ethnic townships established. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China clearly states that equality, unity, mutual assistance and prospering together are the principles of socialist ethnic relations. And it opposes any kind of division among Chinese people whether it could be Han chauvinism or local chauvinism. It further says that the state will facilitate and make all necessary efforts to promote prosperity for all the ethnic groups in China. Under these guiding principles, the Constitution and other relevant laws ensure that ethnic minority persons have all the rights that any Chinese citizen should have. To transform these into reality the Chinese government has assured all ethnic minorities of such a country for all. The Autonomous Regions in China are part of these balanced policies. Therefore, China's regional autonomy policy to ethnic minorities is well considered and accommodated in nature. They have been in practice for the last six and half decades. Though ethnic minorities are autonomous, they have complains about the government interventions in exercising their autonomy given by the constitution. The arguments from the government side is that it has to intervene otherwise some ethnic groups are misusing the autonomy.

When it comes to economic development over the years China has transformed tremendously, particularly in last the four decades. In 1978, China has initiated pathbreaking economic reforms in the country and stimulated constant and steady economic growth. And these initiatives have accelerated the Chinese economy and impacted on the society. This economic reform has created many opportunities for the people. Over the years, development has empowered for Chinese. However, the development did not take place all over China. The consequences of the rapid economic growth in China have led to greater economic and social inequalities among the regions. And most of the development is concentrated in coastal regions. Regional inequality

plays a key role in underdevelopment of ethnic minorities. And that regional inequality has a great impact on people's life and their progress. The modern economic reforms have played a minimal role in bridging the gap among the regions. The four decades of development saga did not help to fill the gaps among the regions and instead it widened further. The regional inequality is a key concern and it poses challenges to the government.

This unequal development among ethnic communities and regions has direct effect on ethnic minority education in general and higher education in particular. Firstly, the geographic location plays a crucial role in creating educational inequalities in ethnic minorities. Secondly, the influence of rapid development of China has brought structural changes in the economy and the educational system. Although economic development and policies that are aimed at promoting minority education has increased but ethnic minorities as a group have remained behind the Han majority. Large proportions of the Chinese ethnic minorities live in western region where development lags behind the unmatched growth of coastal regions. Therefore, regional gap between western and eastern regions has direct impact on the ethnic minorities' education. And China has recently witnessed an unprecedented urbanization. China's urbanization has helped to elevate the living standards and to transform the economic power of people. But at same time, it has also created several social and economic challenges to ethnic minorities' such as access to education. Equal access to education means not only that every child can get access to education but also everyone should get equal access to quality education. In order to encourage education among ethnic minorities, Chinese government has been evolving various preferential policies for ethnic minority students. In regard to the medium of instruction among ethnic minorities China has been providing bilingual education. In higher education, extra points for ethnic minority students in colleges and universities admissions, tuition fee exemptions, various scholarship programmes and other financial assistance are given. Despite the Chinese government's educational preferential policies students from western regions face many barriers including poorer educational facilities as compared to the coastal areas. Even though the Chinese government dominates education system students from ethnic minority communities have been facing various constraints. Thus, inequality is inherent among ethnic minorities in

higher education. The equality of higher education in the ethnic minority regions is constrained by underdevelopment, low income and inadequate funding.

Education funding also plays a key role to provide education for all people. China has nine years of compulsory education for all children from ethnic groups. But the Chinese government still continues to provide education. It has been practicing an elaborate mechanism of educational funding. Apart from the regional and local government, the Chinese central government also contributes its share of funding. China does practice funds devolution by which the central government allocates funds to various regional and local governments. These funds are in most cases fall short of actual demand. And therefore, there is a gap between strong resources available in coastal region and underdeveloped western region. Thus, inequality is inherent among ethnic minorities in higher education. At the same time, there are variations in access to higher education among ethnic minority communities who live in cities. Chinese Universities do give special preference to minority students in admissions and encourage them to pursue higher education through other various means. But these are inadequate to meet their need because higher education has become quite expensive.

Appendix-1

Ethnic minorities and their Geographic Distribution

S.no.	Ethnic name	Main Geographic distribution	Population
1	Mongolian	Inner Mongolian, Liaoning, Jilin, Hebei,, Heilongjiang and Xinjiang	5981840
2	Hui	Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Beijing, Inner Mongolia, Hebei, Hainan, and Yunnan.	10586087
3	Tibetan	Tibetan, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan.	6282187
4	Uygur	Xinjiang	10069346
5	Miao	Guizhou, Hunan, Gansu, Yunnan, Guangxi, Chongqing, Hubei and Sichuan.	9426007
6	Yi	Yunan, Sichuan and Guizhou	8714393
7	zhuang	Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Chongqing, Hubei and Sichuan.	16926381
8	Korean	Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning	1830929
9	Bouyei	Guizhou	2870034
10	Manchu	Liaoning, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Inner Mongolia and Beijing	10387958
11	Dong	Guizhou, Hunan and Guangxi	2879974
12	Yao	Guangxi, Hunan, Yunnan and Guangdong	2796003
13	Bai	Yunnan, Guizhou and Hunan	1933510
14	Tujia	Hunan, Hubei, Chongqing and Guizhou	8353912
15	Hani	Yunnan	1660932

16	Kazak	Xinjiang	1462588
17	Dai	Yunnan	1261311
18	Li	Hainan	1463064
19	Lisu	Yunnan and Sichuan	702839
20	Va	Yunnan	429709
21	She	Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Guangdong	708651
22	Gaoshan	Taiwan and Fujian	4009
23	Lahu	Yunnan	485966
24	Shui	Guizhou and Guangxi	411847
25	Dingxiang	Gansu and Xinjiang	621500
26	Naxi	Yunnan	326295
27	Jingpo	Yunnan	326295
28	Kirgiz	Xinjiang	147828
29	Tu	Qinghai and Gansu	186708
30	Daur	Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang	289565
31	Mulam	Guangxi	131992
32	Qiang	Sichuan	216257
33	Blang	Yunnan	309576
34	Salar	Qinghai	119639
35	Maonan	Guangxi	130607
36	Gelao	Guizhou	101192
37	Xibe	Liaoning and Xinjiang	550746
38	Achang	Yunnan	190481
39	Pumi	Yunnan	39555
40	Tajik	Xinjiang	42861
41	Nu	Yunnan	37523
42	Ozbek	Xinjiang	10569
43	Russian	Xinjiang	15393
44	Ewenki	Inner Mongolia	30875
45	De'ang	Yunnan	20556

46	Bonan	Gansu	20074
47	Yugur	Gansu	14378
48	Jing	Guangxi	28199
49	Tatar	Xinjiang and Heilongjiang	3556
50	Drung	Yunnan	6930
51	Oroqen	Heilongjiang and Inner Mongolia	8659
52	Hezhen	Heilongjiang	5354
53	Moinba	Tibet	10561
54	Lhoba	Tibet	3682
55	Jino	Yunnan	23143

Sources: China Statistical Yearbook, 2013.

Appendix-2

Basic Facts about the 150 Ethnic Autonomous Regions in China (By the end of 2003)

White Paper 2005: Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities in China

Name of Ethnic Autonomous Area	Time of Founding	Capital	Area (square km)	Population (thousands)	Proportion of Ethnic Minority Population in the Total (%)
5 Autonomous Regions					
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region	May 1, 1947	Hohhot City	1,197,547	23,796.1	21.25
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	March 15, 1958	Nanning City	237,693	48,570.0	39.17
Tibet Autonomous Region	Sept. 1, 1965	Lhasa City	1,247,910	2,592.1	95.93
Niangxia Hui Autonomous Region	Oct. 25, 1958	Yinchuan City	62,818	5,801.9	35.52
Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region	Oct. 1, 1955	Urumqi City	1,655,826	19,339.5	60.13
30 Autonomous Prefectures					
Jilin Province					
Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectures	Sept. 3, 1952	Yanji City	42,700	2,185.7	40.89
Hubei Province					
Enshi Tujia-Miao Autonomous Prefecture	Dec. 1, 1983	Enshi City	23,942	3,817.9	52.80
Hunan Province					
Xiangxi Tujia-Miao Autonomous Prefecture	Sept. 20, 1957	Jishou City	15,461	2,655.5	74.59
Sichuan Province					
Aba Tibetan-Qiang Autonomous Prefecture	Jan. 1, 1953	Ma'erkang County	84,242	847.1	73.35

Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture	Oct. 1, 1952	Xinchang	60,423	4,154.8	47.34
Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Nov. 24, 1950	Kangding County	152,629	904.9	81.73
Guizhou Province					
Qiandongnan Miao-Dong Autonomous Prefecture	July 23, 1956	Kaili City	30,337	4,193.8	77.10
Qiannan Bouyei-Miao Autonomous Prefecture	Aug. 8, 1956	Duyun City	26,193	3,790.1	55.28
Qianxinan Bouyei-Miao Autonomous Prefecture	May 1, 1982	Xingyi City	16,804	3,016.2	42.94
Yunnan Province					
Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture	Jan. 24, 1953	Jinghong County	19,700	869.2	74.83
Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture	April 1, 1958	Wenshan County	32,239	3,322.7	56.64
Honghe Hani-Yi Autonomous Prefecture	Nov. 18, 1957	Gejiu City	32,931	4,014.5	56.26
Dehong Dai-Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture	July 24, 1953	Luxi County	11,526	1,048.0	51.61
Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture	Aug. 23, 1954	Lushui County	14,703	471.5	92.17
Deqen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Sept. 13, 1957	Zhongdian County	23,870	353.8	86.54
Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture	Nov. 22, 1956	Dali City	29,459	3,358.3	49.49
Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture	April 15, 1958	Chuxiong City	29,258	2,550.3	31.70
Gansu Province					
Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture	Nov. 19, 1956	Linxia City	8,417	1,913.7	56.88
Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Oct. 1, 1953	Xiahe County	40,201	682.9	57.16
Qinghai Province					
Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Dec. 31, 1953	Haiyan County	39,354	267.5	61.34
Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Dec. 22, 1953	Tongren County	17,921	212.6	93.40
Hainan Tibetan	Dec. 6, 1953	Gonghe	45,895	394.1	68.33

Autonomous Prefecture		County			
Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Jan. 1, 1954	Maqen County	76,312	138.6	92.65
Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Dec. 25, 1951	Yushu County	188,794	274.8	95.79
Haixi Mongolian-Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Jan. 25, 1954	Delingha City	325,785	340.2	26.31
XinJiang Uygur Autonomous Region					
Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture	July 15, 1954	Changji City	77,582	1,543.3	43.36
Bayingolin Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture	June 23, 1954	Korla City	471,526	1,126.5	42.24
Kizilsu Kirgiz Autonomous Prefecture	July 14, 1954	Artux City	69,815	458.4	16.87
Bortala Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture	July 13, 1954	Bole City	24,900	438.6	32.28
Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture	Nov. 27, 1954	Yining City	269,168	4,083.3	54.83
120 Autonomous Counties					
Hebei Province					
Dachang Hui Autonomous County	Dec. 7, 1955	Dachang town	176	112.0	24.27
Mengcun Hui Autonomous County	Nov. 30, 1955	Mengcun Town	393	187.2	23.98
Qinglong Manchu Autonomous County	May 10, 1987	Qinglong Town	3,309	516.5	68.40
Fengning Manchu Autonomous County	May 15, 1987	Dage Town	8,747	380.5	68.05
weichang Manchu-Mongolian Autonomous County	June 12, 1990	Weichang Town	9,058	515.7	57.84
Kuancheng Manchu Autonomous County	June 16, 1990	Kuancheng Town	1,933	233.9	63.50
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region					
Oroqen Autonomous Banner	Oct. 1, 1951	Alihe Town	13,800	283.1	11.52

Morin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner	Aug. 15, 1958	Ni'erji Town	2,351	314.6	19.70
Ewenki Autonomous Banner	Aug. 1, 1958	Bayantuohai Town	16,800	144.3	39.56
Liaoning Province					
Fuxin Mongolian Autonomous County	April 7, 1958	Fuxin Town	6,246	731.5	20.30
Mongolian Autonomous County of Harqin Left Wing	April 1, 1958	Dachengzi Town	2,240	423.6	19.71
Xiuyan Manchu Autonomous County	June 11, 1985	Xinyan Town	4,502	503.1	79.95
Xinbin Manchu Autonomous County	June 7, 1985	Xinbin Town	4,287	306.6	73.50
Qingyuan Manchu Autonomous County	June 6, 1990	Qingyuan Town	3,921	341.6	61.00
Benxi Manchu Autonomous County	June 8, 1990	Xiaoshi Town	3,362	299.9	63.85
Juanren Manchu Autonomous County	June 10, 1990	Juanren Town	3,547	302.9	59.00
Kuandian Manchu Autonomous County	June 12, 1990	Kuandian Town	6,186	436.4	54.92
Jilin Province					
Changbai Korean Autonomous County	Sept. 15, 1958	Changbai Town	2,496	85.1	15.86
Mongolian Autonomous County of Qian Gorlos	Sept. 1, 1956	Qianguo Town	5,117	575.4	9.99
Yitong Manchu Autonomous County	Aug. 30, 1989	Yitong Town	2,523	466.4	39.71
Heilongjiang Province					
Mongolian Autonomous County of Dorbod	Dec. 5, 1956	Taikang Town	6,427	248.8	21.00
Zhejiang Province					
Jingning She Autonomous County	Dec. 24, 1956	Hexi Town	1,950	179.3	9.94
Hubei Province					
Changyang Tujia Autonomous County	Dec. 8, 1984	Longzhouping Town	3,430	40.7	50.65
wufeng Tujia Autonomous County	Dec. 12, 1984	Wufeng Town	2,072	205.9	84.88

Hunan Province					
Chengbu Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 30, 1956	Rulin Town	2,620	257.2	57.59
Tongdao Dong Autonomous County	May 7, 1954	Shuangjiang Town	2,225	221.1	88.50
Jianghua Yao Autonomous County	Nov. 25, 1955	Tuojiang Town	3,216	458.3	63.97
Xinhuang Dong Autonomous County	Dec. 5, 1956	Xinhuang Town	1,511	250.5	87.56
Zhijiang Dong Autonomous County	Sept. 24, 1987	Zhijiang Town	2,096	356.9	61.25
Jingzhou Miao- Dong Autonomous County	Sept. 27, 1987	Quyong Town	2,211	260.1	73.00
Mayang Miao Autonomous County	April 1, 1990	Gaocun Town	1,561	359.8	77.97
Guangdong Province					
Liannan Yao Autonomous County	Jan. 25, 1953	Sanjiang Town	1,231	155.6	51.55
Lianshan Zhuang-Yao Autonomous County	Sept. 26, 1962	Jitian Town	1,264	114.7	62.88
Ruyuan Yao Autonomous County	Oct. 1, 1963	Rucheng	2,125	201.3	11.38
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous County					
Du'an Yao Autonomous County	Dec. 15, 1955	Anyang Town	4,092	611.2	97.45
Rongshui Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 26, 1952	Rongshui Town	4,665	468.1	71.83
Sanjiang Dong Autonomous County	Dec. 3, 1952	Guyi Town	2,455	347.1	86.40
Longsheng Multi-ethnic Autonomous County	Aug. 19, 1951	Longsheng Town	2,537	165.5	77.40
Jinxiu Yao Autonomous County	May 28, 1952	Jinxiu Town	2,517	148.1	78.40
Longlin multi-ethnic Autonomous County	Jan. 1, 1953	Xinzhou Town	3,542	357.6	80.18
Bama Yao Autonomous County	Feb. 6, 1956	Bama Town	1,966	240.2	86.64
Loucheng Mulam Autonomous County	Jan. 10, 1984	Dongmen Town	2,639	360.5	73.07

Fuchuan Yao Autonomous County	Jan. 1, 1984	Fuyang Town	1,572	299.8	46.77
Dahua Yao Autonomous County	Dec. 23, 1987	Dahua Town	2,754	402.4	93.96
Huanjiang Maonan Autonomous County	Nov. 24, 1987	Si'en Town	4,558	366.9	91.67
Gongcheng Yao Autonomous County	Oct. 15, 1990	Gongcheng Town	2,149	279.6	58.98
Hainan Province					
Baisha Li Autonomous County	Dec. 30, 1987	Yacha Town	2,117	181.6	61.36
Changjiang Li Autonomous County	Dec. 30, 1987	Shilu Town	1,569	232.1	36.77
Ledong Li Autonomous County	Dec. 28, 1987	Baoyou Town	2,747	469.4	38.01
Lingshui Li Autonomous County	Dec. 30, 1987	Ylin Town	1,128	330.1	55.98
Qiongzong Li-Miao Autonomous County	Dec. 28, 1987	Yinggen Town	2,706	203.6	56.56
Baoting Li-Miao Autonomous County	Dec. 30, 1987	Baocheng Town	1,161	105.5	90.57
Chongqing Municipality					
Shizhu Tujia-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 18, 1984	Nanbin Town	3,013	512.3	69.49
Xiushan Tujia-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 7, 1983	Zhonghe Town	2,450	606.0	52.41
Pengshui Tujia-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 10, 1984	Hanjia Town	3,903	630.3	59.63
Sichuan Province					
Beichuan Qiang Aut. County	Oct. 25, 2003	Qushan Town	2,865	161.2	58.89
Muli Tibetan Autonomous County	Feb. 19, 1953	Qiaowa Town	13,252	126.3	78.42
Mabian Yi Autonomous County	Oct. 9, 1984	Minjian Town	2,383	180.2	40.57
Enbai Yi Autonomous County	Oct. 5, 1984	Shaping Town	2,395	148.9	31.24
Guizhou Province					
Songtao Miao	Dec. 31,	Liaogao	2,861	639.9	42.49

Autonomous County	1956	Town			
Zhenning Bouyei-Miao Autonomous County	Sept. 11, 1963	Chengguan Town	1,721	334.6	58.61
Ziyun Miao- Bouyei Autonomous County	Feb. 11, 1966	Songshan Town	2,284	322.4	68.44
Weining Yi-Hui-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 11, 1954	Caohai Town	6,296	1,095.9	25.37
Guanling Bouyei-Maio Autonomous County	Dec. 31, 1981	Guansuo Town	1,468	320.0	58.99
Sandu Shui Autonomous County	Jan. 2, 1957	Sanhe Town	2,383	314.7	96.85
Yuping Dong Autonomous County	Nov. 7, 1984	Pingxi Town	516	136.6	82.70
Daozhen Gelao-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 29, 1987	Yuxi Town	2,156	336.6	79.18
Wuchuan Gelao-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 26, 1987	Duru Town	2,773	419.3	96.25
Yinjiang Tujia-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 20, 1987	Yinjiang Town	1,961	399.4	37.36
Yanhe Tujia Autonomous County	Nov. 23, 1987	Heping Town	2,469	558.7	55.74
Yunnan Province					
Pu'er Hani-Yi Autonomous County	Dec. 15, 1985	Ning'er Town	3,670	185.1	49.54
Yangbi Yi Autonomous County	Nov. 1, 1985	Shangjie Town	1,957	100.1	63.28
Luquan Yi-Miao Autonomous County	Nov. 25, 1985	Pingshan Town	4,378	448.8	30.42
Jinping Miao-Yao-dai Autonomous County	Dec. 7, 1985	Jinhe Town	3,677	316.3	85.51
Zhenyuan Yi-Hani-Lahu Autonomous County	May 15, 1990	Enle Town	4,223	204.3	51.80
Eshan Yi Autonomous County	May 12, 1951	Shuangjiang Town	1,972	149.0	65.46
Shilin Yi Autonomous County	Dec. 31, 1956	Lufu Town	1,777	229.3	34.29
Cangyuan Va Autonomous County	Feb. 28, 1964	Mengdong Town	2,539	166.9	90.90
Gengma Dai-Va Autonomous County	Oct. 16, 1955	Gengma Town	3,837	255.0	51.60

Yulong Naxi Autonomous County	Dec. 26, 2002	Huangshan Town	6,521	209.7	85.03
Ninglang Yi Autonomous County	Sept. 20, 1956	Daxing Town	6,206	235.4	79.39
Jiangcheng Hani- Yi Autonomous County	May 18, 1954	Menglie Town	3,476	109.4	81.20
Lanchang Lahu Autonomous County	April 7, 1953	Menglang Town	8,807	470.6	77.12
Menglian Dai-Lahu-Va Autonomous County	June 16, 1954	Nayun Town	1,957	114.2	85.84
Ximeng Va Autonomous County	March 5, 1965	Mengsuo Town	1,391	82.9	94.06
Hekou Yao Autonomous County	July 11, 1963	Hekou Town	1,313	78.2	63.49
Pingbian Miao Autonomous County	July 1, 1963	Yuping Town	1,905	146.2	61.95
Gongshan Drung –Nu Autonomous County	Oct. 1, 1956	Cikai Town	4,506	30.42	96.24
Weishan Yi-Hui Autonomous County	Nov. 9, 1956	Wenhua Town	2,266	301.7	43.20
Nanjian Yi Autonomous County	Nov. 27, 1965	Nanjian Town	1,802	215.4	49.32
Xundian Hui-Yi Autonomous County	Dec. 20, 1979	Rende Town	3,966	503.9	21.82
Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Autonomous County	Nov. 22, 1980	Linjiang Town	2,858	196.5	79.24
Xinping Yi-Dai Autonomous County	Nov. 25, 1980	Guishan Town	4,223	269.7	69.76
Mojiang Hani Autonomous County	Nov. 28, 1979	Lianzhu Town	5,459	351.0	73.97
Shuangjiang Lahu-Va-Blang-Dai Autonomous County	Dec. 30, 1985	Mengmeng Town	2,292	163.8	44.36
Lanping Bai-Pumi Autonomous County	May 25, 1988	Jinding Town	4,455	190.5	93.47
Weixi Lisu Autonomous County	Oct. 13, 1985	Baohe Town	4,661	144.6	83.28
Jingdong Yi Autonomous County	Dec. 20, 1985	Jinping Town	4,532	353.0	46.03
Jinggu Dai-Yi	Dec. 25,	Weiyuan	7,777	291.7	46.44

Autonomous County	1985				
Gansu Province					
Zhangjiachuan Hui Autonomous County	July 6, 1953	Zhangjiachu an Town	1,311	315.0	69.75
Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County	May 6, 1950	Huazangsi Town	6,865	214.1	38.00
Sunan Yugur Autonomous County	Feb. 20, 1954	Hongwansi Town	20,456	35.3	55.30
Subei Mongolian Autonomous County	July 29, 1950	Dangcheng wan Town	55,000	11.1	41.08
Aksay Kazak Autonomous County	April 27, 1954	Hongliuwan Town	31,374	8.0	32.60
Dongxiang Autonomous County	Sept. 25, 1950	Suonan Town	1,467	267.3	88.11
Jinshishan Bao'an-dongxiang-Salar A. County	Sept. 30, 1981	chuímatan Town	910	219.8	54.45
Qinghai Province					
Huzhu Tu Autonomous County	Feb. 17, 1954	Weiyuan Town	3,321	370.8	25.13
Hualong Hui Autonomous County	March 1, 1954	Bayan Town	2,740	232.5	78.57
Xunhua Salar Autonomous County	March 1, 1954	Jishi Town	1,749	116.3	94.05
Henan Mongolian Autonomous County	Oct. 16, 1954	Youganning Town	6,250	31.9	97.16
Menyuan Hui Autonomous County	Dec. 19, 1953	Haomen Town	6,869	150.6	56.93
Datong Hui-Tu Autonomous County	July 10, 1986	Qiaotou Town	3,090	425.5	46.50
Minhe Hui-Tu Autonomous County	June 27, 1986	Chuankou Town	1,780	376.7	54.84
Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region					
Barkol Kazak Autonomous County	Sept. 30, 1954	Barkol Town	36,947	101.0	33.81
Taxkorgan Tajik Autonomous County	Sept. 17, 1954	Taxkorgan	52,300	33.2	52.70
Mulei Kazak Autonomous County	July 17, 1954	Mulei Town	13,510	85.5	31.44

Yanqi Hui Autonomous County	March 15, 1954	Yanqi Town	2,429	124.7	54.77
Qapqal Xibe Autonomous County	March 25, 1954	Qapqal Town	4,482	164.8	63.60
Hoboksar Mongolian Autonomous County	Sept. 10, 1954	Hoboksar Town	28,799	49.5	65.80

Source: <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/20050301/Appendix.htm>

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(* Indicates primary source)

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