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# The Minzu Debate: Policy Subsystem, Knowledge Community, and Academic Discourse in Post-Mao China's Ethnic Policy-Making

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**Abstract**

How do intellectual innovations in policy fields occur under authoritarian China? In this study, I answer this question through a political-sociological investigation of the academic policy debates of the People's Republic of China about its ethnic minority policy (a.k.a. "minzu policy") in the Post-Mao period. Building off existing literature, I propose a theory of academic policy debates. This theory is predicated upon the political-institutional context of a policy subsystem and the internal dynamics of the knowledge community. My central argument can be summarized as follows: academic policy debates in Post-Mao China vary along two dimensions – the level of academic politicization and the theoretical heterogeneity; consequently, a debate on a given topic is a function of a) the level of conflict within the policy subsystem and b) the level of fragmentation within the knowledge community. To demonstrate this theory, I trace the changes in the conflict of policy subsystem, the fragmentation in the knowledge community, and the character of academic policy debates regarding China's ethnic minority policy from 1979 to 2017. As I show, during this period, academic debates about minzu policy went from moderate-to-intense debate within the minzu studies paradigm to a heightened inter-paradigm debate – as the conflict among policy elites and fragmentation within the knowledge community increased – only to become somewhat moderated following the direct intervention of the party leadership to unify policy discourse. This study makes three main contributions: 1) it offers the first systematic study of the dynamics in academic knowledge production behind China's multiethnic governance since 1979; 2) it provides a political-sociological account of the academic policy debates in Post-Mao based on a diachronic analysis of the minzu debate, thus advancing our theoretical knowledge about the political-sociological conditions for intellectual innovations in contemporary PRC's policy field; and finally, 3) it suggests insights for understanding intellectual innovations in policy fields under authoritarian regimes more broadly.

The *Minzu* Debate:

**Policy Subsystem, Knowledge Community, and Academic Discourse**

**in Post-Mao China's Ethnic Policy-Making**


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Brian Taylor has been the main disciplining voice throughout the entire process, encouraging me to push forward while keeping me on track and urging me to meet deadlines. His straightforwardness struck me as too harsh when I first entered the program. But I learned to appreciate this very quality years later, especially during my fieldwork. It was also during this time that I learned that Brian could also play the role of a more compassionate advisor. It was not for his email in the winter of 2014, I might have decided to give up the topic altogether.

Gavan Duffy never ceased to surprise me with his eccentric perspectives, from the first interaction in his seminar on qualitative method and in every encounter we had since then. But his dedication to inspire students to think out of the box and to challenge convention was no doubt one of the greatest gifts to me. One might find it challenging to find him in early mornings. But for having an intellectually stimulating conversation, there is no better interlocuter than him. I owe him greatly for many things he did for me, which I hope one day I could repay.

Hongying Wang's comments were always straightforward, almost surgically precise, while also genuinely constructive. Working with her on a few projects prior to my dissertation helped me familiarize myself with archival research in China. Her involvement in my preliminary fieldwork as early as 2013 as well as those in the later stages brought me numerous precious advice. Countless times I found myself going through her old comments and being inspired in different ways. I miss dearly all the chats we had in her old office in the Eggers, where I always felt safe and confident to present ideas.

Norman Kutcher's support can be always counted on. He knows best how to convey his concern and critics in a way that the receiver truly appreciates them: he never dictated what to do; instead he let me come to the conclusion that he had in mind. One valuable lesson – among many others – that I learned from him is to pay attention and care to the human aspect of a research. It means not just taking in account specific individuals in what I write, but more importantly taking time and care to attend those relationships with the people I work with in my research and learn to appreciate them as precious as the knowledge I gain from studying them.

Dimitar Gueorguiev taught me to plan ahead – not one step, but ten. "Keeping in mind the big picture" was, for him, not only an analytical perspective which political scientists are best equipped to offer, but a principle that a professional academic should resolutely follow in his career. Meeting him in his office has been always exciting, stressful, mind-bending, and immensely rewarding. Working with Dimitar, despite only in the later stage of my research, has had the greatest influence on my thinking about Chinese politics in general. His breath of knowledge on China and endless energy always puts me to shame and motivates me to try harder.

Heike Holbig came in at a critical stage of this project. To me, her presence symbolizes the supportive environment that the German Institute of Global and Area Studies stands for: empowering researchers through respectful and constructive engagement. During my time in Hamburg, Heike closely followed the evolution of this manuscript through its multiple versions, providing input and advice at every step. Looking back now, it is clear to me why she initially

**Notes on Transliteration and Citation**

Throughout this manuscript Chinese names are romanized using the pinyin system. Popular Uyghur and Tibetan names are rendered with English terms already in wide usage. For example, *Hotan* and *Rongwo* are used instead of *Hetian* and *Longwu*. Names rendered in a non-Pinyin system are supplemented with pinyin transliterations in a bracket immediately after.

This dissertation makes use of a large number of Chinese-language materials, e.g. academic journal articles, news articles, and books. To ensure that interested readers could easily locate them, I include those items' original Chinese titles as well as the names of the authors/editors in Chinese. The full titles for all the Chinese-language materials and their authors/editors' names in Chinese can be found in the bibliography located at the end of this dissertation (before the Appendix).

Relatedly, this dissertation uses the in-text "author-date" citation following the Chicago style (17th version). Since many Chinese surnames are homophones, e.g. 王 & 汪 (both pronounced as *wang*) or 李 & 黎 (both pronounced as *li*), and that shared surnames are common, it would have been difficult to locate a person with only the romanized Chinese surnames. Thus, I include the surnames – and when necessary, the given names – in original Chinese alongside their pinyin-romanization for all in-text citations. This rule does not apply to materials published in English by authors with Chinese names, as those materials should be locatable in library catalogues with their titles and authors/editors' names in English.

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**Chapter 1 Introduction**

"Marxist-Leninist ethnology and capitalist ethnology are fundamentally at odds with one another, completely incompatible like water and fire; only by thoroughly critiquing the reactionary thoughts of the bourgeoise ethnology can we establish a new theoretical system for China's ethnology […] Let us bury the bourgeoise ethnology without any reservation and establish China's Marxist-Leninist ethnology with our wisdom and hands, [and] offer our service to the socialist construction and the communism in the not-so-distant future!"

– Huang Chaozhong, 1958[1]

"Of course, it is beyond reproach to critique the idealist or reactionary theories of the western ethnology. However, labeling ethnology in the West entirely as reactionary without exception, putting a bourgeoise hat on it, or even declaring it to be a 'forbidden topic' is completely mistaken. […] The historical materialism of Marxism only provided us the perspective, approach, and theory to study human societies; but historical materialism cannot substitute the entire social science. […] We should carry out thorough and in-depth investigations, further deepen our understanding of the new issues that emerged for different ethnicities in the process of 'Four Modernizations' and offer scientific bases for the party and state in making plans and policies for the minorities."

– Li Youyi, 1980[2]

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[1] Huang, Chaozhong. 1958, "The Reactionary and Anti-Scientific Character of Bourgeoise Ethnology", *Theory and Practice*, No. 8, pp16-18.
[2] Li, Youyi. 1980, "Review and Future Prospect of China's Ethnology", *Ethno-National Studies*, No. 1, pp48-59.

**1.1 Overview**

*1.1.1 Familiar Strangers: Academics of the People's Republic*

To a casual observer, academic discourse in the People's Republic of China (PRC) may look like a chimera: whereas in some quarter one finds the kind of serious scholarship as one would expect from a community of professional researchers anywhere in the world, in other places one finds the same group of people enthusiastically offering advices to the government or engaging in seemingly non-academic, political slogan chanting. Moreover, most scholars seem to be perfectly capable of traversing back and forth between these two realms with little effort. In fact, PRC academics – scientists, social scientists, philosophers, etc. – openly espouse the notion that their professional endeavor should and does perform a function beyond the pursuit of knowledge itself. The quotes at the beginning of this chapter offer us a glimpse: Huang Chaozhong, director of Guangdong Institute of Nationality was advocating for a reform of ethnology along Marxist-Leninist lines (C. 朝中 Huang 黄 1958) whereas Li Youyi, researchers at CASS Institute of Nationality was defending the western ("bourgeoise") ethnology (Y. 有义 Li 李 1980). Both pieces (despite being kept apart by more than two turbulent decades), however, were premising their arguments on an unequivocal position that scientific research should serve the political objective of the state, be it "communism" or "Four Modernizations". Robert Cox's exclamation that "[t]heory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose" (Cox 1981, 128), so it seems, is not just a call for attention but the basic principle upon which PRC scholars pursue their career as professional academics. In what language one's commitment to political service is articulated – as the above examples show – is likely contingent upon the specific social and political conditions. But it is an undisputable fact that scholars in China do not refrain from but actively align their research with the political agenda of the state, often openly committing to produce knowledge for the state (E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a). The

persistent intertwining between academia and state even in Post-Mao period where political control over research has been substantially reduced makes it clear that scholars' manifested interests to serve the state is not just a performance put up to please the censor. Rather, it seems more likely that most of them have internalized – not the Roxian insight that came about only in 1981 – the famous thesis put forward by the former paramount leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-Tung). Speaking at the Counter-Japanese Military and Political University (Ch: *kangri junshi zhegnzhi daxue*) in Yan'an in 1937, Mao argued that:

> "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world. From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important […] But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action. If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no significance."[3]

For PRC scholars, therefore, producing knowledge that can guide practice to change the world is the ultimate end of scholarly pursuit. However, the concern with the "practicality" of knowledge does not exclude theoretical inquiry. On the contrary, as the above-cited speech demonstrates, theory is understood as part of the dialectical movement where theory as grasping the objective laws of the world is generated from practice and is then applied back into practice so to achieve the expected change; in this process the correct theories are validated and wrong ones discovered and discarded. In the contemporary context, this means not just any practical knowledge, but practical

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[3] Mao, Zedong. [1937] 2014, "On Practice: On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung [Mao Zedong]: Vol. I, pp295-310*.

knowledge *for the Chinese state*. Over the decades since the founding of PRC, generations of academics in China have passionately engaged in debates on a variety of topics with the aim of letting their knowledge better serve their country. One recent example, already extensively documented and studied in the English-language literature, is the debate revolving around the Chinese International Relations (IR) Theory, alternatively also known as the so-called "Chinese School of IR" (Callahan 2008; Qin 2009, 2010; Ren 2010; F. Zhang 2012; Kristensen and Nielsen 2013; Noesselt 2015). As analyses of the debate have suggested, what puzzles (or troubles) many outside observers is not that PRC scholars have a different IR theory or theories from the ones taught in the West *per se* (e.g. realism, liberalism, constructivism, feminism) but that many of those scholars advertise their theory-building endeavor – implicitly or explicitly – as a service to the Chinese state, e.g. by offering both a counter-weight against the perceived hegemony of "western IR theories" (Y. Zhang and Kristensen 2017) or the "scientific" guidance for the Chinese foreign policy-making (Xuetong Yan 2011). As one commentator put it, "[t]he Chinese School [of IR] Movement represents the most recent expression of Sino-centrism and has played an indispensable role in the continuity of the Sino-centric tradition" (Lu 2018, 11).

It is against the backdrop of this "peculiar" character of the PRC academia that I situate the topic of the present study. PRC academics are, one could say, "familiar strangers" to their counterparts in western universities, think-tanks, or other professional research institutions. They are "familiar" because one can point to a number of similarities between academics in PRC and elsewhere: they conduct research following recognizably disciplinary traditions, publish and exchange their findings with peers, organize and attend professional conferences and workshops, and fulfill other duties such as teaching, mentoring, and administration. At the same time, they are unmistakably "strangers" because as a community of professional researchers they display an firm belief that scientific knowledge should first and foremost serve their country, even in moments

when their faith in the government or regime might be shattered (E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a). For those who are interested in contemporary China, particularly the relationship between knowledge and governance, these "familiar strangers" and their professional activities are an important topic of study. This dissertation focuses on one such group: the PRC ethnic minority studies community (or the PRC minzu studies community, as I shall explain later). Specifically, this is a study about how the political-sociological conditions – i.e. conflict in the policy environment and fragmentation in the knowledge community – shape the debates among scholars of ethnic minority in Post-Mao China. By examining how these conditions influence the way academic policy debates are carried out, I attempt to shed light on an important issue that relatively fewer political scientists have touched upon: intellectual innovations in contemporary China's policy field. Before elaborating further on the significance of this study, I first summarize the basic rationale and main arguments below.

*1.1.2 Intellectual Innovation in Policy Fields and Academic Policy Debates*

The fundamental puzzle that drives this research is: how do intellectual innovations in policy fields occur under authoritarian China? Like every ruler, autocrats face challenges to their government from time to time. Crime, corruptions, market fluctuations, energy shortage, ecological crises, ethnic conflicts – for those in power, changes in the domestic or international circumstances produce new problems constantly. To cope with them, modern states – regardless of how its political institution is organized – usually support a corps of scientific and technical experts who would busy themselves with studying the problems and proposing policy innovations when confronted with a new problem. But the mere presence of a knowledge community is no guarantee to intellectual innovations in policy fields. To know when and how innovations occur, one needs to

look into the process of policy knowledge production. In this study, I approach this question by zooming in on one key aspect of the latter process: the academic policy debate.

The central research question of this study is: how do we explain the character of academic policy debates in Post-Mao China? In the broader literature on scientific knowledge production, sociologists of science tend to look at such a question through the prism of scientific development and focus primarily on the internal dynamics of knowledge community. Scholars of science and technology policy, in contrast, highlight the role of the state in guiding professional scientific activities. Still others – e.g. political scientists who focus on authoritarian regimes – concern themselves with how the autocratic government engages in day-to-day censorship and control over the production and circulation of scientific knowledge, seeking to understand the constant negotiation of boundary between politics and science. Relatively fewer attention have been given to the question of intellectual innovation in policy fields under a complex relationship between intellectuals and the state such as the one in contemporary PRC. Despite a recent surge of interests in various forms of learning practices of authoritarian regimes from Asia to Middle East and Latin America, we still know relatively little about how academic policy debates – and by extension, intellectual innovation in policy fields – occur under authoritarian regimes (for an exception see Kristensen and Nielsen 2013).

In this study, I examine the logic of intellectual innovation in policy fields under authoritarian China through a political-sociological investigation of the academic debates on China's minzu policy (Ch: *minzu zhengce*) in the Post-Mao period[4]. As I shall argue below, the character of academic policy

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[4] The precise meaning of the Chinese word *minzu* is itself a topic of much debate. Depending on the context, the word could mean ethnicity, nationality, ethnic minority, ethnic, national, or different combinations of them. Throughout this dissertation, I use the expression *minzu* policy, a direct transliteration of the Chinese phrase *minzu* plus the common English translation for *zhengce*, as a translation for the compound phrase *minzu zhengce*. I do so also for a number of other compound phrases which contain the word *minzu* in order to avoid issues with fixing it to any single concepts in English. For example, *minzu yanjiu* and *minzu wenti* are rendered, respectively, as *minzu* studies and *minzu* questions. One alternative rendering for *minzu* which is occasionally used in this dissertation is "ethno-nationality" (and, when applicable, its

debates has important implications for intellectual innovations. Building off the literature on comparative public policy, science and technology studies, and sociology of science, I propose a theory for explaining how academic policy debates react to the political-sociological conditions in Post-Mao China. This theory involves two steps: first, I argue that the character of an academic policy debate can be analytically broken down and measured along two dimensions: a) the degree of theoretical heterogeneity and b) the degree of academic politicization. Combining these two dimensions generates four mutually distinguishable types of debates:

(1) Intra-paradigm Professional Debate

(2) Intra-paradigm Political Debate

(3) Inter-paradigm Professional Debate

(4) Inter-paradigm Political Debate

Second, I argue that each of the two dimensions is in turned shaped by a structural feature of the political-sociological environment in which the academics operate. Specifically, the degree of academic politicization of the debate is shaped by the degree of conflict within a given policy subsystem whereas the degree of theoretical heterogeneity of the debate is shaped by the degree of fragmentation within the knowledge community most intimately related to this policy area. Together, these two political-sociological conditions shape the character of academic policy debates within this community, and by extension, the potential of this community to generate intellectual innovations in policy fields. Accordingly, my main argument can be stated as: (DV) the character of an academic policy debate is a function of (IV1) the level of conflict in the policy subsystem and (IV2) the level of fragmentation in the knowledge community closely related to this policy area.

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adjective form "ethno-national"). For a review about the debate over the meanings of *minzu*, see chapter 3, section 3.3.: "Discourse about Minzu Policy in PRC".

As the table below demonstrates, a higher level of conflict in the policy subsystem causes an academic policy debate to become more politically-oriented than professionally-oriented, whereas a higher level of fragmentation in the knowledge community causes an academic policy debate to become more inter-paradigmatic than intra-paradigmatic. Independent variations of the two explanatory variables produce the four of academic policy debates discussed above through exerting their influence on the two aspects of a debate separately. In sum, by describing different types of debates and linking them with the character of policy subsystem and knowledge community, my theory explains variation in the character of academic policy debates in Post-Mao China.

**Table 1 – Policy Subsystem, Knowledge Community, and Academic Policy Debate**

|     | Policy Subsystem (IV1) | Knowledge Community (IV2) | Academic Policy Debate (DV) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1) | *Low conflict* | *Low fragmentation* | *Intra-paradigm Professional Debate* |
| (2) | *Low conflict* | *High fragmentation* | *Inter-paradigm Professional Debate* |
| (3) | *High conflict* | *Low fragmentation* | *Intra-paradigm Political Debate* |
| (4) | *High conflict* | *High fragmentation* | *Inter-paradigm Political Debate* |

To demonstrate this theory, I examine the evolution of policy debates by the PRC academics on ethnic minority studies from 1979 to 2017. In doing so, this study brings our aforementioned "familiar strangers", i.e. social scientific intellectuals in authoritarian China, under the spotlight. Why is it important to study the activities of social scientists in authoritarian regimes from a theoretical point of view? How does a study centered on social scientific academics contribute to our knowledge about broader topics in comparative politics and policy? In the rest of this chapter, I shall discuss the significance of this study in relation to the broader theoretical literatures on intellectual innovations in contemporary China's policy fields, authoritarian consultation, epistemic community, and politics of science. In the course of doing so I will explain how an inquiry of the relationship

between the social scientific community and the authoritarian state may contribute to each of them. Finally, I offer an overview of the structure of this dissertation.

## 1.2 Significance

### 1.2.1 Knowledge Production and Intellectual-State Relations in Contemporary China

Studying academic policy debates in China has the potential to make a number of contributions. Most immediately, it contributes to our knowledge about knowledge production and intellectual-state relations in contemporary China. First of all, academic policy debates reflect various features of the knowledge production by policy experts in the country, offering important insights on the way in which a given policy topic is approached by the national scientific community. Examining policy debates in academic venues enables us to study the policy focus of the academic community, the different theories and approaches that the academic elites employ to analyze policy matters, the range of opinions and perspectives held by the scientific community in the country at a given time, as well as the possible structural and/or institutional characteristics of the scientific knowledge production process (Elliott 2015; Irvine 2017). This allows us to understand the manners in which a policy topic is approached by the professional researchers. At the same time, due to the public accessibility of academic discussion to the public, as well as many scholars' active efforts to shape public opinions (Cheek 2006), studying academic debates offers us clues about the potential policy and political attitudes of the wider society. This is particular so because ideas and opinions in academic policy debates often carries the recognition as the institutionally-sanctioned "scientific" opinions, and often serve as the basis and/or points of reference for wider discussion of policy issues in the media or – increasingly – by the public via online social media. As such, it offers us clues about how the societal discussion about a particular policy could unfold.

Secondly, academic policy debates are an important component of the elite policy discourse and acts as a window into the innovative aspect of policy-making of the Chinese government. Policy discourse covers not only the debates among academics but also policy discussions, deliberations, and debate carried out through the internal channels of the government and party. Academic venues are less easily accessible to the general public than the media but more accessible than internal government discussions. Importantly, even academic venues are regulated not only by professional norms and institutionalized standards, but also by policy, political, and ideological interests of the regime (Taylor 2011; Noakes 2014; Holbig 2014). The regime allows innovative policy debates to be carried out inside academic and professional venues, especially when decision makers have not yet reached consensus, elite interests clash, or different proposals compete for endorsement by the political leadership (Downs 2004, 2; Gilley and Holbig 2009; Lynch 2015). Occasionally, officials engage directly the scholarly discussion by authoring articles in academic journals. Therefore, academic policy debates offer one the opportunity to peek into the deliberative aspect of contemporary Chinese policy-making. While the discourse has no direct bearing on decision decisions, it reveals the range of ideas that the government is willing to entertain, discuss, compare, or even emulate.

Finally, scholarly venues in Post-Mao China are neither a completely autonomous sphere of intellectual exchange nor a mere outlet for "politically correct" ideas of the regime. As such, changes in the parameter of academic policy debates reflect the changing intellectual-state relationship in China. Since the restoration of social sciences in 1980s, disciplines were revived, and departments were reestablished. Journals gradually resumed publications. Scholars also began to convene conferences, workshops, and other professional gatherings. The granted autonomy of social scientific research played important roles in China's economic and social reform under the Post-Mao leadership (Halpern 1988; Hsu 1988; Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005). At the same time, political

control over the intellectuals has also been restructured. Different from the overt political intervention in research and teaching from 1950s to 1970s, academic censorship during the Post-Mao era are subtler, in many cases more indirect, fluid, and context-specific. In addition to direct censorship, the government also exerts influence through research funding allocation, job appointment, editorial process, and administrative discipline, and so on (Sleeboom-Faulkner 2007a; Holbig 2014). As a result, one could expect that academic discourse in China has become partially autonomous, operating within the shifting parameters set by the regime but maintaining a limited space for debates, disagreement, and even dissent at the same time. Therefore, it is both useful and important to study the factors that shape academic policy debates, particularly in light of the shifting, multifaceted state-society relations in Post-Mao China.

In sum, studying PRC academic policy debates can help us to understand how a particular policy topic is understood and debated within the professional circle and the relatively more politically active segment of the society. Because of the intimate connection between politics and academia, it also provides insights on the innovative thinking among policy elites and offers clues for predicting possible direction(s) of the policy development. Lastly, it also sheds light on the evolving intellectual-state relationship in a transitional, post-socialist country such as the People's Republic of China.

*1.2.2 Authoritarian Consultation and Regime Resilience*

Beyond its contribution to the field of contemporary PRC studies, studying academic policy debates also speaks broadly to the literature of authoritarian politics, particularly the role of social scientific intellectuals. As an occupational designation, "social scientists" refer to those who work as teachers, professors, researchers, or independent scholars in the fields that are commonly accepted as belonging to the social sciences, such as anthropology, economics, ethnology, geography, history,

linguistics, political science, sociology, and so on. The defining feature of social scientists is their area of specialization. Because of such specialization, they supposedly possess the professional skills to examine, analyze, and explain complex social phenomena.

As professional knowledge workers, they can and do perform a variety of different social and political functions in the contemporary world. In the context of mass politics, social scientists could influence the society as public intellectuals, speaking with the authority of science as well as the symbols of objectivity and neutrality which science carries (Gattone 2006). In the context of modern governance, social scientists could provide knowledge to practitioners as advisors or consultants, either directly to the policymakers or through indirect channels such as research institutions, NGOs, or media (O'Connor 2001). In some cases, social scientists could take initiative as political advocates for policy and/or institutional reform, using social capital that comes from their prestige as experts and public intellectuals (Pielke, Jr. 2007). In still other cases, social scientists are induced or compelled to work for the political authority while seeking to either expanding its influence with the state's support or preserving its autonomy by withdrawing themselves (Z. Wang 2008; Moore 2008).

The implication of social scientists' ability to engage in politics has been under-examined in the context of authoritarian regimes. An institutionally autonomous and critically-minded social scientific community constitutes a potential threat to an autocracy. Instead of directly partaking in a physical assault, they could challenge the legitimacy of the regime with counter discourse, disqualify its policy with professional knowledge, or even organize public oppositions with their moral leadership (Moore 2008; Cheek 2004). In his 1987 presidential address to the American Political Science Association, Samuel Huntington went as far as to argue that "political science […] is not just an intellectual discipline; it is also a moral one" (Huntington 1988). In his view, "the creation of a republic and the development of democracy also called forth political science and political scientists"

(Huntington 1988). In other words, it should be in the interests of political scientists to promote democratization.

It remains an open question if political scientists – and social scientists in general – should participate in politics in the way Huntington envisioned (i.e. engender political reform), or whether they have the interests or capacity to do so at all (Noakes 2014; He 2016). But there is ample evidence that most autocrats guard against their intellectual class, particularly those in the social sciences. In the former Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China up until the 1980s, government authorities exerted extensive control over the scientific community through political control, administrative appointment (*nomenklatura*), and research management (Kneen 1984; Hao 2003; Hayhoe 1996). In Latin America, during the 1960s and 1970s, military governments in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile undertook a variety of measures to repress academic freedom and autonomy in universities, including dismissal and early retirements of academic staff without due process, expulsion of students from the university, and in some cases, even from the country on the basis of subversive actions (De Figueiredo-Cowen 2002).

Today in Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, governments not only censor the news media but also interfered in journalism education, favoring "media research that promotes the politically established goals of national development and national unity and discouraged from developing programs critical of the principles, struggle, values, and national traditions of Arab society"(Amin 2002). Moreover, the authority there also cultivates a "censorial political culture", pressing universities and media to practice self-censorship on themselves (Mazawi 2003). Most recently, the Turkish government under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has ordered thousands of scholars either fired or suspended, a number of universities to shut down, forcing many to flee the country (Keller, Mykhyalyshyn, and Timur 2016; England 2017). According to one report, in the

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first week of 2017 alone, 631 researchers and professors lost their jobs due to government imposed dismissals (Weise 2017).

In addition to active control and monitoring, authoritarian governments also co-opt their social scientists by recruiting them in the service of the regime. Scientific "freedom" is sometimes used by the authority as an instrument of positive incentives and granted in exchange for loyalty and subservience (Solingen 1993). The Communist authorities in former Soviet Central Asia, for example, repressed critical social sciences but encouraged "empirical research" which could be exploited for solving practical problems and social engineering (Amsler 2007). Soon after the violent crackdown on the Tiananmen demonstration in 1989, the Chinese political leadership realized that the benefit of a relatively autonomous research community outweighed its risk. Subsequently, it chose to grant greater academic freedom to a wide range of disciplines with the caveat of promoting policy relevant research and excluding radical political views (C. Cao 2004; Sleeboom-Faulkner 2007b). Wide acceptance of this a gesture by intellectuals is attested by the fact that the majority of social scientists continued to work for the post-Mao authoritarian regime (X. Gu 1998), even though the private sector did see an evident inflow of people with professional intellectual background (Mok 1998; Hao 2003). Later studies show that many have chosen to do so under the assumption that, by cooperating with the establishment they would have a chance to help improve the social conditions of the country with their knowledge and mend the rift in the state-society relations (X. Gu 1998).

Despite their important political role, however, scholars have received relatively less attention to the social scientists in authoritarian regimes. In contrast, the field of International Relations (IR) have seen a vibrant literature on the politics of knowledge in international politics (Cooper and Packard 1998; Guzzini 2012; Neumann and Sending 2010; Klein 2003; Chowdhry and Nair 2002; Doty 1996; Anand 2007; da Silva 2007; Hansen 2006), especially following the "constructivist turn"

of the field (Wendt 1992; Checkel 1998; Hopf 1998; Ruggie 1998; Wendt 1999). While one may find monographic accounts of intellectual history in specific countries or comparative studies of scientific & technology policy in the developing world (Gaillard 1997; E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a; Altbach 2003), relatively few have focused specifically on the relationship between the social scientific community and the political environment in which they operate. Even less have attempted a systematic study of their political influence under authoritarian regime (Solingen 1994).

From an institutional point of view, the defining feature of an authoritarian regime lies in the fact that the rulers acquire power by means other than competitive elections (Gandhi 2008). Without having to go through a competitive struggle for popular votes, the authoritarian rulers are not held accountable by the general public to serve their interests. Keeping the political participation of the public at bay is not only a means for exercising power with less constraints, but also an essential undertaking to safeguard the regime and its rulers from mass uprising. In the world of authoritarian regimes, rulers often go to great length to suppress the public from broadening the scope of political participation, even at the risks of empowering those who could pose a threat to the rulers in turn, e.g. militaries (Svolik 2012).

In addition to the risk of keeping a powerful repressive force, however, there is another downside to the arrangement. Removal or absence of institutionalized representation of the public in the political process takes away an important commutation channel between the authority and the public, thereby undermining the ability of the ruler to learn about the thinking of the ruled. As a result, the rulers are often inadequately informed of not only the public interests, but also the accumulating social grievances and the potential of anti-regime uprisings (Kuran 1995). The authoritarian institutions that supposedly help to sustain and strengthen the autocrats' rule, ironically, also become their "information cage", rendering them vulnerable to social revolution due to the lack of knowledge about the latent discontent and the likelihood of a political crisis (Kuran

1995). A number of notable precedence have demonstrated how such knowledge/power paradox could work against the authoritarian regimes, destabilizing it or even leading to regime collapse (Kuran 1991; Weyland 2012).

To mitigate this problem, rulers could introduce information-gathering mechanisms so to update themselves with the public concerns. In Communist Bulgaria, the party leadership set up the Information-Sociological Center of the Central Committee in order to track citizens' complaints in order to adjust governance and address popular discontent (Dimitrov 2014). A similar setup was also present in the People's Republic of China till today, in the form of the Letters and Visits Offices (Ch: *xinfangban*) (Dimitrov 2013, 2015).

Another option is to formally invite public input on government decision making. During the last decade, China scholars have discovered a variety of government-led consultative practices, ranging from local deliberative polling and controlled elections (Fishkin et al. 2010; He and Thøgersen 2010), to public and expert consultation in policymaking (Almén 2016; Xiaojun Yan 2011), to NGOs taking part in local policymaking (Mertha 2008), and to self-mobilization of the public and media to set policy agendas. These phenomena provide interesting material for exploring questions of authoritarian accountability, adaptive capacity, and regime stability. The long-term implication of these measures on regime stability remains unclear. While some suggested destabilizing and/or democratizing effect on the regime, others predicted a reinforcement of the authoritarian rule through improved governance (He and Warren 2011).

Importantly, research on authoritarian consultative/deliberation has yet to appreciate the role of social scientific intellectuals. With a few exceptions, studies usually sidelined the social and political functions that social scientists have played under these new developments. As noted earlier, social scientists are only capable of talking about specialized topics to their academic peers but are in a unique position to provide elaborated arguments and professional insights on public matters as

public intellectuals. They could inform and guide the public opinion with their expert knowledge and authoritative status. Given the appropriate platform, they could either serve as policy advisors or engage in politics as advocates themselves. Their capacity to do so is a result of their unique status as the institutionally endorsed knowledge authority. In other words, the discussion about consultative authoritarianism omits an important group of actors with capacity to influence politics.

With the regards to studies on knowledge actors in contemporary China, to date the literature tends to focus on one of the following two themes: intellectual freedom and knowledge-production capacity. On the one hand, the political radicalism during the Mao-era had not only led to a series of attack on intellectuals, but also created a general unfriendly if not hostile environment for intellectual activities in general. Because of the tense relationship between the state and the professional community thus resulted, one of the main attempts by the post-Mao leadership was to appease the intellectuals and enlist their help for the "Four Modernization". Against this backdrop, a prominent theme of the post-Mao scholarship on China is the disruption of intellectual activity during the Mao era, and the restoration/expansion of intellectual freedom under the reforming regime (Hayhoe 1996; E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a; Andreas 2009).

On the other hand, the last three decades also saw a growing body of scholarship on professional research communities, particularly government and civilian think-tanks (Zhu 2009b). The importance of economic think tanks in top-level policy-making was already acknowledged by observers during the early years of the reform (Halpern 1988; Naughton 2002). Subsequent studies further expanded the scope to include national security (Shambaugh 1987), foreign policy (Glaser and Saunders 2002; Shambaugh 2002; Abb 2015), public security (Tanner 2002), and military (Gill and Mulvenon 2002). While initially dominated by western scholars, the field began to see contributions from domestic ones in recent years (Zhu and Xue 2007; Zhu 2009b, 2011), especially after the Chinese government made "think-tank development with Chinese characteristics" (Ch:

*zhoneguo tese xinxing zhiku*) a major target in their development plan.[5] With but a very few exceptions, however, studies on think tank focus predominantly on their organizational features and knowledge output capacity. There remains ample room for broadening our understanding about how intellectual innovation in policy fields operates.

Relatedly, an equally underexplored theme is the "degree" of openness in authoritarian consultation/deliberation. While we may have a tentative answer as to the rationale of these practices (*why* does an autocrat consult the people?) (Chen, Pan, and Xu 2015; Meng, Pan, and Yang 2014) and its mechanism (*how* does an autocrat consult the people?) (Fishkin et al. 2010; Xiaojun Yan 2011; Dimitrov 2015; Y. Wu and Wang 2012; Truex 2014), we still do not know the degree of consultative authoritarianism (*how much* does an autocrat engage the people in consultation?). One prominent thesis of this literature holds that autocratic rulers introduce administrative-level reform such as policy consultation in order to improve their governance and minimize the risk of a regime change (He and Warren 2011). In other words, consultation is meant to help reinforce regime stability by forestalling a revolution. If so, one should reasonably ask just to what extent would the autocratic rulers allow the societal actors to exercise their freedom of expression and intellectual autonomy, so to harness the necessary knowledge without raising the prospect of a revolution?

After all, there are well known reasons for authoritarian governments to limit the freedom of speech and thought of intellectuals, and social scientists in particular. Open space for critical discussion of social and political issues could nurture the political awareness of the citizenry, cultivating demand for accountability, transparency, and participation. A critically-minded social scientific community could spearhead the counter hegemonic discourse against the regime. On the flip side, if an autocrat is interested in obtaining accurate knowledge of societal interests, this

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[5] "Opinions on Strengthening the Construction of New Think-Tanks with Chinese Characteristics" ("关于加强中国特色新型智库建设的意见"), Xinhua Net ("新华网"), http://www.xinhuanet.com//zgjx/2015-01/21/c_133934292.htm, accessed May 4th 2018.

objective would be compromised if the social scientists are unable to freely exercise their talents, especially if there is no guarantee of safety for expressing themselves.

Scholars have only begun to examine the boundaries or parameter of political discussion under consultative authoritarianism, focusing primarily on public discourse in media (King, Pan, and Roberts 2013; Lorentzen 2014). A study of the intellectual autonomy of professional social scientists remains lacking at the moment (He 2016), despite evidence of intense political debates among elites, such as scholars, cadres, and policy makers (Gilley and Holbig 2009). An inquiry into political discussion of social scientists can be particular useful for grasping the institutional evolution: if socials scientific intellectuals are allowed to engage in substantive critical discussion, it is not inconceivable that the government become compelled to gradually transition from a simple "information-gathering" listener to a participating interlocutor.

Furthermore, study the involvement of social scientists in policy process leads us to examine the social-cognitive process of authoritarian governance. As professional intellectuals, social scientists not only perform the role as researcher and producer of technical knowledge, but also take part in public discourse on political matters as well as policy process through various institutional and non-institutional venues such as legislature, policy meetings, and mass media (Huntington 1988). These activities may operate well within the boundary of consultative authoritarianism as long as they do not amount to organized political opposition (He and Warren 2011). Through this process, however, the substantive involvement of intellectuals would likely open up the regime's policy process even more in the sense that the officials would need to come up with policy justification for a wider and more diverse audience in their communications. Imagine as the interaction between the authoritarian state and the intellectuals deepens, the autocrats and the unelected officials would engage routinely with the society on policy matters to communicate mutual concerns and develop solutions. In this probable scenario, intellectuals – social scientists in particular – would play a central role. An inquiry

of the relation between social scientific intellectuals and the state would therefore be much beneficial to the study of authoritarian politics in terms of the development of consultative practices.

*1.2.3 Epistemic Communities and Power of Knowledge*

Outside the field of authoritarian politics, this study also speaks to the literature on the influence of knowledge communities in national and transnational governance. Organized around the theme of experts' role in policy making, the epistemic community literature is explicitly concerned with – but not exclusive to – the policy influence of scientific figures (Haas 1992). On the empirical side, these studies were motivated by the increasingly routinized appearance and important functions that the experts play in the domestic and international policy process. On the theoretical side, the idea was facilitated by and a response to the constructivist turn in political science that emphasize the need to examine the social-cognitive dimensions of politics, including the impacts of knowledge, identities, norms, and ideology (Ruggie 1998).

The main distinction between an epistemic community approach to policy-making and other approaches lies not so much in the specific types of actors that the former focuses on as in the *type* of policy influence which they wield and the *mechanism* in which such influence operates. As Adler and Haas suggested, "[e]pistemic communities are less a 'new' international actor or unit of analysis than they are a vehicle for the development of insightful theoretical premises about the creation of collective interpretation and choice". An epistemic community operates not through political pressure, but through persuasion based on their expert knowledge (Haas 1992). A group of scientists could employ tactics that bear little on their professional background. But only persuasion with expert knowledge, rational thinking, and impartial judgment define an epistemic community at work. More specifically, it is the shared scientific principles, professional knowledge, and policy-relevant expertise that define an epistemic community and enable it to realize its agency and exercise its

persuasive power. The causal logic is grounded in the fact that contemporary governance involves situations where decision-makers constantly face uncertainties that call for specialized knowledge. As a result, experts that possess an authoritative claim to such knowledge should reasonably be expected to play a role.

By putting "expertise" at the center, the epistemic community framework does not merely introduce a new type of actor in policy process, but provides a new conceptual tool to study the cognitive, epistemic aspect of policy-making that other approaches fail to capture (Adler and Haas 1992, 368). In the two decades following the 1992 Special Issue in *International Organization* that first popularized the concept, a great number of studies has taken advantage of the insight and power of this framework, and produced fruitful evidence that validated its relevance (Cross 2013; Finnemore and Sikkink 2001; Weible, Sabatier, and McQueen 2009). At the same time, these studies fall short on a number of aspects, two of which are worth highlighting in light of the present study.

First, the role of epistemic communities under non-democratic settings has received relatively little attention. While significant number of studies has examined the circumstances under which epistemic communities are more effective at causing policy change, the attention has been largely confined to factors internal to an implicitly pluralist policy process common in democratic governments. In reviewing the literature, Cross listed five main categories of contextual factors that may impact the effectiveness of epistemic communities, including: (a) scope condition, e.g. whether the issue of interest is surrounded by uncertainty, (b) political opportunity structure, e.g. whether experts have access to top decision-makers, (c) phase in the policy process, e.g. intervention occurs at the initial or later stage, (d) coalition building, e.g. whether the community possess high professionalism and status, and (e) policy field coherence, e.g. whether quantitative data rather than subjective qualitative data exists for the issue of interest (Cross 2013). The summary is based on what Cross considered as the "second-wave" of literature and suggests rather impressive advance in

the research program. But it is also apparent that very few have attempted to move beyond the geographical and political confines that offered the original inspiration and sought to advance the applicability of the framework and our knowledge about the dynamics in knowledge-politics relation in non-democratic settings.

Comparing with democratic regimes, policy process under authoritarian ones has been generally understudied, partially due to the regime's institutional lack of transparency and its untypically hostile attitude towards outside inquiries. The commonly held notion that autocrats exercise power without external consultation perhaps also adds to the reservation of scholars to save their time and efforts from these "risky" cases. Yet in recent decades, studies have shown that epistemic communities not only exist in autocracies but like their counterparts in democracies, could also influence policy decisions given the right circumstance (Zhu 2009b, 2009a; Naughton 2002; Glaser and Saunders 2002; Greenhalgh 2008). What should further boost the interest in a dialogue with the authoritarian politics literature is the recent trend in the institutional development of authoritarian regimes (such as China) where the governments actively adopt consultative practices in public policy-making (He and Warren 2011; Teets 2013; Truex 2016, 2; Malesky, Stromseth, and Gueorguiev 2017). As argued earlier, a systemic account of the role of social scientist in authoritarian policy process remains lacking, and epistemic community could be especially helpful in theorizing their policy influence, given the conceptual and theoretical groundwork that existing studies already laid.

Secondly, as critics have rightfully pointed out, few studies of epistemic communities have looked into their internal dynamics, or examine the formation of one in relation to the external political and institutional environment (Cross 2013). Working from the assumption that the main obstacle undermining the influence of epistemic communities is to be found externally (e.g. political opportunity structure, scope condition of the policy issue), studies in much of the literature have

omitted the fact that not all epistemic communities are equally organized and structured. Factors such as the level of professionalism, the degree of commitment to shared normative beliefs, or the level of consensus on basic criteria of scientific validity could affect the internal cohesion of an epistemic community, and thereby its ability to exercise persuasive power as a collective agent. Additionally, the political and institutional context in which one operates could have consequential implications in this respect. This suggests another area where a study of scientist-state relation in a contemporary autocracy could contribute to. As mentioned earlier, ample evidence shows that an authoritarian government would invest in cultivating a scientific community loyal to its own political objectives, while oppressing or weakening the formation of an independent epistemic center (Kneen 1984; Amsler 2007; L. Cheng and So 1983; Mazawi 2003).

Taking into account how an epistemic community develops and evolves in an environment like such would greatly contribute to our knowledge about the process of epidemic community formation and impacts of external political and institutional context in this process. A study of the political influence of the social scientific community in authoritarian policy process, therefore, could not only advance our understanding of epistemic communities under authoritarianism, but also enrich our theoretical knowledge about their internal dynamics, formation, and relation with the domestic environment.

### 1.2.4 Politics of Science in Modern Autocracy

Last but not least, looking more broadly, a study of authoritarian social scientist-state relation could also speak to the critical discourse regarding the sociological and political character of science (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Said 1979; Giddens 1990). As well explored in the sociology of knowledge literature, science is at its core an organized human activity seeking to produce authoritative knowledge on a variety of subjects; as such, it cannot and does not escape the

imperfections from which all human activities suffer, despite what the positive symbol of rigor, neutrality, and objectivity that science often represents.

Importantly, science does not progress according to the Popperian ideal of strict falsificationism, where scientists actively attempt to disprove existing theories and abandon any disapproved ones (Popper 1962). Rather, scientists tend to maintain their approval of certain theories and criteria of research as long as it is the prevailing norm within the community to endorse those as "facts" and "valid scientific procedure" (Kuhn 1970). In cases of sustained disagreement, scientists could also pursue parallel research agenda that share little common epistemological or even ontological grounds with one another (Lakatos 1980). Thus, what is known as scientific fact and research criteria to the wider society could be often found heavily contested within the scientific circle, where the pursuit of scientific progress inevitably encounter various non-research related factors, such as personality, leadership, culture, institutions, funding, etc. (Wagner 2001).

Furthermore, studies have shown how external environment drives the production and dissemination of particular type of knowledge. In particular, the political and institutional context of a state often plays an influential role in deciding what is to be accepted as valid, authoritative, and scientific "knowledge". Weir and Skocpol's study (1985) on the different attitudes toward Keynesian economics across Sweden, Britain, and the United States following the outbreak of the Great Depression is a case in point. Kevles's study shows both how racial anxieties were at the very core of the eugenic movement across the Anglo-American world during the early half of the twentieth century, and how such legacy affects the research on human genetics today (Kevles 1986). In the realm of foreign policy, Ido Oren's book shows how the portrayal of Germany and Russia changed in the mainstream discourse of American political science in response to major conflicts involving these countries and the US (Oren 2003).

At the same time, once obtained an authoritative status, knowledge could in turn wield powerful influence over the behavior of the state, both in its domestic and foreign practices. The above-mentioned study by Kevles demonstrates that eugenic science facilitated the passage of sterilization laws and provide justification for the Holocaust (Kevles 1986). O'Connor' study documents how a "poverty knowledge" produced by a network of liberal social scientists formed the dominant lens for understanding the issue of poverty and laid the foundation for designing social programs in the US (O'Connor 2001). Latham's work shows how modernization theory became the dominant ideology of the US government during the Cold War and facilitated a number of major foreign policy initiatives during the Kennedy Era (Latham 2000). Lastly, Greenhalgh's study on China's "One-Child Policy" suggests that a group of scientists from the National Defense sector played key roles in promoting the extremist population control policy through their dominance in the research circle and access to top decision-makers (Greenhalgh 2008). In other words, an interactive, mutually-reinforcing relationship exists between science and the state.

With a limited number of exceptions, however, the majority of the studies on the politics of science focus their attention on the practice of the "West" (Lam 2011; Mullaney 2011; Greenhalgh 2008; Amsler 2007). This is particularly true with regards to the postcolonialism literature, which has been leading the studies on the politics of knowledge production with a systematic, often totalizing critique of the ideological biases embedded in the discourse about the "Non-West" produced by the "West". Said's seminal work on the western representation of people and society from the Middle East, *Orientalism*, is a good example (Said 1979). Yet the insight of postcolonial critique is by no means confined to just those contexts, even though the "West" represents the geographical origin of modern sciences and the center of epistemic power in the modern world. As some of the recent studies show, countries and societies of the "Non-West" have their distinct history and dynamics of

knowledge-power relation, which are not only interesting empirical novelties on their own, but – importantly – also a potential opportunity to advance our theories of politics of knowledge.

Particularly, we should ask: how would the institutions, culture, and history of an authoritarian state affect the knowledge production by its national scientific community, and how could the dominant form of knowledge in turn enable and/or constrain the behavior of the government? Can we observe a similar type of epistemic violence between the authoritarian state and its population, as those argued with regards to the relationship between the "West" and "Non-West"? How is the social process in which the interaction between the authoritarian state and the scientific community takes place, and what are the social, political, and policy implications? These questions are particularly relevant in the context of aforementioned discussion on the persisting authoritarian regimes. To what extent, one might also ask, do the social scientific intellectuals contribute to the ideological domination of the state, thereby helping to consolidate its legitimacy, and how does the regime maintain the vitality of the research community so to exploit their intellectual products without compromising its ideological hegemony?

## 1.3 Structure

This dissertation consists of nine chapters in total, which can be organized thematically into four blocks. Chapter 1 to 3 overview the dissertation, present the conceptual and theoretical framework, and offer an empirical background of the topic. Chapter 4 to 7 present the primary empirical evidence of this study based on a diachronic analysis research design consisting of four different cases from the Post-Mao China's minzu debate. Chapter 8 supplements the diachronic analysis in the preceding four chapters with two additional, self-standing tests to assess the challenge of alternative explanations. Finally, chapter 9 concludes the dissertation. The content of each chapter (excluding the present one) is detailed below.

Chapter 2 develops a theory of academic policy debates in Post-Mao China and presents my research design. The character of an academic policy debate is conceptualized as constituted by two distinct aspects: 1) the level of academic politicization and 2) the level of theoretical homogeneity. Each of the two bears implications for the innovative potential of a debate. Based on this conceptualization, I develop an explanatory theory of academic policy debates by linking the above two features with the political-sociological environment in which a given debate is situated. Specifically, I argue that the degree of conflict within the policy subsystem (IV1) and the degree of fragmentation of the knowledge community (IV2) shape the character of a given academic policy debate (DV) through exerting their impact on, respectively, academic politicization and theoretical homogeneity of the debate. This theory produces four ideal-typical scenarios. Accordingly, I present and explain my research design, which is based on the logic of a single unit, diachronic analysis of debates about minzu policy in Post-Mao China. In the last section, I introduce my data source and discuss my research operationalization.

Chapter 3 presents the empirical background of the topic under investigation in this study. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I discuss the general political environment of Post-Mao China in terms of its intellectual-state relations and the general sociological trend in the knowledge community in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. This should prepare the reader for the more case-specific background introduction to follow. Then in the second part, I present the general contour of minzu policy evolution, knowledge community development concerning ethnic minority studies, and the academic discourse revolving around ethnic affairs in the Post-Mao period. In addition, the last section also serves to provide some further clarifications concerning the conceptual and terminological issues regarding the term "minzu" which is central to this study.

From chapter 4 to chapter 7, I examine four distinct periods within the time range from 1979 to 2017. As it will be explained in chapter 2, this study follows a single unit, diachronic analysis research

design whereby each case is a temporally bounded cluster of phenomena, represented in my study by a distinct period of academic policy debates in Post-Mao China. Therefore, each period represents a case of a particular configuration of academic debates on minzu policy, understood to be shaped by the above-mentioned two independent variables, i.e. the degree of conflict within the policy subsystem and the degree of fragmentation within the knowledge community. They represent different scenarios as described in the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2, where I shall provide further information on each of the four "cases" with particular emphasis on how they link to my theory. To facilitate the comparison across different cases, the four chapters all follow the same structure. Each begins with an introductory "chapter overview" summarizing and highlighting the main arguments made in this chapter, followed by a similar tripartite narrative: a first section on the political environment represented by the conflict within the minzu policy subsystem, a second section on the sociological environment represented by the fragmentation within the knowledge community on minzu policy and ethnic affairs in general, and a final section on the impact of the political-sociological environment on the character of the academic policy debate above minzu during this period.

Chapter 4 focuses on the period from 1979 to 1989. This is the period of policy and knowledge community restoration. Under the reformist leadership Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping, the academic policy discourse featured a moderate debate on the nature of ethnic relations in the People's Republic within the larger consensus that the party's minzu policy should be dutifully carried out in order to fulfill the promise of promoting inter-ethnic equality and co-prosperity.

Chapter 5 focuses on the period from 1989 to 2003. This period corresponds to Jiang Zemin's two terms as the first post-Deng paramount leader of PRC. Despite a number of political crises within and outside China, we see by and large consensus among policy elites regarding ethnic minority affairs. On the other hand, the knowledge community became increasingly diversified, with

more specialized research and pluralistic disciplinary contribution. As a result, the scholar discourse began to feature more intense debate about the design of minzu policy.

Chapter 6 focuses on the period from 2003 to 2013. This is the period of Hu Jintao's two terms. The steadily worsening ethnic tensions, catapulted to become national political crises by two widely-publicized riots during Hu's second term, i.e. the 2008 Lhasa Riot ("3-14 Incident") and the 2009 Urumqi Riot ("7-5 Incident"), plus a highly pluralistic if not fragmented knowledge community, enabled an unprecedented debate among scholars of a variety of background over the future direction of China's minzu policy. During this debate, we saw scholars challenging PRC's minzu policy from a systematic standpoint for the first time. The exchange between reform advocates and their critics – which occurred right before the leadership transition from Hu Jintao to Xi Jinping – was highly politicized, leading many to anticipate a possible major reform under the incoming new leadership.

Lastly, chapter 7 focuses on the period from 2013 to 2017. This period covers the first three years of the Xi Jinping administration, i.e. from Xi's taking office until the point when this dissertation is being written. The new leadership did not launch a systematic reform. However, it sent out signals which legitimate a wide range of policy adjustments and innovations through a number of central meetings. Importantly, it also made efforts to reduce intra-elite division by way of a major restructuration of the State Council (central government of PRC). While the new leadership managed to bridge somewhat the policy conflict through meetings and government reform, divisions within the knowledge community remained. This caused the academic policy discourse to return to an intense yet contained debate, with more focus turning to studying specific adjustments of minzu policy in the near future.

Chapter 8 examines two alternative explanations. As it will be also discussed in chapter 2, the diachronic analysis alone – embodied by chapter 4, 5, 6, and 7 – does not rule out other competing

explanations. In this chapter, I carry out a two-fold test in order to assess their potential of challenging my theory. Specifically, the chapter looks at two likely influential factors: the occurrence of ethnic violence in China and the ethnic identification of the authors in the debate. Different from earlier chapters, I employ a quantitative approach to design the test. I use an original dataset of nearly 200 academic journal articles as well as the existing one ("Ethnic Violence in China" by Cao et al. 2018). The tests performed suggest that neither above candidate has any observable impact on the character of the academic policy debate. Therefore, the result from earlier chapters holds.

Finally, chapter 9 concludes the dissertation and discusses its implication for future research on intellectual-state relations and minzu policy in China.

**Chapter 2 Theory and Research Design**

This chapter proceeds in four steps. In the first step (section 2.1), I define the central concepts

of this study – i.e. "academic policy debate", "policy subsystem", and "knowledge community" –

and explain how I analytically approach them. I argue that the character of a debate could be

analyzed from the two separate perspectives: the level of theoretical heterogeneity and the level of

academic politicization. Based on this conceptualization, in the second step (section 2.2) I present

my theory for explaining academic policy debates in Post-Mao China. Drawing from the scholarship

on comparative public policy, science and technology studies, and sociology of science, I argue that

two distinct political-/sociological-conditions shape the character of an academic policy debate: (a)

the conflict in the policy subsystem and (b) the fragmentation in the knowledge community. Each of

them influences one aspect of the character of a debate as defined above. Accordingly, I present the

hypotheses to be tested in this study. In the third step (section 2.3), I present and defend my

research design regarding the unit of analysis, case selection, generalizability, and the logic of

inference, before explaining in detail how my empirical evidence is organized through chapters 4 to

8 so to demonstrate my theory. Finally, in the fourth step (section 2.4) I discuss the

operationalization of the main variables in my theory, the primary and secondary source used for

this study, as well as ethical considerations regarding the use of interview data.

**2.1 Conceptualization**

*2.1.1 "Academic Policy Debate"*

As the site of and drivers for intellectual innovations in policy fields, academic policy debates

can be analytically broken down and measured along two dimensions in terms of its capacity to

foster intellectual innovations. The first dimension is the degree of "theoretical heterogeneity",

which tells us about to what extent the participants of an academic debate share the same basic theoretical assumptions and conceptual vocabulary. To explain this concept, I borrow the notion of research programmes from Imre Lakatos (1980). I prefer Lakatos's theory of research programmes over Kuhn's theory of scientific paradigm because of the former's wider acceptance among political scientists in assessing the state of their discipline (Elman and Elman 2003; Jackson 2010). Accordingly, a debate of low theoretical heterogeneity is understood here as one between those who agree on those fundamental theoretical questions that define a research programme. Such a debate can be productive, i.e. contributing to the improvement of the explanatory power of the system of theories at the core of the research programme, since sharing the same basic theoretical assumptions and conceptual vocabulary creates greater analytical compatibility and allows people to exchange their knowledge and debate with each other more easily (Weible 2008, 626). However, it can also constrain people from going beyond the research programme which defines the concepts, questions, theories, and interpretive frameworks of their discussion. In contrast, a debate of high theoretical heterogeneity describes one between a group of people who do not agree on the fundamental theoretical questions that sit at the core of a research programme. It could be a debate between an established research programme and another emerging programme or established one. Similarly, the mere fact of high theoretical heterogeneity does not render the debate necessarily fruitless or productive. Such a debate can highlight the ineffectiveness of one research programme by showing its incapability to explain new phenomena or account for anomalies. But it may or may not lead to the development of new and better theories. While debates of both high and low theoretical heterogeneity have their productive or unproductive moments, a pluralistic community of scholars bears more chances for innovation than a monistic one. Similar to a market, "rivalry in an intellectual field" is a crucial structural ingredient for intellectual creativity (Collins 1987). Intellectual pluralism, demonstrated by the high theoretical heterogeneity of the debate, incentivizes scholars'

innovative efforts with greater opportunities to locate a market position to channel their creative energy. Therefore, the degree of theoretical heterogeneity of a debate is an important measure of the ability of a knowledge community as a whole to foster intellectual innovation – in policy fields and elsewhere. As Collins (1998, 80) put it, "conflicts are the lifeblood of the intellectual world".

However, theoretical heterogeneity captures only the internal dynamics of a knowledge community. In today's societies, knowledge communities rarely if ever work in isolation from the political environment in which they find themselves (Brown 2015). In both democratic and authoritarian countries, academics often work closely with the public authorities in designing policies and institutions. For scholars who work under an authoritarian regime, their works often carry political connotations due to the intimate relationship between the state and the scientific community (Solingen 1993). PRC academics' embrace of the practical-political function of theories, as the preceding section shows, is an example of how such a relationship is understood and internalized in cultural-specific terms. However, even for an authoritarian regime, the extent to which arguments made in an academic policy debate align with clear political positions is not a constant but a variable. I refer to this character of an academic policy debate as the degree of "academic politicization". A high politicized debate is where the arguments are explicitly made to advance or undermine a government policy, political program, or ideology, etc. In this scenario, scholars are acting less as disinterested technical experts but more as invested political advocates (Pielke, Jr. 2007). Whether it was voluntary or compelled, exploiting one's intellectual position for advancing specific political cause usually comes at the expenses of maintaining one's open-mindedness and looking for all possible opportunities within the intellectual field with one's creative energy. A highly politicized debate is unlikely to be flexible enough to generate much intellectual innovation. But a moderately politicized debate, where scholars understand the political implications of their professional activities and output yet manage to maintain a separation between academic

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research and political advocacy, can be conducive to innovation. After all, concern with politics of the day always constitutes an important source of inspiration for social scientists – if not for scientists in general. Thus, the degree of academic politicization provides another measure of the ability of a knowledge community to generate intellectual innovation in policy fields.

**Table 2 – Types of Academic Policy Debates**

|  | Low academic politicization | High academic politicization |
|---|---|---|
| Low theoretical heterogeneity | *(1) Intra-paradigm Professional Debate* | *(2) Intra-paradigm Political Debate* |
| High theoretical heterogeneity | *(3) Inter-paradigm Professional Debate* | *(4) Inter-paradigm Political Debate* |

Combining these two dimensions gives us a useful typology of academic policy debates (see the table above). Based on my two-dimensional formula, we can identify four different types of academic policy debates: (1) an Intra-paradigm Professional Debate, (2) an Intra-paradigm Political Debate, (3) an Inter-paradigm Professional Debate, and (4) an Inter-paradigm Political Debate. Besides clarifying different dimensions of qualities that matter to intellectual innovations in policy fields, conceptualizing academic policy debates as such also allows us to further investigate what factors could shape these two dimensions of a debate and consequently, design an empirical strategy to examine if and how those factors affect the quality of a debate.

*2.1.2 "Policy Subsystem"*

To explain the characters of an academic policy debate, I argue that one should refer to the political and sociological conditions in which a debate is situated. Specifically, each of the two dimensions of an academic policy debate is shaped by a different factor: a) the conflict in the policy subsystem drives the academic politicization; b) the fragmentation in the knowledge community drives the theoretical homogeneity. What exactly do I mean by the "conflict in the policy

subsystem" and the "fragmentation in the knowledge community"? How exactly do the two explanatory variables vary?

Inspired by Weible (2008, 621), I understand policy subsystems as "semiautonomous decision-making networks of policy participants that focus on a particular policy issue usually within a geographic boundary". Importantly for this study, however, a policy subsystem is composed of competing policy coalitions whose members are mainly government bureaucracies, party organizations, state-owned enterprises, military, and other apparatus of the state. Depending on the level of conflict among competing policy coalitions within the subsystem, a policy subsystem can be either "collaborative" or "adversarial", each of which bears different implications for the activities of experts involved in the policy debates. Readers familiar with the comparative policy literature would have noticed the differences between the above usage of the term "policy subsystem" and the classical definition of "policy subsystem" used in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) literature. Specifically, there are three important distinctions between the two, which are central to the operationalization of this concept to my study. Below I discuss each of them in detail.

First of all, in this study "policy subsystem" centers around policy-making elites who work in the state-sector and excludes mostly professional academics whose occupation is located outside of the state. The ACF frameworks – from the original one proposed by Sabatier (1987) to its later versions such as those reviewed by Sabatier and Weible (2007) – all consider scientific and technical experts to be members of the policy coalitions. It was based on this formulation that the ACF proceeds to examine how policy-oriented learning based on scientific knowledge is facilitated or hindered by various environmental factors and how, in turn, policy change is fostered or obstructed by belief change through learning. For the present study, not distinguishing conceptually the political conflict between competing coalitions of state actors in a policy subsystem and the sociological fragmentation within the non-state, professional knowledge community is unsatisfactory, since it

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collapses the two aspects into one, i.e. inter-coalitional conflict, and as such, cannot analytically differentiate the independent effect from either aspect. To understand the character of an academic policy debate, as I argued, one should consider separately how external, political conflict incentivizes academic politicization while at the same time, how internal, sociological fragmentation promotes theoretical heterogeneity. Thus, it is required by my theory to reformulate the concept of "policy subsystem" around policy-making elites in the state sector so to allow for a separate analysis of the effect of knowledge community's fragmentation on academic policy debates.

Secondly, following this redefinition, the implication of subsystem-type is reconsidered in this study. The formulation of the effect of subsystem-type by Weible (2008, 626–28) also includes predictions about other aspects regarding the use of expert-based information, which vary according to the level of conflict in a policy subsystem. One that concerns my theory in particular is the implication of inter-coalitional conflict for "analytic compatibility". For Weible, the level of analytic compatibility among debating experts is directly and negatively affected by the level of conflict. I disagree with this proposition based on the preceding discussion that "analytic compatibility" is better seen as a direct effect of the fragmentation in the knowledge community itself. Understandably, policy-making elites in a high-conflict policy subsystem could be encouraged to exploit the existing fragmentation in the knowledge community when they recruit academics to the policy debate. They may extend invitations – either tacit or not – to scholars who do not share the mainstream theoretical and methodological approaches in the existing knowledge community to advocate for the political positions of those elites. In this way, the intra-coalitional conflict in the policy subsystem may indirectly contribute to a decrease of analytic compatibility in the policy debate. But even so, the conflict is at most a facilitating factor to this outcome, rather than the direct cause. Indeed, the incorporation of the fragmentation of knowledge community as an explanatory variable in my theory is a response to the lack of attention to this condition in the Weible's original

formulation. It is my expectation that my theory would be able to capture the effect of this missing factor and better account for the changes in the character of the academic policy debate.

Thirdly, regarding the spectrum of variation, I adopt a simplified version of the classificatory scheme of "policy subsystem". In Weible's original formulation, there are three ideal-types: a unitary subsystem, a collaborative subsystem, and an adversarial subsystem. They are different from one another in a number of aspects, but the most important distinction lies in the degree of inter-coalitional conflict within a given subsystem. A unitary one means the subsystem is dominated by a single coalition that faces no rivalry. A collaborative one is where two or more cooperative coalitions coexist yet the inter-coalitional conflict is at intermediate levels. Finally, an adversarial one is where competitive coalitions coexist in an environment of high conflict. Each type possess distinct internal characters and produces different effect on various aspects of a policy process, such as knowledge utilization (Weible 2008), belief convergence (Weible and Sabatier 2009), or translating crises into policy change (Nohrstedt and Weible 2010). For the present study I choose to simplify this categorization into only two types: a collaborative subsystem featuring low intra-coalition conflict versus an adversarial subsystem featuring high intra-coalition conflict. The simplification is made based on two considerations: first of all, as far as the impact of a policy subsystem on experts' behavior is concerned, the variation of this effect across the three types is by and large linear: the higher conflict there is, the more experts act as principal allies/opponents rather than auxiliary ones and the more experts only promote learning in a closed circle (i.e. within the affiliated coalition). In other words, higher conflict leads to greater academic politicization. Conversely, when the conflict is milder, experts tend to become marginalized within the policy coalition as the political value of their information decreases. Therefore, it does not sacrifice much my analytical leverage if I simplify the typology into a dichotomy. In the second place, as far as the empirical scope of the present study is concerned, i.e. PRC minzu policy debate from 1979 to 2017 (I will discuss this topic in greater detail

below), the concept of a unitary subsystem is irrelevant, since only two kinds of policy subsystem – collaborative and adversarial – can be observed. Thus, it would not make much sense for me to consider this third theoretical possibility as my empirical scope could not match up to a tripartite typology. However, by making this choice I do not imply that a unitary policy subsystem does not exist in Post-Mao China: it certainly might. At the same time, it *is* my assumption that such a scenario is quite rare given the widely shared observation that policy-process in Post-Mao China is "fragmented" or "pluralistic", i.e. in most if not all policy areas there exist and persist negotiations and contestations between different government and/or party agencies, between different levels of governments, and between state and non-state actors (Lieberthal and Lampton 1992; Mertha 2009; Han, Swedlow, and Unger 2014; X. Huang 2015; Yichong 2017; C. Zhang 2017). This means that my simplification does not come at the price of greatly reducing the relevance of my theory for understanding politics of academic policy debate in Post-Mao China, broadly speaking.

*2.1.3 "Knowledge Community"*

For the definition of the second explanatory variable, i.e. "fragmentation in the knowledge community", I draw my inspiration from the epistemic community literature. Following (Haas 1992, 3), I understand knowledge community as "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area". But similar to – and indeed, corresponding to – my above adaptation of the concept of "policy subsystem", I also modify the concept of "epistemic community" into a similar yet more restricted notion of "knowledge community" in two ways.

Firstly, in contrast to the expansive notion of epistemic community (Haas 1992) and in opposition to my elite-centered conceptualization of policy subsystem, my definition of knowledge community excludes mostly policy-making elites who work in the state-sector but instead centers

around professional academics whose occupation is located outside of the state. The qualifier "mostly" attached to the conceptual exclusion in my definition of the knowledge community – as well as the one in my definition of the policy subsystem – should be understood as a practical compromise. That is to say, for me, a knowledge community is understood to be *primarily* consisting of professional academics whereas a policy subsystem *primarily* consists of policy-making elites. The two concepts are redefined as such so to become by and large mutually exclusive because I intend to assess the independent effect of each on the character of an academic policy debate. At the same time, I also recognize that in reality, one person's occupation could transgress the boundary between the state and non-state sectors. As it is known to scholars on China and other countries, a university professor could be a key participant in the government's policy research activities, while a government's policy staff could be an occasional yet important contributor to an academic journal. Nevertheless, there is no convincing reason thus far for blurring the two concepts or collapsing them into one – at least not in contemporary China. In the next chapter (chapter 3), I will discuss in greater detail the changing intellectual-state relations since the founding of PRC. In particularly, I will argue that in the Post-Mao period we have witnessed the emergence of a less rigid but more dynamic, not hierarchical but interactive and reciprocal relationship between the research community and the government (section 3.1.1). In other words, while interaction continues and transgression occurs, the two realms remain independent from one and another. As such, my redefinition is empirically well grounded.

A second distinction between a knowledge community and its relative in the epistemic community literature lies in how the implication of the internal dynamics is understood. In her review of the literature, Cross (2013) makes a strong case for looking into the internal dynamics of epistemic communities so to better understand their behavior. She proposes that "the process of professionalization itself is one way in which internal cohesion is established" and suggests how one

could measure the variation in the degree of professionalization and by extension, the internal cohesion of an epistemic community. Inspired by her discussion, I distinguish two types of knowledge community depending on this quality: a "uniform" one versus a "fragmented" one. Their distinction lies in whether and to what extent there is a uniform set of standards for selection and training members of the community, how frequent the members meet to discuss issues of common concern, to what extent members share a uniform set of professional norm and culture (Cross 2013) – in other words, the sociological characteristics of the community. A uniform knowledge community means that its members possess higher uniformity with regards to the standards for selection and training, meet more frequently, and share more professional norm and culture. A fragmented one means that these aforementioned qualities are either or missing. However, I diverge from her focus with regards to the implication of a knowledge community's internal cohesion – or conversely, internal fragmentation. Whereas Cross is interested in the policy influence of experts – hence her assumption of a positive association between an internal cohesive epistemic community and a greater potential for its policy influence, my interest lies in the innovative potential of a policy debate. For an academic policy debate to be conducive to intellectual innovation, a highly cohesive community – uniform selection and training standards, professional norms, and common culture – could be in fact counterproductive. Higher internal cohesion usually implies stronger professional discipline, which might translate into more systematic and self-consistent knowledge production by the members of this community. Importantly as it might be for securing policy influence of the experts, it is not the concern of the present study. Rather, I am interested in whether the sociological cohesion or fragmentation might influence the theoretical heterogeneity of an academic policy debate produced by a knowledge community, which either promotes or limits the debate's innovative capacity. Thus, in the discussion below, I consider only the potential positive correlation

between a knowledge community's sociological fragmentation and a debate's theoretical heterogeneity.

## 2.2 Theory

### 2.2.1 Explaining Academic Policy Debates in Post-Mao China

In this section I develop a political-sociological theory of academic policy debates in Post-Mao China. I propose that a proper explanatory framework of the character of academic policy debates should be grounded in the causal connection between the external political-sociological environment and the two attributes of a debate. Specifically, I argue that on the one hand, the conflict within the policy subsystem (hereafter "external conflict") drives the academic politicization; on the other hand, the fragmentation within the knowledge community (hereafter "internal fragmentation") drives the theoretical homogeneity. As academics in PRC conduct their policy debates, the innovative potential of the debate, understood as a product of theoretical homogeneity and academic politicization, is to be understood as shaped by the combined effect of "external conflict" and "internal fragmentation". Based on the conceptualization laid out in the previous section, I elaborate on these two causal mechanisms below.

First of all, the degree of internal fragmentation of a given knowledge community is a strong determinant of the degree of theoretical homogeneity of the debate generated by this community. As discussed above, fragmentation describes how a knowledge community is sociologically organized. A community of low fragmentation means that its members are much alike with one another in terms of their professional trainings, concerns, norms, and culture. This similarity grants them the possibility to engage in discussion of greater theoretical compatibility (lesser theoretical heterogeneity). In contrast, a community of high fragmentation means that its members come from diverse background and are likely to bring to the table different research traditions, approaches, and

evaluative standards due to the kind of trainings they received. They may also come with different sets of professional concerns, norms, and culture. Under such a condition, the debate is more likely to feature a high level of theoretical heterogeneity. The process of cultivating a particular knowledge community usually takes time. Thus, both fragmentation and de-fragmentation are unlikely to be altered in a sudden fashion unless due to an exogenous shock, e.g. a purge of intellectuals. Consequently, it is safe to assume that the internal fragmentation of a knowledge communities usually remains relatively stable in a short period of time, such as five to ten years. In sum, other things being equal, an internally fragmented community is better capacitated to generate a theoretically heterogeneous debate than internally uniform ones, thus holding better chance for intellectual innovation.

Secondly, the degree of external conflict in the policy environment that a knowledge community faces is a strong determinant of the academic politicization of its debate. As historians of science and sociologists of knowledge have long observed, knowledge production has never been completely independent from politics. Modern states in particular have always attempted to control, direct, or at least influence the development of scientific community and the production of scientific knowledge to their own interests (Kneen 1984; Solingen 1994; Boswell 2009). Science, on the other hand, also constantly seeks out benefactors for its own survival and development. Especially in authoritarian countries, scholars often unwillingly or willingly orient their research to the interests of those who sponsor them, which in most case is the state (Hirsch 2005; Amsler 2007; Greenhalgh 2008). After all, experts are the same fallible human beings as everyone else, and are not immune to bias, desire, ambition, and habits. Science, thus, shared a much more intimate history with state and corporations than what popular account of science would admit. In the context of modern governance, such close relationship is especially the case. As Haas (1992, 11)emphasized, "[t]hat scientists working within the bureaucracy have a common faith in the scientific method does not guarantee their

solidarity, nor does it make them immune to pressures from the institutions in which they work or from political temptation". Similarly, scholars of comparative policy analysis also argued that scientists could be coopted by policy coalitions into their political advocates, thereby abandoning their supposedly "neutral" position and commitment to objectivity (Sabatier 1987). Later studies further specified how the utilization of scientific knowledge could be affected by the political dynamics within a policy subsystem (Ingram, Schneider, and deLeon 2007; Weible 2008). As their argument goes, experts could be mobilized to play different functions (principal or auxiliary allies for a particular policy coalition), depending on the level of conflict in a given policy subsystem (Weible, Pattison, and Sabatier 2010). The more polarized a policy subsystem is, i.e. the more difficult that the competing coalition within a given policy subsystem can reconcile their differences with regards to their preferences, the more likely that the knowledge community will be co-opted into political advocates for particularistic preferences of the competing policy coalitions.

To sum up the discussion thus far: 1) the potential of an academic policy debate to foster intellectual innovation in policy fields depends on two aspects: "theoretical heterogeneity" and "academic politicization"; 2) the "theoretical heterogeneity" of the debate is a function of the "internal fragmentation" of the knowledge community, whereas the "academic politicization" is a function of the "external conflict" faced by the knowledge community; 3) therefore, the potential of an academic policy debate to foster intellectual innovation in policy fields is a function of the combination of the "internal fragmentation" of the knowledge community and the "external conflict" faced by the knowledge community. Accordingly, to understand and explain why at a particular time a given debate displays certain features, e.g. being an inter-paradigm professional debate or an intra-paradigm politicized debate, one needs to look into both the level of political conflict characterizing the policy environment in which experts operate as well as the level of sociological fragmentation characterizing the professional environment inside the knowledge

community. The figure below visualizes the causal relationship between the various concepts discussed so far.

**Figure 1 – Causal Logic: "external conflict" and "internal fragmentation"**
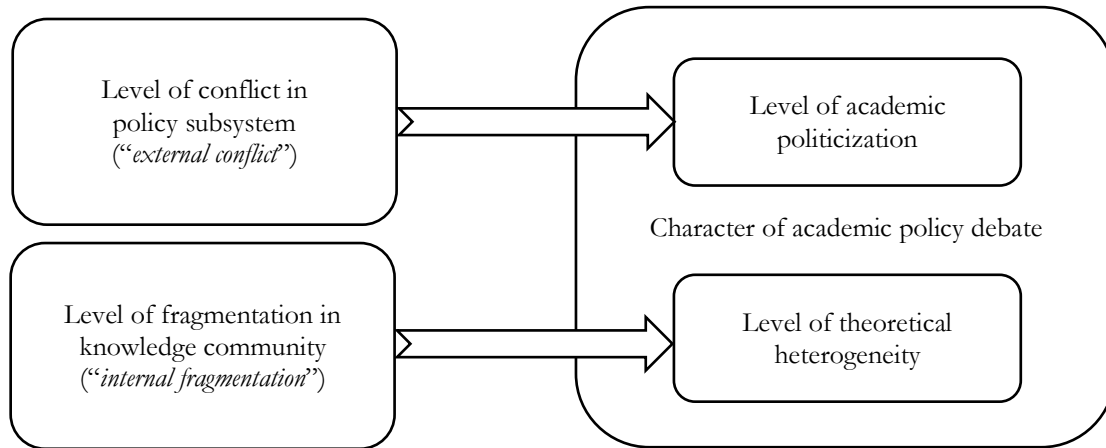


*2.2.2 Hypotheses*

Based on the preceding discussion, the main hypothesis derived from my theory can be formulated as follows: as the conflict in the policy subsystem and the fragmentation in the knowledge community vary, we should expect corresponding variation in the character of the academic policy debate, i.e. the level of academic politicization and the level of theoretical heterogeneity. Table 3 (see below) expands table 2 in section 2.1.2 by incorporating the external, political-sociological conditions and depicts the full sets of ideal-typical causal patterns hypothesized by the theory. Below I elaborate on each of these four sub-hypotheses.

*H1: When the conflict in the policy subsystem is low ("collaborative") and the fragmentation in the knowledge community is also low ("uniform"), the academic policy debate is likely to remain intra-paradigm and professionally-oriented.*

This is the scenario in the upper-left cell (A.1). It is defined by a low level of conflict within the policy subsystem – a *collaborative* policy subsystem – and a low level of fragmentation within the knowledge community – a *uniform* knowledge community. Together they enable people to engage in relatively less politicized discussions, but which are most likely to feature a high degree of theoretical homogeneity. As a result, the debate tends to be confined within the horizon defined by the predominant research programme and carried out by participants using the same or similar theoretical and conceptual language. While the potential for intellectual innovation is not constrained due to political tension, it is held back by the lack of intellectual rivalry that challenges the theoretical assumptions of the predominant research programme.

**Table 3 – Four Outcomes of Academic Policy Debate**

|  | Low conflict in the policy subsystem "collaborative" (A) | High conflict in the policy subsystem "adversarial" (B) |
|---|---|---|
| Low fragmentation in the knowledge community "uniform" (1) | *(A.1) Intra-paradigm Professional Debate*<br>- Low academic politicization<br>- Low theoretical heterogeneity | *(B.1) Intra-paradigm Political Debate*<br>- High academic politicization<br>- Low theoretical heterogeneity |
| High fragmentation in the knowledge community "fragmented" (2) | *(A.2) Inter-paradigm Professional Debate*<br>- Low academic politicization<br>- High theoretical heterogeneity | *(B.2) Inter-paradigm Political Debate*<br>- High academic politicization<br>- High theoretical heterogeneity |

*H2: When the conflict in the policy subsystem is low ("collaborative") and the fragmentation in the knowledge community is high ("fragmented"), the academic policy debate is likely to become inter-paradigm while still professionally-oriented.*

This is the scenario in the lower-left cell (A.2). It is defined by a *collaborative* policy subsystem and a high level of fragmentation within the knowledge community – a *fragmented* knowledge community. Here, the political environment remains relatively neutral towards knowledge production, i.e. the academics are not pressed to take side with regard to policy matters. But due to the fragmentation of

the knowledge community, those who engage in the debate may come with a variety of research traditions and disciplinary background. The pluralistic nature of the community increases the chances where people can challenge each other on deeper, theoretical levels. This is the closest to an ideal situation for intellectual innovation, as the academics are relatively less influenced by either external political influence or lack of alternative theoretical approaches within the knowledge community.

*H3: When the conflict in the policy subsystem is high ("adversarial") and the fragmentation in the knowledge community is low ("uniform"), the academic policy debate is likely to be intra-paradigm yet politically-oriented.*

This is the scenario in the upper-right cell (B.1). It is defined by a high level of conflict within the policy subsystem – an *adversarial* policy subsystem – and a *uniform* knowledge community. The heightened tension between opposing policy factions drives political elites to recruit experts in their service, using whatever means available at their disposal. Political incentives, economic incentives, or a combination of both might be employed depending on the specific institutional-legal context of the country. However, the general lack of protection of civil liberty and rule of law in authoritarian regimes could only facilitate the political influence on academic discourse. As a result, debate tends to take on greater political character. On the other hand, a knowledge community whose members work within the same dominant research programme – thus sharing the same or similar theoretical approaches – does not offer much structural cleavage for the political elites to exploit. Therefore, while the debate would take on a political character, it likely continues to proceed within a parameter defined by the existing theoretical ideas.

*H4: When the conflict in the policy subsystem is high ("adversarial") and the fragmentation in the knowledge community is also high ("fragmented"), the academic policy debate is likely to become inter-paradigm and politically-oriented.*

This is the scenario in the lower-right cell (B.2). It is defined by an *adversarial* policy subsystem and a *fragmented* knowledge community. The policy subsystem is divided between different coalitions competing for more influence over the policy process. Similar to the situation in B.1, the political elites would try to recruit experts in their services. The knowledge community, on the other hand, is fragmented due to the variety of theoretical and methodological traditions embraced by scholars. As such, debates within the community enjoy a high degree of theoretical heterogeneity. Yet the political tension that finds its way into the knowledge community would pressure academics to express themselves along partisan lines, i.e. advocating a particular policy idea, policy position, or articulating preference for a particular policy direction, rather than engaging each other in a professionally-oriented fashion. Under the structural incentive of both the policy subsystem and the knowledge community, scholars are motivated to align with those policy coalitions whose position is perceived closer to theirs and attempt to advocate for their shared policy ideas against their policy opponents. The academic policy debate thus becomes a venue for political debate, where people attack each other's policy position and the underlying beliefs. Intellectual innovation in policy fields is least expected from this situation due to the likely political "hijacking" of the academic debate.

## 2.3 Research Design

### 2.3.1 Unit of Analysis, Case Selection, Generalizability, and Inferential Logic

To demonstrate this theory, I employ a single unit, diachronic research design using evidence from the evolution of academic debates on China's minzu policy within PRC from 1979 to 2017. Following Gerring (2004, 342), I define my research as following a case study design, understood as "an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units". Specifically, I chose to employ a "case study I" research design, in which the covariation is to be

observed and examined within a single unit along the temporal dimension, instead of (also) along the spatial dimension. Hence it is a single-unit, diachronic analysis.

The "unit of analysis" is "PRC's minzu debate from 1979 to 2017", which has three independent components (variables): 1) the conflict within the policy subsystem on minzu policy ("external conflict"), 2) the knowledge community that partakes in the discussion on minzu policy ("internal fragmentation"), and 3) the character of the academic policy debate which emanates from the knowledge community and which revolves around minzu policy ("debate"). This unit of analysis is "a spatially bounded phenomenon" that exists for a period of time, allowing researcher to observe at different points in time different constellation of the above three components which covary and which are causally connected with one another. Specifically, I argue that the character of the debate – understood as a composite of its qualities along two dimensions, i.e. "academic politicization" and "theoretical heterogeneity" – is a function of the degree of external conflict and the degree of internal fragmentation.

The covariation of the above three components along the temporal dimension within the single unit of "PRC's minzu debate from 1979 to 2017" produces distinct "cases", each of which is understood as a specific constellation of external conflict, internal fragmentation, and debate observable at a particular point in time. In other words, unlike case study II & III which break down the primary unit of analysis – in this case, the PRC's minzu debate – and which would involve a change in the level of analysis, the present study preserves the primary unit of analysis and makes no change to the level of analysis (Gerring 2004, 344). The PRC's minzu debate is not broken down spatially into different "sub-units/sub-debates"; rather, it is observed at different points in time between 1979 and 2017 to generate a series of "cases" of the same unit/debate. Below I shall discuss the rationale for choosing the primary unit to be temporally bounded between 1979 and 2017 and how it is observed at four discrete points, which gives me four different cases.

Taking a step back, the "population" from which the primary unit of analysis of the present study is chosen is "academic policy debates in Post-Mao China". My theory does not attempt to explain all the different academic policy debates in all authoritarian regimes. Instead, it is intended to only explain academic policy debates in one authoritarian country – i.e. China – during a particular period – i.e. the Post-Mao period. This does not, however, prevent my study from shedding light on how we might understand academic policy debates in other authoritarian regimes (within different, other temporal scopes as motivated by the specific interests). But the main objective of the study is to 1) offer a detailed account of a particular phenomenon "PRC's minzu debate from 1979 to 2017" and to 2) produce some knowledge about "academic policy debates in Post-Mao China" in general. The key distinction between the two is that the primary unit of analysis, "PRC's minzu debate from 1979 to 2017", is my "formal unit" which this case study is dedicated to and which will be intensively studied in this study, whereas other academic policy debates in Post-Mao China are implicit "informal units" or "adjacent units" that are related to my discussion only in a peripheral way (Gerring 2004, 344). "Academic policy debates in other authoritarian regimes" are still further "informal/adjacent units" that should be understood as even less related to my theory. Comparability between them and my primary unit still exists, given the nature of case study. My theory might or might not hold for those informal units, but it is not the intention of the present study to prove one way or the other.

Therefore, the demonstration of my theory should require that I present evidence that sufficiently supports the causal logic in the specific unit under examination while refuting other alternative explanations at conflict with my account. To that end, I select four cases from my primary unit of analysis based on different times of observation. Through an in-depth examination of each one, I show that the four cases match the four hypotheses derived from my theory. Moreover, because the four cases were generated from the same unit, the congruence between the

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expectation of my theory and the observed covariation of factors across the four cases offers positive evidence to the theory. This part of my analysis is presented mainly in chapter 4 to 7.

This operation alone does not rule out potentially unaccounted factors, however. In particular, two factors might challenge my theory and explain the variations in the character of academic policy debates without interfering with the explanatory variables. The first one is external: the intensity of ethnic violence in the country. The second one is internal: the ethnic identity of the debate participants. China experienced a dramatic period of economic growth and social development from the 1979 on, as a result of the government's resolute implementation of economic – and to a limited degree, political – reform. These efforts altered the economic as well as political trajectory of China, allowing it to be resilient, adaptive, yet nonetheless authoritarian until today (Nathan 2003; He and Warren 2011). This process was accompanied by a continuous stream of ethnic conflicts, particularly in western border regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet (Bovingdon 2010; Yeh 2013). If academics act as rational agents seeking to maximize their impact on the policy discourse, it is reasonable for us to expect that they would be incentivized to publish more politically-oriented policy pieces following heightened ethnic violence. Granted, it is analytically difficult to assess whether ethnic conflict drives the academic politicization of academic policy debates independent of intra-elite policy conflict, as the latter is also a potential recipient of the impact of ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, if one finds that political-oriented policy debates follow more closely moments of heightened ethnic violence rather than structural conflicts among policy-making elites, then my theory could be missing the most significant explanatory factor but looking at something of secondary importance. Conversely, if one finds that the debates show no association with heightened ethnic violence, then my theory is not weakened by this potential alternative explanation.

Similarly, given the theme of the debate, it is reasonable to assume that scholars are not only motivated by the perceived political tension among elites and the market position within the

intellectual field fostered by theoretical heterogeneity, but also by their own personal background, particularly ethnic identification. Since the debate directly concerns policies for ethnic minorities in China, one could imagine that scholars with ethnic minority background, i.e. non-Han scholars, are particularly motivated to participate in the debate. It is also reasonable to further hypothesize that given their position, they are more likely to defend accommodating cultural diversity and oppose integrationist policies. Similarly, one may also expect that Han scholars are on average more inclined to prefer integrationist policies over accommodationist ones.

These two factors constitute two potential alternative explanations – "violence" and "ethnicity" – yet which cannot be directly confirmed or disapproved by the single unit, diachronic research design as described above. To address them, an additional step of check has to be performed. In chapter 8, I carry out two additional tests in order to assess to what extent my theory can stand against the above two challenges. The first test juxtaposes the occurrence of ethnic violence with academic debate over minzu policy in order to assess whether ethnic conflict has a direct impact on the intensity of policy-oriented debate and by extension, academic politicization. The second test measures the effect of a list of demographic indicators of academics – e.g. ethnic identification, gender, age, institutional affiliation, area of specialization – on whether one challenges the existing minzu policy. This test helps to assess whether other internal factors of the knowledge community are more responsible for voicing political opinion. The rest of this chapter focuses on the operationalization of the research design employed for the primary analysis of this study, i.e. the diachronic analysis of PRC minzu debate. For the two additional tests described here, its specific research design and operationalization will be discussed in chapter 8.

What is the rationale for choosing PRC's minzu debate from 1979 to 2017 as the primary unit of analysis for this study? Minzu policy has been at the center of conflicting bureaucratic interests as well as clashing elite factions at the top echelon of the Chinese political system. At the same time, a number of scholar communities have been closely associated with the policy since its initial formulation in the 1950s. Many of these communities had been and continue to be involved on its implementation, adaptation, and adjustment. Most importantly, the period after 1979 saw a number of important changes to both the minzu policy subsystem – in terms of the level of conflict between competing policy coalitions – and the minzu knowledge community – in terms of the level of fragmentation among the professional experts. As a result, the minzu policy in China serves as a good candidate to test the explanatory power of the political-sociological conditions for the character of the minzu debate.

**Table 4 – PRC Minzu Debate, 1979-2017**

| | Low conflict in the policy subsystem "collaborative" (A) | High conflict in the policy subsystem "adversarial" (B) |
|---|---|---|
| Low fragmentation in the knowledge community "uniform" (1) | **(A.1) Reaffirming Minzu Policy, 1979-1989** *Intra-paradigm Professional Debate* - Low academic politicization - Low theoretical heterogeneity | **(B.1) Questioning Ethnic Consciousness, 1989-2003** *Intra-paradigm Political Debate* - High academic politicization - Low theoretical heterogeneity |
| High fragmentation in the knowledge community "fragmented" (2) | **(A.2) Securitizing National Identification, 2013-2017** *Inter-paradigm Professional Debate* - Low academic politicization - High theoretical heterogeneity | **(B.2) Denaturalizing Ethnic Identification, 2003-2013** *Inter-paradigm Political Debate* - High academic politicization - High theoretical heterogeneity |

In addition, debate over minzu policy – and China's minzu policy in general – are comparatively less-studied in the existing literature, especially in political science. Works in anthropological and historical traditions, with a few notable exceptions (Mullaney 2011; Powers 2017), do not engage

much with the knowledge production of elites concerning minzu policy. As such, the choice also makes an empirical contribution to the literature on China. Based on the evolution of the PRC minzu debate over the approximately four decades since 1979, one can identify four distinct phases, which largely correspond to the four cells in the above table. Thus, PRC minzu policy debate from 1979 to 2017 offer us four distinct cases to evaluate the explanatory power of the above theory on the character of academic policy debates. Below I briefly summarize the argument of each case. These four cases are elaborated in greater detail individually later from chapter 4 to 7.

### 2.3.3 Case I – Reaffirming Minzu Policy, 1979-1989

The first case is minzu policy debate from 1979 to 1989 (chapter 4), which I labelled as "reaffirming minzu policy". The policy subsystem saw a low level of conflict and is considered as **collaborative**. During this time, the CCP leadership worked to reverse and correct many of the extreme polices from the Cultural Revolution period. With regards to minzu policy, efforts of rectification involved reaffirming the government's commitment to regional ethnic autonomy, interethnic equality, and preferential treatment for ethnic minorities in areas such as education, language, cultural practices, and family planning. Under the influence of the short-lived party secretary Hu Yaobang, the party leadership also approved measures to increase the representation of ethnic minority in regional administrations of Xinjiang and Tibet. There were disagreements as to how far the local autonomy should be emphasized. By and large, however, the leadership agreed on a more accommodationist policy platform and generally share a less hostile attitude towards the ethnic minority population.

The scholarly community, on the other hand, was generally **uniform**. It was just recovering from the disruption it suffered during the Cultural Revolution. The most closely related knowledge community to minzu policy is what I refer to as the Chinese Marxist Ethnology or minzu studies.

This field was the product of a merger of several social science disciplines during the earlier years of the PRC, when the government imposed a top-down design on national scientific organizations based on the Soviet experience. Because of the relative vulnerable state of the scholar community vis-à-vis the state, Chinese Marxist ethnologists during this period concentrated their effort on reviving their professional community through restoring departments and research units at schools or research institutes, relaunching academic journals, and reestablishing national and regional associations. Consequently, the knowledge community on minzu policy was relatively more uniform compared with later times.

As we shall see, during this time the debate on minzu policy displayed low degree of academic politicization and low degree of theoretical heterogeneity, which I label as an **intra-paradigm professional debate**. The discussion revolved largely around reaffirming the official minzu policy of the party-state and, along those lines, debating the meaning of ethnic (in)equality in the context of better implementing minzu policy to amend ethnic relations from the previous political turmoil. This period fits largely the scenario of A.1.

*2.3.4 Case II – Questioning Ethnic Consciousness, 1989-2003*

The second case is minzu policy debate from 1989 to 2003 (chapter 5), which I labelled as "questioning ethnic consciousness". The policy subsystem during this time saw rather high level of conflict and is considered to be **adversarial**. Two events at the end of the 1980s deepened the split within the party leadership, which was already developing since the early 1980s. Internationally, the downfall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union alarmed the Chinese leaders of the centrifugal potential of localized ethnic identities and the vulnerability of their multiculturalist institutional design. Domestically, the ethnic unrest in Tibet from 1987 to 1988 and the mass democratic demonstration across the country in 1989 led many leaders to view Deng's

liberalization policy as a prelude to an eventual overthrow of the CCP's rule by various dissenting forces in the society. Against this background, some within the leadership began advocating for a more integrationist approach towards the ethnic minorities, particularly for those residing in the border regions, such as Xinjiang and Tibet. The growing rift within the leadership and the bureaucracy manifested itself in the 2001 amendments of Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy as well as the declining rate of enactment of autonomous regulations (Ch: *zizhi tiaoli*) at the local level since the mid-1990s. As the central government launched its Great Western Development Strategy (Ch: *xibu da kaifa zhanlue*) under Jiang Zemin, the influx of Han-Chinese labors and capital from Han-dominated regions aggravated the tension between the minzu policy establishment and the developmental agencies.

The knowledge community during this time showed some tendency of fragmentation but remained largely **uniform**. Specifically, the scholar community on minzu policy began to develop in number of different directions due to the general revival of social sciences and the tendency of specialization. Sociology, anthropology, and ethnology all have connections with the field of minzu studies in PRC. As these disciplines grew, they began to reevaluate minzu studies from an increasingly critical standpoint. Motivated by an interest to promote their own discipline against others in the competition for research resources, social scientists from the above disciplines actively debated about the nature and mission of minzu studies in contemporary China. As a result, the knowledge community of minzu policy became more fragmented.

Under the combined influence of these factors, the academic debate on minzu policy displayed higher politicization than the previous period but remained theoretically homogenous, which I label as an **intra-paradigm political debate**. One representative development was the debate over the concept, "ethnic consciousness," which led to the division of the community between those who advocate for controlling ethnic consciousness – of the minorities in particular – in the name of

social stability and national unity, and those who defend ethnic consciousness as a natural and harmless component of any ethnic identification. Over the years this debate gradually intensified to go beyond purely theoretical discussion and began questioning the orientation of minzu policy. Different opinions soon started coalescing along the "integration vs. accommodation"-axis. This period largely fits the cell B.1.


*2.3.5 Case III – Denaturalizing Ethnic Identification, 2003-2013*

The third case is minzu policy debate from 2003-2013 (chapter 6), which I term as "denaturalizing ethnic identification". The policy subsystem saw high level of conflict and is properly considered as **adversarial**. As the developmental efforts by the central government in border regions continued to marginalize local population and endanger indigenous communities' way of life, interethnic frictions increased and discontent among the minority population accumulated. In response, the governments in both Xinjiang and Tibet gradually shifted their focus from preserving indigenous culture to suppressing local ethnic identity, emphasizing cultural assimilation, and tightening social control. During the second term of Hu Jintao, two high-profile incidents took the leadership and the entire country by surprise. The 2008 riots in Lhasa (a.k.a. "3-14 incident") and 2009 riots in Urumqi (a.k.a. "7-5 incident") shocked the national and regional leadership, who responded initially by forceful repression of the unrest, upgraded security measures, and renewed efforts to invest in local infrastructure and economy. Over the next few years, however, the government progressively gave more priority to social stability and displayed a declined interest to buy ethnic minorities' political loyalty with economic benefits. As a result, local governments in Xinjiang and Tibet adopted many practices which were inconsistent – if not in direct conflict with – the principles laid out in the national laws on ethnic minorities affairs. Example of those deviant practices include increasingly replacing minority language with mandarin Chinese in

education, stricter restriction against practices of religious belief, and stricter control of movement of citizens with minority background both within the country and across national borders. The tensions between these repressive policies and the official line manifested in the frequent personnel changes in officials posts closely related to ethnic minority affairs and the slight yet observable inconsistencies in different officials' interpretation of the state's minzu policy.

On the scholars' side, the knowledge community became decisively **fragmented**. As the research agenda of different disciplines expand into more areas and overlap, studies on ethnic minorities were no longer monopolized by either the minzu studies community or the historically related and thematically adjacent disciplines such as sociology or anthropology. Importantly, political science and legal studies became increasingly involved, and particularly in discussions on minzu policy design and implementation. At the same time, the push by younger generation of ethnologists to focus the attention of the discipline on culture and history also contributed to a general less engagement with the research on ethnic minorities from the policy perspective. As a result, the knowledge community became even more fragmented than the previous period.

The tension in policy subsystem and the fragmentation of knowledge community led to an **inter-paradigm political debate**, featuring high level of academic politicization and theoretical heterogeneity among the participants. Building off the earlier debate, a number of prominent scholars – sociologists, political scientists, and legal scholars – faulted at the existing policy for sending China down a similar path of disintegration as the former Soviet Union. They openly advocated for a major policy reorientation, even arguing for a complete abolishment of the ethnic regional autonomy, while defenders of the existing policy counterattacked with moralized languages reminiscent of the ideological campaigns during the Cultural Revolution. This period approximates the scenario represented by cell B.2.

*2.3.6 Case IV – Securitizing National Identification, 2013-2017*

The fourth case is minzu policy debate from 2014 to 2017 (chapter 7), which I term as "securitizing national identification". The policy subsystem during this period returned to a **collaborative** state. The new leadership under Xi Jinping sought to provide a new policy discourse which can accommodate the securitization of minzu policy in Xinjiang and Tibet without altering the basic language of the state's minzu policy as reinstituted at the beginning of the Post-Mao era. While the security policy in border regions does not carry the title of minzu policy, in the regional context of Xinjiang and Tibet it is designed in such a way that it affects primarily the lives of the ethnic minorities, particularly Uyghurs and Tibetans. These policies are carried out by security agencies under the leadership of the respective regional leadership, while their bureaucratic superiors at the central level face criticisms from the minzu policy establishment, most notably the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) and State Administration on Religious Affairs (SARA). To resolve these tensions, Xi Jinping convened a number of state-level meetings to unify policy discourse immediately after taking office and carried out a major restructuration of the State Council in order to reduce bureaucratic conflict and improve intra-elite policy coordination. The latter move significantly diminished the influence of both SEAC and SARA, through putting the former under the leadership of the party's United Front Work Department (UFWD) and letting the latter be entirely absorbed by UFWD. As a result, the policy subsystem became less divided as compared with the previous period.

On the other hand, the scholarly community on minzu policy remained **fragmented**. Ethno-national political studies as a dedicated research program that adopts a political science approach to ethnic minority affairs grew more mature and salient. Under the initiative of creating "think tanks with Chinese characteristics," the government also actively cultivated explicitly policy-oriented

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knowledge communities that serve their interests. For example, in this period, we saw the creation

of "Xinjiang Think Tank" and "Tibet Think Tank".

The increased fragmentation of the knowledge community under a more collaborative policy

environment led the academic debate on minzu policy to a state of **inter-paradigm professional**

**debate**, where the critics of the reform proposals from previous period continued to express their

discontent towards those proposals but had to give in on many specific policy adjustments due to

their legitimation by the central leadership. Increasingly we see scholars simply paying lip-service to

the rejection of the reform proposals while continuing advancing policy changes on various practical

aspects. As such, this period fits the scenario in cell A.2.

## 2.4 Operationalization

As explained above, this study deals with two independent variables: (IV1) the level of conflict

within the policy subsystem and (IV2) the level of fragmentation within the knowledge community.

The dependent variable: (DV) the character of an academic policy debate is understood as a

composite of two dimensions, respectively, (DV1) the level of academic politicization and (DV2) the

level of theoretical heterogeneity. Below I present the operationalization for each of them.

### 2.4.1 Conflict in the Policy Subsystem

As discussed, in this study I distinguish two types of policy subsystems depending on the level of

conflict within it: a collaborative subsystem where the inter-coalitional conflict is low and an

adversarial subsystem where the inter-coalitional conflict is high. Following the classificatory scheme

of policy subsystems by Weible (2008), I understand the differences between the two types as

follows. Whereas in collaborative subsystem, one would expect to observe relatively "cooperative

coalitions with intermediate inter-coalition belief compatibility and high inter and intra-coalition

coordination," in adversarial subsystem there would be "competitive coalitions with low intercoalition belief compatibility and high intra-coalition and low inter-coalition coordination" (Weible 2008, 621–22). Policy images among different coalitions tend to reconciled in collaborative subsystems but debated in adversarial ones (Weible 2008, 622). Authority to carry out policy is decentralized and sometimes fragmented across policy subsystems under collaborative subsystems, where different coalitions share access to authority. But in adversarial ones, authority is centralized or fragmented within the policy subsystem where different coalitions compete for access to authority (Weible 2008, 623). In terms of venues, coalitions are expected to use a variety of venues, including ones based on consensus-based institutions in collaborative subsystems but in adversarial ones seek to influence decisions in any amiable venues (Weible 2008, 624). Finally, policies tend to be voluntary, win–win, and flexible in means in collaborative subsystems but coercive, win–lose, and prescriptive in means in adversarial ones policy designs (Weible 2008, 625).

To capture the variation and identify the subsystem type for this study, I choose to focus on the congruency of policy image as the main indicator for the level of conflict within the policy subsystem. Specifically, I look at whether and to what extent is the policy image being contested within the official policy discourse, by cross-examining policy documents that are made publicly available by the Chinese governments. When the policy image displays inconsistencies across different government/party agencies – either at the same administrative level or across different ones – I assume that there is a high level of conflict within the policy subsystem, because competing policy coalitions are attempting to signal their different preferences openly to each other and to the public. When the policy image appears consistent across different parts of the government/party organizations, I assume that there is a low level of conflict within the policy subsystem, because competing coalitions feel no need to express their differences openly to coordinate actions among allies and exert pressure on their opponents. This choice is made on the basis of information

availability under a highly opaque authoritarian regime such as the contemporary PRC. Over the decades a good number of official compilations of government and party documents have been published, which contain valuable information on what the political elites have been thinking with regards to minzu policy and how they express their thinking at various times and in different occasions. These constitute my primary source for assessing the inter-coalitional conflict within the minzu policy subsystem in Post-Mao China. Specifically, I have made extensive use of the following collections of official documents:

1) *Selected Works on Tibet Work (1949-2005),*[6] published by CCP Central Committee Party Literature Publishing House, September 2005;

2) *Selected Works on Xinjiang Work (1949-2010),*[7] published by CCP Central Committee Party Literature Publishing House, September 2010;

3) *Selected Works on Minzu Work (2003-2009),*[8] published by CCP Central Committee Party Literature Publishing House, September 2010;

4) *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Vol.1, Vol.2, & Vol. 3,*[9] published by CCP Central Committee Party Literature Publishing House, September 2016;

5) *Selected Works of Xi Jinping on Socialist Political Development,*[10] published by CCP Central Committee Party Literature Publishing House, August 2017.

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[6] Original Chinese title: 《西藏工作文献选编（一九四九——二○○五年）》
[7] Original Chinese title: 《新疆工作文献选编（一九四九———二○一○年）》
[8] Original Chinese title: 《民族工作文献选编（二○○三———二○○九年）》
[9] Original Chinese title: 《胡锦涛文选（第一卷）》，《胡锦涛文选（第二卷）》，《胡锦涛文选（第三卷）》
[10] Original Chinese title: 《习近平关于社会主义政治建设论述摘编》

*2.4.2 Fragmentation in the Knowledge Community*

Two types of knowledge communities with regard to the level of their internal fragmentation are considered in my theory: a uniform knowledge community featuring low internal fragmentation and a fragmented knowledge community featuring high internal fragmentation one. Drawing on Cross (2013, 150), the level of fragmentation can be evaluated along a number of aspects, including 1) selection and training, 2) meeting frequency and quality, 3) shared professional norms, and 4) common culture. To assess the level of fragmentation for this study, I choose to focus primarily on the first criterion, i.e. selection and training, and the last criteria, i.e. common culture. To capture how consistent or inconsistent the selection and training for the minzu knowledge community is during a particular period, I looked at the development of research programs within the community to identify possible divergence or convergence of research interests and training orientation. To capture to what extent members within the minzu knowledge community share a common culture, understood as "the sense of purpose, identity, symbolism, and heritage within the community" (Cross 2013, 150), I look at the way in which academics from various sub-fields identify themselves vis-à-vis the broader community of expertise on minzu in their writings. When members of the community promote research programs that share the same or similar broader theoretical assumptions and profess their identification or affinity with a common scholarly tradition, I assume that the knowledge community is relatively uniform. When members of the community promote research programs based on different if not conflicting theoretical assumptions and evoke symbolism indicating different scholarly traditions, I assume that the knowledge community is relatively fragmented.

This choice is made on the basis that the development of knowledge community on minzu policy, like that on many other policy topics in China, did not fit nicely into any specific disciplinary tradition. Or rather, because of the particular history of the People's Republic of China during which

the state heavily intervened in the development of scientific communities, a knowledge community on policy in China do not operate like a single academic discipline but oftentimes involve a dozen of different disciplines and subfields with various different profiles and traditions. As a result, it is more important to pay attention to how experts with different disciplinary background identify (or not identify) with one another through endorsing a particular, policy-related common identity ("minzu studies", "minzu theory", or "minzu policy studies") and whether they build or promote research programs that  celebrate this common identity or challenge it.

To enable analysis on the common culture and research programs of the knowledge community on minzu policy, I used a variety of primary and secondary sources. My primary sources are briefings on professional activities which were written by PRC academics themselves and published by academic journals in China. Using China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) as the main data source for Chinese journal articles, I analyzed more than a dozen of them published between 1952 to 2018. My secondary sources are scholarly publications that examine the history of minzu policy-related disciplines. One particularly important source is Wang Jianmin and his coauthors' two volumes on the history of Chinese ethnology, which I list below. The value of these two books was confirmed by a number of scholars with whom I had contact, ranging from my interviewees in China to professional colleagues in the US.

1) *The History of Ethnology in China: Part I (1903-1949)*,[11] by Wang Jianmin, published by Yunnan Education Publishing House, September 1997;

2) *The History of Ethnology in China: Part II (1950-1997)*,[12] by Wang Jianmin, Zhang Haiyang, and Hu Hongbao, published by Yunnan Education Publishing House, May 1998;

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[11] Original Chinese title: 《中国民族学史: 上卷 (1903-1949)》
[12] Original Chinese title: 《中国民族学史: 下卷 (1950-1997)》

*2.4.3 Academic Politicization and Theoretical Heterogeneity of Academic Policy Debate*

To evaluate the character of an academic policy debate, I focus on two specific indicators: (a) the level of academic politicization and (b) the level of theoretical heterogeneity of the debate. As previously discussed, these two dimensions summarize the character of an academic policy debate and suggest important implication for the capacity of the debate to foster intellectual innovation in the policy fields. The first dimension, academic politicization, is defined as the extent that arguments in a debate are made to explicitly advance or undermine a political position, be it government policy, political program, ideology, etc. The second dimension, theoretical heterogeneity, is defined as the extent that participants in the debate employ different theories and methods in understanding and explaining a given sociopolitical phenomena. Variations on these two dimensions produce four different types of debates.

To evaluate how an academic policy debate performs on those two indicators, I carry out an in-depth discourse analysis of the academic discussion on minzu policy within the entire time period. This operation is conducted mainly with Chinese academic journal articles as the primary source. For this study, I used a large number of Chinese academic journals for sourcing articles, which I accessed through the CNKI, the largest online database for academic publications in mainland China. No less than 200 journal articles from 1979 to 2017 were analyzed in-depth for assessing the character of the minzu debate. Below listed are journals that I have referenced the most:

1) *China's Ethnic Groups*[13]

2) *Ethno-National Studies*[14]

3) *Guangxi Ethnic Studies*[15]

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[13] Original Chinese title: 《中国民族》
[14] Original Chinese title: 《民族研究》
[15] Original Chinese title: 《广西民族研究》

4) *Guizhou Ethnic Studies*[16]

5) *Heilongjiang National Series*[17]

6) *Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*[18]

7) *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*[19]

8) *Journal of Hubei University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*[20]

9) *Journal of Minzu University of China (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*[21]

10) *Journal of Northwest Minorities University (Philosophy and Social Science)*[22]

11) *Journal of Peking University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*[23]

12) *Journal of South-Central University for Nationalities*[24]

13) *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities (Humanities and Social Science)*[25]

14) *Journal of Xinjiang University (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)*[26]

15) *Journal of Yunnan Minzu University (Social Sciences)*[27]

16) *Minzu Tribune*[28]

17) *Northwestern Journal of Ethnology*[29]

18) *Qinghai Journal of Ethnology*[30]

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[16] Original Chinese title: 《贵州民族研究》
[17] Original Chinese title: 《黑龙江民族丛刊》
[18] Original Chinese title: 《内蒙古社会科学(文史哲版)》
[19] Original Chinese title: 《广西民族学院学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[20] Original Chinese title: 《湖北民族学院学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[21] Original Chinese title: 《中央民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[22] Original Chinese title: 《西北民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[23] Original Chinese title: 《北京大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[24] Original Chinese title: 《中南民族大学学报》
[25] Original Chinese title: 《西南民族大学学报(人文社科版)》
[26] Original Chinese title: 《新疆大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[27] Original Chinese title: 《云南民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》
[28] Original Chinese title: 《民族论坛》
[29] Original Chinese title: 《西北民族研究》
[30] Original Chinese title: 《青海民族研究》

19) *Social Sciences in Xinjiang*[31]

20) *Thinking*[32]


*2.4.4 Use of Interviews and Ethical Considerations*

To complement the above document research, I carried out over 50 interviews across the country over an 18-month fieldwork in China from July 2014 till December 2015. A list of interviews conducted during my fieldwork can be found at the end of this dissertation, under "Appendix B". My interviewees consist of academics, educators, officials, and journalists. They are found across the country, including Beijing, Kunming (Yunnan Province), Urumqi (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Yunmin County (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Yanji (Jilin Province), Hunchun (Jilin Province), Xining (Qinghai Province), Tongren County (Qinghai Province), and Lanzhou (Gansu Province). Most of my interviewees are academics who work in either universities, colleges, or research institutes. I chose to focus on this particular group because as members of the knowledge community on minzu policy, they have direct experience of carrying out research under the influence of both the broader political and policy environment as well as the internal dynamics of their professional community. While I also use other material for the study of this community as previously stated, interviewing scholars who reside in different places and work within a variety of different institutional context allows me to reduce the bias of relying on a few historians' account and learn about things left out, overlooked, or differently represented in publications available to the public.

To protect my informants, I do not disclose any identifying information in this dissertation and have taken measures to anonymize all the fieldnotes taken about those interviews. I have the utmost

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[31] Original Chinese title: 《新疆社会科学》
[32] Original Chinese title: 《思想战线》

respect and appreciation for those who generously spent their time and shared their knowledge with me for this research. I cannot stress enough how valuable their contribution is and how grateful I am for it. Granted, it might be safe to disclose the names of some people that have helped me. But it is never entirely certain that the political circumstance will not change for the worse. Afraid that even a brief line paying credit to a person could put him or her in unforeseeable danger, I made the difficult decision not to identify anyone that I interviewed.

**Chapter 3 Background**

**3.1 Politics and Knowledge in Post-Mao China**

*3.1.1 Political Environment for Knowledge Communities in Post-Mao China*

In the broader sense, epistemic community in the forms of "network of professional with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (Haas 1992) has always existed in China. Even during the Mao era, there were technocratic officials and government-affiliated research units that functioned effectively as knowledge-based actors to the decision makers. Though during the turbulent years of radical political movements, e.g. Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, many if most of them were marginalized to the extent of insignificant to policy process (Chan 2001).

Although this study does not concern itself with them, recognizing their existence during the pre-Reform era is nonetheless necessary. This not only serves to do justice to the concept of "epistemic community," but to also dispels the implicit assumption reflected in the extant scholarship that only in pluralistic societies could knowledge-based actors exert policy influence. Or, to put it differently, what necessitates a study of epistemic community in today's China is not the emergence of something which never existed before, but the transformation of various social, economic, and political institutions, and the state-society relation in general under reform. These transformations have led to changes both in the composition of knowledge community as well as how it relates to the government and policy-making process.

The evolution of epistemic community since 1980s is marked by, first of all, the rise of relatively autonomous research communities operating "externally" to the officialdom on the one hand, and the continuation if not the expansion of government control on the other hand. Public intellectual sphere was restored under Deng and was decisively expanded in comparison with the pre-reform

era. Universities are allowed to reestablish previously disbanded disciplines, rehabilitate scholars and resume interrupted research activities, even restore their ties with oversea peers and professional communities (L. Cheng and So 1983; Bonnin and Chevrier 1991; Hayhoe 1996). As the reform proceeded, the government also allow civilian/private research organizations to be set up, provided they could find a government agency as their "supervisor".

However, the government remains unquestionably powerful in setting the agenda for research activities and determine the boundary of discussion among intellectuals, using both positive (e.g. allocate research fund) and negative (e.g. practice censorship) incentives (E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a). Nonetheless, the Chinese government under the reform-leadership shows strong interests to promote the professionalization and specialization of research community. In this process, many intellectuals also became gradually reconciled to cooperating with the regime in exchange for a space for one's own career, supplying the officials with their intellectual products and assisting with decision-making (E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004a).

The result is not simply more "freedom" on the part of academics and intelligentsia in general, but the emergence of a wide variety of knowledge-based actors with varying degree of autonomy. Today, government research units (e.g. NDRC Macroeconomic Research Institute, NDRC Energy Research Institute), semi-official think-tanks (e.g. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations), civilian think-tanks (e.g. Unirule Institute of Economics, Friends of the Nature), as well as universities and colleges (e.g. Peking University, Fudan University) all operate as potential knowledge source for policymakers (Zhu and Xue 2007). Some receive research assignments from the government and are financially dependent upon research funds from the state; others, such as universities and civilian think tanks, operate according to a different logic. Institutional and financial independence allowed these research organizations to pursue their own interests and sometimes even publish opinions that deviate from what the

authority prefer. At the same time, they may nonetheless choose to work on topics of interests to the government, as the latter remains the most resourceful and generous research sponsor. In sum, an increasingly diversified knowledge community gradually emerged, with different combination of agencies and structural constraints vis-à-vis the state for each type of player (Zhu and Xue 2007).

This process led to a less rigid but more dynamic, not hierarchical but interactive and reciprocal relationship between the research community and the government. In an oversimplified fashion, one may say that such a relationship is based less on the "political logic" of hierarchical control but more on the "economic logic" of supply and demand, to borrow Solingen's terminology (Solingen 1993). Government wants policy-relevant knowledge and ideological control over intellectual sphere, whereas the researchers want intellectual freedom for research, and social and financial resource for career advancement. The meeting point is thus the tacit agreement to avoid political confrontation while maintaining the steady exchange between practical knowledge and political loyalty on the one hand, and resource for research and professional development on the other hand (Solingen 1993).

For the government, who remains the ultimate political authority and primary financial sponsor for research activities, it could thus exploit the expertise of a professionalized corps of natural and social scientists, engineers, legal experts, and many others through political and economic incentives without limiting so much their vitality and creativity with a centrally-planned, command system. As the literature on authoritarian consultation/deliberation argued, what sustains the continuing relative autonomy of the research communities in today's China is primarily the functionally motivated effort of the regime to cope with concrete challenges in everyday governance (He and Warren 2011, 269).

Equally important while parallel to the above development is the broadening of venues for policy debate, to which epistemic communities in post-Mao China increasingly have access to. As scholars have observed, policy debates in contemporary China increasingly spill over from internal,

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closed-door meetings to a more diverse set of platforms, including semi-public government work-conferences, public hearings, academic conference, even open debate in academic journals and news & social media (Gilley and Holbig 2009; Zhu 2009b; Stern and O'Brien 2012; Hassid and Repnikova 2015). One should, of course, avoid taking these new and seemingly more transparent forms of discussion at their face-value, i.e. treating them as evidence that the regime has permitted all members of the society to freely monitor and participate in the political process of decision-making. Clear limits exist with regard to different venues (Shirk 2011; Stockmann 2013). In fact, with the advancement of information technology, proliferation of internet users, and popularization of mobile devices, the techniques of surveillance, censorship, and information control of the Chinese government are becoming increasingly sophisticated and permeating (King, Pan, and Roberts 2013, 2014, 2017).

Nonetheless, there are signs that public discussions about political matters are more tolerated by the regime, if not all the time and everywhere. Presently, when the authority prepares to seriously considerate a major policy, experts are routinely called upon to conduct studies, organize debate, and offer advices and suggestions regarding different possible alternatives directly targeting specific policy topics. Incidentally, the fact that some topics are confined to the semi-public discussion among experts such as officials, scholars, and researchers shows precisely the eminence of "epistemic community" over "public opinion" in todays' Chinese policy-making.

The expanded intellectual autonomy of research communities, the emergence of reciprocal relationship between the government and the experts, and the diversification of venues for policy engagement with a more sympathetic government characterize the structural and institutional environment under which knowledge communities operate in post-Mao China. What implications can we draw from these developments? One immediate inference is that the intellectual landscape of the knowledge community is approaching a more crowded, more animated and vibrant

"marketplace of ideas". Existing literature on contemporary on Chinese society largely confirmed this point. As Edward Gu and Merle Goldman observed in their coedited volume on intellectual-state relations in post-Mao China, "by the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, China's intellectuals had opened up a public space and filled it with a variety of ideas and vigorous debates"(E. X. Gu and Goldman 2004b, 13). On the other hand, this widened intellectual sphere does not guarantee the rational civic engagement necessary for truly realizing communicative rationality and deliberative democracy. Behind the authority's efforts to promote professionalization and specialization lies the incentive to exploit the knowledge community for its own instrumental needs. With the government being the most important sponsor for scientific research, the knowledge community is incentivized to align research agenda with the interests of the authority. In spite of the general tendency in post-Mao political development where scholars and researchers are granted greater space for their activities, there remain hurdles preventing them from becoming a knowledge/rationality-based political actor on their own (Weible and Sabatier 2009).

Knowledge production of the epistemic communities interacts with policy-making through various forms of institutional and non-institutional engagement with the authority. The sustaining factor is the Chinese governments' active efforts to exploit talents outside the officialdom. On the one hand, national and regional governments, as well as different bureaucratic sectors have been investing heavily in cultivating their "external brain," through allocating funds for policy-oriented research and setting up specialized institutions. On the other hand, it has become a routine today for the government to request input from the expert community before considering major policy changes, and study carefully their suggestions and advice before announcing their decisions.

As a result, not only are prominent academics routinely invited to give their opinions at high-level government "work conferences" (Ch: *gongzuo huiyi*), but also are scholars from governmental and civilian research institutions incentivized – in some cases, obligated – to produce policy analysis

or recommendations and submit them to the government through the "internal reference" (Ch: *neican*) system. In the latter case, when a high official annotates the written opinion of a scholars with his/her comments (Ch: *pishi*), the document becomes an official document containing the direct instructions from the leadership (Tsai 2015). The author whose submission was annotated with official comments would also be considered as having made a great achievement and are often awarded according to the administrative level from where the officials' comment comes from. Lastly, officials also pay careful attention to the academic policy debates within the wider knowledge community, and at times even participate in their official capacity in the debate to voice their interests and support.

In sum, the Chinese government today is routinely and actively interacting with the knowledge community at multiple levels: inviting them to policy-making as well as promoting their professionalization in domains of policy relevance.

*3.1.2 Mao's Anti-Intellectual Politics and Uneven Knowledge Development in Post-Mao China*

As one can see, despite continuing present constraints, the political environment of post-Mao China features more political opportunities for knowledge actors than the pre-Reform era. Nonetheless, the structural environment as described above only tells half the story. Below I delve into the internal dynamics of the epistemic community. What gives epistemic communities the power to be an influential actor in modern governance is not only the external condition, i.e. increasingly complex tasks compel the government to seek help from the experts, but also the very fact that experts are – in modern societies – produced and organized in such a way that they possess authoritative knowledge on certain topics and could act on behalf of their collective commitment to those shared knowledge claim and associated normative beliefs. Thus, another key foundation of their power – apart from the structurally-generated opportunities in modern states – is the

constitution of scientific community themselves as professionally-organized knowledge-producing institutions.

To realize this, simply having a group of scientists with similar background and common interests is not enough. One also needs strictly enforced entry criteria and internal discipline, shared normative beliefs and commitments to a common social and politics enterprise.[33] These elements are important because they constitute the very structure, norms, and principles which enable the coordination within and the mobilization of the group for a common cause. If there are no clearly defined boundaries, no rigorous standard of qualification, and no shared fundamental values, there is no "community" to speak of, but a random collection of professionals who happen to be in the same business.

In today's China, authority's support for the development of scientific/technical expertise, the relative autonomy of the research community, and their increased contact with the government opened up more possibilities for knowledge actors to intervene in policy-making. Some recent studies even show that, at times, experts are capable of effecting policy change against prevailing bureaucratic and local interest (Han, Swedlow, and Unger 2014; Lv 2015). But few studies have investigated these developments rigorously from the perspective of epistemic community approach. Specifically, the following questions are relatively unexamined: how exactly an epistemic community is organized, why some epistemic communities are better developed, established, and well-organized than others, and how some became capable of exerting policy influence while others cannot. While a good number of studies have investigated how various external conditions enabled the intervention of epistemic communities, the "inside story" has received relatively fewer attention. Sufficiently

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[33] See Cross (2013, 150), Cross argued that 'internal cohesion' to be a particular important factor in affecting epistemic communities' policy influence. She also suggested the following four as potential indicators for assessing the 'internal cohesiveness', including 1) selection and training; (2) meeting frequency and quality; (3) shared professional norms; and (4) common culture. Together they either enhance or weaken the professionalism of an epistemic community, and in doing so, affecting the degree of its internal cohesion.

internal uniformity of a given epistemic community is usually assumed, taken for granted, or simply treated as invariable and independent from politics, thus leaving the actual internal dynamics of different epistemic communities overlooked (Cross 2013).

This often-neglected factor is key to understand the varying influence of epistemic communities under similar environment. Although ideally an epistemic community consists of people sharing normative and causal beliefs, as well as a common set of criteria of validity and policy enterprises, not in every case exists a group with the same level of internal cohesiveness in terms of those commitments. How cohesive an epistemic community is could affect how effective it could be in exerting influence on the policymaking process. When the members are loosely organized, or have strong disagreements regarding their fundamental beliefs, it could weaken the bargaining position of this epistemic community vis-à-vis the policy apparatus, or – in case of polarized environment – being even co-opted by opposing policy coalitions into political advocacy rather than rational collaboration, deliberation, and professional policy consultation (Weible, Pattison, and Sabatier 2010). On the other hand, an epistemic community's ability of influencing policy makers could be strengthened when its members are united behind a similar set of commitments, as their message is backed by the collective beliefs of the authoritative knowledge producers.

It goes without saying, of course, that singling out internal cohesion here is by no means to suggest that external environment is unimportant. Issues such as scope condition, political opportunity structure, phase in policy process (when intervention occurs) have been extensively demonstrated by scholars (Cross 2013, 144). Rather, the intention here is to highlight a factor which is crucial to the constitution of an epistemic community and furthermore, particularly consequential to one's policy influence when external conditions are similar across time or different issue-areas.

The question of internal cohesion also points to an important distinction among different epistemic communities in post-Mao China. As already noted, it is common for sharply opposing

policy opinions to exist within the broader knowledge communities, which came as a result of the post-Mao market reform, liberalization, and increased intellectual autonomy. Understandably, it is usually difficult to locate a highly internally cohesive epistemic community on a particular policy issue, in which the majority of its members could commit to the same cause and are capable of conveying a unanimous message to the policy makers. But in addition to the general tendency of pluralization of intellectual positions, there are also differences with regard to the internal cohesion across different epistemic communities.

To be more precise, there are significant gaps in terms of how well the community of experts around a particular issue or policy topic has developed, to what extent is has obtained a sufficient degree of professionalism, how effective it could mobilize its member to rally around a common cause, and so on. The analytical value of cross-epistemic-community difference regarding its internal cohesion is further highlighted in today's context, given that the broad structural condition is similar for all, i.e. communities of different expertise and thematic focus all have to work with an adaptive, sometimes accommodating but nonetheless authoritarian government. Against such a background, how cohesive an epistemic community become particularly significant in deciding how strong its policy influence can be.

Where does the gap between different epistemic communities come from? In the case of China, a key factor lies in the politics of Mao era, or more precisely, the series of anti-intellectual political campaigns initiated by the PRC government under its first paramount leader Mao Zedong. Among them the most relevant one is the targeted dissolution of social science at the beginning of PRC period. Beginning in the 1950s, almost all major social scientific disciplines were forcefully dismantled by the Communist authority in its top-down-imposed nationwide educational reform, formally known as the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments (Ch: *gaodeng yuanxiao yuanxi*

*tiaozheng*). Higher education and research institutions were systematically reorganized in order to produce talents that fit the government's plan of accelerated industrialization.

This policy borrowed heavily from the Soviet practice, particularly in areas such as disciplinary division, curriculum, and textbooks. Social sciences suffered significantly more than their counterparts in natural sciences and engineering, mainly due to the conflict between their ambiguous ideological orientations and the Communist orthodoxy. Fei Xiaotong, a student of Malinowski at London School of Economics and then the leading sociologist and anthropologist in the country, took great personal risk when he petitioned personally to Mao for sparing sociology from the reform, i.e. disbanding of the discipline. Against Fei's request, Mao reportedly answered that the discipline of sociology must be wiped out completely, leaving nothing left (Song 2010).

Although the post-Cultural Revolution Chinese government heeded the restoration of those earlier-dismantled disciplines, the interlude was more than just a temporary interruption of scholars' work. Numerous studies, as well as memoirs and novels based on the event show that it was both a professional and personal catastrophe for scholars, researchers, their friends and families, and intellectuals in general. Many scholars of the old generation, once at the forefront of research and teaching in China, were prosecuted, tortured, exiled, executed, or forced to commit suicide because of their allegedly "counter-revolutionary" (Ch: *fan geming*) acts or stances (Y. Wang 2004; Y. Xie 2001). Pan Guangdan, a leading sociologist and eugenicists at the time and a former student at Dartmouth College and Columbia University, was repeatedly tortured by the Red Guards before dying in a dysfunctional hospital in Beijing in 1967. Huang Guozhang, professor of geography at a number of different schools in early PRC period and a former student of Yale and University of Chicago, committed suicide along with his wife in 1966 due to the tremendous pressure suffered from the prosecution against their family.

Those managed to survive the political turmoil, on the other hand, were either too old to resume their work as researcher and teacher, or simply too afraid to pick up their job again, after seeing so many of his/her colleagues perished at the hands of the same regime. Communication with the international colleagues were also severely disrupted almost to the point of "academic autarky," if not for some contact with the Soviet academia. As a result of more than two decades of brutal suppression, the Chinese social scientific community saw their roots almost entirely destroyed. The condition of Chinese social science had effectively regressed to almost its pre-PRC state on the eve before Deng's reform, if not worse.

Different fates during the Mao era led to very different internal dynamics of epistemic communities which manage to reestablish themselves in the post-Mao era. As one can reasonably infer, those epistemic communities that survived the political onslaught in more or less one piece would have a much higher internal cohesion due to its less-interrupted operation, continued-engagement in the policy field, and better-maintained professionalism. As a result, they would have a greater chance of influencing policymaking with its "knowledge" and "ideas". Given how severe the damage was for many knowledge communities, the differences in one's Mao-era legacy amount to an institutional advantage that other epistemic communities could not easily compete or catch up – in the short term. In sum, in the post-Mao political arena, although many scholars and researchers have taken advantage of the relatively loosened political environment to rebuild disciplines and research programs, and to resume research and teaching, the damaged to the knowledge community is not easily reversible. Libraries and labs can be rebuilt within months. A professional knowledge base of a society may take years or decades to be re-cultivated, if not more.

Therefore, it is a practical challenge for an epistemic community in post-Mao China to organize themselves, and by extension, to become effective in knowledge production and intellectual innovation in policy fields. In certain ways, this uneven development is further exacerbated by the

relatively relaxed political environment of the post-Mao era. As discussed, the expanded autonomy of research communities at the present time foster diversity of academic interests, professional orientations, and political perspectives. In the long term, should the Chinese government continue to broaden the scope of public political engagement, the openness could contribute to the improvement of professional knowledge community in general. In the short term, however, with many subjects and disciplines either recovering from years of nonexistence or trying to expand themselves to catch up with international colleagues, the state of their internal cohesion is simultaneously being promoted by the efforts of some to rebuild and reconsolidate their community and undermined by the attempts of others to challenge the old academic orthodoxy and administrative conventions.

The effect is sustained and further amplified by the rapid market reform and economic liberation under Deng, which not only created strong incentive for many to leave academia for private business, but also pushed individual scholars, academic department, and even entire organizations to pursue money-making rather than serious research (Hayhoe 1996, 116–17). As a result, to arrive at a level of internal cohesion sufficient for knowledge production, an epistemic community would need to overcome both the sociological trauma from Mao's legacy and the centrifugal force under market economy that attracts talents away from the academia.


**3.2 Politics, Experts, and Knowledge of Minzu in Post-Mao China**

*3.2.1 Minzu Policy and Politics of Ethnicity*

China's Minzu policy refers to the sum of laws, government regulations, polices, and institutions that are designed and implemented by the state to manage relations among various ethnic groups inside the People's Republic of China. A 1999 Government White Paper states that "ethnic equality (Ch: *minzu pingdeng*) and ethnic solidarity (Ch: *minzu tuanjie*) as the basic principle and foundational

policy for solving the minzu question (Ch: *minzu wenti*) are clearly defined in the Chinese Constitution and relevant laws […] The Chinese government adopted special policies and measures in order to effectively realize and guarantee the right to equality among all ethnic groups in social life and government activities as prescribed by the Constitution and laws" (SCIO 1999).

Specifically, minzu policy aims at ensuring and fulfilling the rights and interests of the country's ethnic minorities, known in Chinese as *shaoshu minzu*.[34] This is so because among the 56 officially recognized ethnic groups in China, Han constitutes the absolute majority. The sixth and the latest national population census (2010) reported that out of the 1.33 billion people in China, 1.22 billion (91.6%) were Han. In other words, the rest 55 ethnic groups make up less than 9% of the total population.[35] China's minzu policy does not usually cover issues concerning foreign citizens,[36] as there are separate agencies in charge of foreigners' affair and immigration.

Due to the particular legacy of the nationalist movements of China in the 20th century and the socialist revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the minzu policy of PRC took on a character resembling both the imperial system from the pre-20th century China and the Soviet Union's nationality policy of the 20th century. The basic premise of PRC's minzu policy is that China has become a multinational state (Ch: *duominzu de guojia*) before the modern time and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Different ethno-national communities (Ch: *minzu*) have existed in "China;" as a result of their historical entanglement, all of them should be considered as constitutive parts of the unified "Chinese nation" (Ch: *zhonghua minzu*), a national category which sits above

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[34] Literally, "minority nationalities" or "minority ethnicities".

[35] "Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of the People's Republic of China," National Bureau of Statistics, http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm, accessed February 1st 2018.

[36] There are exceptions to this rule: the Chinese government treats certain types of non-Chinese citizens as "oversea Chinese compatriots" and has made specific policies for individuals of such background. For example, according to "Opinions on Properly Receiving Oversea Tibetan Compatriots" (original Chinese title: 关于接待国外藏胞工作的意见) issued by the Central United Front Work Department in May 1980, Tibetans residing abroad without foreign citizenship are to be treated as "oversea Tibetan compatriots" whereas those who have obtained foreign citizenship but want to visit family and friends or to settle in China are to be treated as "foreign citizen of Chinese descent". This policy was clearly made in consultation with China's specific minzu policy regarding Tibet.

other, "constituting" ethno-national groups. Based on this premise, the PRC government sought to offer political recognition to various group in exchange for their political loyalty to a single, unified Chinese state and Chinese (supra-)nation. As CCP managed to take over almost the entirety of the former Qing Empire's territory (with the exception of Outer Mongolia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau), it began to experiment with ethnicity-based regional autonomous governments in areas with significant non-Han population so to exert, maintain, or strengthen the party's control over those territories while countering against any potential separatist tendencies.

This policy became formalized after the official founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Soon after the its establishment, a new Central People's Government launched a nationwide "Ethnic Classification" (Ch: *minzu shibie*) project in 1953 in order to "scientifically" map the different ethno-national community within the PRC borders. During this process the government recruited a massive number of social scientists from various disciplines, such as ethnology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and history. These scholars and researchers are organized into several survey teams with different regional focus, which were then sent to various parts of the country to survey, study, and catalogue the ethnic-makeup of those regions. Due to the interruption of the project during successive political movements, e.g. the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the Cultural Revolution, the classification was not officially concluded until 1986. However, the majority of classification work had been completed around mid- to late-1950s. During this time, 50 plus ethnic groups were identified and given official recognition as a constituting ethno-nationality of the unified Chinese nation. Because of the significant discrepancy in terms of population size, all ethnic groups except for Han are considered as ethnic minority (Ch: *shaoshu minzu*) of the country.

Based on this official ethno-taxonomy, the regime established a system of "ethnic regional autonomy" (Ch: *minzu quyu zizhi*) across the country. Central to this system is the local administrative institution known as the "regional autonomous government" (Ch: *quyu zizhi zhengfu*), which

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distinguishes itself from an autonomous government in a federation (such as the United States) or a confederation (such as the former Soviet Union). From 1940s to early 2000s, the regime established and maintained around 150 ethnic autonomous regions at three different administrative levels: five provincial-level Ethnic Autonomous Regions (Ch: *minzu zizhiqu*), about 30 prefectural-level Ethnic Autonomous Prefectures (Ch: *minzu zizhizhou*), and about 120 county-level Ethnic Autonomous Counties (Ch: *minzu zizhixian*).[37]

An autonomous area can have up to four titular groups, which are supposedly selected from the most representative ethnic groups of the area, which are not always – in fact rarely – the most populous ones. All autonomous areas share certain institutional features and enjoy a number of regionally-confined privileges, such as special quota for titular minority groups in the local government and legislature, rights to use the language of the minority groups in official documents and public signs within the area, and rights to enact laws deviating from superordinate laws, e.g. autonomous decrees (Ch: *zizhi tiaoli*) and special decrees (Ch: *danxing tiaoli*). In addition, many national laws, regulations, and policies contain provisions which specify exceptions, exemptions, or special considerations regarding ethnic minorities, including both those residing inside their own autonomous areas and those living elsewhere in the country. Well-knowns examples of such special provisions include exemption from the strict "one-child-rule" in China's family planning, bonus points and special quota during college admission, and the reduced legal responsibility for minority perpetrators in criminal justice known as the "two fewers, one leniency" principle.[38]

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[37] The number of Ethnic Autonomous Counties changed over time, as some earlier established ones were later on merged with other units, revoked, or lost its autonomous status when it was upgraded, whereas some were not reconstituted as autonomous areas until very late. In addition to the above listed three levels of autonomous governments, there are also over 1,000 Ethnic Townships (Ch: *minzuxiang*) in China. These are township-level administrative units where a sizeable ethnic minority community resides, but which do not have the status of an autonomous area and thus do not enjoy the rights and benefits as prescribed by laws for the former category.

[38] Document No. 5 [1984] of the Central Committee of the CPC (Original Chinese title: 中发〔1984〕第 5 号文件): "With regards to criminals with ethnic minority background, [we] should always 'arrest fewer and execute fewer,' and should be as lenient as possible in treating [them in legal procedures]" ("对少数民族的犯罪分子要坚持'少捕少杀', 在处理上要尽量从宽").

State-led ethnic classification, ethnic regional autonomy, and preferential policies for ethnic minorities together constitute the main pillars of mainland China's minzu policy (Leibold 2013, 6). While the state ethnic classification and the system of ethnic regional autonomy remain by and large stable since the 1980s (with a few autonomous units being added and a few others revoked), preferential policies are being constantly adjusted and/or changed by both the central and local governments to adapt to new conditions and to cope with new challenges. For example, since the introduction of bilingual education in ethnic minority regions, many schools from kindergarten- to high school-level in those areas have been tasked with greater emphasis on strengthening students' mandarin proficiency. In Xinjiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia, bilingual education reform has been increasingly marginalizing minority languages – if taught at all – while demanding almost all of science and humanities subjects, such as math, physics, chemistry, geography, history, to be taught in mandarin Chinese. For another example, recent years also saw the gradual adjustment to the bonus-point system for ethnic minority text-takers in the national college entrance examination (Ch: *gaokao*), with several provincial governments taking steps to reduce the cover of the system or eliminate it altogether.

The experience of ethnic regional autonomy helps to shed light on the centrally designed and coordinated minzu policy has been resisted at the implementation phase. Shortly before the conclusion of the civil war, the Communist authority began experimenting with ethnicity-based regional autonomous government in the north (Lin 2011). The first regional autonomous administration created at the provincial level was the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, established in 1947 (Bulag 2010). It was then followed by four other provincial-level autonomous region (ARs), as well as autonomous prefectures (APs) and autonomous counties/banners (ACs or ABs) which spread across the country. While every autonomous unit is designated to one or two titular ethnic groups – who are recognized as the most important constituting elements to the

administrative unit and whose status are recognized in local laws – there can exists also smaller autonomous units within a larger one, thus dividing an autonomous unit designed for a specific group into several smaller ones for others. For example, while Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) was constituted in 1955 as the provincial level administrative unit for the Turkic-speaking Muslim minority Uyghur, who was the unquestionable majority in the region, XUAR also contains five autonomous prefectures as well as six autonomous counties within its jurisdiction. These smaller units are designed to other groups such as Hui, Mongolian, Kazakh, Xibo, Tajik, and Kyrgyz. In this way, the autonomy of an autonomous unit sits uneasily with its own constituting units which are also "autonomous" by law.

The idea of the regional autonomy system originated in the Republican era. The Chinese Communist leadership, influenced by the theory and practice of the Soviet Union, initially ran a platform based on the principle of self-determination (Lin 2011; Liu 2003). This was done to counter its domestic political and military opponent KMT, which under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) ran an assimilationist platform. At this time, CCP policy not only recognized minority's entitlement to self-rule, but also offered them the rights to secede from China and form their own independent country as a part of greater supranational confederacy with the then young Soviet Chinese Republic based in Ruijin, Jiangxi Province. Soon after the breakout of the war with Japan, the Communist leadership realized the danger of the same principle being exploited by the Japanese to carve up the country, so to separate the traditional peripheral non-Han regions and set up puppet regimes to their advantage. As a result, CCP changed their stance and refrained from its earlier commitment, now insisting that while all minority groups have the right to govern themselves, it is best to exercise such power within the context of a unified China (Bulag 2010). To maintain consistency with their earlier position, the CCP opted for a watered-down version of its earlier proposal: instead of having the right to secede and become independent, the minorities now would

have the right to exercise self-rule under "autonomous government" within a unified China. The first experimental regional administration based on such principle was established in Yuhai County in 1936, under the title "Shan-Gan-Ning Yuhai County Hui Autonomous Government" (Ch: *shanngannng yuhaixian huimin zizhi zhengfu*) (Lin 2011).

In the post-civil-war China, the autonomy system was instituted as the basis for implementing ethnic policy, an umbrella term for a variety of preferential policies and institutional arrangements designed to ensure that the ethnic minorities of the People's Republic would receive better treatment so long as they show political loyalty (Kaup 2000). The policies aim to protect and promote their own language, culture, and religious faith, and foster socioeconomic development of those communities. The autonomy system is centerpiece of China's ethnic policy, for it not only forms the administrative foundation for separating "conventional areas" from "minority areas" and enable the latter to enjoy group-based benefits in a more manageable manner, but also symbolizes the commitment of the CCP to respect ethnic minority, to recognize the socioeconomic inequality between Han and the non-Han people, and to right the historical wrong through political empowerment and preferential treatment. However, this noble cause, repeatedly emphasized in official documents, encountered continuous obstacle and resistance in actual practice since the beginning of the PRC (Leibold 2013). At the center of this struggle is the conflicting objective of maintaining national unity under a centralized system versus allowing the non-Han ethnic minorities in the vast borderlands the power to exercise self-rule. The vertical partition of larger autonomous units into smaller ones, as the above paragraph shows, represents one example of the contradiction in the institutional design, resulted from conflicting political objectives.

In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, the central government began a nationwide rectification campaign, which reversed many of the disastrous policies implemented during the previous decade (Bovingdon 2010). Although the administrative structure of ethnic regional

autonomy by and large survived through the political turmoil and social upheavals in the 60's and 70's, ethnic policy, particularly those specifically designed to protect the minorities' culture, language, religious faith, were regularly ignored if not openly violated (Dillon 1999; Bovingdon 2010; Kaup 2000; Norbu 2001). Seizing the opportunity of the leadership reshuffle and the new climate of rectification and political pragmatism, some elites in the top leadership began pushing for greater institutionalization of the regional autonomy system and other minority-related preferential policies.

Not all their efforts succeeded. On the one hand, many minority cadres who were purged previously are rehabilitated. The local government received instructions emphasizing once again the need to be culturally sensitive and responsive (Kaup 2000). A number of regional Production and Construction Corp (Ch: *shengchan jianshe bingtuan*), a type of quasi military-economic organization established and stationed in minority regions of China for both national defense, internal stability, and economic development purposes, were disbanded. Most significantly, two important legal statutes were passed which strongly reaffirm the commitment of the Chinese government to protect and promote the rights of its domestic minorities to enjoy equality and development: the 1982 Chinese Constitution and the PRC Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA, Ch: *minzu quyu zizhifa*). The latter document was particularly important as it emphasized the right and the need for autonomous units to exercise the legislative power and design localized policies tailored to the need of the minority communities, through enacting autonomous regulation (Ch: *zizhi tiaoli*) and special decrees (Ch: *danxing tiaoli*).

On the other hand, those who remain skeptical of allowing minority greater autonomy, and see social stability and national security as the overriding political priority vehemently pushed back the above efforts. A policy of dramatically increasing the ratio of minority cadre in the local governments of minority regions by sending Han cadres back to inland China, which received the endorsement of the Party Secretary Hu Yaobang, was discarded soon after the initial adoption

(Bovingdon 2010). This policy would have created a large minority cadre force in Xinjiang and Tibet. In addition, while most of the Production and Construction Corps were disbanded, only one was immediately resurrected and survived until this day, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XJPCC). Under the pressure of former Xinjiang Chief, founder of the XJPCC, and longtime hardline politician-military official Wang Zhen, Deng authorized the reestablishment of XJPCC in 1981 and assigned Wang Zhen's trusted colleague, Wang Enmao, as the Party Secretary of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Bovingdon 2010). Lastly, although LERA stipulates that all autonomous unit have in theory the right to create autonomous regulations and specific decrees, in practice the legislative efforts have made only moderate progress since LERA came into effect and, at the provincial level, almost no progress at all.

The significance of autonomous regulation for an autonomous region of any level is twofold: on a symbolic level, it is an acknowledgement of an agreement between the central government and regional autonomous government to commit themselves to the principle of regional autonomy for national minorities; on a substantive and practical level, it would be an official interpretation of the division of power between the central government and an autonomous region, upon which the "regional autonomy" of this level is to be operationalized. While more than half of the autonomous units (including all five ARs, and many APs and ACs) were established before 1960s, the process of making autonomous regulation did not begin until after the Cultural Revolution.

Starting from 1985 (LERA came into effect in October 1984), autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties across the country began drafting their autonomous regulations. By the end of 1994 – a decade after LERA, 87 units (56%) have had their autonomous regulation approved by the upper authority. However, the rate, which already began to decline after 1989, never picked up again after 1992. In the five years after LERA's enactment (1985-1989), 56 autonomous regulations were approved. But in the next decade (1990-1999), only 43 went through. The record went further down

in the 2000s. In the first five years of the 21st century, none passed. Only in 2006, two autonomous regulations from, respectively, Beichuan Qiang Autonomous County in Sichuan and Weichang Manchu Autonomous County in Hebei received approval. Since then the record has been kept at zero.

If we break down the record by administrative level, then it is clear that: 1) the process of enacting autonomous regulations has by and large stalled in the mid-1990s, and 2) the higher an autonomous unit is in the administrative hierarchy, the harder it would be able to receive approval from its upper authority regarding the autonomous regulation after the 1990.

At the *county* level – the lower level an autonomous government can be created – the peak (14 approvals) came in 1988 and 1989, followed by gradual decline to zero in 1999, only to see another two new approvals (the latest two as mentioned above) in 2006. The ones did not receive approval concentrate in western China, particularly Gansu, Qinghai, Yunnan, Chongqing, and Xinjiang.

At the *prefecture* level, the peak (8 approvals) came in 1987 followed by a gradual decline to zero in 1993. Since then there was not a single new approved autonomous regulation. The five remaining autonomous prefectures that failed to obtained approval for their regulation all sit in Xinjiang.

Finally, at the *provincial* level, none of the five autonomous regions (Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, and Ningxia) has enacted their autonomous regulation, even though they were among the earliest autonomous units created by the PRC government. To this day, the approval rate for autonomous regulation at the county level is 63% (76 out of 120), 83% at the prefecture level (25 out of 30), and 0% at the provincial level (0 out of 5).

If we compare the progress by province, out of 20 provincial-level administrative units in PRC that either are autonomous regions themselves or contain autonomous prefectures or counties or both, more than half (11) have managed to have autonomous regulations for all the autonomous units it contains approved. Most of these provinces are found on eastern China, such as

Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Zhejiang, and Guangdong. The lowest approval rates are found in western China. Ningxia, Chongqing, Xinjiang, and Tibet (Ch: *xizang*) all have 0% approval rate. Within this group, Xinjiang stands out as an extreme case: aside from being a provincial-level autonomous region, Xinjiang also contains five autonomous prefectures and six autonomous counties representing seven distinct ethnic minority group: Hui, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Monglian, Tajik, Uyghur, and Xibo. Yet none of the eleven autonomous governments (including XUAR) has to-date enacted its autonomous regulation.

## Figure 2 – Approved autonomous regulations for all autonomous areas (by year)
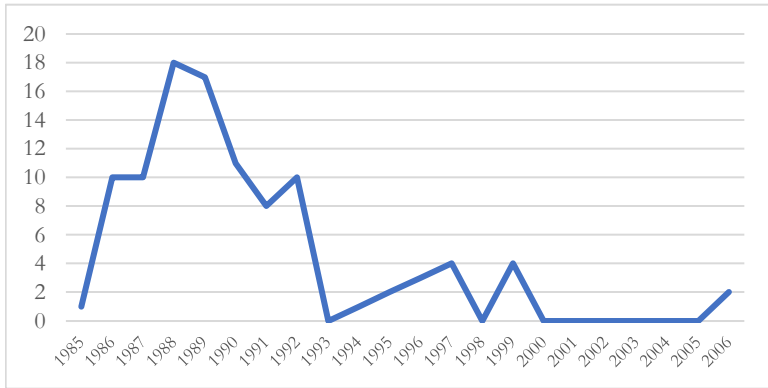


## Figure 3 – Approved autonomous regulation for autonomous counties only (by year)
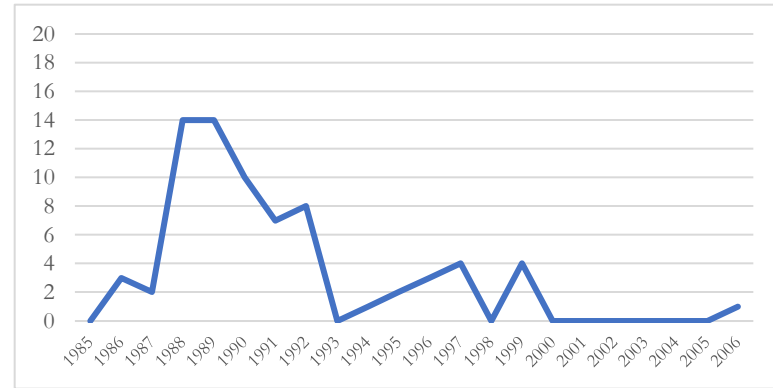


## Figure 4 – Approved autonomous regulation for autonomous prefectures only (by year)
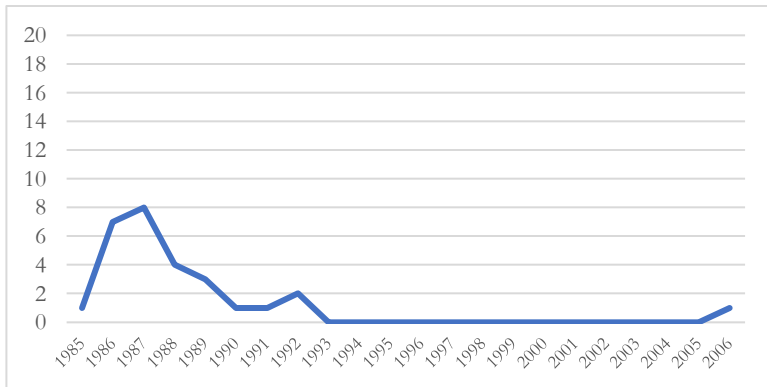


## Figure 5 – Sum of approved and to-be approved autonomous regulations



Autonomous County — 76 — 120
Autonomous Prefecture — 25 — 30
Autonomous Region — 0 — 5

■ Approved autonomy regulations    ■ Total number of autonomy regulations
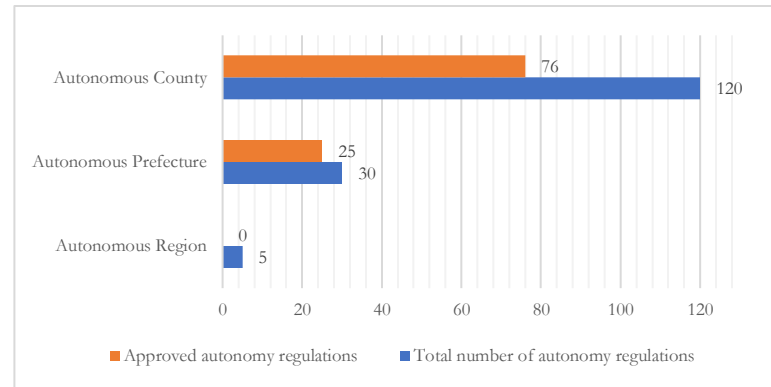
**Figure 6 – To-be approved autonomous regulations (by province)**
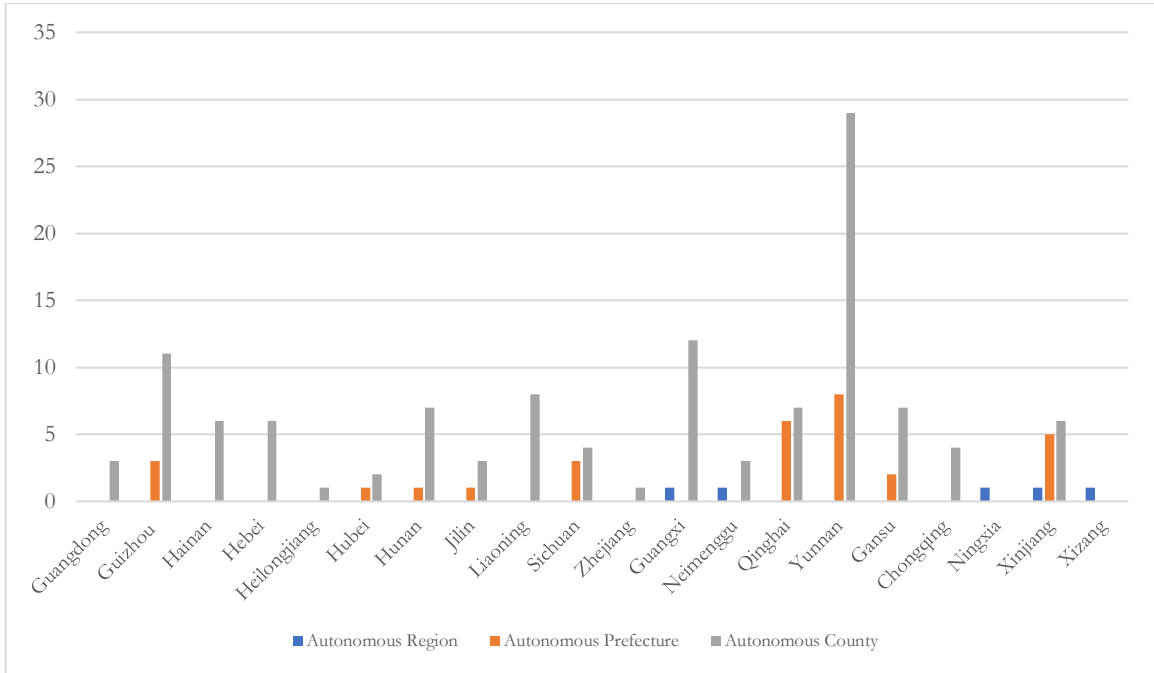


**Figure 7 – Already approved autonomous regulations (by province)**
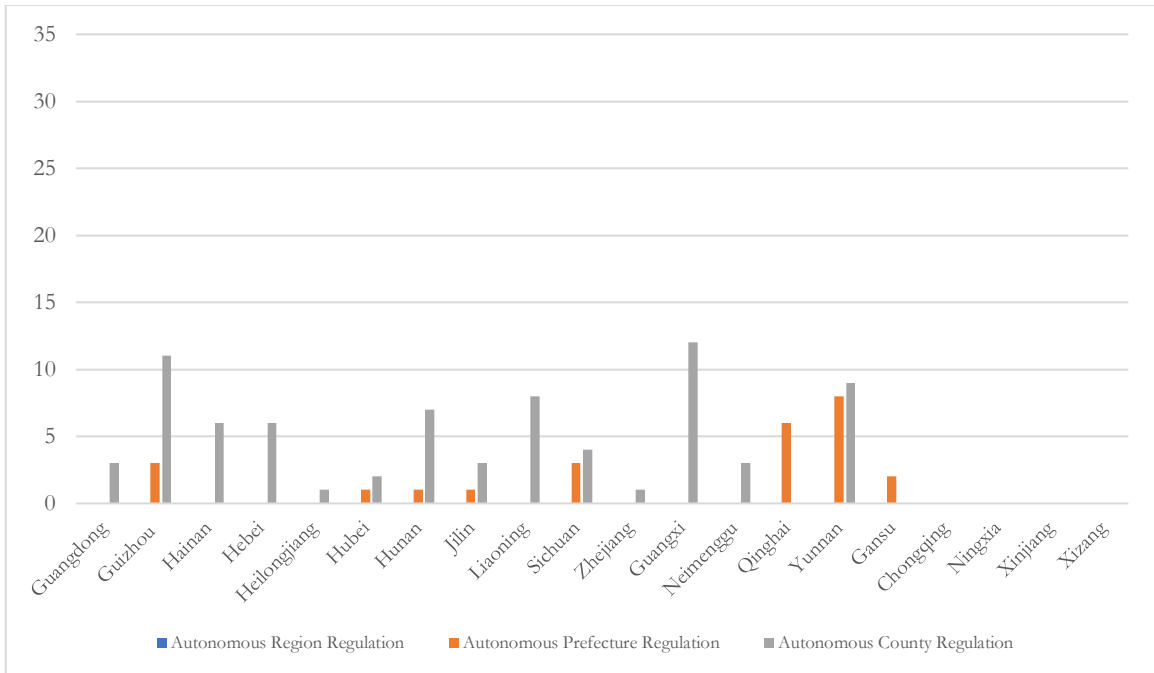
Could we conclude that the stalled legislative process for autonomous regulations, particularly in the northwest, is one fallout of the intense intra-elite struggle between the accommodationist approach and the oppressive approach? For what we have thus far, it seems that the oppressive approach is more prominently featured in the northwest, represented primarily by the elites in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. To look for additional evidence for this proposition, I use Chinese scholarly discourse as an approximation for elite interests in this topic. Using academic journal database on CNKI as my data source, I did a simple auto-keyword search with two criteria: the title of the article must contain the phrase "autonomous regulation" (Ch: *zizhi tiaoli*), while the subject of the article needs to contain one of the five autonomous regions in China.

**Figure 8 – Approval rate of autonomous regulations (by province)**
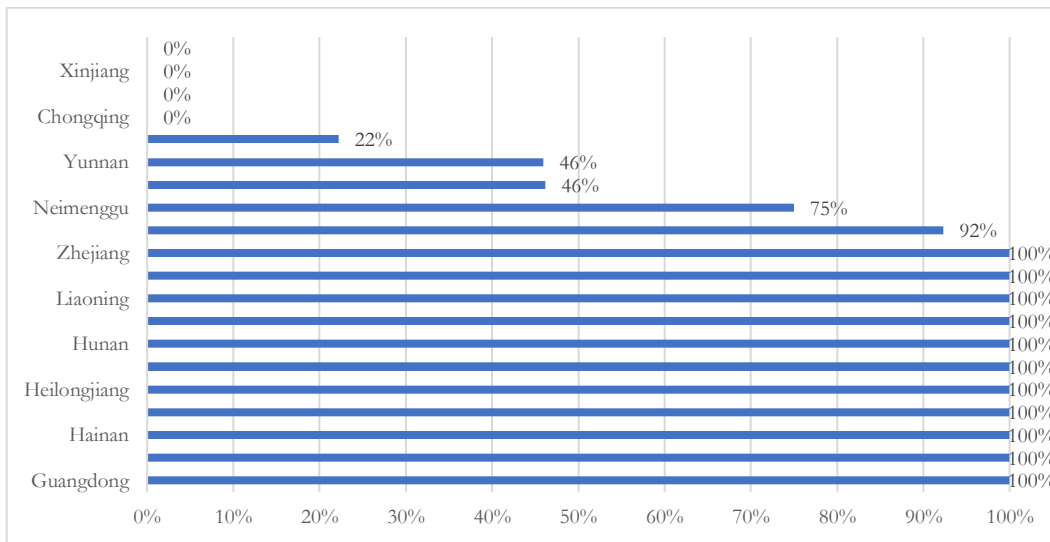


The result shows a similar pattern with the progress of legislation. Guangxi Zhang Autonomous Region, where 12 out of 13 autonomous governments have obtained approval for their regulation (92%), is featured in 10 articles. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, where 3 out of 4 autonomous governments have obtained approval (75%), is featured in 4 articles. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and Tibet Autonomous Region, which have no sub-provincial autonomous governments and have to date not obtained approval their provincial-level autonomous regulation, are featured

respectively in 4 and 1 articles. Lastly, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which has 1 provincial and 11 sub-provincial autonomous governments, none of which have obtained any approval for the regulation, is featured in zero article.

In fact, scholars based in China openly acknowledged the lack of institutionalization of autonomous government at the provincial level. According to Pan Hongxiang (H. 红祥 Pan 潘 2009), Ningxia started drafting its autonomous regulation in 1980, and have made 16 versions of drafts by 2001. Among them, the 15th and 16th draft made it to the Party Committee of the Autonomous Region; yet neither were submitted to the National People's Congress and State Council. Inner Mongolia started similarly in 1980 and drafted 22 versions by 1994. Only the 17th draft was sent to the center, but it failed to obtain approval. Guangxi started as early as 1957, one year before the founding of the Autonomous Region, but made little progress even after reaching draft 19 versions by 1994. The regional government submitted the 13th and 18th draft to the center but were rejected in both occasions. Xizang/Tibet made 16 versions of draft by 2006 but has made no attempt as of yet to submit a draft to the center. Finally, Xinjiang did not make one single draft since the establishment of XUAR. All in all, as Pan commented, the legislative work on autonomous regulation for the five autonomous regions are in complete "stagnation".

*3.2.2 Chinese Marxist Ethnology and Knowledge Community on Minzu*

To understand Chinese scholarly community on minzu policy, one important reference point is a special field of studies known as the Chinese Marxist Ethnology/minzu studies. Both words come from the Chinese term *minzu yanjiu*. Neither is an imperfect translation because of the ambiguous meaning of *minzu* in the Chinese context. Whereas *minzuxue* means ethnology, a discipline centered on the study of culture, *minzu yanjiu* is a discipline that focuses almost exclusively on ethnic minorities (Ch: *shaoshu minzu*) in China and does not confine itself to the topic of culture. One

option alternative is simply abducting the term *minzu* to form a compound phrase "minzu studies" or using the expression "ethno-national" as a replacement for *minzu* and call the field "ethno-national studies".[39] An alternative is to highlight the field's root in ethnological sciences while acknowledge the political influence in its subsequent transformation (as I explain below), which leads to the term "Chinese Marxist Ethnology". In this study, the "two and half" terms ("ethno-national/minzu studies" and "Chinese Marxist Ethnology") are used interchangeably.

Chinese Marxist Ethnology or minzu studies as a field of study formed during the early years of the People's Republic of China. While social sciences of the Republican China (1912-1949) included disciplines similar to those in European and American universities, the PRC government decided to radically change the disciplinary division in order to bring the intellectuals in line with the Communist Party's political agenda. As a result of the systematic reform of higher education and research from 1952 onwards, known in official texts as the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments, most social scientific disciplines were discontinued and whose academic staffs either went to unemployment or received reassignment to posts elsewhere. Ethnology, anthropology, and sociology were among the discontinued ones. However, because the government needed expertise to assist with the practical task of governing a multiethnic country, a large number of ethnologists, sociologists, and anthologists were recruited by the government to continue research on the topic.

Under the directive of the central government, many scholars from the above-mentioned disciplines were summoned to work at the Central Institute for Nationalities (Ch: *zhongyang minzu xueyuan*) in Beijing and its various regional branches across the country. These nationalities institutes (Ch: *minzu yuanxiao*) were set up as specialized centers for research on ethnic minorities in China and for training cadres of minority background. The Division of Research of the Central Institute for Nationalities (Ch: *zhongyang minzu xueyuan yanjiubu*), for example, received the majority of the most

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[39] See the section below, "Discourse about Minzu Policy in PRC," for a detailed discussion about the term *minzu*.

prominent ethnologists and sociologists in China at the time, such as Pan Guangdan (Quentin Pan), Fei Xiaotong (Fei Hsiao-tung), Lin Yaohua, and Wu Zelin (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 64). The organized scholar corps was then tasked with conducting research on non-Han population across the country for the regime, starting with the Ethnic Classification (Ch: *minzu shibie*) in 1953, followed soon in 1956 by the Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History (Ch: *shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha*). These were not designed as academic research. Rather, they were conceived from the beginning as part of the larger political project of the new Chinese government to design policies and institutions for the diverse population with the assistance of modern science.

During this time, although ethnology departments at universities were disbanded, the title of ethnology/*minzuxue* was preserved. However, under the government-directed research agenda, ethnology became no longer the study of culture, but the study of ethnic groups. More specifically, the reformed ethnology is a field about ethnic minorities in the People's Republic of China. At the same time, the theoretical orientation of the field was redirected towards Marxist-Leninist doctrines propagated by the party and Soviet experts (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 88–103). Accordingly, research emphasis shifted away from culture, which critics consider as "superstructure" and "reflective of bourgeois social sciences' appetite for exoticism", to the analysis of socioeconomic structure and historical development of the ethnic minority communities (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 183). As a result, ethnology became minzu studies, a field dedicated to the almost exclusive study of non-Han population of China, joined by experts with a diverse academic and professional (some government officials also participated as researchers) background, and guided strongly by political ideology. Object of inquiry includes everything related to the non-Han population of the country, such as culture, history, language, society, and economy.

It is also due to this legacy that the term Chinese Marxist Ethnology could stand in as a reasonable alternative name to the field.

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government under Deng Xiaoping began to restore academic social sciences. Ethnology, anthropology, and sociology were reestablished in universities and colleges. Scholars within Chinese Marxist Ethnology/minzu studies played important roles in the revival, as many of them remain identified with their formerly associated disciplines. But it soon became clear that it was almost impossible to separate minzu studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*) from ethnology (Ch: *minzuxue*), or to reconstitute ethnology without the legacy of the former. The integration of ethnological sciences (ethnology, anthropology, sociology) into the minzu policy-making structure of the state has in effect created a new field of studies specific to the nation-building project of the Chinese Communist Party. While the more senior cohort might remember the distinction between the "conventional" ethnological sciences and the Chinese Marxist ethnology/minzu studies, many – especially younger – scholars were trained in the latter tradition and saw ethnology as equivalent with the study of ethnic minorities. The intimate connection between ethnic minority studies and ethnic minority policy forged since the early years of the regime further convinced many that it would be useful to keep the existing focus of the field so to remain relevant to the government. In sum, a good number of scholars felt it was unnecessary to recreate another field with the same title of ethnology/*minzuxue*, while others were pushing for reestablishing ethnological sciences according to international/western standards.

Since 1980s, the restored ethnology has been evolving in the shadow of the minzu studies legacy. There has been continuous debate over the nature of the discipline, reflecting the struggles between different traditions of research. These debates were not confined to only ethnologists, but often joined by scholars from closely related disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology. At the same time, because of the increased autonomy of researchers, the issue of ethnic minorities in China

increasingly attracted interests from different fields. For example, Fei Xiaotong was a key figure to the field of minzu studies, participated in both Ethnic Classification and Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History. Following the restoration of social sciences, he left the Chinese Academy of Social Science and founded the Institute of Sociology at Beijing University (PKU) in 1985, which later became the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology. At PKU, Fei sought to move away from the research tradition of minzu studies and to approach the topic of ethnicity through the lens of sociological theories. The leading journal of the Institute, Sociology of Ethnicity, is an example of such endeavor. Starting from the 1990s, many schools and research institutes also began to redefine itself in order to expand research scope and better connect with the international academic community. Given the close association between ethnology and cultural anthropology, many adopt both titles in such transitions. For example, in 1995 the Institute of Ethnology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) rebranded itself as the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology. In turn, many Chinese anthropologists were invited to work on topic of ethnic minorities, using theories unfamiliar to those in minzu studies. Since 2000s, Chinese political science began to take part in the academic discourse on ethnicity as well. Guan Kai, Professor at Minzu University of China (formerly Central Institute for Nationalities and then Central University for Nationalities), published the first Chinese textbook on theories of ethnic politics under the Chinese title *zuqun zhengzhi* in 2007 (Guan 关 2007).

By and large, the scholarly community on China's ethnic minorities in the Post-Mao era became more pluralistic. The Chinese Marxist Ethnologists, which played instrumental role in early PRC's minzu policy-making and forged through a merger of several social scientific disciplines, remains an influential network in the revived ethnology. But inside and outside ethnology, dissenting voices to the idea of equating ethnology with minzu studies have taken hold. Importantly, ethnology no longer dominates the study of ethnic minorities. On the shoulders of Chinese Marxist Ethnological

scholarship, a new generation of scholars with diverse background are expanding the scope of research and enriching the scholarly discourse on ethnic minorities in China.

*3.2.3 Minzu Debate and Discourse of Ethnicity*

As discussed in the introduction, in contemporary China, "theory" – and by extension, "theoretical debates" – carries a somewhat different meaning from the way it is common understood in western academic context. Specifically, there is a strong emphasis on the "practicality" of theory, or the "dependence of theory on practice", which as Mao elaborated in his 1937 speech means that "theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice". There is a further epistemological implication of this conceptualization of theory, which is explained at length in this paragraph of the same speech:

> The knowledge which grasps the laws of the world, must be redirected to the practice of changing the world […] This is the process of testing and developing theory, the continuation of the whole process of cognition. The problem of whether theory corresponds to objective reality is not, and cannot be, completely solved in the movement of knowledge from the perceptual to the rational, mentioned above. The only way to solve this problem completely is to redirect rational knowledge to social practice, apply theory to practice and see whether it can achieve the objectives one has in mind (Mao [1937] 2014).

In other words, the question "how do we know that our knowledge is valid" is not answered by the neopositivist principle of falsification, one of the most commonly held epistemological positions by political scientists today. To what extent does the above statement come close to alternative epistemologies embedded in other "philosophical-ontological commitments" – to use the term by

Patrick Jackson (2010) – is beyond the scope of the present study[40]. However, it suffices to say that operating under such a definition, a sufficiently large number of PRC academic writings do not concern themselves much with theoretical advancement through clear, rigorous, and transparent procedures of hypothesis-testing. Rather, theories are treated as guidance to devise practical solutions for specific social and political problems; their validity is determined primarily by how well they performed their practical function – which is almost always a contested subject. The discourse of minzu policy, the main theoretical debate that this study focuses on, follows precisely such a spirit. Much of the discussions revolve around the concept of minzu theory (Ch: *minzu lilun*, a.k.a. "ethno-national theory"), which is not to be understood merely as a theory that explains the socio-political-historical phenomenon known as ethnicity or nationality (which it does claim to do), but also and more importantly, a system of ideas that guides and justifies the minzu policy-making of the PRC government. As it will become clearer, for many if not most PRC scholars, minzu theory is effectively both the philosophical doctrine behind the system of PRC minzu policies and at the same time, the intellectual product that results from experience of implementing those policies. In other words, the debate over minzu theory *is* the debate over minzu policy.

With this qualification in mind, let us look at the Post-Mao minzu debates. Already in the 1990s, academics have begun discussing the design of China's minzu policy, particularly in light of the rising social tensions in a number of minority regions and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. A key theme to the 90's debate in the academic circle regarding minzu policy was the concept of the *minzu*. A Chinese adaptation of the Japanese phrase written in kanji, *minzoku*, the usage of *minzu* in contemporary China is the source of not only terminological confusion, but also

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[40] Jackson considers four ideal-typical positions of "philosophical-ontological commitments", which he terms as neopositivism (mind-world dualism + phenomenalism), critical realism (mind-world dualism + transfactualism), analyticism (mind–world monism + phenomenalism), and reflexivity (mind–world monism + transfactualism). Each of them bears distinct epistemological and methodological implications.

political controversy. The single word is used both to refer to "nation" or "nationality", the cultural-political entity that forms the basis of a modern nation-state, and to "ethnic groups" or "ethnicity", the sub-national collective identity based on assumed common kinship, ancestry, and culture. According to the official discourse, the Chinese nation (Ch: *zhonghua minzu*) is defined as a conglomeration of as many as fifty-six ethnic groups, out of which fifty-five are considered ethnic minorities. The same line would read, in Chinese, as the Chinese *minzu* has fifty-six *minzu*, in which fifty-five belong to minority *minzu*. Critics argue that the term gives the minority the "wrong aspiration" that they deserve more preferential treatment from the state, less they should have their own independent state; while the defenders warn about the ideological confusion that replacing this term may incur (S. 胜君 Xie 谢 2012; Hao 郝, Zhang 张, and Ma 马 2014).

To understand the reason behind the terminological inconsistency, one needs to go back to the legacy of ethnic politics in modern China, in particular, the early minzu policy of CCP. As discussed in the previous section, the Communists once adopted a strong pluralistic stance on the issue as a counter policy to its domestic rivalry, the KMT. It was in this context that the CCP adopted the term *minzu* in its official discourse on ethnic relations, which saw major ethnic/national groups (e.g. Uyghurs, Tibetans, Manchus, Mongolians, etc.) having equal rights as Han to pursue political independence. Although they later refrained from supporting the right to secession of the national minorities, the terminology of *minzu* lives on in the official lexicon on minzu policy of the Communist regime. Furthermore, it forms the conceptual basis for the nationwide ethnic classification conducted by the PRC government, which started in the early-1950s and concluded by the early-1980s. Under the influence of the Soviet ethnic/nationality policy, the PRC government-led ethnic classification campaign recruited hundreds of academics across the social scientific disciplines to help identify and classify the "peoples of China", and produced the official ethnotaxonomy, which then serves as the basis for implementing ethnic regional autonomy and

other related ethnic policies. As a result, *minzu*, a term that could not effectively distinguish the two very important but different concepts, "nation" and "ethnicity", serves as the very core conceptual vocabulary of ethnicity and nationhood in contemporary PRC to this day.

In the post-Mao era, Chinese academics were concerned about the political ramification of continuing using *minzu* not only because of the external environment, i.e. the breakup of the Soviet Union along ethno-national boundaries; the restoration of anthropology and sociology in the 1980s, and of their connection with the international academic community also facilitated the reflection and debate, through allowing theories and concepts from western anthropological sciences to be (re)introduced back in mainland China. Throughout the 1990s, proposals were made to replace *minzu* with *zuqun* (roughly equivalent to "ethnic-group")[41] when ethnicity is being referred to, and keep *minzu* only for occasions where "nation" or "nationality" is concerned. Alternatively, *minzu* can be preserved only for referring to sub-national collectives, i.e. ethnic groups, whereas *guozu* (sometimes translate to "state-nation")[42] will be used to refer to "nation".

Because of the political significance and policy relevance of this term, the debate should be seen as much about academics collectively rethinking the conceptual tools for studying, understanding, and articulating ethnicity and ethnic relations, as about the minzu policy of the People's Republic of China[43]. In fact, officials openly acknowledged such connection. In effect, the debate opened up a space for alternative approach for discussing ethnicity in China and had allowed terms such as *zuqun* and *guozu* to be used and debated. Although in official discourse, *minzu* remains the only one in use for denoting both nation and ethnic groups. However, at the end of 1990's, the ministerial agency in charge of ethnic affairs under the State Council, State Nationality Affairs Commission changed its

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[41] Original Chinese term: 族群.
[42] Original Chinese term: 国族.
[43] As Wang Dongming recounts, a major debate over the concepts had occurred every ten years since the founding of the PRC. See Wang Dongming, "Summary of the Debate over the Concepts of 'Minzu' and 'Zuqun'" (关于"民族"与"族群"概念之争的综述) (D. 东明 Wang 王 2005).

official English title to "State Ethnic Affairs Commission" (SEAC), suggesting that the leadership has agreed to take some steps towards de-emphasizing the connotation of "nation".

As we move into the 21st century, not only do we see the continuation of this debate with a generation of scholars, but also an escalation of its intensity. What makes this debate particularly interesting to researchers, however, is that not only did the debate openly challenged the official minzu policy of the government, but it also did so in an unprecedentedly public fashion. As introduced at the beginning of this essay, despite the increased transparency of policymaking in today's China, the authority remains carefully monitoring and censoring the political discourse. Sensitive topics such as ethnic relations rarely see negative reporting in the media or even critical academic research. Yet from 2011 and 2014, an open minzu policy caught observers from both China and abroad by surprise. Given the political environment in today's China and the long internal struggle over the direction of minzu policy among top PRC elites, we have enough reason to assume that the debate was more than just an intellectual exercise among the academics. In fact, most observers agree that the debate, whose participants were primarily academics, reflects serious intra-elite disagreement on the policy topic.

In a way, the debate was more than just an innocent policy deliberation among interested parties; rather, it may have been part of the deliberative attempt of the revisionist elites to seek legitimation for repressive policy approach towards the ethnic minorities. As the previous discussion has shown, the implementation of minzu policy – in particular the institutionalization of ethnic regional autonomy – has been seriously hindered in the post-Mao era. The contrast between the embrace of cultural pluralism and reaffirmation of commitment to interethnic equality and ethnic regional autonomy in the official tone on the one hand, and the lack of progress in implementing the basic requirements on the other, coupled by rising social tensions and increasing government spending on stability maintenance in minority regions, strongly suggest the possibility that a serious divergence

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between policy on the paper and the actual practice on the ground. Given this backdrop, the most pressing issue for those who dislike and possibly have resisted the existing policy is to find a way to justify their action. The academic policy debate is the ideal, politically safer venue for conveying their message, in the guise of professional discussion.

**Chapter 4 Reaffirming Minzu Policy, 1979-1989**


**4.1 Chapter Overview**

The immediate post-Mao years is marked a high degree of agreement among top leaders on the need to halt the coercive assimilationist policy towards ethnic minorities during the Cultural Revolution. With the support from senior cadres such as Ulanhu and Deng Xiaoping, a newly elected general secretary Hu Yaobang sought to promote substantial autonomy for ethnic minorities through greater institutionalized pluralism in political, economic, and cultural domains. Importantly, the leadership sent out a uniform signal about their agreement on correcting earlier policy and offering more accommodation to the minorities.

This collaborative policy environment is joined by a relatively uniform knowledge community, characterized by the predominance of Chinese Marxist Ethnology, a.k.a. minzu studies. Following the abolishment of sociology, anthropology, and ethnology, a new field that focused exclusively on the research of ethnic minority population of PRC was created under the title minzu studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*) in the late 1950s, before it was also discontinued in the early 60's. Throughout 1980s, as scholars of ethnicity in China mobilized to revive their respective disciplinary traditions, the merger/late-comer minzu studies was the first to come back to life. The knowledge community of ethnic affairs that re-emerged during this period displayed a strong commitment to define its mission and research agenda in Marxist-Leninist worldviews, and to promote professionalization of ethnological research in China.

As a result, the academic debate on minzu policy revolved around core conceptual issues, such as the meaning of ethnic (in)equality. While sharp divisions persisted, the discussion remain largely professionally-oriented and confined within the Marxist-Leninist theoretical vocabulary.

**4.2 Collaborative Policy Subsystem**

*4.2.1 Ideological Reorientation and Organizational Restoration*

Following an intense power struggle after the death of Mao Zedong, a formerly demoted Deng Xiaoping regained control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) with the help of a number of party elders. The new leadership under Deng, which had purged most of the radical leftist elements, began to reverse many of the policies of the Cultural Revolution era. In the area of minzu policy, a key signal of change was the decision of the leadership to stop treating the "minzu question" as a matter of class. In December 1978, at the CCP's Third Plenum (3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee), the party leadership decided that "class struggle" was no longer central to the Party's minzu policy (M. E. Clarke 2011, 73). This marked an important departure from the guiding doctrine since the 1960s. Under this earlier doctrine, one's ethnic identification is the product of "backward" social conditions and an obstruction to the building of socialism. Moreover, it was believed that once China reached the stage of communism, ethnic identity would simply fade away as the social condition of its existence, i.e. capitalism, ceases to exist. Under the influence of this idea, many accommodationist policies towards ethnic minorities which were designed by the government in the 1950s were severely undermined, distorted, and in some cases, outright rejected. The dire consequence of it for the ethnic minority population of PRC has been shown and discussed by a number of works, with different geographical and thematic focus. Judging from the existing evidence, it is fair to say that by the end of the 1970s, ethnic tensions have reached an alarming level in a number of regions within the county, particularly the northern, western, and northwestern border regions. The post-Mao leadership was aware of this and prepared to address it as part of the rectification campaign. Under the leadership of a rehabilitated Deng Xiaoping and later on his protégé Hu Yaobang, the party leadership undertook a number of steps towards a systematic

adjustment of its minzu policy in order to improve ethnic relations and restructure a sustainable system of multiethnic governance.

The determination of the top leadership to reverse minzu policy from the Cultural Revolution period was evident in the continuous streams of statements and speeches on minzu policy from various outlets associated with the center. One example was the highlighted emphasis on the leadership's strong opposition against the so-called "Han Chauvinism" (Ch: *dahanzu zhuyi*, literally "great Han nationalism"). CCP's stance towards Han Chauvinism had long been articulated prior to the founding of the PRC in 1949 and continuously emphasized throughout the first decade of the People's Republic. Importantly, discussion of Han Chauvinism was also always accompanied with another concept, "local (parochial) nationalism" (Ch: *difang minzu zhuyi*) in a classical dialectical fashion: the former refers to the prioritizing Han over other ethnicities whereas the latter refers to the opposite logic, i.e. prioritizing non-Han ethnicities over other Han or others. Both were considered as dangerous tendencies which is counterproductive to ethnic solidarity of the country and which the party-government apparatus at all level must guard against and actively prevent. Since the Chinese expression for both terms contain the phrase *minzu zhuyi* ("nationalism"), the two are often referred to together as the "Two Nationalisms". In the context of immediate post-Cultural Revolution, the leadership highlighted the need to fight against in particular the practice and even the mentality of Han Chauvinism because of the recognition that it would be very difficult to regain the trust of ethnic minorities without such an attitude.

The central leadership's determination was likely the product of a wider support in the top ranks of the party. Political rectification had led to the rehabilitation of many senior cadres who not only had long-time working experience in ethnic affairs but also held a more sympathetic attitude towards minorities. Many of them, once rehabilitated, took an active role in reinforcing the message of the center and pressuring the bureaucracy to adjust their practices with regards to minzu policy. The

Mongolian cadre Ulanhu, arguably one of the most experienced officials in minzu work and then the head of the CCP's United Front Work Department (UFWD), authored an article in CCP's principal ideological journal in March 1980 where he openly denounced the policies and practices regarding ethnic minorities during the Cultural Revolution as reactionary coercive assimilation (Ch: *tonghua*). He also called for several immediate changes to minzu policy, including strengthening ethnic regional autonomy, more public expenditure on minority areas, and increased training of minority scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers (Mackerras 2003, 25).

On July 15th of the same year, a People's Daily article penned under the name of specially invited commentator openly criticized the doctrine of treating "minzu question" as a matter of class.[44] Titled "Commentary on the So-Called 'Nature of Minzu Question is Class Question'," the article argued that "during the Ten Years of Turmoil (Ch: *shinian dongluan*, a.k.a. Cultural Revolution), Lin Biao and the Gang of Four used the argument of 'the nature of the national question is class question' as the theoretical basis for them to promote extreme leftist lines and carry out feudal fascist dictatorship in ethnic areas". While it does not reject the argument altogether, as it was once used by Mao too, the article suggested it was necessary to "clarify the original meaning of this statement" because an incorrect apprehension and adoption has negatively interfered with the party's minzu policy. The author behind this anonymous piece was revealed to be Huang Zhu, also a senior party official on ethnic and religious policy and the secretary of PRC's first UFWD director Li Weihan. According to an interview with Huang more than two decades later, the People's Daily article went through several rounds of review at the CCP Central Secretariat to ensure the message was appropriate and

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[44] Original Chinese title:评所谓"民族问题的实质是阶级问题". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=64 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.

in line with the top leadership (Z. 铸 Huang 黄 2003). Upon publication, it immediately became an important piece in the new minzu policy discourse.

This ideological reorientation is paralleled by a restoration of the party and state agencies for ethnic work. Many agencies in ethnic work were severely damaged during the Cultural Revolution. Part of Deng/Hu's effort to reestablish a proper system of multiethnic governance was to restore agencies that could be entrusted with such responsibilities. Already in February 1979, the United Front Work Department (UFWD) submitted a report to the party leadership, titled "Petition of the UFWD of the CCP Central Committee Regarding Taking off the Hat of 'Executing the Defeatist Line' for All China's United Front, Ethnic Affair, and Religious Affair Departments".[45] The report affirmed that the party's ethnic and religious policy has been dutifully implemented, which had led to the development of ethnic areas and consolidated the unity and friendship among different ethnicities. Therefore, it argued that it was wrong and groundless to call the united front, ethnic affairs, and religious affair department as "executing defeatist line and revisionist line". In July of the same year, the second meeting of the 5th NPC decided to reinstate the National People's Congress' Ethnic Affairs Committee (NPC-EAC), which was first established in 1954 at the first meeting of the 1st NPC but suspended during the 4th NPC due to the Cultural Revolution.[46] The restored NPC-EAC was headed first by the senior Tibetan official Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, who headed the Tibetan delegation to Beijing for the 1951 peace negotiation and signed the "17-Point Agreement" on behalf of the Tibetan government. During the few years when the committee was absent, an minzu policy research group (Ch: *minzu zhengce yanjiuzu*) was established under the NPC Standing

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[45] Original Chinese title: 中共中央统战部关于地方民族主义分子摘帽问题的请示. The full-text of the document can be viewed via http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64186/66704/4495684.html (CCP News) or https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=17 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.
[46] The official website of the National People's Congress's Ethnic Affair Committee (NPCEAC) can be accessed via http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/bmzz/minzu/node_1503.htm, accessed June 24th, 2018.

Committee on June 1st, 1975 and was headed by the senior Mongolian cadre Ulanhu, who also was

the Vice Chairperson of the NPC Standing Committee at the time.[47] Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme had

served on a series of important political positions of the PRC government, including the Chairman

of the People's Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). He stayed on the restored

NPCEAC as its chairman for three consecutive NPC, until 1993. On the other hand, Yang Jingren

became the first chairman (1978-1986) of the restored State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the State

Council. After the Tibet Work Symposium, Hu Yaobang continued to push for minzu policy reform

on different fronts, while also supporting his colleagues. Hu became first the Chairman of the CCP

in June 1981 and was promoted to the party's General Secretary a year later. Monthly before his

promotion, in May 1982, Hu gave a speech at the All-China United Front Work Conference (Ch:

*quanguo tongzhan gongzuo huiyi*) (Y. 耀邦 Hu 胡 1982). In his speech, Hu stated that he deliberatively

chose not to discuss too much the issue of minzu but recommended that the cadres seek out the

opinion of Ulanhu and Yang Jingren, both of whom had long time experience in ethnic minority

affairs and were heading the recently restored party and state agencies in ethnic work.

*4.2.2 Tibet Work Symposium and Hu Yaobang's New Minzu Policy*

Under Hu Yaobang, the new leadership began implementing a more gradualist approach

towards the issue of integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities (M. E. Clarke 2011, 73). A key

moment signifying the substantive change to minzu policy came at Hu Yaobang's articulation of his

Tibet policy. In March 1980, the First Tibet Work Symposium was convened in Beijing. At the

meeting, the then Secretary-General of the CPC Central Secretariat Hu Yaobang offered a

systematic critique of the party's policy in Tibet during the Cultural Revolution. The content of this

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[47] See, also, NPCEAC website, "history of the committee," http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/bmzz/minzu/node_1509.htm, accessed June 24th, 2018.

meeting was summarized in the "Summary of the Tibet Work Symposium,"[48] which was then circulated among the party committees of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, military districts, ministries of the state council, and most other key party organs and government agencies. The document made a clear statement about improving the living condition of the Tibetan population as the long-term policy objective:

"[…] at the present and in the long run from now on, the central mission and goal of our effort in the region [Tibet Autonomous Region] shall be: to center on the Tibetan cadres and Tibetan people, to strengthen the unity of cadres and people from all nationalities […] let Tibet become prosper, developed, and rich."

The key to the realization of this objective, states the document, is to "further liberate our thinking, implement the policy, follow closely the reality, thoroughly critique the 'extreme leftist line' of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four". Under this heading, the document went on to argue for several specific tasks geared towards the political empowerment and cultural accommodation of the indigenous population, including 1) actively training party cadres with Tibetan and other minority background and making Tibetan cadres the majority in both party and government apparatuses above the county-level within TAR; 2) promoting Tibetan culture and language, respective local culture and customs, and making both Tibetan and Chinese languages mandatory for all party and government apparatus in TAR; in addition, Han cadres should learn Tibetan while Tibetan cadres should learn Chinese; 3) giving adequate quota for Tibetan and other ethnic minorities in all types of employment, promotion, military recruitment, and school admissions; different branches of the

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[48] Original Chinese title: "中共中央关于转发《西藏工作座谈会纪要》的通知". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=64 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.

public sector should make an effort to absorb Tibetans into their work force so to cultivate intellectuals and working class from ethnic minority background. In addition, the document also states that the authority should unite the religious masses (Ch: *xinjiao qunzhong*, i.e. people who are religious) by preserving and repairing monasteries, carry through the rectification for those wrongly charged during the Cultural Revolution, and maintain a welcome towards oversea Tibetans (PLRC and TARPC 2005, 309–10).

Importantly, the leadership justified its policy change with an explicit admission of its prior mistakes, even though those were attributed to the then deceased Lin Biao and the arrested "Gang of Four". In the short message "CCP Central Committee's Notice on Forwarding the Summary of the Tibet Work Symposium"[49] which was attached before the above document, it is stated that "because of the severe harm done to the Party's minzu policy, economic policy, religious policy, united front policy, cadre policy and others by the extreme leftist line of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, the people of Tibet suffered misfortunes like people in other parts of the country". It then goes on to say that "the center sends its kind sympathy and regard to the compatriots of all ethnicities in Tibet". Even in this short message, the author made sure to reinforce the already articulated rejection of the "class-approach" to minzu questions by the leadership: "in today's China where all ethnicities have completed their socialist reform, the relationship between different ethnicities is one of relationship among working people. Therefore, the so-called expression that 'the nature of the minzu question is a class question' is wrong". In addition, the document also explicitly states that the Tibetan local administration has the right to refuse central policies should those be unfitting for Tibet.

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[49] Original Chinese title: 西藏工作座谈会纪要. The full-text of the article can be viewed online via http://www.china.com.cn/cpc/2011-04/12/content_22343375.htm, accessed June 24th, 2018.

Given its obvious radical break from the previous policy, it would have been quite difficult for this proposal to receive the top elites' full endorsement in the absence of a united leadership on this matter. Some elements of Hu's proposal appear to have come from initiatives of the regional leadership. For example, the bilingual requirement for both Han and Tibetan cadres in TAR was already articulated in an earlier directive from the Propaganda Department of the TAR Party Committee. Dated January 31st, 1980, this directive explicitly states that:

"Tibet [TAR] is an ethnic autonomous region where Tibetan constitutes the titular group (Ch: *zhuti*), which accounts for about 90% of the region's population […] That Han cadres and personnel working in Tibet should study the written and spoken language of the Tibetan people is not only compliance with the party's minzu policy and required for ensuring equal rights among ethnicities and strengthening ethnic solidarity, but also an indispensable prerequisite for convenience of administration and contacts with the masses." (PLRC and TARPC 2005, 315)

The directive specifically asks that in three years, a good number of (non-Tibetan) comrades should have a basic grasp of spoken Tibetan and be able to have conversation with Tibetan comrades, while also a good number of (non-Tibetan) comrades should know enough written Tibetan to read newspapers and government documents in Tibetan (PLRC and TARPC 2005, 317). This directive was first forwarded on behalf of the TAR Party Committee to party and government organs within the region in February 1980. Following the First Tibet Work Symposium and Hu's confirmation of the idea at the top level, the same directive was forwarded again – this time in the name of the CCP Central Committee – to the entire country. According to the comments attached

to this center-issued document,[50] dated April 16th, all other ethnic minority areas should refer to this directive and implement similar language policies as the one in TAR, i.e. Han cadres must study the written and spoken language of the indigenous ethnic minority. From this, it could be argued that the TAR leadership was in full agreement with Hu's new policy direction. At the central level, studies of elite factionalism argue that by early 1980 Deng Xiaoping had consolidated his control in both the Politburo Standing Committee and the State Council – thus giving him control over both political and economic reforms (J. Huang 2000, 373–79). If we agree with this analysis, then it is safe to assume that by this point, i.e. early 1980, the CCP leadership had rallied behind Hu Yaobang's minzu policy reform in Tibet.

Immediate subsequent development by and large confirmed this inference. Soon after the First Tibet Work Symposium, in May 1980, Hu visited the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and chaired an Enlarged Meeting of the TAR Party Committee. At this meeting, Hu gave the famous speech which was subsequently summarized as the "Hu-Six-Point" (Ch: *huliutiao*). In this speech, Hu took the idea in the speech at the Tibet Work Symposium even further and proposed a reform program which was not only comprehensive but radical breaking from the previous Tibet policy. Particularly, the sixth and last of this program demanded that Han cadres should give up their positions to Tibetan cadres (TARPC Policy Research Center 2007, 15–32). Hu allegedly argued that in TAR the Tibetan cadres should make up 80% of the total, letting Han take the rest 20%.

Despite resistance, the center was determined to push through Hu's new Tibet policy. Two months after Hu's Tibet trip, in July, SEAC director Yang Jingren authored an article in the party's principal ideological journal *Red Flag* (Ch: *hongqi zazhi*), in which he echoed both the First Tibet

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[50] Original Chinese title: "中共中央批转西藏自治区党委关于汉族干部、职工学习藏语文的意见的通知". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/c709226e-1f32-4aa2-b9ff-21fa97e178c3/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.

Work Symposium and Hu's speech during his visit. Titled "Resolutely Implement the Center's Instruction and Perform Well on the Tibet Work,"[51] Yang's article states that the cadres must "resolutely implement the policy of ethnic regional autonomy and explicitly equate the concept of ethnic regional autonomy with the right to self-government" (Ch: *zizhuquan*). Reinforcing Hu's speech, Yang suggested nine points: 1) the regional administration in Tibet must be composed of mainly Tibetan cadres; 2) the first administrative language in Tibet must be Tibetan; 3) administration in Tibet must follow regional features; 4) autonomous regions could enact special decrees (Ch: *danxing tiaoli*) in accordance with its own conditions; 5) autonomous regions should enjoy greater financial privilege than other provincial units; 6) autonomous regions should be entitled to a large share from the local resources, such as minerals, forest, grassland, etc.; 7) autonomous regions should have the right to engage in border trade when possible; 8) autonomous regions must develop science, culture, and education of their own ethnicities; 9) autonomous regions could be exempted from central policies, provided that a permission or report is filed (State Ethnic Affairs Commission 国家民族事务委员会 and Central Party Literature Research Center 中共中央文献研究室 1990, 63–78). In effect, Yang's piece elaborated and further specified the implementation of Hu's new minzu policy for Tibet.

Former UFWD director Li Weihan also actively endorsed Hu's policy. A year after Hu's visit to Tibet, in May 1981, a commemoration of the 30-anneriversay of the "Liberation of Tibet" was convened in Beijing. A recently rehabilitated Li Weihan gave a speech entitled "Path of Tibetan National Liberation" (SEAC and PLRC 1990, 87–108).[52] In his brief review of the modern history of

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[51] Original Chinese title: "坚决贯彻中央指示，做好西藏工作". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=64 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.

[52] Original Chinese title: "西藏民族解放的道路". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=64 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 24th, 2018.

Tibet, Li made no mentions of the 1959 Lhasa uprising and the subsequent flight of 14th Dalai Lama

to India. Instead, he emphasized the disruption to minzu policy during the Ten Years of Turmoil,

which was again attributed to Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. He further pointed out that the

disruption persisted even after the Third Plenum, which had apparently not completely overturned

the previous policy practices in Tibet. The speech argues explicitly that socioeconomic development

is the key task in Tibet. Furthermore, it emphasizes the need to respect local conditions and carry

out properly regional autonomy, letting the ethnic minorities truly enjoy self-government, through in

particular the "ethnicization of party cadres". Clearly attempting to signal the willingness of the

central government for a possible reconciliation, the speech concludes by saying that "we cannot but

think of the Dalai Lama and the oversea Tibetan compatriots, who live far away in foreign lands,

away from their home and the people, this is unbearable for all those who have a patriotic heart. We

are very sympathetic to this condition of theirs […] the door of the motherland will be always open

to anyone with a sincere heart towards her". Thus, while in line with Hu's speech and the article by

Yang Jingren, Li's piece further covered the necessary adjustment in foreign policy under the new

direction for minzu policy in Tibet.


*4.2.3 Consolidating Minzu Policy in Both Periphery and Center*

In the ethnically diverse southwestern province of Yunnan, Hu Yaobang's new approach to

minzu policy was well received. The "Summary of Briefing of Yunnan Ethnic Work,"[53] forwarded

by the CCP General Office on July 6th of 1981, confirmed the provincial leadership's agreement with

the center (SEAC and PLRC 1990, 85–86). The "Summary" stated: "in Yunnan as in the rest of the

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[53] Original Chinese title: 云南民族工作汇报会纪要. A portion of the text is included in the volume under the title "the Party's General Policy for Ethnic Work" [党对民族工作的总方针] and can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

country, the Party's minzu policy and ethnic work gradually suffered serious interference from the 'left-leaning' mistakes since the end of the 1950s […] only after the Party's Third Plenum did the 'left'-leaning mistakes receive critique from the root". It defines "left-leaning" mistakes as "omit or even deny the characteristics of the various nationalities, fail to diligently implement or even distort or resist the Party's minzu policy, in particularly, the policy of ethnic regional autonomy, [as a result] affecting the intimate connection between the Party and the masses of various ethnic minorities". It also reaffirmed the critique against the idea that "the nature of the minzu question is class question".

However, the new minzu policy encountered some complications in Inner Mongolia (IMAR) and Xinjiang (XUAR). Starting from 1978, a number of former Mongol officials who had survived the purge of the Cultural Revolution returned to control some of the key areas of the party and government in IMAR. However, the trend of "re-ethnizing" the regional government did not last very long. In September 1981, a student demonstration broke out following a directive issued earlier by the central leadership the month before. Titled "Summary of the Central Secretariat's Discussion on Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region,"[54] the central directive was released under the heading "Document No. 28 of the Central Committee" (hereafter Document No. 28) and circulated to IMAR in early August. The document basically argued that since the Third Plenum, "ethnic relations have been well handled, the restoration of production has been quick, living conditions of the masses have seen some improvements, and all ethnicities have been content". To what extent this description was correct was questionable, but according to some analyses, what was found particularly problematic by ethnic Mongolians in the region was the contradictory statement (absent in the publicly available version) that "the plan not to introduce migration into Inner Mongolia from

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[54] Original Chinese title: "中央书记处讨论内蒙古自治区工作纪要". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/485e635c-9aa9-4fdf-a377-df16e49309ff/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=166 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018. But this version is declared as not the complete version, see http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64186/66699/4495333.html. An unverified full version can be viewed via https://ccradb.appspot.com/post/935, accessed June 29th, 2018.

now on is correct; however, but in terms of the natural population flow from other provinces into Inner Mongolia, the IMAR should not adopt a policy of 'blocking'". Many interpreted this as the center's indifference towards the inflow of non-Mongolian population into the region and the subsequent "dilution" of the region's "ethnic character".[55]

It is important to note that the decisions in Document No. 28 was taken collectively by the top leadership at a meeting of the Central Secretariat, led by Hu Yaobang and joined by reform-minded leaders such as Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Ulanhu, and Yang Jingren. Thus, the decision was endorsed collectively by the top leadership and not with the absence of any key members. However, when the news of the Document No. 28 reached the schools in autonomous region in August, ethnic Mongolian students were immediately alerted by its implications and began questioning the intention of the policy as stated in the document and demanded the IMAR Party Committee for an explanation. According to one account published in the dissident journal *Beijing Spring* (Ch: *beijing zhi chun*), the student demonstration in IMAR lasted from early-September to mid-November of 1981. In the end, they even managed to send a six-member delegation to Beijing to formally petition to the central authority for reversing this policy.[56] No violent confrontation occurred between the protestors and the authority throughout the entire episode. But despite students' success to maintain a peaceful protest and the generally tolerant attitude of the officials to the students' actions, the government did no change to the policy in Document No. 28. After the demonstration was settled in November, however, the student leaders were reportedly punished and more than two hundred high-ranking Mongol officials were sacked or demoted for being sympathetic to the student demands (Bulag 2004, 108).

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[55] http://beijingspring.com/bj2/2000/240/2003820193847.htm
[56] http://beijingspring.com/bj2/2000/240/2003820193847.htm

The case of Xinjiang was further different from that of Inner Mongolia. Due to the persisting ethnic tension already in the 1980s and the authority's concerns for border security, the push for a more conciliatory minzu policy has met with resistance from the local cadres. Nevertheless, the regional leadership by and large followed the center's line and made efforts to improve inter-ethnic relations through socioeconomic development and relaxation of control over cultural and religious life, as well as to maintain and strengthen the party's control in key's area of the regional administration. Hu Yaobang's May 1980 visit to Tibet spurred expectations among the ethnic minorities in Xinjiang that his six-point reform program would be also extended to Xinjiang, in particular, the implementation of substantial local autonomy by the minorities and the transfer of Han officials away from Xinjiang (M. E. Clarke 2011, 77). In several southern Xinjiang cities, the desire for change led to into demonstrations of local minorities, even violent clashes between the protestors and the local authorities which resulted in social disturbances and in some cases, causalities. This seemingly threatening development prompted the central leadership to dispatch the senior cadre Wang Zhen to Xinjiang in October 1980 and to urge the Xinjiang authority to maintain stability and strengthen "ethnic solidarity" (M. E. Clarke 2011, 77). Despite the added emphasis on stability, however, the Xinjiang regional government continued to implement measures to revival ethnic minorities' cultural and religious practices, including reinstating the Xinjiang Islamic Association in June 1980 as well as introducing Arabic script for Uyghur and other Turkic speaking minorities to replace the Latinized script used since 1958 (M. E. Clarke 2011, 78).

Rhetorically, a slight difference in terms of the emphasis of Xinjiang's minzu policy can be discerned from reading the policy document of this time. The July 1981 "Summary of CCP Central Secretariat's Discussion on Xinjiang Work," for instance, makes relatively fewer references to the

catchphrases as seen in other accommodationist policy decisions around the same time.[57] Instead, it emphasizes that the key in Xinjiang is to promote good ethnic relations and strengthen unity among different ethnic groups. In particular, it argues that neither the minority cadres nor the Han cadres alone can accomplish the task in Xinjiang; instead, the minority cadres cannot be left alone to work on the governance and development of Xinjiang without the participation of the Han cadres. The strong emphasis on the necessity of Han cadres stands in clear contrast to the strong pro-autonomy rhetoric in Hu's Tibet policy, which explicitly advised the removal of Han cadres from the region. This does not represent a complete refusal of the general direction of Post-Mao leadership's minzu policy. But the idea that Xinjiang required a somewhat different approach was already endorsed by the top leaders back then. Deng Xiaoping, for example, acknowledged the necessity of prioritizing stability and cultivating politically loyal minority cadres in the region during his 1981 visit to Xinjiang.[58] Still, in the same speech, Deng reportedly also acknowledged that in Xinjiang the party must remain vigilant and guard against both Han Chauvinism and local (parochial) nationalism. The continuing emphasis on the "Two Nationalisms" shows that the practice of Post-Mao minzu policy in Xinjiang had to navigate between pressures of two increasingly conflicting demands, namely, accommodating ethno-cultural diversity and maintaining political unity and social stability. As I shall below, development in Xinjiang during the 1980s by and large supported such an inference.

In October 1981, Wang Enmao, former XUAR party secretary and then party secretary of Jilin Province, returned to Xinjiang to serve as the first secretary of XUAR Party Committee and first political commissar of the Urumqi Military Region (M. E. Clarke 2011, 79). Upon appointment

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[57] Original Chinese title: 中央书记处讨论新疆工作问题的纪要. The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

[58] Original Chinese title: 新疆稳定是大局，选拔干部是关键. The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

Wang immediately began reconsolidating party control at all levels in the region. To ensure stability, Wang made a clear distinction between legal and illegal religious activities (McMillen 1984). At the same time, Wang Enmao affirmed and carried on the party's general conciliatory approach to cultural and religious practices of ethnic minorities, as implemented under the previous Xinjiang chief Wang Feng (M. E. Clarke 2011, 81). However, Wang Enmao made one important alteration to his predecessor's policy: the reconstitution of Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps in June 1982. Originally created in 1954 as the Production and Construction Corps of the Xinjiang Military District of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, this regional paramilitary organization was demobilized in 1975. Following the appeal of both Wang Enmao and Wang Zhen, the central leadership agreed to reinstitute it under the new title "Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps" (XJPCC). On the other hand, Wang Enmao appealed for taking advantage of the historical connection between Xinjiang and the Muslim Central Asia by introducing foreign investment into Xinjiang so to develop the "Great Islamic Circle" (M. E. Clarke 2011, 82–83; Christoffersen 1993). As Michael Clarke argues, the dynamics in Xinjiang during this initial period of Deng's reform came as the result of the contradiction between the prerogatives of the central leadership and the imperatives of the regional authorities (M. E. Clarke 2011, 74).

Overall speaking, in the years immediately after the Cultural Revolution, the senior officials of the party generally agreed on a more accommodationist approach to minzu policy and shared a less hostile attitude towards the ethnic minority population than in the previous decade. While Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang experienced a certain degree of setback in pursuing the above approach and had subsequently adjusted their regional policy instrument, no major split between the regional and the central leadership appeared to exist with regard to the general direction of the minzu policy. In fact, the crackdown on Mongolian students and cadres in the aftermath of demonstration against Document No. 28 led senior leaders, particularly Ulanhu, to see legal measures as a better guarantee

for ethnic minorities' autonomy than political directives of the party. The drafting and subsequent enactment of the Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA), which codifies the protection of the minority rights and further specifies the implementation of the regional autonomy for ethnic minorities, can be seen as a positive outcome from the complications in the above two regions (Bulag 2004, 108).

## 4.3 Uniform Knowledge Community

### 4.3.1 From Ethnology to Minzu Studies

Similar to party organs and government agencies, the social science community was also in a process of institutional restoration and organizational revival during this period. To fully grasp the trajectory of the knowledge community on minzu policy in the post-Mao era, it is useful to briefly review the vicissitudes of the academic and research institutions in PRC between 1950s and 1970s.

From 1949 to 1952, the PRC central government issued a number of directives on restructuring the education and research institutions of China. The process heavily borrowed the experience and template of the Soviet Union. After the "Adjustment of Universities and Departments" (Ch: *gaodeng yuanxiao yuanxi tiaozheng*, hereafter "Adjustment"), the differences between various schools of Chinese ethnology were significantly reduced. Those who remain in ethnological research became absorbed into a new unified discipline guided by an orthodox theoretical approach: Ethno-National Studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*), or, as to follow Wang Jianmin's definition, "Chinese Marxist Ethnology". Whereas in early 20th century, ethnology (Ch: *minzuxue*) and physical anthropology (Ch: *tizhi renleixue*) were moving closer towards one another to form an integrated discipline, with the former becoming renamed as cultural anthropology, the Adjustment interrupted this process and reversed this tendency by separating the two again into entirely different categories. Instead of integration, physical anthropology was categorized as a sub-field under biology and renamed simply as

"anthropology" (Ch: *renleixue*). Thus, whereas ethnology remained within the social sciences, physical anthropology/anthropology in China became part of the science program (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 67–69).

According to Wang et al., there are four major consequences of the Adjustment. First was the complete reorientation of the scientific community's theoretical approach. Scholars from different schools became subsumed into the same state ethnological science and were asked to adopt Marxism-Leninism as their primary theoretical tool and guiding philosophy. This "conversion" not only occurred to the young scholars who were under training at the time, but also to many established, senior scholars who had genuine desire to work for the PRC regime and demonstrate their political loyalty (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 70).

Along with the theoretical reorientation, the ethnology community also came under stricter state intervention in research agenda. In 1956, Ethnic Minority Language Institute (Ch: *shaoshu minzu yuyan yanjiusuo*) was established as a part of the Chinese Academy of Science (CAS). In the same year, the CCP Central Propaganda Department and the CAS Philosophy and Social Science Division (Ch: *zhexue shehui kexue bu*) organized meetings on a 12-year research planning on topics including domestic national questions, ethnic minority history, ethnology, ethnic minority languages. Many scholars participated in these meeting, including more than thirty from the Central Institute for Nationalities (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 72). In the final product, titled "1956-1967 Philosophy and Social Science Planning Outline of the State Council Science Planning Commission,"[59] the mission of ethnology was defined as: to study ethnic minorities' ethnic

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[59] The original Chinese title of the document is "国务院科学规划委员会 1956-1967 年哲学社会科学规划纲要". The coordinating and leading agency, State Council Science Planning Commission (Ch: *guowuyuan kexue guihua weiyuanhui* 国家科学规划委员会) was established on March 14th, 1956 and was mainly responsible for drafting the 12-year (1956-1967) natural and social science planning. For more information, see http://www.most.gov.cn/kjfz/kjzg60dsj/200909/t20090914_72857.htm (Ministry of Science and Technology, PRC)

identification, the evolution of their societal character, characteristics of their cultural life, and religions among ethnic minorities. As a result, the research focus of ethnologists became oriented towards the governments' need for knowledge about ethnic minority communities across the country. Research no longer followed merely the academic interests of the scholars, but significantly more the practical need of the government's ethnic work.

Thirdly, while earlier ethnology had no particular preference for either Han or non-Han communities in China, the reformed discipline had overwhelmingly focused on ethnic minority areas. This is reflected in the earlier division of focus within the Central Institute for Nationalities. During its initial years, the institute hosted a library and five regional offices. All of the regional offices were apparently targeting places with a high concentration of non-Han population. These five regional offices are Northwest Office (led by Feng Jiasheng), Northeast and Inner Mongolia Office (led by Weng Dujian), Southwest Office (led by Jian Bozan), Tibetan Office (led by Lin Yaohua), and Central-East and -South Office (led by Pan Guangdan) (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 74).[60] China proper, or Inner China, received no dedicated research staff – not to mention a separate division – at the institute.

Fourthly, the focus of their research transitioned from a the rather singular topic of culture to everything about ethnic groups. Whereas pre-PRC ethnology – like its counterpart in Europe and North America, sometimes under the title of cultural anthropology – has been mainly concerned with the study of the culture, the new reformed ethnology became preoccupied with understanding ethnic groups as a product of historical development of human society (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王,

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[60] See also "School of Ethnology and Sociology, Minzu University of China (Central Institute for Nationalities)", Baidu Encyclopedia https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B8%AD%E5%A4%AE%E6%B0%91%E6%97%8F%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6%E6%B0%91%E6%97%8F%E5%AD%A6%E4%B8%8E%E7%A4%BE%E4%BC%9A%E5%AD%A6%E5%AD%A6%E9%99%A2, accessed June 28th, 2018.

Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 75). This was largely a result of the aforementioned theoretical reorientation to Marxism-Leninism and empirical focus on ethnic minorities. Marxism-Leninism held a teleological view of human society development. Coupled with an exclusive focus on the minorities, these two factors encouraged the (predominately Han) scholars to view ethnic minorities as backward relative to Han and a living proof of the earlier stage of social evolution in Marxism-Leninist theory. As such, the job of studying ethnic minorities was to study the socioeconomic conditions of those communities, i.e. "productive forces" and "relations of production," rather than culture, i.e. "superstructure" which should be epiphenomenal to the formers.

The reorientation was not uncontested. Chinese ethnologists, anthropologists, and sociologists have been cultivating their respective disciplines for decades before the Communist Party came to power in the mid-20th century (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王 1997). While the Communist authority pushed its reform those disciplines with political authority and administrative muscle – first by abolishing sociology, anthropology, and ethnology in universities and colleges and then by consolidating scholars into new research units in the framework of Ethno-National studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*) – the scholars also sought to shape their community towards their vision. In a famous article cowritten by Fei Xiaotong and Lin Yaohua in 1956, titled "Several Tasks for Ethnology Demanded by Current Ethnic Work,"[61] the two prominent scholars explicitly contested the above tendency as a result of the "Adjustment". They argued that ethnology should not be exclusively about ethnic minorities, but about Han as well. They also argued for a practice-oriented, experience-grounded approach to the definition of ethnology, stating that "the nature and scope of the discipline would gradually become clear in the development of research activities […] we think that we should not set the parameters and draw up the boundaries at the beginning" (Fei 費 and Lin 林

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[61] Original Chinese title: "当前民族工作提給民族学的几个任务"

1956, 17). In fact, Lin Yaohua even took the article to the All-Soviet Ethnography Conference of the Soviet Union in May of the year, where he presented it under the title "Research Questions Raised for Ethnologists by the New China in Solving Problems in Ethnic Work" (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 97; H. 鸿保 Hu 胡 2004, 1).

However, as the involvement of Chinese ethnologists in the government's minzu policy deepened, the influence of the government's preference became more and more reflected in the professional activities of the scholars. In 1954, the government launched a nationwide ethnic classification (Ch: *minzu shibie*) following the first national census. Then in 1956, the government launched the Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History (Ch: *shaoshu minzu shhui lishi diaocha*). Academics across disciplines were heavily involved in both projects, which were funded by the state and coordinated between the central and different regions across the country to allow a systematic production of knowledge about the social, economic, historical, as well as cultural features of various ethnic minority communities of China. Since the main interest behind these projects were political rather than academic, the researchers must learn to adapt to the need of the government, who wanted the knowledge for policy-making above everything else. The Anti-Rightist Campaign (Ch: *fanyou yundong*), which lasted from 1957 to 1959, further pushed the scholars to accept the leadership of the party-state in their professional lives. Those who voiced disagreement received not only criticism, but in many cases also other forms of punishments. As Liang Huaxin, a Guangxi-based party official of Zhuang nationality wrote with a proud – if somewhat ironic – tone in 1960:

"After the Anti-Rightist Rectification Campaign during the first half of 1958, especially after various reactionary opinions of the bourgeois ethnology were thoroughly critiqued, the majority of our comrades in the survey team [for Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History] had

come to the realization that, upholding the party's political leadership is the fundamental key to good work" (Liang 梁 1960, 13)

The integration of ethnological science into the party-state's minzu policymaking was also reflected in the academic output of the ethnology community. Ethno-National Studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*), the flagship journal of the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnology (the predecessor to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology), published a total of 135 articles between 1958 and 1959. Through a quick break-down of the thematic focus of these articles, we can see clearly how politics had invaded the internal discourse within the academic community at that time. Of the nine categories, #1 and #2 are explicitly concerned with the state-level politics. But the other categories also featuring a substantial number of articles that are discussion about the implementation of the party-state's minzu policy rather than professional ethnological research.

**Table 5 – Articles in Ethno-National Studies by Theme, 1958-1959[62]**

| | Theme | # of Articles | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| #1 | "Celebration of 10-Year Anniversary of PRC's Founding" | 13 | 9.6% |
| #2 | "General Line, Great Leap Forward, People's Commune" | 24 | 17.8% |
| #3 | "Politics" | 7 | 5.2% |
| #4 | "Economy" | 5 | 3.7% |
| #5 | "Cultural Education" | 16 | 11.9% |
| #6 | "Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History" | 45 | 33.3% |
| #7 | Translated Essays | 8 | 5.9% |
| #8 | Book Reviews | 1 | 0.7% |
| #9 | "Updates on Academic Activity" | 16 | 11.9% |
| | Total # | 135 | 100% |

Another indication of this tendency can be observed in the first issue of the journal. Ethno-national Studies was launched in September 1958 as a monthly journal for ethnological studies by

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[62] Source: Ethno-National Studies ("民族研究 1958—1959 年总目录 [Combined Catalog of Ethno-National Studies, 1958-1959]" 1959)

the Institute of Ethnology, Chinese Academy of Sciences. In the very first issue, the editors published an essay explaining the orientation of the journal. But immediately after the issue was released, the editorial team received political criticisms directly from the Central Nationalities Affairs Committee (Ch: *zhongyang minzu shiwu weiyuanhui*), for failing to take it as the journal's *top priority* to "publicize and explain the innovative development to nationality theory in Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao with regards to solving China's national question, publicize the party's nationality policy, publicize the glorious achievements of the party in ethnic work" (Journal Editors 本刊编辑部 1959). In the context of the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957-1959), the editing team did not dare to dismiss the reaction from the Nationalities Affairs Committee. In the two months after the first issue – from October to December 1958 – the Institute of Ethnology reportedly organized a series of internal political campaigns targeting the above-mentioned essay, including 18 "Criticism Meeting" (Ch: *pipan hui*), which saw the participation of over 200 people, received 122 pieces of comments, and produced 417 "big-character posters" (Ch: *dazi bao*) (Lv 吕 1959). In 1960, Ethno-national Studies was suspended after less than two years of its launching.

Starting from 1963, party and government agencies in united front, minzu policy, and religious policy became involved in a new political campaign targeting "Defeatist and Revisionist Lines".[63] Ethno-national/minzu questions (Ch: *minzu wenti*) were to be treated as class questions. As a result, ethnological studies came under heavy attack. Fearing to be seen as continuing a bourgeois ethnological research, scholars gradually refrained from using the term "ethnology". Instead, ethno-national studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*) or ethno-national question studies (Ch: *minzu wenti yanjiu*) became the substitute (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 221). The term "ethnology" was not revived again until after the Cultural Revolution.

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[63] Original Chinese term: 投降主义修整主义路线.

*4.3.2 Rebuilding the Chinese Ethnology*

The process of restoring ethnology and other social sciences started soon after the Third

Plenum. From late April to early May 1979, All-China Ethno-National Studies Work Conference[64]

was convened in Kunming, Yunnan Province and led by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

(CASS). At the conference, it was decided that ethnology (Ch: *minzuxue*) should be listed as an

independent discipline within the broader category of ethno-national studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*).

Chinese Ethno-National Studies Association (CENSA)[65] was also established as an umbrella

professional association for scholars and researchers in this area. At the same conference, a group of

scholars mainly from the Institute of Ethnology of CASS were entrusted with the task of setting up

a dedicated professional association for ethnology, which was initially named as the Chinese

Ethnological Research Association (CERA).[66] The first meeting of the CERA was convened a year

later, which announced the establishment of the association as well as its status as a member of the

CENSA, the umbrella association with the term "Ethno-National Studies" in its title. (Jianmin 建民

Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 313–15)

The restored of ethnology and other social sciences bore certain imprint of the pre-Cultural

Revolution. While scholars were enthusiastic about the restoration of social sciences, many of them

did not agree on a common definition of their respective discipline. This is particularly the case with

the ethnological sciences, where the disagreement was in large part rooted in the earlier integration

of the discipline into minzu policy agencies of the state, and its subsequent transformation into an

ethnic minority-oriented comprehensive social and historical research program under the title of

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[64] Original Chinese title: 全国民族研究工作会议.
[65] Original Chinese title: 中国民族研究学会.
[66] Original Chinese title: 中国民族学研究会.

ethno-national studies. Tibetologist and CASS research fellow Li Youyi pointed out frankly that "the concept of ethnology is not very clear among ethnological researchers in China. Many prefer the term 'ethno-national studies (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*)' instead of 'ethnology (Ch: *minzuxue*)'" (Y. 有义 Li 李 1980, 54).

For some scholars, ethnology equals ethno-national studies. Renowned sociologist and anthropologist Lin Yaohua, for example, argued that "ethnology is […] a field of studies that takes ethno-national community (Ch: *minzu gongtongti*) as its object of research […] The research method of ethnology is mainly field research, plus using various textual and historical materials to study different ethno-national communities of different developmental stages around the world" (Lin 林 and Jin 金 1980, 53). Some emphasized that the ethnological science in socialist China had been and should continue to be Marxist ethnology. The focus of ethnology should be the patters of the origin, development, as well as dissolution of ethno-national community (T. 廷贵 Li 李 and Wang 王 1980, 57). Along this line, they also prefer to maintain the interdisciplinary nature of ethno-national studies for ethnology as well, thereby making ethnology essentially everything concerning ethno-national communities. Zhang Yongguo, for instance, considers such broad scope a necessary principle for the Chinese ethnological science because:

"Ours is a Marxist ethnology, [it] must not follow the example of the bourgeois ethnology, focusing narrowly on human culture, national culture, or the social institutions of earlier human societies; [it] must also not follow the example of the Soviet ethnography, focusing narrowly on the life style, material culture, spiritual culture of various ethno-national communities or the history of ancient societies. China's ethnology must study comprehensively the entire developmental process of ethno-national communities, especially problems with regards to the

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process in which various ethno-national communities in China form socialist ethno-national communities (Ch: *shehui zhuyi minzu*)." (Zhang 張 1980, 68)

On the other hand, some believe that ethnology should be defined as different from the ethno-national studies. Li Youyi is one example. For him, ethnology has been an important component to the studies of ethno-national groups in China. However, its unique focus and method warrants the establishment of a separate academic discipline. He notes that there were five components within the broad category of ethno-national studies, each of which is somewhat separate from the others. These are: theory of the ethno-national question (Ch: *minzu wenti lilun*), language of ethno-national groups, history of ethno-national groups, ethnology, and ethno-national groups around the world (Ch: *shijie minzu*). Among them, Li believes that only ethnology deserves an independent discipline of its own.

"The remaining four aspects have a certain degree of independence, but they are sub-divisions of other disciplines with a special focus on ethno-national groups. For example, theory of the ethno-national question is a branch of Marxism-Leninist theory, or a branch of ethnology; language of ethno-national groups is a branch of language studies, it is a sub-division of language studies on the language of ethno-national groups; history of ethno-national groups is a branch of history, it is a sub-division of history on the topic of ethno-national groups. Ethnology, however, is an independent discipline, no other can replace it" (Y. 有义 Li 李 1980, 56).

The disagreement was reflected also in the title of the association of ethnologists. From 1980 to 1991, the association went from Chinese Ethnological Research Association[67] to Chinese Ethno-National Groups Association[68] in 1984 to Chinese Ethnology Association[69] in 1991 (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 316). While the titles are very similar with one another in Chinese – with but the alteration of one or two characters each time – each bears a quite different connotation. Despite the disagreement, it was nonetheless widely shared that ethnology and ethno-national studies represent important research programs to the design of China's minzu policy (Y. 有义 Li 李 1980, 56–59; Lin 林 and Jin 金 1980, 55–70; Zhang 張 1980, 68).

In practice, ethnology and ethno-national studies were often intertwined with one another during their restoration. Department of Ethnology were introduced at nationality institutes across the country. As a result, in the revived discipline of ethnology, it was the tradition of Chinese Marxist Ethnology – which operated under the name of ethno-national studies or *minzu yanjiu* – that dominated the knowledge community in the initial years following the revival.

From the perspective of disciplinary development, this outcome can be evaluated from two sides. On the one hand, the legacy of state intervention in social science research and organization left a strong and lasting imprint on the character of ethnological science in China, which caused it to become a different discipline from its earlier and contemporary international counterparts, but one heavily focused the study of ethnic minority groups within historical and contemporary China. On the other hand, because of this legacy, during the initial years of disciplinary revival, while scholars and researchers had different ideas about what a proper ethnological science should be, there was a general consensus on the importance of reviving and cultivating a professional academic community

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[67] Original Chinese title: 中国民族学研究会.
[68] Original Chinese title: 中国民族学会.
[69] Original Chinese title: 中国民族学学会.

of ethnological researchers based on the history of not only pre-PRC scholarship but also and more importantly, the large-scale social science studies led by the PRC in forms of Ethnic Classification and Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History. As a result, scholars and researchers within the broad ethnological science community share a common vision for a social science discipline under which they would carry out their professional activities. They also general share the same theoretical lexicon and research orientations. As such, it is reasonable to argue that during this time, the knowledge community on minzu policy – represented by mostly the ethnological science community – is by and large internally coherent.

### 4.4 Intra-paradigm Professional Debate

*4.4.1 "De facto Interethnic Inequality"*

Within this context, the scholarly discourse on minzu policy demonstrated a high degree of common commitment to understanding the nature of interethnic relations from the shared theoretical framework of Marxism-Leninism. A key debate among scholars during this time revolved around the question of "de facto interethnic inequality".[70] While there was clearly a debate between those who advocate the application of this concept to describe and understand the socioeconomic condition of ethnic minorities, others contested its meaning, its fitness with the Chinese context, as well as the desirability of using it in public discourse. The debate over "de facto interethnic inequality" offers a good example of a moderate policy debate among scholars under a collaborative policy environment and within a coherent professional knowledge community.

The discussion began as early as 1979. Jin Xiangzhen in his article "A Tentative Discussion of the Nature of Ethno-National Question during Socialist Period," published December 1979, asked

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[70] Original Chinese term: 民族间事实上的不平等.

the following question in the opening: "in China, especially after the socialist reform of the ownership of means of production is complete, what is the nature of the ethno-national question (Ch: *minzu wenti*)? Is it a question of class? Or is it about something else?" Arguing that "nature of the ethno-national question" changes according to the "nature of the revolution" (Ch: *geming de xingzhi*), Jin proposed that since China had become a de facto socialist country under the proletarian dictatorship, class contradiction was no longer the main contradiction. Ethno-national question, accordingly, should also stop being about class struggles. Instead, the more prominent issue had become developing the economy and culture of ethnic minority areas so to gradually eliminate the de facto economic and cultural inequality among ethnicities in the country (X. 相镇 Jin 金 1979, 23–24). Jin carefully directed his blame only Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, for stalled development in ethnic minority areas. To remedy their impact, Jin called upon cadres to promote the "Four Modernizations" (Ch: *sige xiandaihua*) for ethnic minorities in order to reduce and eventually eliminate de facto interethnic inequality. Noted that for Jin, the inequality here refers to any kind of cross-ethnic inequality, beyond simply those between Han and non-Han people.

Jin's argument was echoed by a number of scholars, particularly after the First Tibet Work Symposium in March 1980. In the context of Hu Yaobang's new Tibet policy, many joined the discussion, further elaborating the concept of "de facto interethnic inequality" and proposing practical solutions. Liu Xianzhao and Wei Shiming, for example, used Zhou Enlai's 1957 Qingdao speech[71] to justify the need to address de facto inter-ethnic inequality: "reading the speech after twenty years, we think ever more deeply that it offers profoundly practical guidance to China's ethnic work in the current phase". They consider eliminating de facto inter-ethnic inequality as the fundamental task of "China's ethno-national question during the socialist period" and "a serious

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[71] Zhou Enlai's Speech at the 1957 Qingdao Symposium on Ethnic Work, titled "A Few Questions regarding Our Country's Minzu Policy" ("关于我国民族政策的几个问题"). See chapter 2 for a discussion of this speech.

mission for China's ethnic work during the new era" (X. 先照 Liu 刘 and Wei 韦 1980, 7). Citing Lenin and Stalin's writings as their theoretical reference, Liu and Wei defined de facto inter-ethnic inequality as the lack of development for the ethnic minorities in political, economic, and cultural aspects, despite and beyond the affirmation of ethnic equality in legal terms. They also critiqued the idea that focus narrowly on legal equality while overlooking those substantive inequalities.

Like Liu and Wei, Shi Yang also used Zhou Enlai's speech as justification for the question, while citing Lenin and Stalin to make his theoretical point. Shi made a distinction between eliminating inequality and ethnic assimilation (Ch: *minzu tonghua*), arguing that the latter would only happen only long after the realization of communism. Regarding the present task, Shi proposed to focus on the political empowerment of ethnic minorities. Blaming extreme leftism (Ch: *jizuo*) that was practiced and promoted by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four as the source for problems in ethnic minority areas, Shi argued that a key task for the government was the "ethnicization" (Ch: *minzuhua*) of the governments in autonomous regions. Only through "ethnicization," argued Shi, would ethnic minorities be able to exercise their right to autonomy in an authentic sense:

"To exercises the right to autonomy, [we] must implement 'ethnicization.' Without 'ethnicization,' ethnic regional autonomy is nothing but empty talk. The right to ethnic autonomy (Ch: *minzu zizhiquan*) is the right to ethnic self-governance (Ch: *minzu zhizhuquan*); without the right to ethnic self-governance […] there is no ethnic equality." (Shi 石 1980, 4)

Along similar lines, Mao Aohai also argued that economic development should not be an end in itself, but merely means to achieve an important political end nonreducible to the former, namely, ethnic quality. Specifically, he argued that the carrying out "Four Modernizations" must not omit or override with the principle of ethnic equality. Instead, "Four Modernizations" would only create the

necessary material condition for addressing de facto interethnic inequality; furthermore, it must proceed carefully and strictly according to the principle of ethnic equality (Mao 茂 1980, 19–23). Wei Mingshan further raised the importance of ethnic equality by juxtaposing it with another foundational principle of CCP's minzu policy, namely, ethnic solidarity (Ch: *minzu tuanjie*). As a concept, ethnic solidarity is often used when individuals or groups are asked to make sacrifices for a greater community, e.g. the Chinese nation, in the name of solidarity among ethnicities. For Wei, ethnic solidarity must be subordinate to the principle of ethnic equality. While Wei agreed that ethnic solidarity was important for the realization of "Four Modernizations," he argued that "in China today where we have realized basically the political equality among various ethnicities, we should strengthen ethnic solidarity but what is more important is to gradually eliminate the de facto interethnic inequality" (Wei 韦 1981, 28).

*4.4.2 Disputing the Concept*

Different voices soon emerged. Writing for flag-ship journal of CASS Institute of Nationalities *Ethno-National Studies*, Yang Wenju challenged the concept of "de factor interethnic inequality" from both theoretical and practical points of view. On the other hand, Yang offered a different interpretation of the term – based on his novel reading of Stalin's text – that redefined the "de facto inequality" as referring to only "differences in developmental stages" (Ch: *shehui fazhan jieduan*) in Marxist terms (W. 文炬 Yang 杨 1983, 3). To him, using the concept for anything beyond this parameter would be unfaithful to its originally intended meaning. On the other hand, Yang believed that differences in developmental stages has already be eliminated, given that China had gone through both democratic reform and socialist reform under the CCP. In contrast, gaps in socioeconomic development across ethnic groups remained and were impossible to be addressed

right away but would require efforts over the long term. As such, Yang argued – or rather, jumped to the argument – that one should simply stop labelling cross-ethnic gaps in socioeconomic development as "inequality". He warned against the continuing usage of the term: either it would make people dismissive of real differences, or when it's applied casually on any socioeconomic differences, people would begin to perceive inequality everywhere (W. 文炬 Yang 杨 1983, 6–7).

Despite his not entirely sound logic, Yang's attempt to dispute the concept attracted support from several scholars. Mu Mu, for stance, after recounting PRC's achievements in improving the conditions of ethnic minorities, argued that there was no longer any de facto interethnic inequality in China. Specifically, Mu rejected that there remained inequality in economic and cultural development among ethnic groups. "Whether there is equality or inequality depends on whether [different groups] enjoy the same social status and rights, not differences in degree of development" (Mu 穆 1985, 108). In other words, as long as everyone has the equal opportunity to development, "equality" is realized. Based on this definition, Mu called the idea of de facto interethnic inequality "inconsistent with the objective reality of inter-ethnic relations in our country, and therefore unpersuasive" (Mu 穆 1985, 106). Wang Xunming from Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences[72] also shared Yang's critique that completely eliminating differences in economic and cultural development was impossible, going as far as calling it an utopia (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1985, 36). But for Wang, the criterion to assess the existence of real inequality was whether the working masses of the "backward nationalities" (Ch: *luohou minzu*) could fully enjoy the rights obtained through the "equalization of ethnic rights" like the working masses of the "advanced nationalities" (Ch: *xianjin minzu*) (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1985, 36).

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[72] Wang worked at the Institute of Scientific Socialism (Ch: *kexue shehui zhuyi yanjiuyuan*) of Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences.

At the same time, many others also criticized Yang's argument. Liu Shaochuan, for example, argued that eliminating de facto interethnic inequality involved necessarily also eliminating general socioeconomic differences between different ethnic groups. Calling Yang's argument "stage theory" (Ch: *jieduan lun*), Liu disputed Yang's reading of Lenin and Stalin's texts. He spent 5 pages of his 7-page article reinterpreting the passages by those two Marxist writers, before concluding that Yang had mishandled the concept and wrongly denied the possibility of eliminating socioeconomic gaps among different ethnic groups. In the end, Liu called upon the working class of the "advanced nationalities" to offer "comprehensive," "flexible," "long-term," "proletarian," "genuine," "frequent," and "sincere" assistance to the "backward nationalities" so to fully eradicate their "backwardness" (Ch: *luohou xing*) and eliminate de facto interethnic inequality (Shaochuan 绍川 Liu 刘 1984, 12). Chen Jialing endorsed Liu Shaochuan's critique and similarly disputed Yang's interpretation of Lenin and Stalin's text. While agreeing with Yang's conceptual distinction between "stage differences" and "differences in economic and cultural development," Chen saw both as part of the concept of "de facto inequality". Before concluding, Chen professed confidence that the leadership under Zhao Ziyang and the newly enacted LERA would be able to facilitate this task (Jialing 嘉陵 Chen 陈 1984, 41, 66). A few years later, Chen published another critique against both Wang Xunming and Mu Mu (Jialing 嘉陵 Chen 陈 1987). Announcing that he would like to engage both authors in a comradely discussion (Ch: *tongzhi shi de taolun*), Chen challenged both Wang and Mu's reading of the classical Marxist texts and argued that de facto interethnic inequality was indeed applicable in China today. This time Chen attempted to demonstrate the feasibility of eliminating such inequality by citing evidence from both the Soviet Union as well as Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. Chen also suggested how one could measure inequality with general socioeconomic indicators by citing statistics from the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Jialing

嘉陵 Chen 陈 1987, 40–41). All in all, Chen's second piece offered a systematic discussion about both the theoretical definition of "de facto interethnic inequality" and its operationalization for social scientific analyses.

Aside from the two opposing camps, a number of other voices also appeared in the debate. Zhu Min, while admitted that there were indeed still inequalities among ethnic groups, preferred calling the phenomena "gaps in economic and cultural development" rather than "de facto interethnic inequality" (M. 民 Zhu 朱 1986, 25), for fears that the latter term might create frustration among cadres and the masses. Gu Zhaoji and Wang Chao agreed with Zhu Min that it was better to drop the term because it might hurt people's "ethnic emotion" and be used to stir "ethnic hostility" (Gu 顾 and Wang 王 1988, 11). Lacuo focused on the practical aspect of minzu policy, calling for more "opening-up policy" "assistance policy," and legal support to facilitate the elimination of de facto interethnic inequality (Lacuo 拉措 1986). One novel argument came from Zheng Guanzhi, who brought up the issue of ethnic obligations (Ch: *minzu yiwu*) (Zheng 郑 1987). Agreeing with Yang Wenju's redefinition of the term, Zheng argued that de facto interethnic *equality* had been realized since the founding of PRC. He then suggested that aside from upholding the principle of ethnic equality, it was equally important for everyone to fulfill their ethnic obligations, which include 1) upholding the system of ethnic regional autonomy and opposing all forms of splittism, 2) safeguarding the unity of the motherland and pursuing the unification of the motherland with Taiwan, 3) strengthening ethnic solidarity, and 4) upholding the Four Cardinal Principles (Ch: *sixiang jiben yuanze*) and Opening-up & Reform (Ch: *gaige kaifang*). A rebuttal to Zheng's argument, targeting specifically his first claim, was provided later by Mao Aohai (Mao 茂 1989).

The debate over "de facto interethnic inequality" has several features. Both its advocates and challengers have attempted to legitimize one's argument or dispute the argument of the opponents

by referring to the same set of the Soviet Marxist literature, in particular, the discussion on nationality by Lenin and Stalin. No one in the debate has brought in any other theoretical frameworks aside from Marxism-Leninism. Much of the discussion revolved around or proceed through the attempts to (re)interpret the Soviet Marxist texts. Neither side rejected the concept altogether; they differed mostly with regards to how relevant it was for China or how useful it was for practical work. In the end, most participants of this debate shared a number of basic understandings: 1) there are socioeconomic gaps among ethnic groups in China, 2) these gaps are rooted in history and further exacerbated by the political turmoil during the Cultural Revolution (usually referred to indirectly as the sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four), 3) these gaps require active efforts and a long period of time to address, 4) the state had been working towards reducing the gaps and should be continuing doing so in the future. In terms of their argumentation style, most scholars chose to spend more ink on conceptual dispute than empirically grounded discussion. By and large, the debate over "de facto interethnic inequality" shows a scholarly discourse with relatively low theoretical heterogeneity and generally shared problem definition. Reviewing the debate already in 1985, Jin Binggao believed that the discussion was a positive phenomenon under the new domestic circumstances following the party's Third Plenum. "Although there were a number of different, conflicting opinions […] [the debate] performed the positive function of unifying the community's understanding […]" (B. 炳镐 Jin 金 1986, 39).

**Chapter 5 Questioning Ethnic Consciousness, 1989-2003**


**5.1 Chapter Overview**

From 1989 to 2003, the central leadership became increasingly divided over minzu policy due to political development both inside and outside China. Internationally, the downfall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union alarmed the Chinese leaders of the centrifugal potential of localized ethnic identities and the vulnerability of their multiculturalist institutional design. Domestically, the ethnic unrests in Xinjiang and Tibet throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s plus the nationwide mass democratic demonstrations in 1989 led many to consider Deng's liberalization policy as a political failure. The push for shifting minzu policy back onto a more integrationist track reached a decisive milestone in 1996, when the party leadership Jiang Zemin issued the Document No. 7, thus drastically reducing the cultural and religious autonomy of the Turkic minorities in Xinjiang.

During the same period, the scholar community on minzu policy began to develop in number of different directions due to the general revival of social sciences and the tendency of research specialization. Many increasingly evaluated minzu studies from a critical standpoint. Motivated by an interest to promote their own discipline against others in the competition for research resources, academics increasingly question the mission of minzu studies in contemporary China. Importantly, ethno-national politics gradually emerged as a distinct field of studies that combines approaches from both the Chinese Marxist ethnology and political science. As a result, the knowledge community of minzu policy became somewhat fragmented.

Under the influence of the above two factors, the academic debate on minzu policy displayed more politicized disagreements than the previous period, featuring increasingly critical voice concerning China's minzu policy. One representative development was the debate over the concept,

"ethnic consciousness," which led to the division of the community between those who advocate for controlling ethnic consciousness – of the minorities in particular – in the name of social stability and national unity, and those who defend ethnic consciousness as a natural and harmless component of any ethnic identification. Over time, this debate went beyond purely theoretical discussion and began questioning the overall orientation of China's minzu policy.

## 5.2 Adversarial Policy Subsystem

### 5.2.1 Balancing Soft- and Hard-line Approaches under Jiang

Jiang Zemin became the CCP General Secretary in the aftermath of the 1989 pro-democracy student demonstration. He stayed in office for the next 13 years and presided over a period of sustained rapid economic and social development in contemporary China. Different from the previous one, this period saw evident increased ethnic tensions inside China. This led to a number of implications for the direction and content of PRC minzu policy. Especially in border regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet, the Chinese government's approach to ethnic issues during this time became much less conciliatory than the previous decade. This turn, however, is facilitated by not only the shifting international and domestic conditions, but also the power reconfiguration within the top echelon of the Chinese Communist Party. With liberal leaders such as Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li either marginalized or no longer around, as well as the consolidations of conservative leaders such as Li Peng and Chen Yun, the top leadership gradually returned to an integrationist position towards the millions of ethnic minorities in the country. Economic development and social stability soon became the top priority of the leadership. This opened up the possibility for regional governments to pursue more concrete and measurables objectives such as economic growth and social stability over the abstract ones such as promoting indigenous ethnic culture and protecting religious beliefs. In some cases, such preferences led authorities to pursue development and stability

at the expense of the ethnic minorities' cultural, economic, or political autonomy. In particular, while a number of key bureaucratic sectors and the regional governments agreed on the importance of economic development, the increasingly security-driven approach in western China's minority-dense regions challenged the minzu policy inherited from Hu Yaobang's era. Despite discontent among minority cadres and intellectuals due to the center's retreat from the accommodationist position, the Chinese government under Jiang Zemin gradually replaced the "development-accommodation" approach to ethnic affairs with a "development-stability" approach.

A key trigger to the policy struggle came from Xinjiang. As partially discussed in the previous chapter, under Wang Enmao (1981-1985) and his immediate successor Song Hanliang (1985–1994), the XUAR government sought to consolidate the party's control in the region while also boost the political loyalty of the ethnic minority population through accommodating their cultural and religious needs, specifically, the use of their native tongues and the practice of Islam. By the end of the 1980s, however, rising ethnic tension in Xinjiang increasingly called such an approach into question. Part of the cause for this development was the radicalization of Islamic believers facilitated by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan during this period (1979-1989). The XUAR's response to these unrest, throughout the late 1980s, was to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the region while continuing to accommodate the revival of the ethnic minorities' cultural and religious practices (M. E. Clarke 2011, 78). As we have mentioned earlier, this did not mean lack of regulation; on the contrary, the XUAR only allowed ethnic minorities to engage in "lawful" religious activities within a framework of strengthened government control. In despite of the authority's effort to strike a balance between accommodation and control, popular discontent with the government persisted. Out of the 18 organized protests in Xinjiang as documented by Gardner Bovingdon, nine occurred between 1980 and 1981, one in 1985, and the rest eight between 1988 and 1989 (Bovingdon 2010, 177–80). The largest one of the second half part of the decade came in 1989: when students from

universities and colleges in Beijing occupied the Tiananmen Square in the national capital to protest against the rampant corruption and call for a systematic political reform of the country, approximately 3000 students from Xinjiang University marched to the Party headquarter in XUAR's capital city Urumqi on May 19th. Although one initial trigger behind the protest was the publication of a controversial book *Sexual Customs*, which depicted Muslims going on the *hajj* to Mecca as engaging in sexual indulgence, the Urumqi protest also included calls for more cultural autonomy and support for fellow student protestors three thousands kilometer away in Beijing (Dreyer 2000, 140–41).

Externally, the Chinese authority felt the pressure from the dramatic change in geopolitical configuration as the Cold War came to a sudden end. Between 1989 and 1991, communist parties across Eastern Europe fell from power one after another. In 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved and was replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In response, the CCP engaged in a systematic assessment of the causes for the failure of the socialist regimes in the Soviet bloc (Shambaugh 2008; PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 305). In particular, the Chinese leaders were anxious about the potential risk of their minzu policy, which bore much resemblance to the nationality policy of the Soviet Union. They were worried that China would follow a similar path.

The rapidly changing international environment and rising ethnic tension within China did not trigger an immediate change to the minzu policy. The PRC Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA), crafted by the senior Mongolian cadre Ulanhu and supported by liberal leaders Hu Yaobang, was only enacted in 1984. By the early 1990, even after the standoff on the Tiananmen Square, the new party leadership did not go for an entirely different direction for their recently reinstituted minzu policy. But one can already sense the tension between the conciliatory approach preferred by the top leadership in early 1980s and the demand for increased repressive measures from the more restive area of the country, such as Xinjiang.

At the Sixth Plenum of the 13th Party Congress in March 1990, Jiang offered his first take on the country's ethnic affairs after he was promoted to the CCP General Secretary only nine months ago. In his speech, titled "A Few Points on the Situation in and Opinions on Further Stabilizing Border Ethnic Regions,"[73] Jiang tried to mediate the tension between the hardline and softline approach among the elites in response to the rising ethnic tensions in China. On the one hand, he affirmed that the correctness and effectiveness of the existing minzu policy and the development-oriented approach to ethnic tensions: "[e]specially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, as the focus of the party and state shifted, ethnic region and ethnic minorities have made evidence progress, broadened and strengthened the basis of grand unity of all ethnicities" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 305). On the other hand, he also called attention to the problems in Xinjiang and blamed "ethnic splittists inside and outside China and other reactionary forces" who "have never stopped their sabotaging activities" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 305). Despite his admission of the threats posed by ethnic dissidents in Xinjiang, Jiang chose not to go beyond seeing the problem as only the work of a fraction of the people. He continued to emphasize the need to work with the indigenous population and trust the masses. "To do well on the work on border ethnic regions, and to maintain stability in the border situations," so argues Jiang, "[we] must also resolutely unite and rely on people of all ethnicities, strengthen the unity between the military and the people, build together a stable and civilized border defense, and form a real wall of iron and bronze (Ch: *tongqiang tiebi*)" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 303).

Jiang's even-handed approach did not satisfy party elders who preferred a hardline-approach. Less than a month after the above meeting, Chen Yun wrote a personal letter to Jiang, urging him to pay more attention to Xinjiang's stability. In the publicly available version of this letter, titled "Must

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[73] Original Chinese title: "关于进一步稳定边疆民族地区的几点情况和意见". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

Pay Great Attention to the Issue of Infiltration through Religion,"[74] Chen wrote that he felt "deeply unsettled upon reading reports about the growing counter-revolutionary activities carried out under the cloak of religion under the new circumstances [...]". Linking the situation in Xinjiang with (his interpretation of) the rest of the world, Chen argued it has been a repeatedly-used tactics of the "foreign and domestic class enemies" to use religion to "compete with us for the hearts and minds of the masses, especially the youth" and that such tactics have effectively caused some communist parties to lose power in their countries (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 313). As a result, Chen strongly recommended the central leadership not to let religion become a new source of instability. To what extent did Chen's letter influence Jiang's thinking is unclear. However, the Baren County riots (Ch: *baren xiang baoluan*) that followed this letter, between April 5th and 6th, might have very well validated Chen's message in front of Jiang and facilitated a change of mind for him. On April 24th, Jiang forwarded Chen's letter to the entire Central Politburo Standing Committee as well as party elders such as Yang Shangkun, Wan Li, and Bo Yibo. In his attached comments to the letter, Jiang stated in an approving and determined tone that "the questions raised by Comrade Chen Yun are very important, and indeed deserve high attention and caution from party committees and governments at all levels, [we] must absolutely not be careless and let our guards down, [we] must adopt early effective measures, lest it leads to serious consequences" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 313).

The increased frequency and intensity of minority-involved incidents in Xinjiang and the pressure from the elders compelled Jiang to make a personal visit to the region between August 22nd and September 1st, 1990. Jiang's visit came after a long while since the party leaders' last presence in this western borderland of PRC – seven years after the visit by Zhao Ziyang, then Premier of the State Council, and nine years after the visit of Deng Xiaoping, then the Chairman of the Central

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[74] Original Chinese title: "要高度重视利用宗教进行渗透的问题". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

Military Commission. During his trip, Jiang gave a number of speeches on behalf of the new party leadership. These speeches were then re-organized into a single document titled "Keep Pushing Forward the Socialist Construction and Reform Work in Xinjiang".[75] This text is important especially for a comparative analysis with texts produced under the same leadership but during its later years. From this text we can see that, despite the pressure from elders such as Chen Yun, Jiang's Xinjiang policy continued to operate within the development-oriented framework, albeit with increased admission of the importance of stability. It might be said that Jiang was trying to remain somewhat neutral towards both the softline and the hardline approach at this point. Instead of giving in to some senior cadres' demand for a more repressive approach towards the minorities, Jiang prioritized development and government assistance over security buildup, pitching the former as the key to solving the rising ethnic tensions in the region. For example, Jiang divided his comments into 8 sub-topics, which are arranged in the following order: 1) maintaining stability, 2) strengthening ethnic solidarity, 3) rural reform, 4) concentrating on developing economy, 5) opening up, 6) Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps and troops stationing in Xinjiang, 7) strengthening the cadre building, and 8) strengthening party's leadership.

At the same time, he yielded certain grounds to the hardline approach, stating that "protecting the social and political stability of the country overrides everything" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 317). Singling out Xinjiang, Jiang argued that stability in Xinjiang had even more "special implications". In this particular region, maintaining social stability and developing economy are in a "dialectical unity" (Ch: *bianzheng tongyi*), which he elaborated as:

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[75] Original Chinese title: "把新疆社会主义建设和改革事业不断推向前进". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 4th, 2018.

"Without a stable political prerequisite, the economy could not be improved; without an improved economy, the stability could not be maintained. Thus, we say that stability overrides everything, this is why it matters." (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 318)

Simply put, both must be treated as the equally top priority. Indeed, to show his agreement with increased emphasis on stability in the context of Xinjiang, Jiang brought up the Baren riots specifically and explicitly endorsed the XUAR's response to the incident. But even here, Jiang carefully walked a fine line between endorsing certain repressive measures on the one hand and continuing the emphasis on development as the key policy instrument on the other hand:

"Baren County Incident cannot be looked at separately from the international and domestic climate. Of course, you [*presumably Xinjiang cadres at the meeting*] should also diligently learn lessons from it. I endorse the several measures that you proposed to be implemented from now on. The key is to further improve economic work. Economic development is the basis for political stability and social stability. *Of course, we must also be aware that, under the current international climate, even when we do well with the economy, [we] still cannot go to rest, [we] still must remain vigilant against the sabotage of hostile forces.* We must keep our heads cool, no matter who comes to cause troubles, no matter from which ethnicities, [we] must deal with them according to the law and suppress their sabotage and prevent it at its earliest stage." (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 319)[76]

Elsewhere in his speeches, however, Jiang also cited some passage from classical Marxist literature to counter-balance his endorsement of the repressive measures in Xinjiang, by emphasizing that he remained committed to the rejection of the "class-approach" to the ethno-national question

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[76] Italics added by author.

as decided in the intra-elite debate of the 1980s. He also paid lip service to the Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA) as well as the underlying principle of respecting the autonomy of recognized ethnic minorities of China:

"First of all, all nationalities […] are equal, including equal political rights, equal rights to economic development, [enjoying] equal status for their languages; [this] also includes respecting the religious belief, customs, and conventions of all nationalities […] Secondly, there are no superior or inferior among nationalities […] their differential maturing state and economic-cultural developmental state are historically rooted […] Thirdly, national differences and national questions will continue to exist for a long time. First the class will be abolished, then the state will wither away, and the last will be the disappearance of the nation. This will be a prolonged historical process. Before the national disappears, it is mistaken to omit national differences and national characteristics […] Fourthly, the national question is part of the general social question; this was the case during the revolutionary period, it remains so during the construction period. It is the principal position of the Marxist nationality policy to realize the common prosperity and progress of all nationalities once the class oppression and national oppression are eliminated […] Fifthly, the institution of ethnic regional autonomy is the fundamental institution for solving China's national question; the Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy is a basic law codifying this institution in a legal form." (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 321–23)

Importantly, even as Jiang acknowledge the seriousness of the threat to regional stability by "domestic and international hostile forces" (Ch: *guoneiwai didui shili*), he was careful not to paint the indigenous population of Xinjiang with a broad brush and risk alienating cadres who might prefer a

softer approach in minzu policy. Keeping in consistent with his tone at the Sixth Plenum earlier this year, Jiang emphasizes the need to separate the hostile forces from the masses:

"[…] in the struggle against ethnic splittism, [we] must resolutely trust and rely on the cadres and masses of all ethnicities. A few splittists are found in one ethnicity is nothing surprising, which does little harm to the glorious contribution made by the people of this ethnicity for the motherland. Cadres of all ethnicities should educate and lead the masses of all ethnicities, including those from their own ethnicities, to join the struggle against ethnic splittism" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 323)

This point is further echoed with another important expression which Jiang used in this document, which later on was summarized as the principle of "three inseparables" (Ch: *san'ge libukai*), now known as the signature-phrase of Jiang's personal contribution to the party's minzu policy discourse:[77]

"[…] in the big family of our motherland, the relationship among all nationalities is that of an equal, united, mutually-helping socialist new inter-ethnic relations; Han people are *inseparable* from the ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities are *inseparable* from the Han people, various ethnic minorities are *inseparable* from one another either […] History has repeatedly demonstrated, when there is unity, there is progress and prosperity; when there is division, there is chaos and decay." (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 321)

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[77] See, for example, "three inseparables" ("三个离不开")
https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B8%89%E4%B8%AA%E7%A6%BB%E4%B8%8D%E5%BC%80/3260627
(Baidu Encyclopedia), accessed July 10th 2018. Italic added by author.

Similar to Hu Yaobang's attempted intervention in minzu policy through his reform plan for Tibet and his personal visit to the region, Jiang Zemin's speech on Xinjiang and visit also translated into broader adjustment to the state-level policy. The tension between the soft- and hard-line approach to managing ethnic minorities in Xinjiang and the new leadership's attempt to balance between the two poles soon went beyond the autonomous region. Following the direction of Jiang's response to Chen Yun's letter in April 1990, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued the "Notice on a Few Questions regarding Further Improving Religious Work"[78] on February 5th, 1991. The document reflects a similar balancing act as one sees in Jiang's speech during his Xinjiang trip, further giving one the impression that the party leadership was in fact caught between the two different directions of minzu policy. On the other hand, this document highlights the need to be cautious against the connection between religion and hostile forces in and outside China. After paying lip-service to affirm the correctness of the party's religious policy, the document quickly turns into a cautious tone:

"but [we] must also realize that, oversea hostile forces have been using religion as an important instrument to promote their 'peaceful-evolution' strategy, continuously engaging in infiltration and sabotage against China. Ethnic splittists also use religion to stir up trouble and cause chaos, attacking the party's leadership and the socialist system and undermining the integrity of the motherland and ethnic solidarity."

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[78] Original Chinese title: "中共中央、国务院关于进一步做好宗教工作若干问题的通知". The full-text of the article can be viewed via http://www.sara.gov.cn/old/xxgk/zcfg/331716.htm (State Administration for Religious Affairs), accessed July 4th, 2018. See, also, Chen Yun's letter to Jiang Zemin, "We Must Pay Great Attention to the Issue of Infiltration through Religion" ("要高度重视利用宗教进行渗透的问题") https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

However, as if the authors weren't entirely certain how far they should push the cautious message, the document quickly countered the above statement again with an accommodationist message:

"at the same time [we] must also realize that, there remain plenty of problems in the implementation of the freedom of religious belief policy, in some places the citizens' right to the freedom of religious belief was infringed upon, the rightful privileges of temples, monasteries, and churches were infringed upon, the normal activities of religious societies were interfered with, the prescribed return of religious property, temples, monasteries, or churches were unsolved for long periods of time."

By the time of the first Central Conference on Ethnic Work (Ch: *zhongyang minzu gongzuo huiyi*) in January 1992, it seems that this balanced tone has become the agreed-upon policy direction of the party leadership. Between January 14th to 18th 1992, officials from across the ministries, party organs, and the country were summoned to join the conference in Beijing, where Jiang Zemin gave the speech titled "Strengthen the Grand Unity of All Nationalities, Marching Forward Hand in Hand for Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics".[79] In it, Jiang emphasized that there are "objective laws governing the emergence, development, and withering away of nationality, class, and state" and that "national characteristic, national/ethnic differences will continue to exist for a long time" (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 352). He made it clear that the leadership would not resurrect the "class-approach" to minzu issues; instead, it was reaffirmed that the party saw ethnic relations under

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[79] Original Chinese title: "加强各民族大团结，为建设有中国特色的社会主义携手前进". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

the condition of socialism as relations among working peoples, despite its complexity and difficulty for management. This recognition was made based on the assumption that the fundamental interests of all nationalities are the same, with only marginal differences with regard to distribution of economic benefits and lack of respect for cultural and religious differences. Accordingly, Jiang prioritized the task of ethnic work in the 1990s in the following order: 1) accelerate economic development in ethnic minority regions; 2) promote social development in areas such as education, healthcare, cultural; 3) promote economic reform in minority areas and linkages between them and the rest of the country; 4) fully implemented LERA; 5) promote ethnic solidarity and defend territorial integrity of the country. This development-prioritized approach was soon affirmed by Premier Li Peng, when he endorsed the westward "opening-up" strategy of Xinjiang in his speech "Making Border-regions in Xinjiang a Window for China's Westwards Opening-Up" on September 2nd of the same year.[80]

### 5.2.2 *"Document No. 7" and a Regressive Turn in Xinjiang Policy*

This balanced approach to minzu policy soon faced challenges in Xinjiang. Throughout the early 1990s, protests and small-scale riots continued to occur in Xinjiang. Some of these activities took on Islamist-informed ideologies through neighboring countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, thereby prompting the Chinese government to reevaluate their minzu policy in Xinjiang. The sustained unrests and the continuing push for a hard-line approach by officials affiliated either with XUAR or the security sector eventually convinced the party leadership to make an important policy adjustment in the mid-1990s (Harbars 哈日巴拉 2008). On March 19th, 1996, members of the

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[80] Original Chinese title: "把新疆口岸建成我国向西开放的窗口". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

Central Politburo Standing Committee met in Beijing to discuss a new strategy for stability maintenance in Xinjiang. Following the meeting, the Central Committee issued the controversial "Summary of the Central Politburo Standing Committee Meeting on Maintaining Stability in Xinjiang,"[81] also known as "Document No. 7 [1996] of the Central Committee," or simply "Document No. 7" (Ch: *qihao wenjian*). Document No. 7 reoriented the party-government's approach to ethnic relations in Xinjiang. According to scholars who had access to the full-text of the original official file, Document No. 7 begins with a radical re-definition of the nature of ethnic relations in the region:

"Currently, the main threats posed to the stability in Xinjiang are national splittism and illegal religious activities […] Party committees and governments at all levels in Xinjiang must assume a high sense of political responsibility, righteously uphold the flag of ethnic solidarity and of protecting the dignity of law, unite cadres and masses of all nationalities to the maximum extent, take advantage of their trust to the maximum extent, so to isolate the national splittist and criminals, and maintain the stability of Xinjiang" (Harbars 哈日巴拉 2008, 6).

To cope with such "threats," Document No. 7 openly called for recruiting politically loyal Han cadres to come and work in Xinjiang in order to ensure the political and social stability in the region. It stated that the governments should "take feasible measures, train and assign *a large number of Han cadres* who love Xinjiang, capable of upholding the party's basic line and basic strategy, correctly carrying out the party's minzu policy and religious policy to work in Xinjiang".[82] In accordance with

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[81] Original Chinese title: "中央政治局常委会关于维护新疆稳定的会议纪要". Alternative title in Chinese is "中发〔1996〕7 号文件," which means "Document No. 7 [1996] of the Central Committee".
[82] See "Notice of CCP Central Committee's Organization Department and Personnel Department on Questions regarding Selecting and Sending Cadres for Xinjiang" ("中共中央组织部人事部关于做好为新疆选派干部工作有关

the Document No. 7, the CCP Central Committee's Organization Department (Ch: *zuzhi bu*) and Personnel Department (Ch: *renshi bu*) announced in October of the same year that they would select 2000 to 2500 cadres and technical personnel from inner China to work in Xinjiang during the "Fifth Five-Year Plan" period (1996—2000), starting with 200 people in the year of 1996 alone. Eight provinces and direct-controlled municipalities (Ch: *zhixiashi*, hereafter municipality) were named in the document which were asked to select and send cadres to various areas of Xinjiang as part of this national effort to bring "politically loyal Han cadres" to the region (see Table 3). Among those going to XUAR, party and government cadres would be asked to work there for five years, whereas technical personnel should work for no less than three years.

**Table 6 – Plan for Sending Cadres and Technical Personnel to Xinjiang, 1996[83]**

| Sending Areas | Receiving Areas |
|---|---|
| Jiangxi Province | Kizilsu (Ch: *kezilesu*) Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture (Kyrgyz: قىزىلسۇۇ قىرعىز اپتونوم وبلاسى) |
| Tianjin Municipality, Shandong Province | Kashgar (Ch: *kashi*) Prefecture (Uyghur: قەشقەر ۋىلايىتى) |
| Beijing Municipality, Zhejiang Province | Hotan (Ch: *hetian*) Prefecture (Uyghur: خوتەن ۋىلايىتى) |
| Shanghai Municipality, Henan Province | Aksu (Ch: *akesu*) Prefecture (Uyghur: ئاقسۇ ۋىلايىتى) |
| Jiangsu Province | Ili (Ch: *yili*) Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (Kazakh: ئىله قازاق اۋتونومىيالى وبلسى) |

The center's decision to change of policy direction regarding Xinjiang produced a number of immediate consequences. Immediately following the issuance of Document No. 7, on March 27th, 1996, the acting party secretary of XUAR Wang Lequan was formally promoted to head both the Autonomous Region's Party Committee (as the party secretary) as well as the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (as the first secretary). The previous XUAR party secretary and first

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问题的通知"), available via China Court at https://www.chinacourt.org/law/detail/1996/10/id/26725.shtml, accessed July 4th, 2018. Italics added.

[83] Source: "Notice of CCP Central Committee's Organization Department and Personnel Department on Questions regarding Selecting and Sending Cadres for Xinjiang," available via ChinaCourt.org, a website overseen by the Supreme People's Court, at https://www.chinacourt.org/law/detail/1996/10/id/26725.shtml (accessed July 4th, 2018)

secretary of the XJPCC, Song Hanliang, was removed from both positions after two years of "rehabilitation" since 1994. Immediately following Wang's promotion, in May 1995, the XUAR government launched of a "Strike Hard" Campaign (Ch: *yan'da*) in the region, targeting specifically "splittism and illegal religious activities" (Becquelin 2004; Hierman 2007; Davis 2008). While the 1996 "Strike Hard" Campaign was a nationwide operation coordinated between the Ministry of Public Security and local governments across the country, the specific target in Xinjiang clearly shows its connection with the Document No. 7 which, as we have seen, highlighted that "national splittism and illegal religious activities" are the main threats to stability in Xinjiang.

Unfortunately, the heavy-handed approach led to even greater tension. The Ghulja incident in February 1997, which caused over one hundred causalities, including seven deaths, was believed to be the largest incident of ethnic violent since the Baren riots in 1990 (M. E. Clarke 2011, 134). Violent activities carried out by minority dissidents even went beyond Xinjiang. In March and May 1997, three bombing incidents occurred in Beijing that were allegedly carried out by Uyghur dissents (M. E. Clarke 2011, 134). Aside from the pressure from the regional government under Wang Lequan, there might be also other factors at work. For example, some studies have suggested that the radicalization of ethnic minority dissidents in Xinjiang might have been very well the consequence of the XUAR's own policy since the late 1980s, which encouraged the Xinjiang Muslims to develop links with fellow Muslims in Central Asia in the context of the PRC's "Reform and Opening-Up" (M. E. Clarke 2011, 135–36). The "Great Islamic Circle" strategy as announced during the time when Wang Enmao was the regional leadership is one case in point (Christoffersen 1993).

The shifting of emphases in Xinjiang is confirmed in subsequent speeches by other state leaders. On September 7th, 1996, then Premier Li Peng gave a speech at a Briefing Conference in XUAR,

titled "Developing Nationality Economy is the Basis for Strengthening Ethnic Solidarity".[84] In his speech, maintaining stability assumed the top priority in the list of things being addressed, followed by economic development, XJPCC, and public finance. Li was explicit in his endorsement of the leadership's decision in Document No. 7, stating that the decision was made only after "the center did careful research and listened to the opinions of comrades from Xinjiang as well as taking into account the current international and regional situation". He also gave his approval of the way in which the XUAR officials had implemented the center's decision and emphasized that it would be an important task for a relatively long time. Lastly, the new priority was treated as the main objective to which other efforts, e.g. developing economy and culture, should be subordinate:

"Xinjiang should always put the strengthening of ethnic solidarity in a very important position. The stability of Xinjiang is determined by ethnic solidarity. To achieve ethnic solidarity, one needs good policy, one needs vigorously promoting economy, culture, education, technology, and other social causes in ethnic regions. The development of ethnic economy is the basis for strengthening ethnic solidarity."

Aside from its implication for security practices, Document No. 7 also reversed another key element of the minzu policy from the Hu Yaobang-era. Whereas Hu was committed to "ethnize" (Ch: *minzuhua*) autonomous regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet, partially by replacing Han cadres with ethnic minorities for posts in the public sector, the new policy as laid out in Document No. 7 – followed up soon by other specific policies – openly called for increased immigration of Han-Chinese. Furthermore, different from the languages in early PRC minzu policy, where similar

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[84] Original Chinese Title: "发展民族经济是增强民族团结的基础". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

practices were justified on the grounds of knowledge transfer,[85] Document No. 7 made it clear that the goal was to use Han – the only ethnic majority group – as an instrument to stabilize an autonomous region for minorities. It explicitly considered Han as the most political loyal and thus reliable people, capable of carrying out the will of the Communist state.

At the Central Finance Leading Small Group meeting in late May 1997, Jiang gave full endorsement to renewed immigration of Han-labors to Xinjiang as well as organizing those migrating labors through the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XJPCC). Jiang's speech, titled "Stationing Troop to Develop and Defend the Border Regions is the Center's Strategic Decision to Govern the Country and Ensure Security,"[86] touted the role of both Han-immigration and the XJPCC in stabilizing China's borderlands. Based on "historical precedence" and "current international situation," Jiang claimed that only with stationing troops in Xinjiang could the border regions of China be secured. Clearly taking pride in its potential for military purposes, he asked the XJPCC to work with peoples of Xinjiang to build up an "Great Iron Wall to safeguard the motherland's northwest".[87] Soon after this speech, on October 10th, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued the "Notice on Further Strengthening Works of Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps,"[88] which explicitly defined XJPCC as a quasi-military entity (Ch: *zhu junshi shiti*) and granted it complete autonomy in its internal administration, justice, and law enforcement. In other words, the restored XJPCC was put on a trajectory of becoming both an integral

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[85] See, for example, Liu Shaoqi's speech at the 1st Plenary Session of the 1st National People's Congress, on September 15th, 1954. The speech is included in *Selected Works on Xinjiang Work (1949-2010)* under the title "On Questions regarding Ethnic Regional Autonomy". The original Chinese title is "关于民族区域自治问题". The full-text of the speech can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

[86] Original Chinese title: "实行屯垦戍边是中央治国安邦的战略性决策". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

[87] Original Chinese term: "守卫祖国大西北的钢铁长城".

[88] Original Chinese title: "关于进一步加强新疆生产建设兵团工作的通知". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018.

component of the XUAR and an autonomous military organization with significant degree of independence and power influence for the long term.

In sum, by the end of Jiang Zemin's first term (1989-1998), the competition between the soft- and hard-line approaches to ethnic affairs in Xinjiang largely ended with the triumph of the latter, evident by the issuance of Document No. 7 in 1996. Following the 15th Party Congress in 1997 and the 9th National People's Congress in 1998, Jiang was re-elected as the President of China while Zhu Rongji replaced Li Peng as the Premier. Zhu also endorsed the Xinjiang policy as decided during Jiang's first term. This can be seen from his highlighted acknowledgement of the role of the security-related cadres and personnel in Xinjiang's governance. In his March 1999 speech on development in Xinjiang, titled "To Develop Xinjiang's Economy the Question of 'One Black and One White' Must be Properly Solved,"[89] Zhu made sure to first give credits not to the local people of Xinjiang, but to the stationing troops and XJPCC for all the "achievements" in Xinjiang:

"Xinjiang has made significant achievements in economic and social development […] this result is inseparable from the special function performed by the Xinjiang-stationing troops and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps. I believe there is no boundary to the future development of Xinjiang.

Hu Jintao, who has been a member of the Central Politburo Standing Committee and the secretary of CCP Central Secretariat since 1992, was elected as the Vice President at the 9th National People's Congress, thus becoming a potential successor to Jiang. Given the hardline approach which

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[89] Original Chinese title: "新疆经济发展要解决好"一黑一白"的问题". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/0d6f3106-46c6-4327-8ef0-428930790630/flipviewerxpress.html?pn=745 (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed June 29th, 2018. "One Black and One White" refer to two main local products: "black" refers to crude oil, whereas "white" refers to cotton.

Hu Jintao adopted in repressing the ethnic protests in Tibet in late 1980s, the reconfiguration of the

top elite circle at this point only further consolidated the center's support for the new hardline policy

for Xinjiang decided two years earlier. Within the Xinjiang, the regional authority – now with the full

support from the central leadership – no longer sought to appeal to the indigenous ethnic minorities

through cultural accommodations as they did in the 1980s; instead, they hoped to circumvent the

issue of promoting autonomy and to achieve economic development and social stability directly

through a heavily state-led investment program, i.e. "Great Western Development" (Ch: *xibu*

*dakaifa*), as well as a reversed "ethnicization scheme" (in contrast the policy from the previous

decade), i.e. colonizing the government and economy of the region with a full-force Han-

immigration and the reinvigorated quasi-military XJPCC.


*5.2.3 Shifts in Tibet Policy*

The turn of Xinjiang policy did not spread to other ethnic minority areas. Beijing's Tibet policy

during the 1990s, for example, followed a different path which was shaped likely by both domestic

and international conditions. In 1978 the party leadership under Deng Xiaoping extended an

invitation to the Tibetan Government in Exile based in Dharamsala, signaling a renewed interest on

the Chinese side to rekindle dialogue with the exiled 14th Dalai Lama. Following meetings between

Gyalo Thondup – elder brother and a personal representative of the Dalai Lama – and several high-

ranking CCP officials including Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Ulanhu (UFWD), and Yang Jingren

(SEAC), four fact-finding missions made up of high-ranking Tibetan officials from the exiled

government were sent to China to observe the situation of the greater Tibetan areas[90] between 1979

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[90] Greater Tibet, also known as ethnographical Tibet, refers to the areas in which Tibetans traditionally inhabited.
Traditionally it includes three culturally and linguistic distinct regions: Amdo, Kham, and Ü-Tsang. Today these three
areas have been divided and re-organized into different administrative units of the People's Republic of China. Tibet
Autonomous Region (TAR), commonly referred to as Tibet and known in Mandarin Chinese as *Xi-Zang*, contains only
part of the traditional Ü-Tsang, whereas Amdo and Kham do not constitute provincial-level (Ch: *sheng ji*) administrative

and 1990.These fact-finding missions, each with five to seven members, were headed by, respectively, Juchen Thubten Namgyal in 1979 (August 5th – December 21st), Tenzin N. Tethong in 1980 (May 1st – August 15th), the Dalai Lama's sister Jestun Pema in 1982 (June 1st – October 3rd), and W. G. Kundeling in 1985 (June 16th – September 11th) (Norbu 2001, 325).

In 1982, before the third fact-finding mission took off, a three-member delegation consisting of P. T. Takla, Juchen Thubten Namgyal, and Lodi G. Gyari were also sent to Beijing to meet with the Chinese officials for exploratory negotiation. While the first meeting bore no fruit, the same delegation was dispatched to China again in late 1984 for a second round of talks. In the end, neither the fact-finding missions nor the bilateral meetings produced any progress towards bridging the two sides toward any common ground. Instead, they only served to show the vast gap between their expectations. On the Chinese side, Deng Xiaoping was only willing to grant certain autonomy with regards to the practice of Tibetan language, culture, and religion. Giving full political autonomy to Tibet, e.g. through a federalist solution, was never part of Deng's plan (Goldstein 2004, 201). On the Tibetan side, not only did the representatives always place top priority on Tibet's full autonomy, they even stepped up their negotiating position at the second meeting where they demanded the creation of a "Greater Tibet" (Ch: *dazangqu*)[91] – which include all the traditional Tibetan areas in the ethnographical sense and which would necessarily involve the re-drawing of administrative boundaries for several provincial-level units (Goldstein 2004, 202).

While the meetings failed to convince the exiled Tibetans for a possible political reconciliation between the two sides, the Chinese government continued its reform strategy through the 1980s by promoting economic development in both Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and adjacent Tibetan

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units themselves, but are broken into various prefectural-level (Ch: *di ji*) units inside provinces adjacent to TAR, including Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Most of them are constituted as Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (Ch: *zangzu zizhi zhou*).
[91] See footnote above.

areas, as well as allowing greater expression of indigenous ethnic culture. This strategy caused a great degree of anxiety in Dharamsala, as the exiled leadership feared that with Beijing's aggressive developmental efforts and accommodationist policy, the negotiating position of the exiled government would only further deteriorate with time. In response, the exiled government launched an international campaign starting from mid- to late-1980s in order to garner support from other nations and the international community at large and to regain control at the negotiating table with Beijing (Goldstein 2004, 202–3).

The international campaign had profound political consequence inside China. The speech given by the 14th Dalai Lama at U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus in 1987 led to immediate reactions among Tibetans inside China. Nationalistic monks from Drepung Monastery in Lhasa staged a political demonstration in support of Tibetan independence and the Dalai Lama's "Five Point Peace Plan".[92] The combined effect of the international campaign and the indigenous demonstrations triggered by it greatly shook Beijing's confidence in its new minzu policy. Since the early 1980s, many Han cadres had been displeased with Hu Yaobang's radical policy reform in Tibet, in particular, his call for "ethnizing" the autonomous region by replacing Han cadres with Tibetan ones. Now such discontent was further fueled by reports that thousands upon thousands of average Tibetans would dare to riot against the government despite all the "generous compromise" granted to them by the government (Goldstein 2004, 204). As the situation in Tibet deteriorated from 1987 to 1989, the leadership increasingly felt that it had lost control over. The March 5th Lhasa demonstration in 1989 proved to be the last straw that broke the authority's patience. Within days, the regional government under Hu Jintao declared a state of emergency in TAR and called in the military to crush the demonstration (Goldstein 2004, 206). The bloody confrontation in Lhasa

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[92] Full text of the 14th Dalai Lama's address to the U.S. Congressional Human Right's Caucus, titled "Five Point Peace Plan" (September 21st, 1987), can be viewed via https://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan. Accessed July 11th, 2018.

anticipated the repressive turn in Beijing's Tibet policy in the years to come (Associated Press 1990).

It also provided an opportunity for a young Hu Jintao, then party secretary of the TAR, to receive

the recognition from Deng Xiaoping for his resolute repression of the demonstration and restoring

of order, an act that paved the way for him to be promoted to the central leadership and later on,

head of the CCP and the state.

Believing that it was Hu Yaobang's accommodationist policy that fueled the ethnic discontent

and gave impetus to the demonstrations, the post-1989 party leadership under Jiang Zemin decided

that the government must not allow too much freedom for the promotion of ethnic minority culture

(Goldstein 2004, 207). Consequently, there had been a turn away from the accommodationist

policies beginning from 1990. However, whereas in Xinjiang the issue of security "overrides

everything" and has effectively become the dominant objective to which all other policies are

subordinate, in TAR the regional government remained focused on using economic development

and modernization to win over the loyalty of the indigenous population (Goldstein 2004, 207). Why

did China's Tibet policy not become a copy of its Xinjiang policy?

Jiang's 1992 speech on minzu policy might provide us with some clues. In the aforementioned at

the Central Conference on Ethnic Work in 1992, Jiang devoted an entire paragraph outlining the

leadership's position regarding the Tibetan issue. In fact, Tibet not only received a dedicated

discussion in Jiang's speech, it was also the only autonomous region out of the five in total that was

mentioned at all. In contrast, Xinjiang was not mentioned even once, despite Jiang's obvious

awareness of its situation and his explicit acknowledgement of the importance to fight splittism and

defend ethnic solidarity in the same speech. Although decisions in the Document No. 7 had yet to

be made at this point, minzu policy in Xinjiang – as the foregoing discussion has suggested – was

already leaning more towards "maintaining ethnic solidarity" than "developing economy". A closer

look at the passage about Tibet in Jiang's speech suggests that it might have been the Chinese

foreign policy consideration which prevented Beijing's Tibet policy from following the similar path

as its Xinjiang policy during this period. In other words, the special care and policy given to Tibet

was very likely due to the government's updated knowledge about the complexity and delicacy of the

Tibetan issue following Dharamsala's international campaign.

"To safeguard the unity of the motherland, we must resolutely fight with a very small number of

splittists. In the modern history of China, national splittist activities were always schemed by

foreign aggressors […] Here I shall make a special emphasis about the situation of Tibet.[93] […] a

small number of splittists, ignoring history and reality, have never stopped their splittist activities

against the motherland […] fabricated the so-called 'Tibet Question' and attempted to make the

issue internationalized […] I want to restate my point here: should the Dalai Lama give up the

claim for Tibet's independence, stop the splittist activities against the motherland, we would still

welcome him to return to the motherland […] the door of the central government is always

open; aside from the question of Tibet's independence, any other question is up for discussion."

In contrast to his comments on Xinjiang as seen previously, here Jiang appeared to be speaking

on behalf of the Chinese government to a specific audience whom he would like to persuade and

win over. This is likely because this "target audience" had shown its capacity to mobilize

international pressure and domestic Tibetan population against the Chinese government. Thus,

despite the harsh language employed to blame ethnic tensions on the 14th Dalai Lama and the exiled

Tibetans, the tone of Jiang's speech evidently softened in the end and revealed a willingness to

engage with the exiled Tibetan leadership and possibly to also make certain compromises. If the goal

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[93] Here Jiang was talking about the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) specifically, referred to in Chinese simply as "*xizang*". Same goes for the other "Tibet" that appear in this cited paragraph.

of China's Tibet policy had to be coordinated with its foreign strategy towards the exiled Tibetan leadership, then it is reasonable that although Tibetans also organized anti-government demonstrations – similar to what Uyghurs did in Xinjiang – the Chinese government continued to refrain from fully embracing a repression-dominated strategy in the region.

As other works have also argued, Beijing still hoped that the improvement in living-standard and general material conditions would be sufficient to win over the political loyalty of the Tibetans from their oversea competitor. Studies done by Jin Wei, professor at the Central Party School in Beijing, shows that the Chinese government engaged in a "Full Force Assistance to Tibet" (Ch: *qiangli yuanzang*) between 1985 and 2005 (Jin 靳 2010). Financial subsidy from the central government during this time amounted to 108.103 billion RMB (approximately 16 billion USD), accounting for 92.66% of the TAR government revenue. These subsidies were used to fund a variety of government functions. As an illustration, at the Third Tibet Work Symposium in July 1994, the central leadership announced eight categories of its preferential policies for the autonomous region, covering areas such as public finance, investment, social welfare, enterprise reform, and so on. 17 provinces and municipalities were recruited to provide assistance to Tibet, with another 17 central-level state-owned enterprises (Jin 靳 2010). The magnitude of central-coordinated financial support for TAR is unmatched in PRC history for any other regions. By the end of the decade, the center had slightly shifted its minzu policy away from its direction under the previous leadership. By the time of the Second Central Conference on Ethnic Work in the fall of 1999, the tone of the leadership suggested a greater emphasis on ethnic solidarity and the integrity of the motherland.

**5.3 Uniform Knowledge Community**

*5.3.1 Chinese Ethnological Science: A Family Increasingly Divided*

Within the broader ethnological sciences, tensions between sociology, anthropology, and ethnology were revived along with the restoration of these discipline. Among ethnologists, increasing disagreement over the nature and orientation of the discipline, between those see ethnology equivalent to ethnic minorities studies (minzu studies) and those who prefer to see ethnology as closer to or same with cultural anthropology, which does not exclude the study of ethnic minorities' culture but should not go beyond or stray from the focus on culture as the main object of inquiry (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 322). Behind this dispute was the disagreement over which broader social science categories ethnology should find itself in, history or social science.

From September 14th to 19th 1995, Chinese Ethnology Association and Northeast Institute for Nationalities[94] co-organized a conference in Dalian, entitled "How Should Chinese Ethnology Prepare for the 21st Century" (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 404). A major topic at the conference was the relationship between ethnology and anthropology. Renowned scholar Fei Xiaotong attempted to use his personal influence to mitigate the tension between the three. He personally met with representatives of different disciplines and proposed a "peaceful co-existence" plan, summarized as "Three fields listed together, mutually intertwining, benefiting from each other, striving for further development".[95]

Despite Fei's attempt, tensions continued to exist, and division remained deep. On October 28th, 1994, Qiao Jian, a graduate from Cornell University, gave an influential speech at his inauguration as professor of anthropology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong titled "The Predicament and

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[94] Original Chinese term: "东北民族学院"
[95] Original quote in Chinese: "三科并列，互相交叉，各得其所，努力发展"

Prospect of Chinese Anthropology". The speech made a number of piercing observations about the state of epistemic community in anthropological sciences in mainland China. He suggested that the lack of progress could be attributed to three main factors, which are: 1) lack of consensus and confusion regarding the boundary between ethnology and anthropology, 2) pressure from the government's utilitarianism, and 3) the inadequacy of existing anthropological method for the study of China. Some scholars agreed with Qiao's criticism. More people, however, disagreed with Qiao and attempted to set the records of Chinese ethnology/anthropology differently (Jiandong 建东 Li 李 1995).

Improved international connection facilitated dialogue with international peers but also encouraged more reflections over the definition of discipline (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 428–29). Wang et al. argued that this division had much to do with the sociology of the knowledge community, specifically, between those who were socialized into the profession during the state-led large-scale social survey projects such as the ethnic classification and the Investigations of Ethnic Minorities' Social History, and those who were trained either in the pre-PRC period by traditional scholars or those who received western trainings following the "Reform and Opening-Up" (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998, 430).

Several important institutions in ethnic minority studies decided to rename themselves during this decade. For example, in 1992, Peking University's Institute of Sociology was renamed to Institute of Sociology and Anthropology. In 1995, Minzu University's Institute of Nationalities was renamed to Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology. Finally, in 1997, CASS Institute of Nationalities' Office of Ethnology was renamed to Office of Anthropology and Ethnology.

*5.3.2 Emergence of Minzu Political Studies*

During this time, greater specialization led also to the fragmentation of the knowledge community. The revival of other social sciences, such as political science and policy studies, began to challenge the monopoly over knowledge on minzu policy by the minzu studies community. Beyond ethnic minorities studies, some scholars started to argue for a dedicated study of ethnic minority policy from either a political science perspective or a policy studies perspective. Xu Jieshun, for example, has been calling for it since early 1990s. Realizing the negative connotation of "policy" in PRC discourse, Xu carefully navigated the conceptual minefield by suggesting that the PRC's minzu policy could be a subject of study for scholars (J. 杰舜 Xu 徐 1990). In 1993, Professor at PKU Institute of Sociology and Anthropology, Zhou Xing published his book *Ethno-National Politics* (Ch: *minzu zhengzhixue*). This was considered the first book in PRC that systematically discussed the basic principle of political science of minzu (Qing 青 2016).

The government also became increasingly interested in broadening the analytical approach to ethnic issues. In 1996, Chinese Association for Minzu Policy Research[96] (Ch: *zhongguo minzu zhengce yanjiuhui*) was established under the supervision of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC). As stated in its charter, the association specifically committed itself to the study of minzu policy as well as "high-level policy consultation and analysis for party committees and government agencies at all levels".[97]

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[96] Original Chinese title: "中国民族政策研究会"
[97] For more information, see http://www.seac.gov.cn/art/2011/3/20/art_586_70.html, accessed July 1st 2018

**Table 7 – Project on Xinjiang under Category of "Minzu Questions Studies", 1991-2000[98]**

| # | Project title | Approval time | Principal investigator (PI) | PI's institutional affiliation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Study of Cultural Transition of Kazakhs in Xinjiang[99] | 2000-7-1 | Xialipuhan Abudali | Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences Library |
| 2 | Preservation, Inheritance, and Development of Uyghur Traditional Culture and the Socioeconomic Development of Xinjiang[100] | 2000-7-1 | Reyila Dawuti | Xinjiang University, Department of Chinese Literature |
| 3 | History of Minzu-Relations in Xinjiang[101] | 1999-7-1 | Miao Pusheng | Xinjiang Academy of Sciences |
| 4 | Comparative Study of Nomad People's Traditional Culture in Xinjiang[102] | 1999-7-1 | Meng Ke | Xinjiang Normal University, Department of Chinese Literature |
| 5 | Study of Sustainable Development of Grassland Region in Northern Xinjiang[103] | 1998-5-1 | Cui Yanhu | Xinjiang Normal University, Institute of Cultural Anthropology |
| 6 | Study of Population, Resource, Environment, and Sustainable Development Strategy in Xinjiang[104] | 1998-5-1 | Qin Fangming | Xinjiang University, Department of Economic Management |
| 7 | Study of Social Stability in Xinjiang[105] | 1997-4-15 | Shu Disheng | CCP Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party School, Office of Minzu Theory |
| 8 | Experience of the Party and Government in Managing Minzu and Religious Issues in Xinjiang since the Founding of PRC[106] | 1996-7-1 | Li Ze | Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Minzu |
| 9 | Distribution of Minzu Languages and Developmental Tendencies in Xinjiang[107] | 1996-7-1 | Xie Xin | Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Language Affair Commission, Editorial Team of *Comprehensive Records of Xinjiang*[108] |

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[98] Source: National Social Science Foundation Project Database (http://fz.people.com.cn/skygb/sk/index.php/Index/index)

[99] Original Chinese title: "新疆哈萨克族文化转型研究"

[100] Original Chinese title: "维吾尔族传统文化的保存、传承、发展与新疆社会经济发展"

[101] Original Chinese title: "新疆民族关系史"

[102] Original Chinese title: "新疆游牧民族传统文化比较研究"

[103] Original Chinese title: "新疆北部草原地区可持续发展研究"

[104] Original Chinese title: "新疆人口、资源、环境及可持续发展战略研究"

[105] Original Chinese title: "新疆社会稳定问题研究"

[106] Original Chinese title: "建国以来新疆党和政府处理民族宗教问题的经验"

[107] Original Chinese title: "新疆民族语文分布状况与语言发展趋势"

[108] Original Chinese title: "自治区民族语言文字委员会<新疆通志>编辑部"

| 10 | Study of the Current Situation of Cross-Border Minzu in Contemporary Xinjiang[109] | 1995-7-1 | Gao Chaoming | Xinjiang University, Department of Political Science |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Study of Approaches and Measures for Modernizing Pastoral Regions in Xinjiang[110] | 1994-7-1 | Zhao Xiaoren | Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Standing Committee of the People's Congress, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Commission |
| 12 | Study of Reasons and Measures for the Lagging Behind of Individual, Private Economy in Xinjiang[111] | 1994-7-1 | Li Shengyou | Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region People's Government, Center for Economic Study |
| 13 | Study of Measures for Managing Minzu-Relations under Market Economy's System in Xinjiang[112] | 1993-5-27 | Guo Zhengli | Xinjiang University, Teaching and Research Office for Marxism-Leninism |
| 14 | Study of Minzu-Relations in Xinjiang[113] | 1992-10-25 | Yin Zhuguang | Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party Committee, Office of Policy Studies |
| 15 | History of Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal Struggles by People of All Minzu in Modern Xinjiang (1840-1949[114] | 1992-10-25 | Cai Jinsong | Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of History |
| 16 | History of Anti-Splittist Struggles in Modern Xinjiang[115] | 1991-12-31 | Ren Yifei | Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Ethnology |
| 17 | Social Stability of Minority Minzu Rural Regions in Xinjiang[116] | 1991-12-31 | Jiang Liyun | Xinjiang University, Department of Political Science |

[109] Original Chinese title: "新疆当代跨国界民族现状研究"

[110] Original Chinese title: "新疆牧业地区现代化建设的途径与对策研究"

[111] Original Chinese title: "新疆个体、私有经济发展滞后的原因及对策研究"

[112] Original Chinese title: "在市场经济体制条件下新疆民族关系的对策研究"

[113] Original Chinese title: "新疆民族关系研究"

[114] Original Chinese title: "近代新疆各族人民反帝反封建斗争史(1840--1949 年)"

[115] Original Chinese title: "近代新疆反分裂斗争史"

[116] Original Chinese title: "新疆少数民族农村地区的社会稳定"

**Figure 9 – Political Research on Ethno-National (Minzu) Questions, 1980-2002**
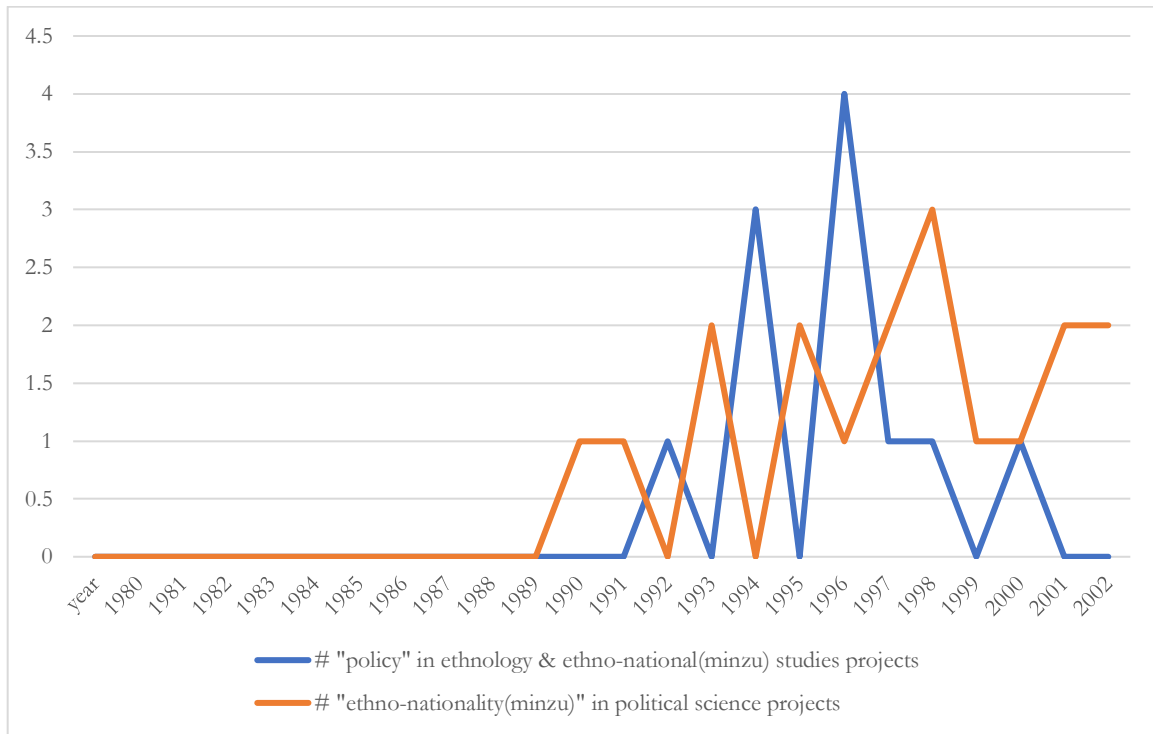


In the above figure, one can observe that a steady growth of both policy studies conducted in the field of ethnology and ethno-national question studies (Ch: *minzu wenti yanjiu*) and studies on ethno-nationality (Ch: *minzu*) in the field of political science since the beginning of the decade. The graph is based on the number of research projects funded by the National Social Science Foundation[1] in each category. The fragmentation of the knowledge community can also be seen in the case of research on Xinjiang in the field of ethno-national question studies. As one can see from the table above, projects on Xinjiang under the category of "ethno-national questions studies" reflect a number of different disciplinary influence, suggesting diversifying tendency in research approach and focus.

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[1] National Social Science Foundation Project Database, http://fz.people.com.cn/skygb/sk/index.php/Index/index, accessed October 1st 2018.

## 5.4 Intra-paradigm Political Debate

This period saw a growing interest in openly and critically talking about minzu policy. Whereas in the previous period few scholars were discussing the topic from a policy design's point of view, more began to do so during this period, with particular emphasis on the principle that defines the ethno-national question (Ch: *minzu wenti*) in the Chinese context. Towards the end of this decade, some have even begun explicitly discussing the flaws regarding the design and implementation of the signature legislature on minzu policy from the last decade, the 1984 Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA) (Luo 罗 and Xu 徐 1999). Such an open discussion was very likely the product of both a collaborative policy subsystem – which supported constructive dialogue among policy experts – and a moderately fragmented knowledge community – which enabled a broadening of analytical scope in the exchange of opinions. As a result, the period also saw the emergence of political science and legal approach in the studies of ethnic minority affairs. This is particularly evident in the discussion about the "right to autonomy" (Ch: *zizhi quan*) and "right to self-determination" (Ch: *zijue quan*) in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the USSR.

With regards to the theoretical framework employed in the exchange, most scholars continued to refer to the Marxism-Leninism literature. Following the dissolution of USSR, Soviet writers became increasingly less featured. In contrast, scholars began to refer more to the speeches and writings of Chinese intellectuals and political leaders. For example, the late and the first PRC Premier Zhou Enlai frequently featured in scholars' articles on minzu policy. In particular, Zhou's 1957 speech at the Qingdao Conference was often used by writers to advocate for a conciliatory, accommodationist approach to multiethnic governance in China. The term "ethnic solidarity" (Ch: *minzu tuanjie*), on the other hand, were frequently associated the discussion of an integrationist, if not somewhat hardline, repression-oriented approach.

With regards to their substantive focus, many scholars with background in political science or area studies contributed to the discussion on Chinese minzu policy with analyses of interethnic relations in the Soviet Union, East Europe, as well as other parts of the world. They brought in knowledge and perspectives different from that of the ethnologists, whose expertise was confined mostly if not exclusively to ethnic minorities within the borders of contemporary China and their history. While relatively few area experts made explicit comparison between China and other countries and regions, their participation in minzu policy discussion nonetheless introduced a comparative perspective, which facilitated a more critical appraisal of China's minzu policy as a phenomenon not unique to China. Additionally, the period also saw increased number of studies on specific policy for ethnic minorities, e.g. education policy or economic policy, as well as more open discussion on topics related to "terrorism" and "counter-terrorism" in ethnic minority areas. Finally, during this period that we also witnessed the emergence of a critical discourse with a more explicit message about reforming the existing minzu policy so to adapt to the new "domestic and international circumstances".

*5.4.1 The "Ethnic Consciousness" Debate*

Among the various scholarly discussions on minzu policy of this period, one particularly important one is the debate on "ethnic consciousness" (Ch: *minzu yishi*). Chinese scholars had already began discussing it since the 1980s. But it was not until the 1990s that the research community as a whole became evidently more interested in this topic, forming opposing opinion clusters along clearly articulated positions and disagreements (Wanying 万盈 Wang 王 1999, 38). A few academic meetings in the early 1990s, such as the Ethnic Relations Symposium[2] in Harbin

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[2] Original Chinese title: "民族理论专题讨论会"

(1990.7.25-29) and the Young Researchers on Nationality Theory Symposium[3] in Beijing (1990.12), all included the "ethnic consciousness" as a key topic in their program (Gegengaowa 葛根高娃 1991). These early discussions followed the various ethnic protests and riots throughout the 1980s, such as those in Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia as discussed in the previous chapter. But it was after the rapid regime change in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union around the turn of the decade that a wider and more critical discussion about the potential danger of "ethnic consciousness" for political order emerged in China. From a genealogical perspective, it is important to note that at this point the term "ethnic consciousness" remained a vaguely-defined concept within the Chinese ethnological community, where the dominant theoretical framework – Marxism-Leninism – offered only a few and vague discussion about this topic. Some attempted to define the term by referring to discussions of similar concepts in the orthodox Marxist literature, such as "social consciousness" or "common psychological makeup" (Min 敏 1991; Z. 志强 Yang 杨 1992). Other drew inspiration from sources beyond the above scope, borrowing ideas from early 20th century Chinese intellectuals Li Qichao and Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) (R. 瑞 Li 李 and He 何 1991) or Soviet ethnography and psychology (Xueli 学礼 Zhang 张 1991). Leading scholars of minzu studies explicitly warned the ethnologists to be extra careful when using the term and to caution against uncritical acceptance of other disciplines' definition, or defining the term based on simple intuition from the everyday usage of the word (Naribilige 纳日碧力戈 1991, 43).

One representative critical argument that emerged since the beginning of this decade was the notion that "ethnic consciousness" has a dual-function: either it could promote inter-ethnic solidarity and nationalist liberation or it could promote inter-ethnic antagonism and national disintegration, depending how the authority chooses to guide it (R. 瑞 Li 李 and He 何 1991, 5–6).

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[3] Original Chinese title: "青年民族理论工作者专题研讨会"

Without proper attention, so went the argument, "ethnic consciousness" could become parochial nationalism (Ch: *xia'ai de minzu zhuyi*) that destabilizes and society and threatens the unity of the country. Against this argument, Naribilige sought to de-sensitize the concept by considering it as a natural and necessary component of any ethnic community (Naribilige 纳日碧力戈 1990, 1991), thus undermining the logical basis for proposing any integrationist proposal towards the minorities from the idea of the intensification of "ethnic consciousness". He defined the concept in the following way:

"Ethnic consciousness belongs to one of the mechanisms of the human brain at a particular era; it is formed based on ethnic language and thinking (Ch: *minzu yuyan siwei*), and is the accumulative result of the comprehensive comprehension process (Ch: *zonghe renzhi guocheng*) of ethnic cultural differences and social statues of ethnic groups by members and the community of an ethnic group […] ethnic psychological quality (Ch: *minzu xinli suzhi*) or ethnic character (Ch: *minzu xingge*)" is the core of ethnic consciousness." (Naribilige 纳日碧力戈 1991, 45)

While ethnic consciousness is a neutral concept and a natural component of ethnicity, the way in which a particular ethnic consciousness is expressed at a given time could have positive or negative implications. In this way, Naribilige tried to divert the attention away from ethnic consciousness to specific forms and/or instances of "expression of ethnic consciousness," which includes things that people have commonly found problematic, e.g. nationalism, national expansionism, national isolationism (Naribilige 纳日碧力戈 1991, 39–40).

However, many scholars preferred to continue problematizing ethnic consciousness itself, echoing the "dual-function" argument that ethnic consciousness could contribute to solidarity and stability, as well as parochialism and separatism. It follows naturally that the government should

actively intervene in its development. For example, Lu Guangbin argued that the authority must provide guidance to ethnic consciousness through ideological education (Lu 逯 1991). Zhang Xueli argued that ethnic consciousness should gradually wither away and proposed to promote ethnic solidarity under the guidance of the "correct line" (Ch: *zhengque luxian*) in order to gradually weaken it (Xueli 学礼 Zhang 张 1991). Min Hao agreed with the potential danger of strong ethnic consciousness but recommended neither suppressing it nor encouraging it (Min 敏 1991).

Trying to formulate a balanced proposal, historian Xiong Xiyuan from Yunnan University proposed a new concept called "motherland consciousness" (Ch: *zuguo yishi*). According to Xiong, "motherland consciousness" is different from ethnic consciousness, but more important. The present task for China is to ensure that the multiplicity of ethnic consciousnesses of various ethnic groups would align with the singular, unitary motherland consciousness of being "Chinese". Xiong was particularly careful not to further reinforce the negative connotation of the concept, stating that "those two consciousness ["motherland consciousness" and "ethnic consciousness"] are not only non-conflictual, but in fact ought to be in harmony and complementarity (Xiong 熊 1992a, 16). In another article of him in the same year, Xiong took up the issue regarding the connection between ethnic consciousness and (ethno-)nationalism. Differentiating three pairs of concepts, i.e. a) "ethnic consciousness under western capitalism and bourgeois nationalism," b) "ethnic consciousness and nationalism in colony, semi-colony, and vassal states," and c) "ethnic consciousness in present China under the condition of socialism," Xiong rejected the argument that ethnic consciousness would necessarily evolve into (parochial) nationalism. Even for problematic instances of ethnic tensions in today's China, one must avoid exaggerating its significance and should see them as "incorrect thoughts among the people" (Ch: *renmin neibu cuowu sixiang*), so that the mistakes of politicizing everything during the "Cultural Revolution" would not be repeated (Xiong 熊 1992b, 21–22).

Du Yonghao from Heilongjiang Institute of Nationalities took Xiong's argument even further in his response to Xiong's second article. Echoing Naribilige, Du argued that ethnic consciousness emerged along with the formation of ethno-national community and as such, was entirely a neutral concept and shouldn't be judged as either good or bad. Nationalism, on the other hand, develops through cross-ethnic interaction and had performed a positive role in the bourgeois revolution. However, under socialism, "nationalism as a system of thought no longer exists any longer" because a socialist society has eliminated class-antagonism, a precondition for nationalism (Du 都 1992, 38). While one might observe residuals of nationalism survived the transition from the pre-socialist stage, those should not be seen as the product of ethnic consciousness. Along a similar direction, Sun Yi from CASS Institute of Nationalities further disputed the implications of ethnic consciousness, arguing that its intensifying tendency in the present period came as a result of the enduring interethnic inequality. However, the "social function" of such consciousness under the condition of socialism is mainly about preserve group survival and promote its development, without harming the interests of other groups (Yi 懿 Sun 孙 1992, 39–40).

Wu Zhiqing from Central Institute for Nationalities sought to delineate the concept of ethnic consciousness by juxtaposing it with "common psychological makeup" (Ch: *gongtong xinli tezheng*), "ethnic self-awareness" (Ch: *minzu ziwo yishi*), "ethno-social-consciousness" (Ch: *minzuxing shehuixing yishi*), "class consciousness" (Ch: *jieji yishi*), and "nationalism".[4] Defining it as a particular type of

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[4] More specifically, for Wu Zhiqing, ethnic consciousness has several components: 1) sense of ethnic belonging (Ch: *zuji yishi*), a spiritual bond connecting members of the group, uniting everyone but posing no harm to others; 2) sense of ethnic origin (Ch: *zuyuan yishi*), a concept of pseudo-biological origin, also helping to connect and unit members of the group and posing no harm to others; 3) sense of ethnic language and script (Ch: *minzu yuyan wenzi yishi*) – language and script form the foundation and a basic aspect of ethno-national identification, and serve as the main medium of ethnic consciousness; 4) sense of ethnic territoriality (Ch: *minzu diyu huanjing yishi*), which may involve competition of space between different groups, a problem that would only be solved after class is eliminated; 5) sense of ethnic culture (Ch: *minzu wenhua yishi*), involving language, religion, belief, custom, ritual, clothing, etc.; 6) sense of ethnic survival and development (Ch: *minzu shengcun fazhan yishi*), core to the ethnic consciousness, manifesting as the idea to rightfully defend and realize interests and rights of ethnic survival and development.

social consciousness different and independent of particular class structure, Wu highlighted the inward-looking character of ethnic consciousness as opposed to the outward-looking character of nationalism. Based on this distinction, Wu concluded that ethnic consciousness only works to protect and promote the interests of an ethnic group whereas nationalism works to gain advantage for one group over others. The task under socialism is to eradicate nationalism and not to harm the masses' ethnic consciousness. Agreeing with Du, Wu also believed that nationalism had no more positive role to play under socialism because class-division had been abolished and class-antagonism resolved (Z. 治清 Wu 吴 1993, 9–11).

In response to these criticisms, Li Shuqin from Central Institute for Nationalities accepted that ethnic consciousness was developed historically as an "ethno-social-consciousness" (Ch: *minzuxing shehuixing yishi*) – a position that Wu Zhiqing shared – but maintained it had grown stronger under the present condition. As such, there are emerging trends that warrants attention and guidance (S. 淑琴 Li 李 1994). Li reasoned that it was inevitable for ethnic consciousness to raise under socialism due to 1) the abolishment of class oppression and the subsequent greater space for different ethnic groups to pursue their way of life, 2) the intensified movement of people and interaction raising people's awareness of each other and their group identity, 3) the elevation of educational level enabling better articulation of ethnic culture and identity, and 4) the strengthening of ethno-national consciousness around the world. However, Li pointed out that there were parochial elements in the "old" ethnic consciousness which focused narrowly on promoting the interest of particular ethnic groups at the expense of others and which remained in the Chinese society till the present day. Although she agreed with Wu that all forms of nationalism under socialism are reactionary, Li believed that those remaining parochial elements of ethnic consciousness could transform into nationalism or even ethnic splittism (Ch: *minzu fenlie zhuyi*) (S. 淑琴 Li 李 1994, 105). In other words,

Li refuted the above critiques and maintained the possibility for ethnic consciousness to develop into nationalism due to the residual parochial elements of the former.

By this point, the exchanges between those who maintained an exclusively neutral or positive role of ethnic consciousness and those who emphasized its potential for inter-ethnic tensions and antagonism had more or less reached a stalemate. Both had spent significant if not the majority of their efforts in a "terminological warfare," re-defining again and again the theoretical concepts while seeking to invalidate the reading of their opponents without discussing much about the policy. One exception and also an interesting contribution towards the mid-1990s came from Hao Shiyuan, then the vice director of the CASS Institute of Nationalities. Same with others, Hao admitted that ethnic consciousness was indeed on the rise. But he made an interesting observation about the unacknowledged assumption running through the previous debate: if the ethnic consciousness was intensifying because of the condition of socialism, it did not happen only to ethnic minorities, but should and did to Han as well. Due to greater inter-ethnic interaction, every ethnic group experienced enhanced consciousness of their group identity (Hao 郝 1995, 18). By extending the scope beyond minorities, Hao revealed and possibly, in a way, also challenged the underlying message of those who were critical of ethnic consciousness, i.e. the authority should be only watchful of the ethnic consciousness of minorities.

*5.4.2 From Theoretical Debate to Policy Critique*

A turning point came in 1995, when Gong Yonghui from Guangxi Institute of Nationalities[5] published his four-part essay-series on "Adjusting and Controlling Ethnic Consciousness" (Gong 龚 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d). The four essays are titled, respectively, "The Conceptual Issue of

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[5] Original Chinese title: "广西民族学院"

Ethnic Consciousness,"[6] "Ethnic Consciousness and Ethnic Existence,"[7] "Ethnic Consciousness and Ethno-National Question,"[8] and "Ethnic Consciousness and Strategy for Adjustment and Control".[9] In these essays, Gong engaged in a systematic critical analysis of China's minzu policy, its connection with the rising ethnic consciousness, as well as practical measures that the state could adopt to control it.

Taking a quasi-constructivist approach, Gong argued that ethnic issues existed only as a result of ethnic consciousness. Specifically, when social issues, such as poverty, education, religious belief, social reform, come into contact with ethnic consciousness, they transform into ethnic issues (Gong 龚 1995c, 20). In other words, ethnic consciousness makes other issues into ethnic issues: "since ethnic consciousness is the basis for conversion [of common social issues into] and generation of ethnic issues, then adjusting and controlling (Ch: *tiaokong*) ethnic consciousness should be one of the instruments for solving ethnic issues" (Gong 龚 1995c, 20). To demonstrate this claim, Gong first cited the examples of American Civil War and the Anti-Japanese War of China to show that "when ethnic consciousness receives proper adjust and control, ethnic issues could be properly resolved" (Gong 龚 1995c, 21). The case of the former Soviet Union was then cited for the claim that "when ethnic consciousness receives pernicious adjust and control, disastrous problems will fall upon the society" (Gong 龚 1995c, 21–22).

In sum, ethnic consciousness must receive proper adjustment and control. This operation involves two aspects: one is to adjust and control the consciousness itself, the other is to adjust and control the society through ethnic consciousness. Gong calls for mobilizing the state apparatus (Ch:

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[6] Original Chinese title: "民族意识的概念问题"
[7] Original Chinese title: "民族意识与民族存在"
[8] Original Chinese title: "民族意识与民族问题"
[9] Original Chinese title: "民族意识与调控方略"

*guojia jiqi*) to engage in the establishment of a comprehensive adjust-and-control-system (Ch: *tiaokong xitong*) of ethnic consciousness and a seamless adjust-and-control-network (Ch: *tiaokong wangluo*). Specifically, he proposed that the state should not only enact laws and policies, but also build up adjust-and-control-system in economic relations, political institutions, and ideology to form such a network that directs the ethnic consciousness of the population (Gong 龚 1995d, 40). To reinforce his policy recommendation, in a 1996 article Gong argued that the Chinese government had engaged in adjustment and control of ethnic consciousness since the beginning of ethnic classification. This was done for the greater good of sorting out the chaotic ethnic identification and promote interethnic equality. By extension, Gong implied that adjusting and controlling ethnic consciousness had been the true legacy of China's practice with ethnic affairs (Gong 龚 1996).[10]

Gong Yonghui's contribution to the debate was important because he not only broke away from other scholars' habit of working within the Marxism-Leninism literature but also actively critiqued the Soviet experience, as well as articulating a distinct, independent theoretical discourse for China's minzu policy. Gong's theoretical departure from the rest of the ethnological community was already noted upon the publication of the above essays. Xu Jieshun, a senior scholar from Guangxi Institute of Nationalities, wrote that Gong's essay are "quite novel, have theoretical implications for us in terms of understanding the dynamics in ethnic issues around the world, as well as improving our country's ethnic work, and constitute a meaningful breakthrough in studies on ethnic consciousness by the minzu theory community after so many years" (J. 杰舜 Xu 徐 1995, 30).

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[10] Gong already rejected the relevance of Soviet Marxist literature to the discussion of ethnic consciousness in his first 1995 article, writing that "the presumed theory in ethnic classification is the Stalinist model; however, if [China] had really followed that model, none of the ethnicities in China would have become [recognized as] ethnic" (Gong 龚 1995a, 27). He argued that in practice China's ethnic classification followed a flexible approach in which language and cultural-psychological characters were given priority over common territory and common economic life. He also believed that this "breakthrough through practice" was not properly theorized by researchers.

Following the change in Xinjiang Policy in March 1996, scholars became more outspoken about the need for government intervention in ethnic consciousness so to maintain social stability. Qi Wenli from the XUAR Ethnic Affairs Committee wrote that the strengthening of ethnic consciousness had led to more fervent wish for political status and power which, if allowed to develop without "correct guidance," could further cause several problematic mentalities, including "equalization of wealth" (Ch: *junfu sixiang*), "revenge" (Ch: *baofu sixiang*), "exclusion" (Ch: *paichi sixiang*), and "sheltering the wrongdoers" (Ch: *bihu sixiang*). To cope with these issues, Qi recommended using persuasion, education, and influencing public opinion to correct people's thought; at the same time, he also raised the possibility of treating "hostile elements" as class enemies. Qi wrote, "in the socialist new era, although class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in the Chinese society […] class struggle will continue to exist in certain areas for the long term". Specifically, for "the very few ethnic splittists either within China or having fled overseas who tried to sabotage interethnic relations," Qi stated that their behavior must be "treated carefully and exposed resolutely" (Qi 齐 1996, 58–60).

Using former Soviet Union as their case, Wang Weimin and Yi Xiaohong from Shanxi Normal University argued that ethnic consciousness played a fundamental role in triggering its dissolution and made a case for strengthening interethnic cohesion in China. In the first place, they drew from Maslow's hierarchy of needs to explain why as ethnic consciousness gradually strengthened the intellectuals of a given ethnic group would raise more demands to protect and promote the their group interests (Weimin 为民 Wang 王 and Yi 辰 1996, 19). In the second place, they claimed that ethnic consciousness in the former Soviet Union had transformed into ethno-nationalism due to factors including its "mistaken" nationality policy, economic stagnation and inequality, Gorbachev's

policy of "Democratization" and "Openness,"[11] and the facilitation of international anti-USSR force (Ch: *guoji fansu shili*) (Weimin 为民 Wang 王 and Yi 宸 1996, 20–21). Together, these conditions enabled the real culprit, ethnic consciousness, to cause the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

"In sum, behind the dissolution of the Soviet Union lay a number of complex factors, but ethnic separatism was its direct cause. The key crisis with regards to ethno-national question lies in the role of ethnic consciousness, in the transition from ethnic consciousness to nationalism. Even though such a transition was completed under specific historical conditions, […] it was by no means accidental. The lesson from the former Soviet Union tells us, as a multiethnic country, the key is to […] strengthen the centripetal force of ethnic minorities and the cohesiveness among ethnicities, only then can we ensure the stability, development, and prosperity of a multiethnic country" (Weimin 为民 Wang 王 and Yi 宸 1996, 21)

Wang Xunming from Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences also joined the debate. During the "de facto interethnic inequality" debate in the previous decade, Wang once wrote that it was incorrect to consider "ethnic equality" as the core of the proletarian outlook on ethno-nationality (Ch: *wuchan jieji minzuguan*), calling such thinking causes people to "neglect the fundamental task of socialism and idolize the ethno-national question" (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1981, 44). Elsewhere he also argued that eliminating interethnic developmental gaps was inconsistent with the theories of Lenin and Stalin, calling the idea an utopia (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1985, 36). In the present debate, Wang took issue with arguments defending the neutrality of ethnic

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[11] Here Wang and Yi did not refer to *Perestroika*, i.e. "restructuring," but used the phrases *minzhuhua* which means democratization. The second word they used was *gongkaixing* which means "openness" and should refer to the word *Glasnost*. Thus, Wang and Yi were mainly concerned and critiquing Gorbachev's political reform, instead of both political (*Glasnost*) and economic (*Perestroika*) reforms.

consciousness. For him, ethnic consciousness developed across different historical phase, gradually becoming more systematized and theoretically sophisticated. The highest theoretical formulation (Ch: *zuigao lilun xingtai*) of ethnic consciousness is "bourgeois nationalism" (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1997, 81). Under the condition of capitalism, ethnic consciousness facilitated the mobilization of the masses to struggle against the feudal oppression and establish independent nation-states. But under today's world integration (Ch: *shijie zhengtihua*), economic internationalization (Ch: *jingji guojihua*), ethnic unification (Ch: *minzu yitihua*), and interethnic assimilation and merge (Ch: *zuji jiejin ronghe*), ethnic consciousness could no longer perform any positive historical role; instead:

"The doctrine of ethnic consciousness artificially emphasizes ethnic particularities, insists on the ethnic development of every ethno-national group, preserves the permanent distinction among ethno-national groups, separates people of different ethnicities, covers and neglects class contradictions, and obstructs the progress of people of all ethnicities, therefore [it is] running against the general direction of human society's development." (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1997, 83)

As such, for Wang, ethnic consciousness constituted a major threat to stability, development, interethnic solidarity, and peace around the world. Believing that the globalized capitalist system has facilitated the destruction of ethnic boundaries by turning peasants around the world into mobile proletarians and eroding the parochialism of each distinct ethnic group, Wang endorsed ethnic assimilation as the dominant trend in today's world. As such, ethnic consciousness only causes trouble and obstruction to this process. Citing Lenin, Wang suggested the proletariat class should welcome ethnic assimilation, proclaiming that the decline of the doctrine of ethnic consciousness principle around the world is an irreversible trend (Xunming 勋铭 Wang 王 1997, 83–84).

The most explicit critic of ethnic consciousness came again from Xinjiang. Yu Xinhui, who worked at the Party School in Aksu Prefecture of XUAR, linked the discussion of ethnic consciousness directly with the critique of ethnic splittism and local nationalism, yet interestingly, without the latter's usual counterpart, i.e. Han Chauvinism. For Yu, the main trend in today's China ought to be the strengthening of Chinese national consciousness and the weakening of particularistic ethnic consciousness of each individual ethnic group. "Individual ethnic consciousness," as Yu wrote, "should gradually be integrated into the unified consciousness of the Chinese nation". Those who deny or obstruct this trend, "promoting extreme parochial and reactionary local nationalism" and "attempting to separate Xinjiang from the arms of the motherland," are practicing a regressive and reactionary act on ethnic consciousness (Yu 余 1998, 26).

Under the renewed interrogation of the concept after 1996, those who sought to defend ethnic consciousness either continued to repeat the earlier arguments or conceded to their opponents' positions. For example, You Tao from Guizhou Institute of Nationalities agreed with the observation that ethnic consciousness was on the rise but argued that such a trajectory posed no harm to the country. You wrote that "the intensification of ethnic consciousness […] mainly aims at reducing the interethnic developmental gaps and making a contribution to the revitalization of the Chinese nation, thus should be respected and understood, particularly by the majority ethnicity (Ch: *da minzu*)"(You 游 1996, 105–6). On the other hand, Wang Xi'en, researcher from the CASS Institute of Nationalities and one who was sympathetic toward ethnic consciousness,[12] now agreed that ethnic consciousness did have certain parochialist tendencies which could be dangerous should

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[12] In his 1995 article "Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Consciousness," Wang distinguished two types of ethnic identifications – which for him sit at the core of ethnic consciousness – a positive one and a negative one. Wang argued that the negative identification was problematic as it was built upon negative emotions such as humiliation and grievance. But he refrained from calling ethnic consciousness itself a double-edge sword or describing it as performing dual-function as many other scholars did (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 1995).

they be exploited by hostile forces seeking to undermine the national unity (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 1998, 1–7). To cope with the duality of the ethnic consciousness – particularly its negative aspect of "parochialism and conservatism" – Wang proposed accelerating development for ethnic minorities, putting more emphasis on guiding the masses with the "correct ideas," staying cautious against hostile forces in and outside the country, and promoting the rule of law to better manage interethnic relations (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 1998, 8–9).

By the end of the 1990s, the "ethnic consciousness" debate seemed to have concluded with the victory of those critical of ethnic consciousness and expressed concern over its potential dangers for China. While most scholars already acknowledged the observation that ethnic consciousness was rising during the earlier phase of the debate, there was a sharp division between those who preferred a cautionary stand towards ethnic consciousness and those who defended the neutrality or positivity of ethnic consciousness. Following Gong Yonghui's 1995 essay-series in which he openly called upon the authority to adjust and control ethnic consciousness, as well as the change in minzu policy for Xinjiang by Beijing through Document No. 7, the discourse on the topic became tilted towards one side, featuring increasingly critical voice against ethnic consciousness, while those who disagreed with the former offered few novel arguments. Towards the end of the decade, most scholars seemed to have resorted to accepting that ethnic consciousness could have negative implications, and that the authority should properly react to such a tendency with effective measures to control or guide it. From the debate, we can also see the decline of Soviet Marxist literature as the theoretical reference. In contrast, Chinese intellectuals from both earlier 20th century and from the present period were cited more frequently than the previous period. Other disciplines, such as psychology and area studies, also made more appearances in the discourse.

**Chapter 6 Denaturalizing Ethnic Identification, 2003-2013**


**6.1 Chapter Overview**

Under Hu Jintao's administration, local governments in both Xinjiang and Tibet gradually shifted their focus from preserving indigenous culture to suppressing local ethnic identity, emphasizing cultural assimilation, and tightening social control. Moreover, two high-profile incidents during Hu's second term took the country by surprise. The 2008 riots in Lhasa and the 2009 riots in Urumqi shocked the leadership, who responded initially by forceful repression of the unrest, upgraded security measures, and renewed efforts to invest in local infrastructure and economy. Over the next few years, however, the government progressively gave more priority to social stability and displayed a declined interest to buy ethnic minorities' political loyalty with economic benefits. As a result, local governments in Xinjiang and Tibet adopted many practices which were inconsistent – if not in direct conflict with – the principles laid out in the national laws on ethnic minorities affairs. The tensions between these repressive policies and the official line manifested in the frequent personnel changes in officials posts closely related to ethnic minority affairs and the slight yet observable inconsistencies in different officials' interpretation of the state's minzu policy.

On the other hand, as the research agenda of different disciplines expand into more areas and overlap, studies on ethnic minorities were no longer monopolized by either the minzu studies community or the historically related and thematically adjacent disciplines such as sociology or anthropology. Importantly, political science and legal studies became increasingly involved, and particularly in discussions on minzu policy design and implementation. At the same time, the push by younger generation of ethnologists to focus the attention of the discipline on culture and history also contributed to a general less engagement with the research on ethnic minorities from the policy perspective. As a result, the knowledge community continued further fragmentation.

The tension in policy subsystem and the fragmentation of knowledge community led to a highly politicized open debate. A number of prominent scholars –sociologists, political scientists, and legal scholars – faulted at the existing policy for sending China down a similar path of disintegration as the former Soviet Union. They openly advocated for a major policy reorientation, even arguing for a complete abolishment of the ethnic regional autonomy, while defenders of the existing policy counterattacked with moralized languages reminiscent of the ideological campaigns during the Cultural Revolution. The highly politicized debate on minzu policy continued through the leadership transition into Xi Jinping's first term.

## 6.2 Adversarial Policy Subsystem

### 6.2.1 Building "Harmonious Society" through Development

During the period from 2003 to 2013, China was under the leadership of Hu Jintao and the so-called the "Fourth Generation Leading Collective". Minzu policy under Hu experienced an initial slight shift away from emphasis on repressive tactics in the framework of Hu's vision for a "socialist harmonious society," as well as a continuation of emphasis on using development to win over ethnic minorities' loyalty. This slightly moderated approach became more pronounced in the later part of Hu's first term (2002-2007), when he took over the chairmanship of the Central Military Commission from Jiang Zemin and consolidated his position within the top leadership. However, two high-profile ethnic riots, respectively in 2008 and 2009, compelled Hu to make significant adjustments to his development-oriented minzu policy towards a more hardline approach, particularly in Tibet and Xinjiang, where the riots occurred.

Hu Jintao became the General Secretary of the CCP at the First Plenum of the 16th Party Congress in November 2002. Four months before he took on the post of PRC President. At the First Session of the 10th NPC in March 2003, Hu made his first major speech on minzu policy. The

speech offers a glimpse of the basic priorities of the new party leadership regarding ethnic minority affairs. Titled "Unite and Struggle Together, Prosper and Develop Together" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 1–6),[13] Hu's speech mentioned four major areas of tasks for ethnic work in the future. Contrasting the ordering of these tasks with the one we have seen in Jiang Zemin's speech more than a decade earlier at the first Central Ethnic Work Conference, one can observe the differences between the two in terms of their priorities.

**Table 8 – Comparison between Jiang Zemin (1992) vs. Hu Jintao (2003)[14]**

| "Strengthen the Great Solidarity of All Nationalities, March Ahead Hand in Hand for Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" <br><br> **January 14th, 1992 – Jiang Zemin** | "Unite and Struggle Together, Prosper and Develop Together" <br><br> **March 4th, 2003 – Hu Jintao** |
|---|---|
| 1) To accelerate the development of ethnic minorities and ethnic regions, so that they would adapt to the development of the whole country | 1) To make efforts to accelerate the economic and social development of ethnic minority areas |
| 2) To greatly develop the social programs of ethnic minorities and ethnic regions, so to promote the comprehensive progress of all nationalities | 2) To give special emphasis on developing human resource and building the ethnic minority cadre corps |
| 3) To uphold reform and opening-up, and continuously strengthen the vitality for self-development of ethnic minorities and ethnic regions | 3) To resolutely protect the unity of the motherland and national solidarity |
| 4) To uphold and perfect the system of ethnic regional autonomy, and comprehensively implement the Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy | 4) To uphold and perfect the system of ethnic regional autonomy |
| 5) To further strengthen the grand solidarity of all nationalities, and resolutely protect the unity of the motherland | N/A |

A higher priority to ethnic solidarity over upholding the ethnic regional autonomy is evident in Hu's speech. This is understandable given the shift in the center's approach to ethnic tensions in

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[13] Original Chinese title: "共同团结奋斗，共同繁荣发展" The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

[14] Source: (SEAC and PLRC 2010) https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html

Xinjiang as reflected in the Document No. 7 of 1996. While ethnic solidarity was a higher priority from the beginning of Hu's tenure, Hu attempted to maintain a balance between development and integration. In some areas, Hu also made efforts to further institutionalize the existing minzu policy. For example, the State Council issued the "Regulations on Religious Affairs"[15] in July 2004, which reaffirmed the government's commitment to the freedom of belief, while at the same time creating a certain – however limited – space for faith communities to operate legally in the country. Hu also made it his signature move to cultivate the Chinese Communist Party into a "Party of Learning" (Ch: *xuexixing zhengdang*) by introducing the concept of "Learning Organization" from modern management science. Accordingly, the CCP Central Politburo held a series of "Collective Study Sessions" on various themes related to domestic and international political affairs.[16] From December 2002 to May 2012, the Central Politburo held a total of 77 study session under Hu Jintao's leadership. Among them, two study sessions were specifically relevant to minzu policy: the 16th session of the 16th Central Politburo on "A Few Questions Regarding China's Minzu History" (2004.10.21) and the 2nd session of the 17th Central Politburo on "Contemporary World Religions and Strengthening China's Religion Work" (2007.12.18). Both sessions show that the central leadership had no intention to alter the current policy arrangement but remained committed to the policy status quo. For the 2004 study session on ethnic work,[17] senior ethologists Yang Shenmin from the Central Minzu University and Hao Shiyuan from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences were invited to give lectures to the leadership. Importantly, at the meeting, Hu Jintao for the first

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[15] Original Chinese title: "宗教事务条例". The full-text of the article can be viewed via
https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.
[16] "CCP Central Politburo Collective Study" ("中共中央政治局集体学习"), Communist Party Member, http://www.12371.cn/special/lnzzjjtxx/shouye/index.shtml, accessed July 13th 2018.
[17] "Hu Jintao Presides Politburo Collective Study Session, Request to Carry On Well Minzu Work" ("胡锦涛主持政治局集体学习要求做好民族工作"), Central People's Government, http://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2004-10/21/content_11675.htm, accessed July 13th 2018.

time employed the term "Scientific Outlook on Development" (Ch: *kexue fazhan guan*) in discussing minzu policy. The speech was titled "Firmly Establish and Implement the Scientific Outlook on Development, Comprehensively Carry Out Properly Ethnic Work under the New Circumstances" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 49–53).[18]

Hu Jintao's moderation of minzu policy – particularly with regards to restraining repression of ethnic minorities in Xinjiang and Tibet – became pronounced after 2004, when he consolidated his power as the paramount leader of the country. As observers and scholars have pointed out, the leadership transition from Jiang to Hu did not go very smoothly. Although Hu managed to be elected as the General Secretary of the Party in 2002 at the 1st Plenary Session of the 16th Party Congress.[19] He was considered as a paramount leader since the control over the military were not passed on to him by his predecessor Jiang Zemin. It was not until almost two years later, in September 2004, that Jiang relinquished his control over the CCP Central Military Commission (CMC) by stepping down from its chairmanship. This position is considered important in the contemporary Chinese context because without it, the General Secretary has no real authority to command the armed forces of PRC, which include not only the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA, Ch: *jiefangjun*), but also the Chinese People's Armed Policy (PAP, Ch: *wujing*) as well as the Chinese Militia (Ch: *minbing*). The CMC is in fact one agency but with two different titles: one for the party "the CCP Central Military Commission" and one for the state "the PRC Central Military Commission," symbolizing the absolute leadership of the party over the military. Being the CCP General Secretary without concurrently holding the chairmanship of CMC (both of the party and the state) is in effect a civilian leader without control over the military. Following the transfer of the

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[18] Original Chinese title: "牢固树立和落实科学发展观，全面做好新形势下民族工作". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.
[19] http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20021115/867826.html

CC-CMC chairmanship to Hu, Jiang also stepped down from the Chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission six months later at 3rd Meeting of the 10th NPC, in March 2005. Thus, Hu Jintao became the Chairman of the CCP Central Military Commission on September 19th, 2004 and also the Chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission six months later, on March 13th, 2005. By doing so, Hu is believed to have succeeded finally consolidated his position at the very top level.

The consolidation of Hu Jintao's position might have offered him more breathing room to implement policies somewhat different from his predecessor. In particular, minzu policy under post-2004 Hu's leadership seems to have become a combination of more socioeconomic development and less repression. Adrian Zenz, for example, believes that Hu hoped to use development to substitute or reduce to the need for later (Zenz 2014, 73–75). The second comprehensive articulation of Hu Jintao's minzu policy in 2005 offers more clues of such a shift. On May 27th, the Third Central Ethnic Work Conference and the State Council's Fourth All-China Ethnic Solidarity and Progress Commendation Conference was convened in Beijing. There Hu Jintao addressed the participants with a longer speech which could be seen as the definitive statement of his minzu policy after he had fully consolidated his leadership position.[20] While Hu by and large repeated the same list of tasks highlighted in his earlier statement, the new speech did highlight the importance of recognizing the "new circumstance" and of pushing hard for development in ethnic minority regions. The speech argues that one should not hope for a rapid withering away of ethnicities, but should instead work patiently to accommodate differences and reduce developmental gaps between ethnic minority areas and the more developed – presumably Han – areas:

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[20] Original title: "Speech at the Central Conference on Ethnic Work and the State Council's Fourth All-China Ethnic Solidarity and Progress Commendation Conference" ("在中央民族工作会议暨国务院第四次全国民族团结进步表彰大会上的讲话"). The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

The fundamental interests of people of all ethnicities are the same […] but ethnic characteristics, ethnic differences, cross-ethnic gap in economic and cultural development will persist for a long time. Wes should be fully aware of this point. With regards to the differences between ethnicities in terms of their historically rooted traditions, language, culture, custom and norms, psychological identification and so on, we should give our full respect and understanding, and should not ignore their existence, or change them using forcible means. With regards to cross-ethnic developmental gaps, we should actively create conditions so to reduce and eliminate them with efforts. […] In sum, ethnic work in the new century and under the new circumstances must take the solidarity and common struggling of all ethnicities, and the common prosperity and development of all ethnicities as the main theme." (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 70–73)

What are the main tasks under the "new circumstance"? Again, Hu touched upon four main themes: The first one is to accelerate the economic and social development of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas: "development […] is the key to all the problems in China as well as the key to solve the difficulties and problems in ethnic minority areas" and "accelerate the economic and social development of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas is not only the pressing demand of the masses of all ethnicities, but also the fundamental solution to solve the minzu question under the current phase, and [thus] must be treated as a more prominent strategic question" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 74–76). The second one is to strengthen human resource development and the building of ethnic minority cadre corps in ethnic minority areas: "for the leadership in ethnic autonomous areas, [the authority] must select and assign ethnic minority cadres *according to regulations*. For the leadership of working units under the autonomous governments of ethnic autonomous areas, [the authority] should *try to recruit* ethnic minority cadres" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 78–79).

The third topic is to strengthen ethnic solidarity and protect the unity of the motherland, "the unity of the motherland is the highest interest of people of all ethnicities, and ethnic solidarity is the fundamental guarantee for the unity of the motherland" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 79–81). Specifically, Hu called upon the governments to carry out ethnic solidarity propaganda and education campaign widely and to promote the "the Chinese national spirit" (Ch: *zhonghua minzu jingshen*) with patriotism as its core. At the same time, he also emphasized the need to fully implement the party's freedom of religious belief policy. Lastly and interestingly, Hu states that one should not treat every issue involving ethnic minorities as a minzu issue but should treat different problems differently according to their nature. For example, "contradictions among the people" should not be confused with issues of "national splittism". In a way, this is both giving rhetorical resource for repressive actions in "problematic areas" while at the same limiting or preventing the spread of such practices into other regions or policy areas. Finally, Hu argues that it is important to also uphold and improve the system of ethnic regional autonomy, "[the authorities] should step up their efforts to enact laws, regulations, concrete measures and instructions for implementations that are supportive [of the Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy], [they should also] enact or amend autonomous regulation and special regulation, gradually building up the system of laws and regulations on ethnic affairs with Chinese characteristics" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 81–82).

At the same meeting, Premier Wen Jiabao also made a speech which was titled "Deeply Grasp the Fundamental Features of Ethnic Relations in China, Diligently Promote the Development of Ethnic Minorities and Ethnic Minority Areas".[21] In line with the Hu's chosen emphasis, Wen's speech focuses exclusively on economic development, including infrastructure building, ethnic

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[21] Original Chinese title: "深刻认识我国民族关系的本质特征，努力促进少数民族和民族地区发展". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

industries and industries with comparative advantages, continuing reform and opening-up, and

redouble assistance program of the state. Subsequently, the central government enacted a number of

policies according to the directions set at this meeting. A few notable examples include the decision

to further accelerate socioeconomic development of ethnic minorities and minority areas,[22] "high-

level" ethnic minority talent training program,[23] and assistance program for small-population ethnic

minorities.[24] One can see the emphasis on development in Hu's Xinjiang policy as well. From

September 6th to 11th 2006, Hu Jintao visited Karamay, Khotan, Ili, and Urumqi in XUAR. His

speech on the last day of his trip placed promoting "fast and good" socio-economic development

"according to the Scientific Outlook" and promoting rural development in the framework of "new

socialist countryside" on the top of the list of key tasks in Xinjiang. Only then did Hu mention

"promoting the construction of socialist harmonious society" and "maintaining the peace and

solidarity of the society". Even then, "stability maintenance" came only as the last point. Hu

explicitly defined the potential discontent of ethnic minorities in Xinjiang as "contradictions among

the people" and called for establishing and perfecting an "appropriate working protocol" (Ch:

*zhengque de gongzuo jizhi*) for dealing with such contradictions and prevent mistakes in policy decisions

or practices that may cause discontent of the masses (PLRC and XUARPC 2010, 640–50).

Another example suggestive of Hu's refraining from repressive policies toward minorities is the

release of the Uyghur political prisoner Rebiya Kadeer in 2005. A well-known wealth

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[22] See "CCP Central Committee and State Council's Decision to" original Chinese title: "中共中央、国务院关于进一步加强民族工作加快少数民族和民族地区经济社会发展的决定". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

[23] See "Implementation Plan for Training High-level Ethnic Minority Backbone Talent," original Chinese title: "培养少数民族高层次骨干人才计划的实施方案". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

[24] See "Plan for Assisting Development for Small-Population Ethnic Minorities (2005-2010)," original Chinese title: "扶持人口较少民族发展规划（二〇〇五———二〇一〇年）". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

businesswoman from XUAR, Rebiya was once working rather closely with the Chinese government, serving as the vice president of Xinjiang Federation of Industry and Commerce (Ch: *xinjiang gongshang lian*) and the vice president of Xinjiang Association of Female Entrepreneurs. Her story was even propagated as a positive example of ethnic minority participating in a China's growing economy in domestic publications ("中国女大亨——热比娅 [China's Female Tycoon - Rebiya]" 1994). In 1993, a 46-year-old Rebiya was elected as a delegate of the 8th National Committee of CPPCC. In August 1999, however, she was arrested in China for "threatening national security" and sentenced to 8 years in jail for "supplying state's intelligence to foreign organizations" by Urumqi Intermediate People's Court in the following March.[25] However, she was discharged early on medical grounds in March 2005 and allowed to fly to the United States before a visit by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to the region. The U.S. government had pressured the Chinese authority for her release. It was believed that her release was a bilateral agreement between China and the US, according to which the US would drop a resolution against China in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.[26] At the same time, it could not be ruled out that Hu's slightly moderated minzu policy enabled the consideration of Rebiya's release.

*6.2.2 "3-14" & "7-5" Incidents and Subsequent Policy Changes*

Between 2008 and 2009, two key events challenged Hu's initial attempt of maintain a development-oriented minzu policy. On March 14th, 2008, a peaceful demonstration in Lhasa commemorating the 1959 Tibetan Uprising became violent when the TAR authority sent police,

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[25] "Rebiya: From the Richest Woman in Xinjiang to a Prisoner" ("热比娅其人：从新疆女首富到阶下囚"), Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, http://cppcc.people.com.cn/GB/34952/9612923.html, accessed July 15th 2018.
[26] "China Frees Rebiya Kadeer", Radio Free Asia, https://www.rfa.org/english/china/uyghur_kadeer-20050317.html, accessed July 15th 2018.

firefighters, and government officials to disperse the crowd near the Ramoche Temple.[27] According

to the news report, the demonstrator-turned-rioters – who were mostly if not exclusively Tibetans –

attacked indiscriminately Han Chinese and Hui Muslims on the street with stones and knives. Non-

Tibetan-owned businesses were attacked, vandalized, and in some cases destroyed. Government and

school facilities also suffered various forms of attacks. In response, the authority called in the

People's Armed Police (PAP) to suppress the riots, while ordering foreign and Hong Kong

journalists to leave Lhasa. Not only TAR was affected, but also provinces such as Qinghai, Gansu,

and Sichuan, all of which have a significant number of indigenous Tibetan population.

Immediately following the suppression of the riot, on April 7th, Jia Qinglin, a member of the

Central Politburo Standing Committee and Chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, gave a

speech titled "Ensure the Development and Stability of Tibet and Tibetan Area" at an unnamed

central meeting (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 269–80).[28] A few things of Jia's speech were worth noting.

The genealogy of the party's policy did not include Hu Yaobang and his policy in the mid-1980s.

Instead, Jia listed only four important "moments" in his account: summary of the meeting of Central

Politburo Standing Committee by Jiang Zemin on Tibet work in October 1989,[29] two Tibet Work

Symposium in respectively July 1994 and June 2001, and finally, the directive from the party

leadership in September 2005 in the form of "the Central Committee and the State Council's

Opinion on Further Improving the Development and Stability Work in Tibet" (SEAC and PLRC

2010, 269–70).[30] Jia also framed the incident as the result of a few criminals: "[…] those who caused

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[27] Ramoche Temple is known in Chinese as *xiaozhaosi* ("小昭寺").
[28] Original Chinese title: 确保西藏及其藏区的发展和稳定. The full-text of the article can be viewed via
https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature
Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018. According to the source, this was a speech
given by Jia Qinglin at a related, central meeting (Ch: *zhongyang youguan huiyi*).
[29] The summary was released under the title: "Summary of the Central Politburo Standing Committee's Discussion on
Tibet Work" ("中央政治局常委讨论西藏工作纪要").
[30] Original Chinese title: "中共中央、国务院关于进一步做好西藏发展稳定工作的意见".

trouble were but a few law-breaking monks and a few criminal elements in the society, the vast majority of the masses in the Tibetan area resolutely support the center's policy and arrangement regarding Tibet work, [they] resolutely oppose the separatist and subversive activities of the Dalai Clique, [they] are fully trustworthy and reliable" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 273). At the same time, Jia also acknowledge the influence of the exiled Tibetan leader inside China: "[…] the Dalai Clique remains strongly deceitful towards some parts of the masses in the Tibetan area of China. The Dalai Clique operates under the disguise of ethnicity and religion, wearing various 'crowns' that the West granted to the Dalai [Lama], still possess the power under specific time and circumstances to instigate, mobilize monks from some temples within China as well as religious believer to oppose the party and the government" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 274).

To maintain stability, Jia highlighted the importance that the government should adopt an assertive position and also establish "comprehensive control over the situation" (Ch: *quanmian zhangkong jushi*), by further integrating different functions of the government and party to facilitate coordination with regards to internal security, as well as redoubling efforts on the political education both in and outside school. Jia also emphasized the need for strengthening government's control over the monastery, e.g. intensifying political education of the monks and sending working team (Ch: *gongzuo zu*) to key monasteries to carry out such education program and perform active surveillance. Economic development was given a comparatively lower priority in the speech, while almost nothing was said about expanding cultural accommodation towards the Tibetan population.

Interestingly, on the 23rd of the same month, the State Council issued a notice which warned that stability maintenance should not go against established minzu policy of the party. Titled "Notice from the General Office of the State Council on Questions Regarding Firmly Implementing the

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Party and the State's Minzu Policy,"[31] this notice makes it clear that its intended audience are those who are in the Tibetan area: "[…] in recent works on maintaining the stability of the Tibetan area and strengthening counter-terrorism, a few units have exhibited behaviors that violated the minzu policy in their work" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 281). Citing instances such as "ethnic-profiling" at the security check-up of the airport, hiring taxis, seeking accommodations at hotels, and shopping at the stores, the document argues that "these behaviors hurt the feelings of the ethnic minority masses and caused their discontent". It goes on to suggest that "although these issues happened only at a few places and units, if [we] let it develop without intervention, [it] will seriously damage the ethnic solidarity and affect the social stability, [thus we] must pay full attention [to it] and resolutely correct it, putting an end to similar incidences".

The document repeats a number of slogans such as ethnic equality and ethnic solidarity. However, it mainly criticizes discriminatory behaviors against ethnic minorities in a rather abstractly-defined way. No clear guidelines were given as to what account as "discrimination" beyond ambiguous statements such as "hotels, stores and restaurants should not refuse ethnic minority masses to stay, shop, or eat in; transportation operators should not refuse their services to ethnic minority masses". There was also no mentioning of any legal consequences or other forms of penalties to the violators of the requirements specified in this document. While it does ask the local governments to ensure the proper observance of the party's minzu policy and to correct any violations, including pressing criminal charges against serious violations "according to law," it is unclear what specific "laws" this statement refers to. It should be noted that there was no anti-discrimination law of any kind in China at this point. In sum, the contrast between the two

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[31] Original Chinese title: 国务院办公厅关于严格执行党和国家民族政策有关问题的通知. The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

documents, i.e. Jia Qinglin's speech and the State Council's notice, may suggest a certain degree of intra-elite conflict in the immediate aftermath of the Lhasa Riot. At the same time, it seems that the top leadership prefers to send a much clearer and stronger message to the cadres around the country about the importance of stability maintenance than the need for caution against potentially mistreating ethnic minorities.

In the months after the riot, referred to by the authority as the "3-14 Incident," the party leadership shifted increasingly more towards maintaining stability in ethnic minority regions. Reversing the priorities set in Hu Jintao's earlier speeches, promoting ethnic solidarity now became the fundamental task of the party's ethnic work, even taking precedence over promoting socioeconomic development and upholding interethnic equality (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 286).[32] On November 26th, in response to the call for strengthening political education on the students, Ministry of Education and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission issued "Guidelines for Ethnic Solidarity Education in Schools (Trial Version)" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 298–308).[33] It states that "ethnic solidarity education is an important special-subject education (Ch: *zhongyao zhuanxiang jiaoyu*) that is incorporated into local curriculum as uniformly mandated by the state, [it] is an important part of the school education. The top objective of the policy is to "make the thinking and behavior of students from all ethnicities to voluntarily align with the demand of the party and the state, to enhance the identification with the Chinese nation and knowledge about the [national] history and culture, and to promote the exchange, inheritance, and promotion of the outstanding cultural

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[32] See, for example, Hu Jintao's annotation on the Xinhua News Agency's high-level internal reference document "Domestic News Update" (Ch: *guonei dongyang qingyang*, "国内动态清样"), September 15th, 2008. Full-text of the annotation available via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

[33] Original Chinese title: 学校民族团结教育知道纲要(试行). The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

traditions of the fifty-six ethnicities". Specifically, the education should have the students "firmly establish the correct outlook on the motherland, on ethnicity, and on culture" through different forms of teaching methods, and to enhance their understanding and adherence to the principles of "Three Inseparables"[34] and "Free Safeguards,"[35] so to "continuously strengthen the centripetal force and cohesion of the Chinese nation" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 300–301).

According to this Guideline, ethnic solidarity education would be conducted in five consecutive phases throughout the typical 12 school years before one enters a college, with specific content and instructional emphasis for each phase. In sum, the five phases cover a total number of eight years for anyone who go through primary school, middle school, and either high school or secondary vocational school (Ch: *zhongdeng zhiye xuexiao*, usually abbreviated as *zhongzhuan*). During each phase, the students are expected to receive two years of schooling on a related and progressively sophisticated theme, ranging from basic knowledge about the ethnic makeup of the country to basic PRC political and legal principles governing ethnic affairs to more focused discussion about the practice of minzu policy and the importance of ethnic solidarity, safeguarding the unity of the motherland, and opposing ethnic splittism. During the last phase (high school/secondary vocational school), students are asked to not only grasp the party's minzu theory and form a Marxist Outlook on Minzu (Ch: *makesi zhuyi minzuguan*), but also to "deepen the understanding about the superiority of our party and state's minzu policy through comparison [with other multiethnic countries around the world], and firmly establish the faith in the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation (Ch: *zhonghua minzu weida fuxing*)" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 302–4). As such, ethnic solidarity education is designed to be a standalone subject to be taught throughout a student's pre-college years in addition

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[34] "Han are inseparable from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities are inseparable from Han, ethnic minorities are inseparable among each other" ("汉族离不开少数民族, 少数民族离不开汉族, 各少数民族之间也互相离不开")
[35] "Safeguard Interests of the People, Safeguard Sanctity of Law, Safeguard Ethnic Solidarity, Safeguard Unity of the Motherland," ("维护人民利益, 维护法律尊严, 维护民族团结, 维护祖国统一")

to the existing political education curriculum, which often operates under the title of "thought and political education" (Ch: *sixiang zhengzhi jiaoyu*) and involves a variety of topics regarding domestic and international political affairs from the official point of view.

**Table 9 – Guidelines for Ethnic Solidarity Education in Schools[36]**

| Phase | Theme |
|---|---|
| Primary School: 3rd-4th grade | Minzu Knowledge Enlightenment Education[37] |
| Primary School: 5th-6th grade | Minzu Knowledge Common Sense Education[38] |
| Middle School: 7th-8th grade | Minzu Policy Common Sense Education[39] |
| High School: 10th-11th grade | Minzu Theory Common Sense Education[40] |
| Secondary Vocational School: 1st-2nd grade | Minzu Theory Common Sense & Practice Education[41] |

Ethnic solidarity education also goes beyond mere classroom activities. Rather, it is more appropriate to consider it a society-wide mobilization with the aim of socializing the youth into a particular kind of citizenhood that endorses the "unity of the motherland" and "solidarity among ethnicities" above everything else. Besides the top-down implemented school curriculum, the Guideline also demands that every household and the society at large should shoulder the responsibility of implementing ethnic solidarity education, as it is their "shared obligation". Schools have limited discretion in how the task is carried out, as all the teaching materials on the subject will be produced under the strict supervision of two state-level agencies, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC), and reviewed and approved by a special committee created just for this purpose (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 307).

Despite the general scope of above policy, minz policy in other regions were not substantially affected by the events in TAR and its adjacent areas right away. For example, socioeconomic

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[36] Source: "Guidelines for Ethnic Solidarity Education in Schools" (学校民族团结教育知道纲要(试行))
[37] Original Chinese term: 民族知识启蒙教育
[38] Original Chinese term: 民族常识教育
[39] Original Chinese term: 民族政策常识教育
[40] Original Chinese term: 民族理论常识教育
[41] Original Chinese term: 民族理论常识实践教育

development and the implementation of ethnic regional autonomy remain listed before promoting

ethnic solidarity in the party's pronouncement of its minzu policy for Ningxia (SEAC and PLRC

2010, 290–97).[42]

However, just a little more than a year after the "3-14" Tibetan riot, ethnic tensions in Xinjiang

draw Hu's administration again into a political crisis. The Urumqi riot, which broke out on July 5th,

2009 and became subsequently known the "7-5 Incident," was triggered by an earlier civil

disturbance in Shaoguan, Guangdong province. There Uyghur and Han Chinese workers at a local

toy factory were drawn into a violent confrontation over allegations of a sexual assault of a Han

female worker by Uyghur coworkers. Two Uyghur men were killed by angry Han workers in their

attempt to avenge the Han woman for the alleged sexual assault, with over one hundred workers –

most of whom were Uyghur – wounded in the confrontation. When the news reached Xinjiang, a

street protest by Uyghurs broke out in provincial capital city Urumqi, demanding the authority to

intervene and prosecute the perpetrator of the murder. Soon, however, the demonstration turned

into a massive riot. According to news report, around 1000 Uyghurs participated in the ensuing

violent attacks mainly targeting Han people in the city. The Chinese official media claimed that there

were in total 156 civilian victims, out of which 134 were Han, 11 Hui, 10 Uyghur, and 1 Manchu. In

the immediate aftermath of the initial riot, Urumqi's Han community was enraged and staged

another protest on July 7th, some of whom also engaged in seeking revenge from the other side.

XUAR party secretary Wang Lequan was compelled to make a televised speech broadcasted to the

entire region, calling both sides to restrain and to give priority to ethnic solidarity. But the Han

protestors were not satisfied with the reactions from the authority. Two month later, between

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[42] See, for example, speech by He Guoqiang (CCP Politburo Standing Committee member and Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection) at the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, September 23rd, 2008. Full-text of the speech is available via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

September 2ⁿᵈ and 4ᵗʰ, another major Han demonstration broke out in the city again, during which protestors marched together to the Urumqi Municipal Government, where they shouted slogans demanding the XUAR party secretary Wang Lequan to resign.

When the very first demonstration by Uyghurs occurred on July 5ᵗʰ, Hu Jintao was in the middle of a state visit to Italy and was expected at a later international meeting where state leaders from the G-8 would be sitting down with those from the developing world.[43] Due to the riot in Urumqi, Hu Jintao interrupted his trip and returned to China immediately. Once back in Beijing, Hu immediately called an emergency Politburo meeting. From July 8ᵗʰ to September 18ᵗʰ, Hu made a series of speeches at various meetings in both Beijing and Xinjiang.

If the policy adjustment after Lhasa riot was localized and restrained, the one after the Urumqi riot represents a significant shift with implications for minzu policy on the national level. In the last speech included in the official collection of Hu's speeches, made after the second full meeting of 4ᵗʰ Plenary Session of the 17ᵗʰ Party Congress, Hu Jintao linked the "7-5 Incident" with the "3-14 Incident" together and discussed their implications for ethnic work in general. Hu stated that: "['7-5 Incident' and '3-14 Incident'] realistically made us further realize the utmost importance of maintaining the unity of the motherland, of maintaining ethnic solidarity, and of maintaining social stability. The struggle between splittism and anti-splittism in Xinjiang, Tibet, and other places is not only prolonged, complicated, and intense, but sometimes also quite ferocious. This is not determined by our will". If one compares the text with minzu policy documents from the late 1980s, the language that Hu employed in his speech suggests almost a revival of the class-struggle approach: "All party comrades and especially the high-ranking cadres must […] fully grasp the fact that our struggle with the domestic and foreign splittists, as well as with hostile forces is at its core a

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[43] "After Completing His State Visit to Italy, President Hu Jintao Return Early to China" ("在结束对意大利国事访问后 胡锦涛主席提前回国"), the State Council Information Office of PRC ("国务院新闻办公室"), http://www.scio.gov.cn/zxbd/gdxw/Document/360952/360952.htm, accessed July 15ᵗʰ 2018.

continuation of the Chinese people's struggle against imperialist invaders' scheme to split up China since the modern era, a major trial of political strength regarding maintaining the unity of the motherland and national security, a real and concrete struggle of opposing the Western hostile forces' scheme to westernize and divide our country, and a serious political struggle of upholding the leadership of the CCP, upholding the socialist path with Chinese characteristics, upholding the grand solidarity of all ethnicities of China […]".

### 6.2.3 Policy Evolution during Later-Hu Jintao Period

Following Hu's speech, the central leadership made a series of changes to minzu policy. These changes not only reflect the changing attitude towards ethnic minorities and inter-ethnic relations in China, but also the intense intra-elite struggle heightened due to the political crisis created by those events. From May 17th to 19th 2010, the First Central Symposium on Xinjiang Work (Ch: *zhongyang xinjiang gongzuo zuotanhui*) was convened in Beijing.[44] At this meeting, Hu Jintao employed for the first time the expression "contact, exchange, and integration among ethnic groups" (Ch: *minzu jiaowang jiaoliu jiaorong*) in his speech titled "Deepen the Implementation of the Scientific Outlook on Development, Promote the Leaping-Style Development and Long-Term Stability of Xinjiang".[45]

One specific example of those changes is found in the case of ethnic solidarity education. In the aftermath of "7-5 Incident," the central authority redoubled their efforts to promote it nationwide. On August 20th, 2009, the General Office of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council

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[44] "CCP Central Committee and the State Council Convened Symposium on Xinjiang Work in Beijing" ("中共中央、国务院召开的新疆工作座谈会在京举行"), China Net ("中国网"), http://www.china.com.cn/policy/txt/2010-05/21/content_20087432.htm, accessed July 14th 2018. More information about the meeting can be accessed via People's Net ("人民网"), http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/189866/189893/index.html.

[45] Original Chinese title: "深入贯彻落实科学发展观, 努力推进新疆跨越式发展和长治久安". The full-text of the article can be viewed via http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/138903/13241236.html, accessed July 13th, 2018.

issued "Opinions on Deepening Ethnic Solidarity Propaganda and Education Activities,"[46] expanding the original scope of policy beyond school children to further incorporate a society-wide propaganda campaign down the street level. According to the Opinions, practically every citizen would have to be involved in some forms of education about the topic. Media are also given the tasks of carrying out ethnic solidarity propaganda. Even public spaces such as bus and train stations, airports, hospitals, hotels, public streets and squares, and tourist sites are required to partake in this effort. In terms of the content, particularly important for the renewed effort is to make the masses grasp "the fact that both the Lhasa '3-14' Incident and Urumqi '7-5' Incident were severely violent criminal acts meticulously orchestrated by domestic and foreign hostile forces, whose evil nature was to split the motherland and whose sinister intention was to undermine the stable reform and development of our country" (SEAC and PLRC 2010, 356–66).

While the leadership appeared determined to carry out the ethnic solidarity education campaign, disagreements soon emerged between the central and the regional governments regarding the specific manner in which it should be implemented. Following the "Notice regarding Carrying Out Ethnic Solidarity Education in Schools" by the Central Propaganda Department (CPD),[47] Ministry of Education (MOE), and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) in August 20th, 2009,[48] a four-part textbook series was made by the central government and distributed to all primary and middle schools across the country. The series consist of the following four books: 1) *China's Big Family* (Ch: *zhonghua da jiating*), used from 3rd to 4th grade (primary school); 2) *Common Sense about*

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[46] Original Chinese title: "关于深入开展民族团结宣传教育活动的意见". The full-text of the article can be viewed via https://www.wxyjs.org.cn/ebook/1c8b7fdd-31a2-4180-9551-372f15f691ec/flipviewerxpress.html (Party Literature Research Center of the CCP Central Committee), accessed July 13th, 2018.

[47] The department has renamed itself to "Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China," while the Chinese title remains the same ("中国共产党中央委员会宣传部").

[48] Original Chinese title: "中宣部 教育部 国家民委关于在学校开展民族团结教育活动的通知". The full-text of the document can be viewed via
http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xxgk/gk_gbgg/moe_0/moe_2642/moe_2800/tnull_52932.html (PRC Ministry of Education), accessed July 13th, 2018.

*Minzu* (Ch: *minzu changshi*), used from 5ᵗʰ to 6ᵗʰ grade (primary school); 3) *Common Sense about Minzu Policy* (Ch: *minzu zhengce changshi*), used from 1ˢᵗ to 2ⁿᵈ grade (middle school); 4) *Common Sense about Minzu Theory* (Ch: *minzu lilun changshi*), used from 1ˢᵗ to 2ⁿᵈ grade (high school). According to both the Guideline (2008) and Opinions (2009), ethnic solidarity education is to be directed by the central government. Textbooks are designed by the center and distributed to the entire country. Local governments do not have the authority to create or use their own textbooks. Thus, the four-part series presented above was intended to be the standard national textbook.

However, officials of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region soon found themselves in disagreement with the national standardized textbooks. Following the former's release and nationwide distribution, a few experts[49] working for the Xinjiang Department of Education (Ch: *xinjiang jiaoyu ting*) soon determined the material "unsuitable" for the region. The regional department of education reported their concerns to the SEAC's Department of Ethnic Education, who then summoned the experts in charge of writing the national standardized textbooks to meet with representatives from the XUAR. According to the news report, the experts refused to change the content despite pleas of the Xinjiang representatives. In response, four Xinjiang-based experts submitted a co-authored report titled "The Biases and Inappropriate Content of the MOE's Ethnic Solidarity Education Textbook Should Be Corrected"[50] to the Xinjiang Department of Education, who then forwarded it to the MOE. The report allegedly argued that the four textbooks "put too much emphasis on the separateness and distinction of different ethnicities, and whose main theme is to reinforce the 'separation' (Ch: *fen*) of ethnicities instead of their 'unity' (Ch: *he*), thus [it] would enhance the sense of ethnic distinction and be counterproductive to both the identification with the

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[49] Several known figures involved include Ma Pinyan (Researcher at Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences), Ji Guangnan (Researcher at Xinjiang Association of Social Sciences), Pan Zhiping (Researcher at Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences), and Meng Nan (Editor at Journal of Xinjiang University). See https://www.guancha.cn/CaoZhiHeng/2014_08_19_257459.shtml

[50] Original Chinese title: "教育部民族团结教育教材倾向性问题和不妥之处应予纠正".

Chinese nation and the peace and stability of the border regions".[51] The report apparently managed to reach the top leadership and received the positive annotation of several senior leaders at the central level, including then Politburo Standing Committee member Li Changchun[52] and Zhou Yongkang (who was also the Secretary of CCP Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission),[53] Politburo regular member and Director of Central Propaganda Department Liu Yunshan,[54] and Politburo regular member and State Councilor Liu Yandong.[55] The opinions from Xinjiang and the support from the members of the central leadership were strong enough that the central government agreed that the entire textbook-series would have to be reexamined and adjusted. The Central Coordination Office for Xinjiang Work[56] sent a letter to Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences to convey the center's endorsement of the experts' opinion. Disagreements, however, remained as to which direction the new textbook should take. Since then, the re-writing has been in effect put on hold. At the same time, the Xinjiang Department of Education obtained the approval from the center to stop using the national standardized textbook and went ahead to create their own textbooks exclusively for the region. The new textbook, written under the directorship of Xinjiang Association of Social Sciences researcher Ji Guangnan and titled *Grand Solidarity of the Chinese Nation*,[57] was published by Xinjiang Education Publishing House in December 2012, became the only one used in XUAR. This book was reportedly "very different" from the national standardized

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[51] "Why Experts in Xinjiang Call to Halt the State's 'Minzu Textbook"("新疆专家为何叫停国家'民族教材'"), Observer ("观察者"), http://www.guancha.cn/CaoZhiHeng/2014_08_19_257459.shtml, accessed July 14th 2018.
[52] Li Changchun, Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%9D%8E%E9%95%BF%E6%98%A5/115533#viewPageContent
[53] Zhou Yongkang, Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%91%A8%E6%B0%B8%E5%BA%B7/116813#viewPageContent
[54] Liu Yunshan, Changchun, Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%88%98%E4%BA%91%E5%B1%B1/116471#viewPageContent
[55] Liu Yandong, Changchun, Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/link?url=59sYJ_zZE5Na_rsIeLcMpKsxpAnN3YBwlq0KfApu6kyKb86-H437N36PWcuiWTnVqLJ8IZ_7ES_rb7HmJljG5irqGM0sRCNctl9iSnKUZUSMqzFHMmXK7Jp9hxt5r4C8
[56] Original Chinese title: "中央新疆工作协调小组"
[57] Original Chinese title: "中华民族大团结"

textbooks. He Xingliang,[58] senior researchers of the Beijing-based CASS Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology reported applauded the Xinjiang textbook well-designed to "strengthen the Chinese national consciousness" and "weaken the parochial ethnic consciousness".[59]

The central leadership was likely under increasing pressure to adjust its minzu policy towards a more hard-line, integrationist approach. Possibly attempting to balance different interests and to walk a fine line between accommodation and integration, Hu Jintao did not immediately forgo his commitment to the existing minzu policy – particularly the commitment to ethnic regional autonomy and the development-oriented strategy. He did, however, incorporate more emphasis on the fighting ethnic splittism, likely due to the pressure from those who strongly favor a more hard-line approach. At the 2nd meeting of the 4th Plenary Session of the 17th Party Congress, Hu Jintao again talked about the priorities in ethnic work. This time, he listed again four key tasks, with the first two about fully implementing the party's minzu policy and the system of ethnic regional autonomy, as well as accelerating the socioeconomic development of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas. The rest two, on the other hand, are both devoted to issues of stability and security.

**Table 10 – Comparison between Hu Jintao (2003) vs. Hu Jintao (2009)[60]**

| "Unite and Struggle Together, Prosper and Develop Together"<br>**March 4th, 2003 – Hu Jintao** | "On Carrying Out Well Ethnic Work"<br>**September 28th, 2009 – Hu Jintao** |
|---|---|
| 1) To make efforts to accelerate the economic and social development of ethnic minority areas | 1) To comprehensively implement and realize the party's minzu policy and the system of ethnic regional autonomy |
| 2) To give special emphasis on developing human resource and building the ethnic minority cadre corps | 2) To accelerate the socioeconomic development of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas |
| 3) To resolutely protect the unity of the motherland and national solidarity | 3) To strengthen the grand solidarity of all ethnicities |
| 4) To uphold and perfect the system of ethnic regional autonomy | 4) To effectively prevent and attack the ethnic splittist activities |

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[58] He Xingliang, Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%BD%95%E6%98%9F%E4%BA%AE
[59] https://www.guancha.cn/CaoZhiHeng/2014_08_19_257459.shtml
[60] Source: *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume 2* (2016) and *Volume 3* (2016)

The assignment of cadres to key positions concerning ethnic work also reveals undecidedness of the central leadership regarding the future direction of minzu policy, likely a result of the heightened intra-elite struggle during this period. Less than a year after the Urumqi, in April 2010, XUAR party secretary Wang Lequan was replaced by Zhang Chunxian, who became the new party secretary and the first political commissar of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XJPCC) in the same month.[61] Two months later Zhang took over the post of the first secretary of XJPCC. One year later, in July 2011, Zhang also took over the position of the first secretary of the Xinjiang Military District Party Committee. During his tenure as the leader of the autonomous region, Zhang had been trying to accommodate both the needs for heavy-handed repression against ethnic splittism and for promoting development and maintaining social harmony. His Xinjiang policy was first summarized in 2014 at the XUAR "Two Sessions," which became incorporated into the official regional policy in the same year at the Enlarged Meeting of the XUAR party committee.[62] Abbreviated as "Five Keys" (Ch: *wuba yaoshi*), Zhang's Xinjiang policy could be interpreted as seeking to strike a balance between several different – if not conflicting or even contradictory – policy goals without making substantial sacrifice to any single one of them. A brief elaboration of Zhang's principle of "Five Keys" are as follows:

**Table 11 – "Five Keys" Policy of Zhang Chunxian[63]**

| | |
|---|---|
| The 1st Key | Problems with mind should be worked through mind |
| The 2nd Key | Problems with culture should be worked through with culture |
| The 3rd Key | Problems with conventions should be treated with respect |
| The 4th Key | Problems with religion should be handled according to the actual conditions of the religion |
| The 5th Key | Problems with violent terrorism should be dealt with through the rule of law and strike-hard actions[64] |

[61] "Zhang Chunxian Holds Concurrently the Post of the First Political Commissar of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps"("张春贤兼任新疆生产建设兵团第一政委"), Tianshan Mountain Net ("天山网"), http://news.ts.cn/content/2010-05/06/content_4953238.htm, accessed July 14th 2018.

[62] "How Do 'Five Keys' Deal with Governance of Xinjiang"("'五把钥匙'如何治疆?"), People's Net ("人民网"), http://sh.people.com.cn/n/2015/0420/c369653-24566405.html. accessed July 14th 2018.

[63] Source: http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2015/0527/c64094-27065499.html

[64] Original Chinese terms: "思想的问题用思想的方法去解决，文化的问题用文化的方式去解决，习俗的问题用尊重的态度去对待，宗教的问题按照宗教规律去做好工作，暴恐的问题用法治和严打的方式去解决"

Some scholars have privately confided in semi-public occasions that "while Party Secretary Zhang has proposed 'five keys' for Xinjiang, some [keys] are used much often than others, whereas some have already rusted away".[65] Nevertheless, Zhang's attempt to handle the situation in Xinjiang with an even-handed approach created a counter-force to the securitizing tendency since 2009. Zhang's political career following his appointment to Xinjiang also indicates that his performance was by and large endorsed by the top leadership. He governed the autonomous region for six years, from 2010 to 2016. In the second year of his tenure in Xinjiang, Zhang was promoted to a member of the Central Politburo, a 25-member body whose power stands only next to the 7-member Politburo Standing Committee. Importantly, this promotion occurred at the 1st Plenary Session of the 18th Party Congress when Xi Jinping officially became the CCP General Secretary and the Chairman of Central Military Commission (CMC) at the same time, thus taking over the position of paramount leader from Hu Jintao.[66] Workings under Xi, Zhang went on to serve as both XUAR party secretary and Politburo member for another four years, until his reassignment to other posts in 2016. Judging from Zhang's longer-than-one term appointment in Xinjiang which started in the immediate aftermath of the "7-5 Incident" and endured a central-level leadership turnover, one may also argue that Zhang's Xinjiang policy did receive sufficient support from the top leadership.

On the other hand, the party secretary of TAR, Zhang Qingli, stayed on the post until August 2011, when he was replaced by Chen Quanguo, who has been the governor of Hebei Province for less than two years (since December 2009).[67] At the same time of Chen's reassignment to Xinjiang, Zhang Qingli was relocated to the position of the party secretary of Hebei Province. The sudden

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[65] Field notes 20150724YMA.

[66] "Report of the First Plenary Session of the CCP's 18th Central Committee"("中国共产党第十八届中央委员会第一次全体会议公报"), Xinhua Net ("新华网"), http://www.xinhuanet.com/18cpcnc/2012-11/15/c_113697156.htm, accessed July 14th 2018.

[67] http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/14562/15514577.html; http://renshi.people.com.cn/GB/15516470.html

appointment of Chen to TAR after serving in Hebei for a very short period of time (a single term for a secretary of provincial party committee is five years) was clearly a political consideration and very likely done in response to the center's changing perception about Tibet. In his inauguration speech on August 25th, Chen hinted at the motive behind his appointment by stating that his appointment is "not only a precious opportunity given to me [by the central leadership] to serve and develop Tibet, but also a test for me from the party and the people".[68] He promised that he would "keep his head cool and stand firm regarding major questions of principle" and uphold "scientific development, stability maintenance, valuing solidarity, improving people's welfare, focusing on concrete deeds".[69] Reading the ordering of these tasks already gives one a sense of the priority that Chen decided to give to stability maintenance in the region.

This interpretation is soon validated by the security measures Chen undertook immediately after he became the new regional leader. One signature initiative is the creation of a massive social surveillance and control system through building and inter-linking hundreds of "Convenience Police Stations" (Ch: *bianmin jingwu zhan*) so to achieve total control of an area by the authority.[70] Chen made it a top priority to create "an inescapable net" (Ch: *tianluo diwang*) for public security and threat prevention and "an iron great wall" (Ch: *gangtie changcehng*) of maintaining social stability.[71] The goal is to achieve what he refers as the "networked urban management" (Ch: *chengshi wangluohua guanli*). Following his directives, TAR authority began massively building such stations across the region and deploying police forces to staff them. From September 28th, 2011 (which the policy was first launched) to March 3rd, 2012 – within a total of five months or so – a total of 675 "Convenience Police Stations" have been established and are operational. These stations divided a city into

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[68] http://renshi.people.com.cn/GB/15516470.html
[69] Original in Chinese: "坚持科学发展、坚持维护稳定、坚持珍视团结、坚持改善民生、坚持真抓实干". http://renshi.people.com.cn/GB/15516470.html
[70] http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64093/117005/16023546.html
[71] Original quote in Chinese: "布下治安防控的天罗地网，筑起维护稳定的钢铁长城"

numerous smaller "cells" of a larger inter-connected urban network, each of which is managed and policed by a station as a "patrol zone" 24-hour nonstop.[72]

Intensified security measures were not confined only to TAR but also observed in Tibetan areas of other provinces. For example, during the 2013 "Monlam Prayer Festival" (also known as the "Great Prayer Festival," Tib: *smon lam chen mo*), authorities in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai Province mobilized party cadres, regular and armed police force, hospital staffs, as well as other local residents to form various task forces in order to "protect the order of the event" at the Rongwo (a.k.a. Longwu) Monastery of Tongren County (Tib: *Reb gong rdzong*), the main site of activities for this festival in Qinghai.[73] An official report from the provincial United Front Department detailed the variety of strategies employed for this event:

First of all, an Event Stability Maintenance Work Headquarter (Ch: *fahui weiwen gongzuo zhihuibu*) was established under the supervision of the director of the Prefectural United Front Department, who is joined by the Vice Prefectural Governor, head of the Qinghai Armed Police Force, as well as the leadership of the party committees, governments, and public security departments of both Tongren County and Zeku County (Tib: *Rtse khog rdzong*). Separate "Statements of Responsibility" (Ch: *ze'ren shu*) were signed, respectively 1) between the Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission of Tongren County's United Front Department on the one hand, and the Rongwo Monastery Administration (Ch: *longwusi guanliju*), Rongwo Monastery Democratic Management Committee (Ch: *longwusi minguanhui*) on the other hand; 2) between the two county party committees and governments and the townships where the monastery-supporting villages are, and 3) between the townships and the monastery-supporting villages themselves.

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[72] http://www.mps.gov.cn/n2255079/n2255953/n2255956/c3912273/content.html

[73] The name of the festival is translated into Chinese, officially, as *Zhengyue Qiyuan Fahui* (正月祈愿法会).

Secondly, officials were sent to hold conversations with "key individuals" (Ch: *zhongdian renyuan*) prior to the event, whereby the bottom line of the government policy (Ch: *zhengce dixian*) was relayed and specific demands were made so to ensure the "mental stability of the key individuals".

Thirdly, to cope with emergencies or issues on the spot, two special Emergency Task Forces (Ch: *chutu gongzuozu*) were established by regrouping 20 police officers, 100 armed police soldiers, 4 medical staffs, ambulances and fire engines. These two units are assigned to the Rongwo Monastery Plaza and the gate to Tongren County Senior Center. At the same time, the authority assigned 200 regular and armed police, 300 local cadres, and 200 public security joint prevention corps members (Ch: *zhi'an lianfang dui*) to form eight Task Forces covering every corner and every aspect of the monastery event. The area of focus of each Task Force is clearly indicated in its title:

1) In-Monastery Prevention and Control Unit

2) Monastery Plaza Prevention and Control Unit

3) Monastery Plaza Joint Prevention Unit

4) Monastery Outer Parameter Prevention Unit

5) Civilian-Watching-Civilian Unit

6) Monk-Watching-Monk Unit

7) Traffic Management Unit

8) Handicapped and Panhandler Management Unit[74]

Fourthly, the managing authority for the event sent invitation for joint security operation to adjacent prefectures both within and outside the province by invoking the "Agreement on Collaborative Mechanism for Security Maintenance in the Tibetan Area".[75]

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[74] Original Chinese titles for the eight units are: 1) 寺内防控组, 2) 寺院广场防控组, 3) 寺院广场联防组, 4) 寺院外围防控组, 5) 乡镇民管民工作组, 6) 僧管僧工作组, 7) 交通管控组, and 8) 残疾人和乞丐管理组.
[75] 《藏区维稳工作协作机制协议》

Lastly, the authority also implemented a policy of "civilians watching civilians, monks watching monks" (Ch: *min guan min, seng guan seng*), as already reflected in the title of two Task Forces in the above list (#5 and #6). These mechanisms are designed to delegate the responsibility of surveillance to the grassroot level by asking local cadres, public and security personnel to ensure the security within their own jurisdiction. In the first case ("civilians watching civilians"), member of party committees of all the involved administrative areas, villagers, and 100 public security joint prevention corps members were re-organized into three different task forces which conducted 24-hour patrol both inside the monastery and in its surrounding areas. They were tasked with preventing – among others – "illegal religious activities" such as lighting butter-lamp and self-immolation. In the second case ("monks watching monks"), members of the Rongwo Monastery Administration and members of the Democratic Management Commissions of Rongwo and other participating monasteries were reorganized into task forces, which carried out 24-hour surveillance on the monks. One incident, according to the same official report, involved intercepting and returning 35 monks from Sichuan (Qinghai United Front 2013).

## 6.3 Fragmented Knowledge Community

During this period, the fragmentation of the knowledge community on minzu policy continued to deepen. Among the contributing factors, the growing interest to bring alternative disciplinary perspective – particular of that of political science – played the most important role. This is reflected in a number of scholarly initiatives.

### 6.3.1 *Minzu Political Studies: Further Development*

One strand of efforts to bring Chinese ethnology or minzu studies closer to political science came from scholars within either of the two community. On the one hand, ethnologists no longer

satisfied with the study of culture began broadening their research focus to include discussion of the state, central-local relations, as well as the political implications of ethnic identifications. Xiamen University Professor Dong Jianhui's 1999 book *Political Anthropology* offered the first systematic introduction about the subject (Dong 董 1999). On the other hand, political scientists with interest in ethnicity began extending their analysis into topics such as inter-ethnic relations, political participation of ethnic minority community, and multiethnic/multicultural governance. This interest was further encouraged by the Great Western Development, launched by the Jiang Zemin administration (P. 平 Zhou 周 2001a). Following Zhou Xing's seminal book *Ethno-National Politics*, a number of scholars were attracted into this field and began working under the same, common title to advance ethno-national political studies. In 2000, Professor of Political Science at Yunnan University, Zhou Ping, published his first book on the subject *An Analysis of Ethnic Minority Politics in China* (Ch: *zhongguo shaoshu minzu zhengzhi fenxi*) in 2000 (P. 平 Zhou 周 2000). He went on write *An Introduction to Ethno-National Politics* (Ch: *zhongguo shaoshu minzu zhengzhi fenxi*) and *Ethno-National Politics* (Ch: *minzu zhengzhixue*), respectively, in 2001 and 2003 (P. 平 Zhou 周 2001b, 2003a). Central Minzu University Professor Guan Kai, who had background in both sociology and anthropology and working experience for the State Ethnic Affairs Commissions (SEAC) before becoming a professional scholar, published his first and major book titled *Ethnic Politics* (Ch: *zuqun zhengzhi*) in 2007 (Guan 关 2007). One year later, Gao Yongjiu, Professor of Political Science at Nankai University published his own introductory monograph *A General Introduction to Ethno-National Politics* (Gao 高 2008). Zhu Lun, Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of CASS, also contributed to the stream of theoretical works on the topic with his book *Ethno-National Co-Governance: A New Proposition on Ethno-National Politics* in 2013 (L. 伦 Zhu 朱 2013).

In their 2010 review article, Lu Haifa and Huang Sha observed that during the first decade of the 20th century, scholarly work on ethno-national politics in China have made evident progress in broadening its scope of inquiry, which can be largely grouped into the following four categories: 1) study of ethno-national political system (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi tixi*), by which they meant the study of nation-states and the study of political institutions concerning ethnic groups; 2) the study of ethno-national political relations (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi guanxi*), by which they meant the study of relationship among different ethno-national communities in China and elsewhere; 3) the study of nationalism, which includes studies about nationalism and international relations, regional-level nationalisms, as well as historical and contemporary Chinese nationalism; and 4) the study of ethno-national political development (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi fazhan*), by which they meant the political development of ethnic minority community within the framework of a nation-state. This last category can be further divided into four sub-themes, including ethno-national political stability (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi wending*), ethno-national political participation (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi canyu*), construction of ethno-national political culture (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi wenhua jianshe*), and ethno-national political socialization (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi shehuihua*) (Lu 陆 and Huang 黄 2010a, 110–13).

Most scholars of ethno-national politics admit that the field owes theoretical and methodological inspiration to two older disciplines, whose names are reflected in the title, i.e. ethnology (Ch: *minzuxue*) and political science (Ch: *zhengzhixue*) (P. 平 Zhou 周 2003b; C. 春洋 Yu 于 2012; Liao 廖 2012; Qing 青 2013; Yan 严 and Jiang 姜 2015). Zhou Ping, for example, argued that political science and ethnology form the disciplinary foundation of ethno-national politics in his article "Ethno-National Politics: Research Object, Nature, Character, and Development". He emphasized, however, that "it [ethno-national politics] is a specific field established for the study of the political life and political issues of ethno-national communities from a political science perspective, thus it belongs to the discipline of political science […] even though it borrows many things from

ethnology" (P. 平 Zhou 周 2003b). This view is widely shared among scholars in the field, many of whom also hail from Yunnan University (where Zhou Ping teaches) which has become a major center of ethno-national political studies under Zhou (Tang 汤 2010; Lu 陆 and Huang 黄 2010a, 2010b). Interestingly, ethno-national politics is not the only one that claims to be the product of cross-fertilization between ethnology and political science. Another discipline seeking to reinvigorate/reinvent itself which makes a similar claim of its genealogy is examined below.

*6.3.2 (Re)inventing Borderland Studies*

Borderland Administration (Ch: *bianzhegnxue*) has existed as a discipline since the time of the Republic of China. The scope of borderland administration was defined in relation to the concept of "internal administration" (Ch: *neizheng*), which deals with administration of the "core" of the country, i.e. China. Borderland administration or *bianzheng*, in contrast, concerns the administration of the "periphery/borderland" (C. 楚克 Wu 吴 2012, 15–16). In 1983, the Center for Chinese Borderland History and Geography Studies (Ch: *zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu zhongxin*) of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was inaugurated in Beijing and became a dedicated research center for borderland administration on the national-level.[76] Since early 2000s, scholars at the center started calling for a reinvention of the discipline under a new title: "Borderland Studies" (Ch: *bianjiangxue*). As opposed to borderland history and geography studies, which many felt put too much emphasis on the history, borderland studies would address both past and present issues but in particular tackle policy issues that are immediate relevance for the government, including ethnic conflicts, separatism, terrorism, and borderland social stability in the context of the Great Western Development (W. 伟

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[76] This institute was renamed in 2014 to Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Ch: *zhongguo bianjian yanjiusuo*). For more information, see http://bjs.cssn.cn/

洲 Zhou 周 2001). Ma Dazheng, Researcher at the Center for Chinese Borderland History and Geography Studies, wrote tirelessly about the need for a separate field of borderland studies (D. 大正 Ma 马 2001, 2002b; D. Ma 马 2003; Tian 田 and Ma 马 2009). Aside from writing to advance the field, Ma was also known for his influential policy report, titled *National Interests Above Everything Else: Observation and Reflection of the Stability Issue in Xinjiang* (Ch: *guojia liyi gaoyu yiqie: xinjiang wending wenti de guancha yu sikao*), which was published as a monograph in 2002 (D. 大正 Ma 马 2002a).[77]

At the same time, a number of scholars with background in ethnology and political science advocated the reinvention of the field under an alternative new title: "Borderland Politics" (Ch: *bianjiang zhengzhixue*). This effort has been led mostly by Wu Chuke, Professor of Ethnology at Central Minzu University. Wu explicitly distinguished this new field from its early 20th century predecessor, "Borderland Administration" (Ch: *bianzhengxue*), while also implying that the research carried out under the banner of borderland history and geography studies did not manage to separate itself from ethnology or history due to its lack of a unique, integrated theoretical approach to study political issues concerning China's borderland (C. 楚克 Wu 吴 2003). As a result, a dedicated field – borderland politics – is urgently needed. According to Wu, this new field draws from a variety of disciplines, including geopolitics, international strategy, ethno-national politics, border defense, political anthropology, and Chinese borderland historical studies. The purpose of this field is, on the one hand, to create the theoretical foundation for borderland studies (see above); on the other hand, it would serve the interests of the Chinese state in preserving and promoting national unity, borderland security, and relations between China and its neighboring countries (C. 楚克 Wu 吴 2008, 57). In this sense, borderland politics does not necessarily focus on the question of ethnicity in China's vast border regions but covers a wide range of topics concerning PRC's

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[77] Original Chinese title: "国家利益高于一切: 新疆稳定问题的观察与思考" 新疆人民出版社

frontier. As Wu himself also acknowledged, the concept of frontier (Ch: *bianjiang*) could be further conceptually divided into nine sub-types such as geographical, ethno-national, historical, identificational, etc. Notable works on China's borderland or frontier that were published during the first decade of the 21ˢᵗ century confirmed this broad definition of the field, among which only a very few number dealt with ethnicity (C. 楚克 Wu 吴 2012).

In sum, the continuous development of adjacent fields such as the ones examined above (ethno-national politics, borderland studies, borderland politics) further challenged the monopoly over the knowledge production about minzu policy by scholars from a few intimately related disciplines (ethnology, anthropology, sociology, ethno-national/minzu studies, etc.).

**Figure 10 – Political Research on Ethno-National (Minzu) Questions, 1980-2014**
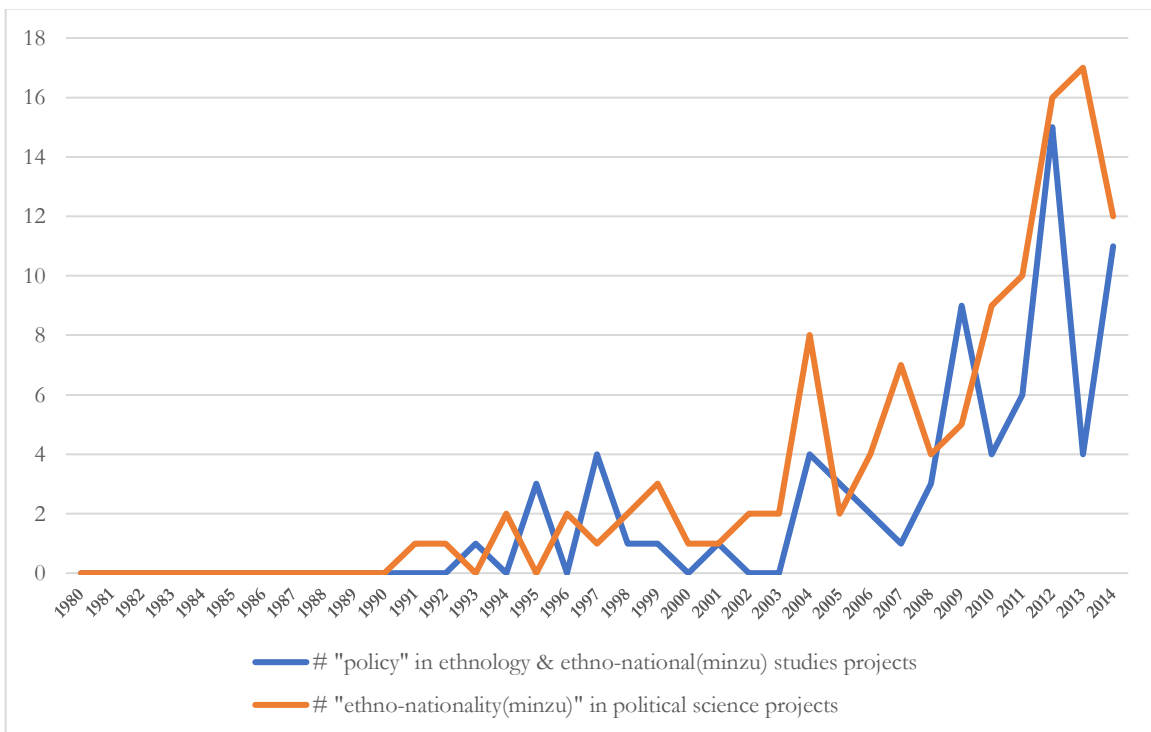
A survey of the research projects funded by the National Social Science Foundation[78] (see the figure above) shows a continous growth of policy studies conducted in the field of ethnology and ethno-national question studies (Ch: *minzu wenti yanjiu*) and studies on ethno-nationality (Ch: minzu) in the field of political science – a trend that was already observed since the early 1990s (see last chapter). In other words, there are increasingly interests from both communities in political research on ethno-national questions. This means that the topic has become less and less the exclusive "playground" of the traditional knowledge community on minzu policy, i.e. Chinese Marxist Ethnologists. As a result, alternative disciplinary perspectives became increasingly relevant to the policy discussion during this decade, as the section below shows.

**6.4 Inter-paradigm Political Debate**

The period between 2000 and 2013 witnessed one of the most significant public debates over minzu policy in China in the post-Mao era. In particular, after the events in 2008 and 2009,[79] a nationwide discussion broke out over the future direction of China's minzu policy, in which not only experts and scholars of the professional academic background published their opinions, but also average citizens and public intellectuals participated to express their concerns and suggestions. It was also during this period that the discussion became explicitly focusing on the "policy design". To be more precise, whereas earlier discussion tends to approach the topic indirectly, either by focusing on a specific aspect ("de facto inequality or equality among ethnicities") or a specific concept ("ethnic consciousness, ethnic integration, ethnic solidarity"), the latest episode features debate which openly and explicitly refers to the "policy design" aspect of the topic. The growing interests in Minzu Policy

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[78] National Social Science Foundation Project Database, http://fz.people.com.cn/skygb/sk/index.php/Index/index, accessed October 1st 2018.
[79] Lhasa Riot and Urumqi Riot. See the section "'3-14' & '7-5' Incidents and Policy Challenges" of this chapter.

Studies (Ch: *minzu zhengce xue*) and Minzu Political Science (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi xue*) that we observed ealirer seem to have finally borne fruit.

Judging from the level of intensity and the character of its content, the scholarly discourse on minzu policy of this period can be roughly divided into two phases. The first period runs from early 2000 to 2010. During this time the discussion revolved by and large around the reform proposal made by PKU sociology professor Ma Rong, who had articulated a reformulation of minzu identity from a largely social constructivist perspective and advanced accordingly a "de-politicization" (Ch: *qu zhengzhihua*) approach to ethnic relations in today's China. Specifically, Ma believes that the Soviet legacy in China's minzu policy design would lead China towards inevitable political and territorial disintegration, an extremely probable outcome that – he believed – has been convincingly demonstrated by the dissolution of the Soviet Union a decade earlier. As a result, argues Ma, the Chinese government must replace its current policy – which he saw as emphasizing ethnic consciousness and distinction – with one that promotes solidarity and unity among ethnicities. To him, the solution to create and maintain harmonious interethnic relations in China was precisely to stop emphasizing the differences between ethnicities but to emphasize commonalities, such as shared Chinese citizenship, instead. Ma's proposal triggered an immediate reaction from both the Minzu Studies circle and the Chinese ethnologist community in general. A number of influential scholars, notably those affiliated with the SEAC-affiliated think tank, responded to Ma's proposal with sharp critiques and rejections. A few scholars did voice support for Ma Rong in different degrees. Among those supporters, scholars with background in political science clearly stood out.

The second period breaks away from the first period in that it featured an even more explicit and direct challenge to the existing policy. This new "offense" was led by prominent establishment intellectuals and was followed a much wider mobilization of Chinese Marxist Ethnologists (Minzu Studies scholars) to respond and criticize in coordinated manner, thereby transforming the

discussion into a full-scale open policy debate. This period runs from 2011 to 2014. The starting point was the publication of an article titled "Towards a Second Generation Minzu Policy" and by Tsinghua University professor and Director of the Institute for Contemporary China Studies (Ch: *guoqing yanjiu yuan*, literally "Institute of Research on National Condition") Hu Angang and his colleague Hu Lianhe. Because both author's last names were Hu, they were often referred to as the "two-Hus". The article by "two-Hus" caused an immediate reaction from the wider scholar circle. Most notably, a number of high-level meetings were organized by both minzu schools (Ch: *minzu yuanxiao*) as well as state and party agencies in charge of minzu policy, where scholars and researchers from across the country were invited to discuss and – as if coordinated a prior – criticize the "Second Generation" proposal of the "two-Hus". Following the meeting, minzu researchers – in particular by Minzu Studies scholars or Chinese Marxist Ethnologists – began publishing articles in all sorts of academic journal across the country to attack, discredit, and reject the "Second Generation" thesis. Surprisingly, despite the overwhelming negative reaction, no political action was taken to punish either the authors of the "Second Generation" thesis or Ma Rong, whose idea featured prominently (without given credit) in the article by "two-Hus". The SEAC official website even maintained a webpage openly displaying the arguments and related articles of the two debating sides. The apparent highly politicized discourse among scholars stands in contrast to the rather mild reactions from the government, which tends to be more sensitive and less tolerant of such explicit and critical policy discussions. In many ways, the debate itself was a great showcase of both the intra-elite struggle within the core political domain and the growing division within the knowledge community on minzu policy.

*6.4.1 The "De-politicization" Debate*

The discussion about the source of ethnic tensions in China has gone on since the 1980s and has produced several strands of explanations (Tang 唐 2002). By the early 2000s, scholars increasingly focused on the issue of policy-induced ethnic identification and its social and political implications (or complications). Yu Pengjie from Sichuan University's School of Public Management, who did research on the Miao people in Hunan, for example, argues that ethnic identification (Ch: *zuqun rentong*) was primarily the result of policy guidance (P. 鹏杰 Yu 于 2004). Soon after Yu's article came, Luo Shujie from Guangxi University for Nationalities published his rebuttal of the former's argument (Luo 罗 2005). At the core of this exchange was the question that has occupied Chinese scholars for already more than two decades, i.e. whether the Chinese term "minzu" should be understood as "nationality" or "ethnic group". In the official terminology of PRC, the word "minzu" could mean either nation, ethnic group, or ethnic minority. To avoid the confusion and, in particular, the possibility that the word minzu could be read in a way to justify treating certain groups in China as deserving complete political autonomy or even an independent state, some scholars have advocated drawing a direct correspondence between minzu and ethnic group, while others have favored replacing minzu with a different term – "zuqun" – altogether (D. 东明 Wang 王 2005). Ma Rong's proposal was precisely based on this later position. According to Ma, while ethnic group and nation exist along a continuum and could move back and forth from one to another, the former is capable of coexisting peacefully with other, similarly-constituted groups in one nation-state, whereas the latter would most likely desire an independent state to represent its interests. Ma further believes that government policy plays an important role in determining which tendency a group would adopt, specifically, whether the policy is one of "culturalization" (Ch: *wenhuahua*) or "politicization" (Ch: *zhengzhihua*). Relating the former with the US and ancient China

and the latter with the former Soviet Union and post-1949 China, Ma argues that the Chinese

government should learn from the past experience and stop "politicizing" ethnic identity; instead, it

should (according to Ma) seek to "culturalize" it, starting with replacing the concept of minzu with

zuqun (R. 戎 Ma 马 2004, 132).

Ma Rong's argument immediately met with questioning voice from across the country. Chen

Yuping from Southwest University for Nationalities, for example, stated that he shared with Ma a

number of his observations while disagreeing with his conclusion, i.e. ethnic identity in China should

be "depoliticized" in order to promote ethnic solidarity and national unity. Specifically, Chen Yuping

argued that it is theoretically impossible to separate politics from ethnicity, nor is it practically

feasible. On the first point, Chen Yuping argued that as long as the government is intervening in

people's ethnic identification or the relationship among different ethnic groups through policy, it is

in a way "politicizing" ethnicity, as it is a form of political behavior with redistributive implications

carried out by the state power (Y. 玉屏 Chen 陈 2008, 3). On the second point, Chen Yuping

argued that while deemphasizing ethnic consciousness and promoting national identification might

be suitable for countries such as the United States where no single ethnic group could claim absolute

dominance over the state's power, in China the advantage of Han in this regard is evident; as a

result, it is necessary to keep highlighting issues of ethnicity and interethnic relations in public policy

(Y. 玉屏 Chen 陈 2008, 5). In sum, Chen Yuping shared – and in fact applauded – Ma's concern

but rejected his "depoliticization-thesis" as a reasonable or desirable solution.

Senior CASS researcher Wang Xi'en also expressed his rejection of Ma's thesis with a friendly

tone towards what he perceived as the latter's "noble" intention. Wang's response opened with the

statement that "these essays [by Ma Rong] are based on hard evidence and straightforward,

reflecting a strong spirit of criticality and courage for innovation, leading to widespread attention

among people who are in the field of ethno-national research and care about ethno-national

question" (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 2009, 1). However, Wang rejected Ma's claim that China's ethnic classification artificially created ethnic groups but insisted on the "spontaneity" of ethnicities recognized by the government. He also rejected Ma's claim that the system of ethnic regional autonomy was made to promote self-determination of a single ethnicity in a region but insisted that it was designed with the intention to facilitate inter-ethnic solidarity and cooperation. Similar with Chen, Wang further took issues with Ma's characterization of interethnic relations and the related policies in the United States and the former Soviet Union. Specifically, Wang argued that the PRC policy of "ethnizing autonomous government" (Ch: *zizhi jiguan minzuhua*) was very different from the USSR policy of nativization (Ru: коренизация/korenization) in that the Chinese practice focused on the representation of ethnic minority in the government and legislature according to the actual proportion of different groups in the local population, as opposed to (alleged) Soviet practice of letting only the titular group(s) take over the authority (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 2009, 12). However, Wang nonetheless agreed that Ma's critique served as a positive intervention. Pointing to a number of developments since the early 1980s, including the "ethnic consciousness" debate, the emergence of Ethno-National Politics (Ch: *minzu zhengzhixue*), and the "minzu vs. zuqun" debate, Wang called for further enriching and improving the discursive and theoretical of China's minzu policy based on the national condition (Ch: *guoqing*) (Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 2009, 17).

Wang's colleague at CASS and researcher at the Theory Department of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chen Jianyue, was less friendly towards Ma's thesis. Chen Jianyue first faulted Ma for drawing a "simple equivalency" between ethnic consciousness with the nationalistic notion of "one state, one nation," which Ma used to argue for the necessary transition from ethnic consciousness to ethnicity-based political and even military mobilization (Jianyue 建樾 Chen 陈 2005a, 9). Citing Chinese scholars' work on federalism in the Soviet Union and Ainu people in

Japan, he then disputed the examples provided by Ma which were supposed to showcase the disadvantages of a "politicizing"-approach and the advantages of a "culturalizing/depoliticizing"-approach. In the next step, Chen Jianyue raised the issue of replacing minzu with zuqun, a terminological change core to Ma's proposal. Although Chen Jianyue appeared to be neutral with regards to the adoption of one term as opposed to another, he criticized Ma for being logically inconsistent when describing their relationship. Finally, Chen Jianyue concluded his critique by implying that Ma's writing could be not only "a question of loss of one's academic conscience and damage to one's academic reputation," but also "a question of misleading academic research and using research to 'kidnap' politics" (Jianyue 建樾 Chen 陈 2005a, 13)

Some scholars openly supported Ma's argument. Zhou Ping, Professor at the Department of Political Science of Yunnan University and a well-known figure in China in the emerging field of Ethno-National Politics (Ch: *minzu zhengzhixue*), challenged the existing minzu policy from the perspective of "value orientation" (Ch: *jiazhi quxiang*) of the policy. Beginning with the assertion that the basic value orientation of PRC's minzu policy since its early years was "nationalism" (Ch: *minzu zhuyi*), Zhou first admitted the necessity and benefit of such a choice as the basis for the Chinese government's approach to interethnic relations inside the country. Specifically, Zhou believed that such a value orientation was rooted in a particular political ethics which emphasized the need for Han to "apologize" and "pay the debts" to the minorities (P. 平 Zhou 周 2010, 137). He then went on to list several positive functions performed by CCP's allegedly nationalism-oriented policy, including mobilizing minorities to join the revolution, integrating minorities into the new state, restructuring interethnic relations based on principles of equality and mutual assistance, and promoting development. But he also suggested that there might be several risks associating with it, including intensifying interethnic conflict, affecting the balance between (sub-national) ethnic consciousness and national consciousness, incapable of dealing with new circumstances in ethnic

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relations due to its built-in assumptions (e.g. minorities are considered necessarily disadvantaged and would be thankful for special treatment given to them by the state), and undermining the internal assimilation of Chinese nation due to institutionalizing and politicizing ethnic differences. To cope with these issues, Zhou concluded that the value orientation of China's minzu policy must be adjusted towards the direction of "statism" (Ch: *guojia zhuyi*), which he defined as "emphasizing the overall interests of the state, always putting the interest of the state at the top, always treating the interests of the state as the starting point and objective of policies, dealing with ethnic relations and ethno-national question from the perspective of improving the state's governance" (P. 平 Zhou 周 2010, 140). In practice, this means to deemphasize ethnic identity and highlight national identity, to promote inter-ethnic assimilation, to use geographic-/regional-thinking to solve issues in border regions instead of ethnicity-based reasoning, and to be cautious against the rapid increase of ethnic consciousness among "certain ethnic groups" (P. 平 Zhou 周 2010, 141). Without citing or even mentioning Ma Rong, Zhou's piece offered basically the same proposal as Ma's while situating his discussion within the realm of nationalism and state.[80]

Part of the above exchange was recorded in the edited volume published by the Social Sciences Academy Press of China under the same title as Ma's 2004 article, where he first systematically laid out his argument (L. 立中 Xie 谢 2010). The editor of this volume, PKU professor Xie Lizhong and a colleague of Ma Rong at the Department of Sociology, was also sympathetic towards Ma's ideas. In this English version of the volume, published by World Scientific Publishing and under the title *De-Politicization of Ethnic Questions in China*, a few essays included in the Chinese version were missing

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[80] For a rebuttal of Zhou Ping's thesis, see a 2011 essay by Wang Zhili, then PhD Candidate at the Henan Academy of Governance (Ch: *henan xingzheng xueyuan*), titled "On Value Orientation of China's Minzu Policy -- Discussing with Professor Zhou Ping" (Z. 志立 Wang 王 2011).

but a new preface by the book editor Xie Lizhong was added.[81] Xie agreed with most of Ma's critics that "ethnic" issues should not and are difficult to be depoliticize, but he insisted that Ma was right in asking the government to promote political unity among different ethnicities:

"I fully agree [with Ma's proposal] that we must make every effort to build a "Chinese culture" shared by all ethnic groups of the "Chinese nation", which should include the perception of identity with the "Chinese nation", […] Carrying out pluralism at the ethnic group level must observe an absolute precondition of avoiding damage to the unified nation-state mechanism, whether it be in the economic, social, political, or cultural field." (L. Xie 2014, xxviii–xxix)

*6.4.2 The "Second Generation Minzu Policy" Debate*

Hu Angang is Professor of Economics at the Tsinghua University in Beijing, the founder and director of the Center for China Studies at Tsinghua, and a well-known public intellectual in China. He has penned numerous articles covering almost every aspect of contemporary Chinese politics and economy and is often considered as belonging to the group of intellectuals known as the "New Left" (Ch: *xin zuopai*).[82] In 2011, Hu Angang and his colleague at the Center for China Studies, Hu Lianhe, authored an article together titled "The Second Generation Minzu policy: Promoting Integrated Ethnic Fusion and Co-Prosperity" (hereafter "second generation"). Published by the Urumqi-based Journal of Xinjiang Normal University in September, the article instantly triggered a new wave of intense debate over minzu policy that went beyond the "depoliticization debate".

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[81] Original English title: "My Views on the Debate Over 'Depoliticizing Ethnicity in China'". This essay was published in Chinese as an article in 2014 by *Social Sciences in Chinese Higher Education Institutions* (Ch: *zhongguo gaoxiao shehui kexue*) but with slight differences in its content from its English version. See Xie Lizhong's "'族群问题的去政治化'争论之我见" (L. 立中 Xie 谢 2014).

[82] "New Left" ("新左派"), Baidu Encyclopedia, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%96%B0%E5%B7%A6%E6%B4%BE, accessed August 30th 2018.

Asserting that the central government has already signaled at the Fifth Central Conference on Ethnic Work that its minzu policy was transitioning from the first generation to the second, Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe (hereafter Hu and Hu) stated in their article that "we must […] keep pace with the time and promote 'contact, exchange, and integration among ethnic groups' (Ch: *minzu jiaowang jiaoliu jiaorong*), so to ensure the continuous consolidation and prosperous development of the Chinese nation's integration" (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011, 1). Echoing Ma Rong, Hu and Hu claimed that there were mainly two approaches for dealing with ethnic minorities around the world: one is the so-called "Big Forge Model" (Ch: *da ronglu moshi*), represented by the United States and characterized by an emphasis on state-national identification (Ch: *guozu rentong*) over ethnic identification; the other one is the so-called "Big Mixed-Platter Model" (Ch: *da pingpan moshi*), represented by the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and characterized by an emphasis on ethnic identification, ethnic distinction, and territorial pluralism (Ch: *diyu duoyuan zhuyi*) which prevented ethnic assimilation towards a unified "state-nation" (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011, 3–6). Without explicitly linking China with either "model", Hu and Hu went on to argue that China faces a particularly serious challenge with regards to national integration because of the relatively short time that it has established a modern nation-state, and as a result, must push for the transition towards a second generation minzu policy (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011, 6). This transition would focus on promoting "contact, exchange, and integration among ethnic groups" in the political, economic, cultural, and social realms, which entails a variety of specific policies ranging from deemphasizing ethnic consciousness and strengthening national identification, promoting economic exchange and cooperation between eastern China and the minority-concentrated western China, promoting Standard Mandarin, as well as promoting mixed-ethnicity residential patterns and inter-ethnic marriages (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011, 6–12).

In their article, Hu and Hu used the term "unpoliticization" (Ch: *fei zhengzhihua*) as opposed to the one coined by Ma Rong, i.e. "depoliticization" (Ch: *qu zhengzhihua*). Nonetheless, their argument and proposal resemble much of what Ma had argued earlier without citing or even mentioning Ma's name once. On the other hand, different from many of the writings during the above period, Hu and Hu's article did not delve into the conceptual debate regarding "minzu," "zuqun," "nationality," "ethnicity",[83] and so on. Rather, it focuses exclusively on the practical implications of the above "two models" for China's minzu policy. Based on their discussion, they elaborated extensively a policy reform proposal based on the expression, "contact, exchange, and integration among ethnic groups", a concept that was first used officially in Hu Jintao's speech at the First Central Symposium on Xinjiang Work in 2010.

Following the publication of Hu and Hu's article, many scholars across the country – mostly from the circle of minzu studies (Chinese Marxist Ethnology) – immediately took issues with their argument and began writing critiques in response. Du Yonghao, researcher at Heilongjiang Institute of Nationalities and a veteran to debate over China's minzu policy,[84] penned two lengthy articles to be published in Heilongjiang National Series (Ch: *Heilongjiang minzu congkan*) in 2012 that interrogated the "second generation" thesis from its theoretical basis, empirical evidence, logical coherence, to its practical and legal implications (Du 都 and Zuo 左 2012; Du 都 2012). Senior UFWD and SEAC official Huang Zhu, who was behind the 1980 People's Daily critique of the "class approach" to minzu question,[85] while admitting the "good intentions" of the "second generation" proposal, nonetheless disagreed with its authors and called their proposal "being too

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[83] As the preceding discussion has shown, all of these terms can be expressed using the same Chinese word "minzu/民族".

[84] See chapter 5, section 5.4.1 "The 'Ethnic Consciousness' Debate".

[85] See chapter 4, section 4.2.1 "Ideological Reorientation and Organizational Restoration".

eager to realize ethnic assimilation" and their specific policy recommendations "unadvisable" (Z. 铸 Huang 黄 2012, 5).

Northwest Minzu University (Ch: *xibei minzu daxue*) professor Jia Donghai and master student at the same university Chen Xiaojia called the authors of the "second generation" thesis "not respecting the national condition". They charged the proposal that it displayed "confusion on the theoretical, conceptual, and logical level" and as such, should receive proper attention from the government authority and the academic community due to these problems (Jia 贾 and Chen 陈 2012, 20). After detailing how the "second generation" thesis caused those confusion, Chen and Jia suggested three reasons for this outcome. First, citing the history of slavery in the US and Brazil and the caste system in India, Jia and Chen criticized Hu and Hu for overlooking the historically forced assimilation policy and enduring rampant racism of those countries. Second, Jia and Chen argued that the authors of "second generation" went against the principles laid out in the Chinese Constitution, which stipulates that China is an "unified, multiethnic country forged together by people of all ethnicities of the country". Finally, Jia and Chen faulted them for going against the basic state policy and political institution, i.e. the constitutionally and legally enshrined system of ethnic regional autonomy (Jia 贾 and Chen 陈 2012, 22–25). Senior scholar and professor at Central Minzu University Jin Binggao made a similar assessment in his coauthored critique published in Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities, calling it not only violating the minzu theory and minzu policy of socialism with Chinese characteristics, but also ignoring the basic national condition of China as a multiethnic country (B. 炳镐 Jin 金 and Xiao 肖 2012).

Interestingly, both above coauthored pieces faulted the "second generation" thesis for promoting "depoliticization", even though the term itself never appeared in Hu and Hu's article (which used the expression "unpoliticization" instead) but was coined and promoted by Ma Rong

for more than a decade by then. The obvious linkage between Ma's proposal and Hu and Hu's was highlighted by Xie Shengjun in his review of the debate in late 2012. In this piece, Xie considered the "second generation" thesis to be associated with a number of public figures aside from the authors of the original piece in Journal of Xinjiang Normal University, including Ma Rong (PKU professor), Pan Zhiping (researcher at Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences and scholar of Central Asia),[86] and Wu Chuke (professor at Central Minzu University and scholar of borderland political studies).[87] Importantly, Xie also named an incumbent high-ranking party official – Zhu Weiqun, then deputy director of the Central United Front Work Department (UWFD)[88] – as one of the advocates of the "second generation" thesis. The practice of naming an incumbent official in the context of an ongoing policy debate is rare in contemporary China, even less so when the person is being criticized for his/her political views. Thus, one could already sense that the debate has gone beyond a purely academic one at this point, or at least beyond what it appeared to be from 2004 to 2011. After naming these figures, Xie went on to detail the critiques from different scholars with an evidently agreeing tone, including 1) conceptual and theoretical confusion, 2) ignoring the basic laws governing ethnic groups and the minzu question, 3) ignoring the basic national condition and the principle of "seeking truth from the facts," 4) ignoring the values and ideals underlying China's minzu policy, and 5) being "destructive without constructive" (S. 胜君 Xie 谢 2012, 47–48). In the end, Xie concluded that the "second generation" thesis has caused both panic among ethnic minorities and confusion in the general public, and could become a "Pandora's Box" should its concrete recommendations be adopted by the authority (S. 胜君 Xie 谢 2012, 49).

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[86] https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%BD%98%E5%BF%97%E5%B9%B3/71868
[87] https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%90%B4%E6%A5%9A%E5%85%8B
[88] https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%9C%B1%E7%BB%B4%E7%BE%A4

Director of CASS Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology and senior scholar on minzu studies Hao Shiyuan offered the most elaborated critique of the "second generation" thesis as well as Ma Rong's "depoliticization" thesis. Beginning from early 2012, Hao published four long pieces in a row, attacking almost every claim the latter has made. The first piece of this "series" – which was published in *Social Sciences in Xinjiang* (Ch: *xinjiang shehui kexue*) – presented a systematic critique of the thesis with particular focuses on the arguments that ethnic minorities in China have received improvement in socioeconomic conditions at the expense of the rest of the country and that ethnic minority masses and elites were to be paid with special attention for their potential of carrying out terrorist and separatist activities (Hao 郝 2012a). The rest three articles took issues with the country cases present in Hu and Hu's article, respectively, the United States (Hao 郝 2012b), Brazil (Hao 郝 2012c), and India (Hao 郝 2012d). In all those pieces Hao took an evidently hostile tone. In his second piece, titled "Is the United States a Role Model for Solving Ethnic Issues in China?", Hao wrote that the "second generation" thesis was based on a misreading of the ethnic relations and minzu policy of the US, and as such, "cannot offer any meaningful lessons for China" (Hao 郝 2012b, 1). In his third piece, titled "What 'Lesson' Can Brazil Offer for China's Ethnic Affairs?", Hao asserted that the "success story" of Brazil in managing ethnic relations as claimed by the "second generation" advocates was a "fake argument" that was "inconsistent with facts" and a "fake lesson passed around without properly verified" (Hao 郝 2012c, 1). In the last piece, titled "The Experience of India in Constructing 'State-Nation' Is Not Worthy Studying for China", Hao summarized his critiques in previous pieces and asserted that the "second generation" thesis has committed "serious academic misbehavior" (Ch: *yazhong de xueshu shifan*) and "deliberately political misleading" (Ch: *keyi de zhengzhi wudao*) (Hao 郝 2012d, 9).

As one can already sense from the language of the debate, the sweepingly critical reactions to Hu and Hu's article was not merely a product of the intellectual disagreement between these two authors and the wider academic community in PRC. Rather, existing evidence suggests that from 2011 to 2014 the minzu studies scholars initiated and carried on a systematic anti-reform campaign. In April 2012, about six months after the publication of Hu and Hu's article, a symposium on minzu theory[89] was convened in Beijing to discuss a collective response to it. This meeting is joined by not only researchers from universities and colleges across the country, but also chief editors of several major academic journals, as well as representatives from party and government agencies including SEAC, UFWD, and Central Party School. According to one report, participants at the meeting extensively discussed the "second generation" thesis and uniformly agreed that the it is but a "political fantasy" of its advocates and a false idea, and that China's minzu policy has been successful, correct, and must be upheld (Pei 裴, Chen 陈, and Gong 公 2012).

Against the negative reception and coordinated attack of Hu and Hu's argument, a few scholars nonetheless came forth to express their support. Xu Xianlong from South-Central University for Nationalities (Ch: *zhongnan mizu daxue*) and his coauthor, Yuan Nianxing from Beijing University, shared with the "second generation" advocates their diagnosis of the problems with ethnic relations in today's China. "We are being cautioned by facts that," wrote Xu and Yuan, "the raise of economic standard and living quality of the majority of an ethnic group does not equal the stability and solidarity of the overall 'Diversity in Unity' (Ch: *duoyuan yiti*) order of the Chinese nation" (Xu 许 and Yuan 袁 2012, 18). Xu and Yuan did not endorse all the claims made of the "second generation". But they agree with a number of specific points, including the ideas that in today's China more and more ethnic issues are being "politicized" while many social issues are being

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[89] Original Chinese title: "民族理论研究热点问题学术研讨会"

"ethicized" (Ch: *minzuhua*), and that the government should intervene in and offer guidance to people's ethnic consciousness in order to maintain and strengthen the "symbolic order" of a unified China. Their moderate tone stands in apparent contrast to the one by Hao Shiyuan, when they stated that while the "second generation" advocate might have made "inappropriate policy recommendations", the debate nonetheless helped to facilitate a deep rethinking and reflection of China's current minzu policy (Xu 许 and Yuan 袁 2012, 18–19).

Similarly, while Peng Yingming (2012) and Xu Changjian (2013) chose not to endorse a policy of "depoliticization" or "unpoliticization" as a solution to China's ethnic issues, both of them expressed implicit support to Hu & Hu's diagnosis that people's ethnic consciousness, especially that of ethnic minorities, should be properly guided by the government so to avoid evolving towards a parochial direction and becoming disruption to social stability. For example, Peng suggested that "centralization and unity" should be given more attention in the "present circumstance" as opposed to ethnic autonomy. Specifically, he highlighted the issue of fighting against ethnic splittism, terrorism, and local parochial nationalism, as well as safeguarding national unity and ethnic solidarity. He also explicitly endorsed the suggestion of "constructing a state-nation (Ch: *guozu*)" – an idea present in both Ma Rong and Hu & Hu's proposal – as a way to strengthen the national identification of ethnic minorities (Peng 彭 2012, 22–23). Xu disputed the claim that changing the concept of "minzu" into "zuqun" and replacing a politically-oriented collective identification with a culturally-oriented one would eliminate problems in China's ethnic relations once and for all. Stating that the real cause for the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia lay in the forced suppression of ethnic consciousness and ethnic assimilation, Xu went on to argue that it would be counterproductive to enforce a rigid form of de-ethicized identification through administrative means. Nonetheless, Xu suggested that it was important to "correctly guide ethnic consciousness

and cultivate a tolerant social mentality" so to achieve ethnic assimilation voluntarily (C. 畅江 Xu 徐 2013, 14–17).

To date Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe made no response to their critics, neither did they produce any further writings on the subject following the initial article. In the years following its publication, the debate revolving the "second generation minzu policy" was carried on by scholars from across the country, many of whom treat Hu and Hu's proposal as an inspired product if not a direct continuation of Ma Rong's proposal of "depoliticization", first publicized in 2004. The intensity of the debate was evidenced by the joint effort of both scholars and officials to coordinate their attack on the proposal and the rather obviously moralistic language employed by the critics. A further and more important feature of the "second generation debate" is that a good number of the participants to the debate were writing from an extra-disciplinary perspective. While Ma Rong based his proposal for policy change on a conceptual discussion of "minzu" and "zuqun", Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe made no such effort. Rather, they framed their argument entirely from a policy perspective.

*6.4.3 A House-Divided over Minzu Policy*

Following the change of leadership, there were some attempts by the scholars to bridge their differences as manifested during the debate on minzu policy (Hao 郝, Zhang 张, and Ma 马 2014, 65) In 2013, three prominent figures and scholars, representing three different policy positions, came together to engage in a frank and open discussion about the problems with China's minzu policy, touching upon a range of issues with unprecedented willingness to share their personal views on a sensitive topic.

In this heated dialogue, Hao Shiyuan rejects that the tensions in Xinjiang and Tibet were anything special, given that "in fact, from the perspective of the whole country, 'mass incidents' (Ch: *qunti xing shijian*) are not only quite common but also concentrating more in eastern regions and

inland […]" (Hao 郝 2015, 10). Hao also rejects the problem in Xinjiang and Tibet has anything to do with separatism. Instead, he points to poverty, unemployment, and lack of development as the root cause for the social tension. Although he acknowledges that there are certain oversea individuals and organizations working to undermine China's ethnic relations, he considers their influence insignificant. For Hao, the real problem with China's ethnic work is that the authority has failed to comprehensively and correctly implement the policy. Thus, the practical implications from this conclusion naturally point towards measures to better carry out minzu policy enshrined in existing laws and regulations. More specifically, Hao argues that the authorities should work to ensure enactment of autonomous regulations for all ethnic autonomous areas, thereby establishing legal guarantee for carrying out properly the policy of ethnic regional autonomy. Specifically, Hao raised the issue of autonomous regulations. Citing statistics, he stated explicitly that the making of autonomous regulations for the five provincial-level Autonomous Regions (ARs) have experienced great difficulty is because it involves demarcating central-local relations, which concerns the issue of political system reform.

Zhang Haiyang, another prominent figure in the earlier debate, shares with Hao's confidence in the existing minzu policy and associated institutional arrangement, as well as Hao's diagnosis that the main problem with regards to the current ethnic tension lies in improper or inadequate implementation of the "good" policy. Zhang's central argument is that ethnic relations should not understood as a relation concerning interests (Ch: *liyi guanxi*). He argues that the purpose of managing ethnic relations through minzu policy is to realize decency, recognition, and fairness and justice in distributing rights. Only from such a perspective can we realize the true purpose of minzu policy, to sustain the legitimacy of the Chinese government over ethnic minority population and their homeland. For Zhang, minzu policy – even though designed with the best intentions – was never put into practice fully and correctly. He criticized Jiang and Hu administration (from the 14th

to 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress) for failing to pay sufficient attention to ethnic work, pointing fingers at the Great Western Development, assistance programs in Tibet, and energy exploitation in Inner Mongolia. Zhang also ridicules the high-profile policy of ethnic solidarity education for targeting primarily ethnic minority population, whereas he believes it should be the Han people who need to understand ethnic solidarity better and keep it in mind. For Zhang, the solution should be carrying out the existing minzu policy to its full extent. Citing the example of the Manchu Qing Dynasty, Zhang implied that he would likely prefer an even stronger version of multiculturalism which would give minorities more autonomy to decide their fate within the Chinese state.

As the arguably the most adamant and sophisticated advocate of minzu policy reform, Ma Rong disputes the consistency of the authority's minzu policy. Using post-Cultural Revolution minzu policy in Tibet as an example, Ma suggests that the changes toward accommodationist approach under Hu Yaobang were already wrongly-headed. For him, the rectification campaign which aimed at correcting the wrongs from the earlier practices, particular during the Cultural Revolution, in fact alienated those Tibetans loyal to the Chinese Communist Party and undermined the legitimacy of the Chinese authority. Ma interpreted the rising ethnic tensions as a result of the post-Mao Chinese authority's minzu policy, which encouraged people to see all kinds of social issues through the lens of ethnicity. He asserted that – without referring to any scholarship and clearly ignorant of the findings contrary to his claim – during the Cultural Revolutions the conflict was not fought between different ethnicities, but different political factions. Yet because of the post-Mao Chinese authority's minzu-oriented policy, a discourse of "minzu" began to take hold, causing sociopolitical discussion to become ethicized.

While Ma agrees with Hao that "mass incidents" (Ch: *qunti shijian*) occur across the country, he believes that they only become "ethnic issues" in ethnic minority areas such as Xinjiang and Tibet. The tendency of interpreting everything through the ethnic lens and acting on it leads to racism in

the society, exemplified by the ethnic riots and killings during the "Urumqi Incident" ("7-5 Incident") in 2009. The problem lies in minzu policy's strengthening of people's ethnic consciousness through ethnicity-centered political discourse, ethnicity-based policymaking, and overemphasis of ethnicity in education and cultural production. Thus, for him, it is insufficient – if not impossible – to solve the problems in ethnic relations through promoting socioeconomic development alone. The equally important issue is to deemphasize people's ethnic consciousness and to strengthen their national consciousness, or identification with the Chinese nation (Ch: *zhonghua minzu*). In the end, Ma rejects using political empowerment of ethnic minority and ethnic minority areas as a solution. His argues that such an approach would lead to inevitable conflict between an autonomous region and the jurisdictions of central ministries as well as the state-level development planning. It would also lead to further strengthening of ethnic consciousness, thus preparing for greater ethnic tensions, even risking splitting the entire nation. In contrast, Ma prefers to solve existing problems within the framework of citizen's right (Ch: *gongming quanli*) as enshrined in the Constitution and other laws. This exchange reflects by and large the division at the beginning of Xi Jinping's first term. It also shows that by late 2013, the scholarly community remained in deep disagreement. In fact, Hao Shiyuan argued in a solo-authored piece published later that no consensus was reached, despite the promise of the panel discussion's organizer (Hao 郝 2015, 10).

**Chapter 7 Securitizing National Identification, 2013-2017**

**7.1 Chapter Overview**

During his first term, Xi Jinping sought to provide a new policy discourse which can accommodate the securitization of minzu policy in Xinjiang and Tibet without altering the basic language of the state's minzu policy as reinstituted at the beginning of the Post-Mao era. While the security policy in border regions does not carry the title of minzu policy, in the regional context of Xinjiang and Tibet it is designed in such a way that it affects primarily the lives of the ethnic minorities, particularly Uyghurs and Tibetans. To resolve these tensions, Xi Jinping convened a number of state-level meetings to unify policy discourse immediately after taking office and carried out a major restructuration of the State Council. The latter move significantly diminished the influence of both SEAC and SARA, through putting the former under the leadership of the party's United Front Work Department (UFWD) and letting the latter be entirely absorbed by UFWD. As a result, the policy subsystem became less divided as compared with the previous period.

On the other hand, the scholarly community on minzu policy remain fragmented. Ethno-national political studies as a dedicated research program that adopts a political science approach to ethnic minority affairs grew more mature and salient. Under the initiative of creating "think tanks with Chinese characteristics," the government also actively cultivated explicitly policy-oriented knowledge communities that serve their interests, such as the "Xinjiang Think Tank" and "Tibet Think Tank".

As a result of a fragmented knowledge community and a collaborative policy environment, the academic debate on minzu policy returned to a less politicized yet nonetheless divided state, where the critics of the reform proposals from previous period continued to express their discontent towards those proposals but had to give in on many specific policy adjustments due to their

legitimation by the central leadership. Increasingly we see scholars simply paying lip-service to the rejection of the reform proposals while continuing advancing policy changes on various practical aspects.

## 7.2 Collaborative Policy Subsystem

### *7.2.1 Attempts to Unify Policy Discourse under Xi Jinping*

Faced with the sharp division of opinions on minzu policy, Xi Jinping wasted no time in summoning elites across the country to discuss its future. Two important meetings concerning minzu policy occurred in 2014. First, from May 28th to 29th, 2014, the Second Central Conference on Xinjiang Work was convened in Beijing.[90] Second, from September 28th to 29th, the Fourth Central Conference on Ethnic Work was also convened in Beijing. The meeting on Xinjiang work was the second of its kind, with the first meeting convened only four years earlier in 2010. The meeting on minzu work has a longer history, with the third meeting convened in 2005, during the first term of Hu Jintao. The decision to have both meetings immediately after the new leadership took power was most likely the consequence of the already society-wide acknowledged, heightened ethnic tensions in the country, as well as the serious elite disagreements regarding the appropriate government policy response as evidenced by the debate. As such, the message of these two meeting was important not only for getting to know the policy preference of the central leadership but also for understanding the power dynamics during the leadership transition. Unfortunately, to date the full-text Xi Jinping's speeches at both meetings have not yet been made available to the public. There are compilations of Xi's speeches in the *Selected Works of Xi Jinping on Socialist Political Development* edited by Party Literature Research Center. This volume contains a number of excerpts of various lengths taken

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[90] http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2014/0529/c1024-25083277.html

from the speeches given by Xi during the above said meetings. From these limited materials, we can nonetheless get a glimpse of some of Xi's words and ideas regarding minzu policy.

Xi's speech at the 2014 Central Conference on Xinjiang Work, which was also his first major speech on minzu policy, clarified the fundamental goal of the new leadership's Xinjiang policy as both "social stability (Ch: *shehui wending*) and long-term stability and peace (Ch: *changzhi jiu'an*)". It also defined the main focus of Xinjiang policy as "promoting ethnic solidarity and containing the spread of religious extremist ideas". Specifically, Xi stated that the government must "take it as the main focus of the current struggle to strike hard against violent terrorist activities, hold high the banner of socialist rule of law (Ch: *shehui zhuyi fazhi*), make effort to improve the capability to predict and confront collective actions, and build a wall of iron and bronze and an inescapable net". To further highlight the importance of those goals, Xi stated that "solidarity and stability are fortunes (Ch: *fu*), separation and chaos are disaster (Ch: *huo*). Ethnic solidarity is the lifeline of people of all ethnicities. [We] must uphold solidarity and stability in Xinjiang, hold high the banner of the grand solidarity of all ethnicities, and establish firmly among all ethnicities the national consciousness, citizen consciousness, and the consciousness of Chinese national community (Ch: *zhonghua minzu gongtongti*)" (PLRC 2017, 148). In response to the debate prior to the meeting, Xi made it clear that he did not endorse the proposed radical changes to the policy, but at the same time is willing to consider adjustments on the practical level. In an ambiguous tones, Xi stated that "we must resolutely uphold the party's minzu policy, uphold the system of ethnic regional autonomy […] As the situation develops, those that need to be improved can be improved, those that need to be reformed can be reformed, but [we] cannot be undecided with regards to our fundamental stance" (PLRC 2017, 148).

In September 2014, four months after the meeting on Xinjiang work, the Fourth Central Conference on Ethnic Work was convened in Beijing. Here Xi emphasized the relationship between

two key concepts – "Diversity" (Ch: *duoyuan*) and "Unity" (Ch: *yiti*) – which are the two constituting phrases of the famous slogan proposed by Fei Xiaotong to describe – or one may say, prescribe (Mullaney 2011) – ethnic relations in China: "Diversity in Unity" (Ch: *duoyuan yiti*). In elaborating the two concepts, Xi sought to highlight the need to always keep both in mind: "[when] we talk about the pattern of 'diversity in unity' of the Chinese nation, [it means] the unity includes the diversity, while the diversity constitutes unity; unity cannot be separated from diversity, and diversity cannot be separated from unity; unity shows the mainstream and direction, while diversity is a key element and driving force". Xi further used the analogy to a traditional family to describe/prescribe this relationship: "the relationship between the Chinese nation and all ethnicities, to describe it figuratively, is the relationship between a big family and the family members; the relationship among various ethnicities is the relationship among different members of the big family" (PLRC 2017, 150).

Given the open challenges to existing policy and radical reform proposals during the intense debate about minzu policy before Xi took office, many people anticipated some sort of response to those ideas from the meetings and were curious to see which side the new leadership would take. Again, because of the scarcity of the information, it is difficult to reach a conclusive assessment. But judging from what is available, it seems that there was no doubt the leadership wished to respond to the debate and Xi's speech was drafted in such a way to show that he had taken into account the minzu policy debate immediately before his term. In his discussion on ethnic regional autonomy at the Central Conference on Minzu Work, Xi emphasized the need to consider not only the "ethnic factor" but also the "regional factor" when implementing the policy, which resembled both the proposal of Ma Rong (2004) and Hu & Hu (2011) in terms of reorienting the preferential policy for minorities from an ethnicity-based formula (i.e. one receives preferential treatment because of one's ethnicity) to a region-based formula (i.e. one receives preferential treatment because of one's place of residence/registration). To change the existing minzu policy from an ethnicity-oriented

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redistributive program into a more flexible and dynamics one in which other factors such as geography are taken into account is one of the key recommendations of the "depoliticization" thesis, which was also appropriated by the "second generation" (R. 戎 Ma 马 2004; A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011). Specifically, Xi stated that:

"To uphold and improve the system of ethnic regional autonomy, [we] must achieve 'two combines.' The first is to uphold the combining between unity and autonomy. Solidarity and unity are the highest national interests, the common interest of all ethnicities, and the prerequisite and foundation for ethnic regional autonomy. No national solidarity and unity, no ethnic regional autonomy. […] *The second is to uphold the combining between ethnic factor and regional factor.*[91] Ethnic regional autonomy includes both ethnic factor and regional factor. Ethnic regional autonomy is not an autonomy enjoyed by any particular ethnicity alone, nor is ethnic autonomous region a region enjoyed by any particular ethnicity alone. This point must be made very clear, otherwise [we] will go into the wrong direction." (PLRC 2017, 151–52)

Xi also attempted to mediate the gap and rationalize the differences between what is pronounced at the central level and what has been practiced in the western border regions of the country. Eluding to the situation in Xinjiang and Tibet, Xi suggests that those deviant practices do not mean a drastic change of the existing minzu policy. At the same time, his open, non-critical acknowledge of the deviating practices in "certain regions" and "certain minority groups" clearly indicates his endorsement of the this somewhat awkward situation:

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[91] Italics added.

"Ethnic splittists attempted to undermine ethnic solidarity, and a very few ethnic regions experienced ethnic tensions, these are the 'side-streams,' not the 'main-stream.' [We] should not confuse problems occurred in some parts of an ethnic autonomous region with the entirety of this ethnic autonomous region, [we] should not confuse trouble-making by a very few people of an ethnic minority group with the entirety of this ethnic group, and [we] should not confuse what happened with members of ethnic minorities with minzu polices that have been demonstrated through practice and shown to be effective in the long-term." (PLRC 2017, 152–53)

Xi did not forget to mention the pair of Han chauvinism and parochial nationalism and call both "archenemies" to ethnic solidarity in China. But he also cautioned against treating all issues through these two lenses. Similar to his predecessors, Xi maintained that development represents the most effective solution to all the problems concerning ethnic minority and their home regions. He did, however, go further to emphasize the need to differentiate "fake development for boasting about one's achievement" from "genuine development that benefit the people," arguing that the governments need to do the latter more and thus, tacitly admitting that even on the developmental front the achievement has not up to the expectation of the leadership (PLRC 2017, 155).

Xi also suggests that one key to strengthen ethnic solidarity is to enhance people's cultural identification with the country, through building a "common spiritual home" (Ch: *gongyou jingshen jiayuan*) for all ethnicities, and actively cultivating the consciousness of the Chinese national community (PLRC 2017, 157). In comparison with some of the explicitly statist proposals circulated during the debate – building a state-nation (Ch: *guozu*), for example, Xi's chosen expression sounded much milder and seemed to imply a more spontaneous or deliberative form of identify construction/negotiation rather than forced assimilation. On the stricter side of his message,

language also featured prominently in Xi's speech. Specifically, Xi highlighted the need for ethnic minorities to learn Mandarin Chinese. While he also talked about Han learning minority languages, the emphasis was clearly on the former. "When [the authority] promotes bilingual education in some relevant ethnic minority areas, not only the ethnic minorities *should be required* to learn National Standard Language, but also the Han masses who live in ethnic areas *should be encouraged* to learn ethnic minority languages" (PLRC 2017, 157).[92] As one can clearly see, Han are only to be encouraged whereas minorities would be required to study a language different from their mother tongue, even though according to LERA, minority language should enjoy equal status with Standard Mandarin for governments in ethnic autonomous areas and are required for Han cadres working there.[93]

Following the conference, on October 6th, 2014, SEAC Director Wang Zhengwei authored a piece for the CCP Central Committee-managed magazine *Seeking Truth* (Ch: *qiushi*).[94] In this piece, Wang specifically highlighted Xi's rejection of "those who questioned the existing policy and recommended major reform" during the previous debate. Without naming either Ma Rong or Hu Angang and his coauthor, Wang simply summarized their theses as contending that China's minzu policy imitated the nationalities policy of the former Soviet Union and as a result, must be changed lest China would be allowed to go down the path of disintegration along ethno-national lines. Importantly, wang recited an expression allegedly from Xi's speech that seemed to provide the most forceful rejection of the reform proposals. In this singled-out one-line quote, Xi reportedly said: "the idea that the system of ethnic regional autonomy should be abolished must stop". Wang's comrade and SEAC vice director Tondrub Wangben (Ch: *danzhu ang'ben*) also authored a piece for the official SEAC newspaper *China Ethnic News* (Ch: *zhongguo minzu bao*) a few days later, on November 15th,

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[92] Italics added.
[93] See PRC Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (2001), article #21, article #47, and article #49.
[94] http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2014-10/16/c_1112805236.htm

2014.[95] In his piece, Tondrub Wangben also highlighted Xi's affirmation of the existing policy. In addition, Tondrub Wangben made a number of points related to "ethnic equality". He wrote that "ethnic equality is the corner for ethnic solidarity; no equality, no solidarity". Quoting Xi, he argued that the authority must take "ethnic equality" as the founding principle of the country (Ch: *liguo yuanze*), which he listed as the top priority for ethnic work in the future.

A year later, in late May 2015, Xi Jinping presided over the Central United Front Conference in Beijing and spoke again about minzu policy, this time with a particular emphasis on religion. In this speech, Xi criticized discriminatory practices targeting ethnic minorities, such as ethnic profiling at the airport or hotels. Commenting on religion, Xi stated that while the Chinese Constitution and laws ensure the rights of the citizen to believe in religion, the authority must caution against the danger of "religious infiltration" (Ch: *zongjiao shentou*) as well as "religious demands with political purposes" (Ch: *daiyou zhengzhi yitu de zongjiao suqiu*) (PLRC 2017, 163). According to Xi: "sinicization" (Ch: *zhongguohua*) is the only correct direction for "guiding the religions to be in tune with a socialist society." Specifically, this means "to guide and lead various religions in China with Core Socialist Values (Ch; *shehui zhuyi hexin jiazhiguan*) and to 'soak' them with Chinese culture, to support the religious community to interpret religious thoughts and doctrines in accordance with the progression of the time, to resolutely guard against the infiltration of western ideologies, and to voluntarily resist the influence of extremist thoughts" (PLRC 2017, 163–64).

The same message was repeated later again at the All-China Religious Work Conference from April 22nd to 23rd 2016, where Xi emphasized that Communist Party members must never follow any religion: "Communist Party member must resolutely be a Marxist atheist, strictly follow the Party Charter, strictly uphold their ideal and faith, always remember the party's principle, must never look for their value and belief in religions" (PLRC 2017, 172).

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[95] http://qhsmzw.gov.cn/zwxx/bwxx/ccc1f459_d5c8_4437_80da_132143d8fa4a.aspx

Within only three months' interval, in late August 2015, the Sixth Central Tibet Work Conference was convened in Beijing, which was for the first time given the title "Central" as a result of being led by the Central Committee of the CCP (previous meetings, such as the one led by Hu Yaobang, did not bear such title).[96] Accoridng to the official news report, five major topics were discussed at the meeting in the following sequence: 1) the six-point "Strategy for Governing Tibet" (Ch: *zhizang fanglue*); 2) safeguarding ethnic solidarity in Tibet; 3) ensuring and improvking the people's livelihood in Tibet; 4) promoting the tradition of "loving the country" and "loving the religion;" 5) caring for the cadres and personnel serving in Tibet. The conference not only addressed issues of development and stability related to Tibet (TAR), but also to adjacent Tibetan areas of neighboring provinces including Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu, and Qinghai.[97] In total, six documents were reportedly prepared for the conference, including speeches by three state leadership: Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, and Yu Zhengsheng.[98]

For Xi, the areas calling for more attention and those calling for more efforts in Tibet work include "safeguarding national unity," "strengthening ethnic solidarity," and "taking it as a hard-target to maintain the continuing stability, long-term stability, and comprehensive stability of the society", and "always being in firm control of the anti-splittism struggle".[99] Xi specifically emphasized four tasks that are to be "resolutely" carried out and four targets that the authority must "ensure". The four "resolutely" and four "ensure" are, respectively, "resolutely carry out anti-splittist struggles, resolutely promote socioeconomic development, resolutely safeguard and improve people's livelihood, resolutely promote the contact, exchange, and integration between ethnic groups, ensure national security and long-term stability, ensure the continuing and healthy

[96] http://www.zytzb.gov.cn/tzb2010/qwjd/201508/91825593772d4aa485ff613b25b62861.shtml
[97] http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-08/26/c_128168342.htm
[98] http://news.ifeng.com/a/20150907/44597695_0.shtml
[99] http://news.ifeng.com/a/20150907/44597695_0.shtml

socioeconomic development, ensure the continuing improvement of material and cultural lives of all ethnicities, ensure a good condition of ecology and environment".[100]

Xi's speech also emphasized political education of the students, demanding that "the education of Core Socialist Values should be integrated into the curriculum of all kinds of schools and at all levels of studies," that "both the standard spoken and written Chinese language should be promoted," and "[schools] should make effort to cultivate builders and heir of the socialist cause who love the party and the country". In characterizing the situation and task for the government in Tibet, Xi continued the acknowledgement of two types of contradictions in the autonomous region – a "primary contradiction" (Ch: *zhuyao maodun*) and a "particular or specific contradiction" (Ch: *teshu maodun*) – which was the official line decided since the last Central Tibet Work Conference led by Hu Jintao in 2010. The "primary contradiction" refers to the "contradiction between the growing material and cultural demand of the people and the backward social productive force," whereas the "particular contradiction" refers to the "contradiction between people of all ethnicities and the splittist force represented by the Dalai Clique". Taken together, this interpretative framework confers legitimacy to both a strong developmental program and a heavy-handed repressive approach against any "hostile elements" identified by the government. To avoid giving the impression of giving too much importance to repression, at the end Xi also cautioned against overemphasizing stability maintenance in inner-China (Ch: *neidi*), a broad geographical concept that refers to the mostly Han China, i.e. area that does not include border regions such as Tibet, Xinjiang, or Inner Mongolia. He stated that "[authorities in] inner-China should be careful with their approaches in carrying out stability maintenance, strictly follow minzu policy, must not treat an entire ethnic group as something to be guard against; such simplifying approach that hurts ethnic feelings could only be counterproductive" (PLRC 2017, 166). This limited moderation – specifically excluding non-

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[100] http://www.zytzb.gov.cn/tzb2010/tujie/201508/4afc5aaa0179454c8cd1550a49da0127.shtml

minority areas from the potential danger of over-securitization, where over-securitization was more likely than elsewhere – shows that Xi was more interested in maintaining stability in minority areas at all cost.

*7.2.2 Continuing Securitization of Minzu Policy for Tibetans and Uyghurs*

Under the tolerant message from the central leadership, security policy targeting ethnic minorities in both Xinjiang and Tibet (as well as ethnic Tibetan regions in adjacent provinces) continued to operate and in some cases, further deepen. For example, in 2015, authorities in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture selected a total number of 4855 cadres from different levels of local governments within the prefecture to take part in the political education campaign under the titles of "ethnic solidarity education" (Ch: *minzu tuanjie jiaoyu*) or "Tibet-related stability maintenance propaganda" (Ch: *shezang weiwen xuanchuan*). Over 600,000 copies of political education materials were printed and circulated in the prefecture. Primary schools in Huangnan are also asked to hold a lesson on ethnic solidarity and progress education every week.[101] Authority in Tongren County, Huangnan Prefecture, Qinghai issued a list of "20 illegal behaviors with Tibetan-independent leaning".[102]

This period also saw the emergence of within province, cross-prefecture security collaboration: Guinan County of Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and Zeku (Zêkog) County of Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture signed an "Agreement on Collaborative Mechanism for Stability Maintenance".[103] The agreement was reportedly negotiated between the Stability Maintenance

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[101] http://www.qhwmw.com/system/2016/03/24/011963511.shtml ("Big Family of Nationalities 民族大家庭同心共谱和谐曲-民族团结-青海文明网" 2016)

[102] https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shaoshuminzu/dz-02242015102113.html ("Tongren 青海同仁县下发二十种'涉藏独'活动禁令" 2015)

[103] 《黄南藏族自治州泽库县-海南藏族自治州贵南县维稳工作协作机制协议》

Leading Groups (Ch: *weiwen lingdao xiaozu*) of both counties. According to the agreement, the two counties will strengthen their collaboration in the following areas: 1) communicating important information, 2) intelligence sharing, 3) monitoring and controlling person of interest, 4) administering and controlling monasteries, 5) investigation and handling of cases, 6) maintaining public security and targeted security operations, 7) investigation and handling of cross-county disputes, and 8) handling of sudden incidents. The agreement also establishes that a two-county stability maintenance meeting will be convened ever year to study and analyze the update-to-date situation and resolve salient issues; a briefing and coordination meeting will be convened every six months; and a contact person per county will be responsible for daily communication between the two counties.[104]

In 2017, authority in Gonghe County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomus Prefecture, Qinghai boasted about their investment in security equipment for Qabqa Township. According to the officials news, the local authority spent over 800,000 RMB on 177 surveillance cameras, 10 call-police buttons, 10 security access systems for 10 residential quarters within the township.[105] In the same year, 248 WeChat Group administrators/moderators in Zeku (Zêkog) County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomus Prefecture, Qinghai forced to sit through political education.[106] In late August, Local official news reported that 26 local cadres and monks in Jianzhatan Township, Jianzha (Jainca) County, Huangnan Prefecture, Qinghai participated in a political education campaign titled "love the country, be grateful, stand in solidarity, rule by law" (Ch: *aiguo, gan'en, tuanjie, fazhi*).[107] Materials used

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[104] http://www.qhchangan.gov.cn/jrbb/36190.jhtml ("Guinan County 贵南县与泽库县签订维稳工作协作机制协议" 2015)

[105] http://www.qhnews.com/newscenter/system/2017/11/22/012475083.shtml ("Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 海南藏族自治州政法综治工作亮点纷呈打造新亮点谱写新篇章--新闻中心" 2017)

[106] https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shaoshuminzu/dz-10022017103951.html ("Zekog 青海泽库县 248 名微信群主被强制接受教育" 2017)

[107] http://www.jianzhanews.com/system/2017/08/25/012396642.shtml ("Jianzha Country 尖扎县各寺院相继开展'爱国 感恩 团结 法制'宣讲活动--尖扎新闻网" 2017)

during the sessions include: 1) "Ten 'Made-Clear' Propaganda Material for Stability Maintenance in Tibetan Area,"[108] "Compilation of Propaganda and Study Material for Stability Maintenace in Tibetan Area,"[109] "20 Illegal Behaviors Related to Tibet,"[110] "Public Education Reader for Legal Knowledge".[111] Ang'la County saw 31 local cadres and monks participating in a similar education campaign with the same title. Here the material included also "Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Regulation on Ethnic Solidarity and Progress"[112] and "Regulation on Monastery Administration and Working Regulation for Democratic Administration Committee"[113]

Similar trends can also be observed in Xinjiang. Already in May 2013, XUAR Party Committee issued an internal document regarding work on containing the spread of "religious extremist thoughts" (Ch: *zongjiao jiduan sixiang*). The full title of the document is "Several Guiding Opinions Regarding Further Managing Illegal Religious Activities and Containing the Infiltration of Religious Extremist Thought According to Law".[114] Also known as the Document No. 11 of the XUAR Party Committee, this document offered detailed working instructions on how the regional government should separate "normal religious activities" and "ethnic customs" from "religious extremist thoughts". Prefectural-level government took this document as their guide to implement de-extremification policy.[115] A key instrument, according to commentators of this policy, is to employ cultural and educational resource to counter the influence of "religious extremist thoughts," through

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[108] 《十个"讲清楚"藏区维稳宣传材料》
[109] 《藏区维稳宣传学习材料汇编》
[110] 《20 种涉藏违法行为》
[111] 《公共法律知识教育读本》
[112] 《黄南州藏族自治州民族团结进步条例》
[113] 《寺院管理条例和民管会工作制度》
[114] Original Chinese title: 《关于进一步依法治理非法宗教活动遏制宗教极端思想渗透工作的若干指导意见》（新党办发〔2013〕11 号）
[115] http://news.ifeng.com/mainland/special/xjqjdh/

organizing cultural events and public campaigns revolving around "de-extremification" and "modern culture," as well as promoting public education on strengthening one's national identification.[116]

Despite Zhang's effort to repress the ethnic minority dissidents, the central leadership was apparently not satisfied with his performance. Two years after Xu assumed the top leadership, in late August 2016, the state media suddenly announced that the central leadership decided to replace the XUAR leadership. Chen Quanguo, who had worked as the Party Secretary of Tibet (TAR) since 2011, will be reassigned to Xinjiang (XUAR) to replace Zhang Chunxian.[117] Observers believed that the reassignment was intended to apply Chen's securitization strategy, tested in Tibet since 2011, now to Xinjiang as well. Indeed, immediately after Chen took over the XUAR leadership, the autonomous regions saw a dramatic shift towards heavy-handed measures against the indigenous Turkic-speaking minorities, particularly the Uyghurs. The regional government stopped issuing passports to local residents who are ethnic Uyghur while also began recalling those already issued. Media reported that Uyghur students studying abroad – particularly in countries such as Egypt and Turkey – have been either blackmailed, incentivized, or lured back to China, upon which they were immediately arrested and sent back to detention in Xinjiang. The local authority also engaged in a number of mass propaganda campaign in the name of promoting ethnic solidarity, targeting religious practices by the indigenous Muslim population. Last but not least, starting from 2017, Xinjiang witnesses a massive buildup of detention centers across the autonomous region. Tens of thousands of ethnic minorities, mostly Uyghur, are now believed to be held in hundreds of such centers, which are publicly known as "De-extremification Training Center". XUAR Regulation on De-

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[116] http://www.cssn.cn/zjx/zjx_zjsj/201507/t20150703_2065158.shtml
[117] http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2016/0830/c1001-28676010.html

extremification (2017)[118] passed by XUAR People's Congress Standing Committee seems to provide the legal basis. For reference, see article 14 of the regulation.[119]

### 7.2.3 Consolidating Central Control

There were also a number of important developments at the center level. In April 2016, Wang Zhangwei was removed from the SEAC directorship, a position that he had held since 2013, and replaced by Bater (Ch: *bate'er*), former chairman of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR). Wang was also relieved from his duty as the vice director of the United Front Work Department (UFWD), which he had held since 2015 and which was taken over by Bater as well. Wang's old comrade and SEAC vice director Tondrub Wangben was also relieved from his position, which was turned over to Li Changping, an ethnic Tibetan cadre, a former member of the Sichuan Party Committee Standing Committee, as well as the director of the Sichuan Agricultural Work Committee (Ch: *nonggongwei*).[120] Before Li's last position, he was the governor of the Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. It was widely rumored that Wang's removal had to do with his conciliatory approach towards ethnic and religious minorities, in particular, his leniency towards Islam in China's northwest.

During the 2018 "Two Session" – the annual twin meetings of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference – Xi administration announced a major reform plan, which involving a restructuration of the central government and party organizations. Observers pointed out that the move was designed to resolve the bureaucratic "turf war," consolidate central control over the policy-making process, as well as improve inter-departmental

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[118] Original Chinese title: "新疆维吾尔自治区去极端化条例"
[119] Original Chinese content: "第十四条 去极端化应当做好教育转化工作，实行个别教育与集中教育相结合，法治教育与帮教活动相结合，思想教育、心理辅导、行为矫正与技能培训相结合，教育转化与人文关怀相结合，增强教育转化成效" http://xj.people.com.cn/n2/2017/0330/c186332-29942874.html
[120] https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1455535

coordination in implementing major national strategies. Two agencies particularly relevant for minzu policy – the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) and the State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) – were affected. SEAC, a ministerial body within the State Council, would from now on be under the command of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the CCP. SARA, an agency belonging to the State Council, would be absorbed into the UFWD and become its subdivision. UFWS would lead the work regarding religious affairs, ethnic affairs, as well as oversea Chinese affairs (Ch: *qiaowu*).[121]

## 7.3 Fragmented Knowledge Community

### 7.3.1 *Further Professionalization of Minzu Political Studies*

During this period, the knowledge community of minzu policy continued to show diversifying and pluralizing trends. Ethno-National Politics continues to be a main driving force behind this development. In December 2013, the Institute of Nationality Politics and Borderland Governance (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi yu bianjiang zhili yanjiuyuan*) is inaugurated at Yunnan University.[122] The institute's stated goal is "to become an 'academic high-ground' (Ch: *xueshu gaodi*) for research on ethno-national politics (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi*)[123] and borderland governance both in and outside China, a high-level think tank providing policy consultation for the party and the government, and a key base for training talents in ethnic politics and borderland governance in China". Research being undertaken at the institute can be sub-divided into ten categories, including: 1) deepening and expanding of basic theories of ethno-national politics, 2) political science on minzu questions in China, 3) comparative study of ethno-national politics in China and abroad, 4) basic theories of borderland political science, 5) theory and practice of borderland governance, 6) China's land

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[121] http://news.sina.com.cn/c/nd/2018-03-22/doc-ifyskeue4716783.shtml
[122] http://www.inpfg.ynu.edu.cn/gywm/jj.htm
[123] See translation notes in chapter 1.

frontier and its governance, 7) China's interest frontier (Ch: *liyi bianjiang*) and its governance, 8) China's security frontier (Ch: *anquan bianjiang*) and its governance, 9) comparative study of borderland governance in China and abroad, 10) challenges for China's borderland governance as a result of neighboring countries' borderland policy.

Zhou Ping, now a leading scholar of ethno-national politics in China, heads the institute and is accredited as the Chief Expert (Ch: *shouxi zhuanjia*).[124] Zhou is also the current vice president of the Chinese Political Science Association and receives stipend from the State Council as a special expert of the government. As previous chapters have shown, Zhou has been working to promote the field of ethno-national political science in China since the 1990s. According to the institute's own records, Zhou was heavily involved in behind-the-door consultation for the SEAC's preparatory work for the 2014 Central Conference on Ethnic Work as well as for Xi Jinping's speech at the conference.[125] In the first case, Zhou provided SEAC a special research report on the topic "Salient Questions in Ethno-National Theory and Policy in Contemporary China and Abroad".[126] In the second case, Xi Jinping's speech allegedly incorporated a number of Zhou's opinions, particularly regarding the adjustment of the value-orientation Chinese nation (Ch: *zhonghua minzu*) and minzu policy and the idea that ethnic autonomous regions should assume also certain obligations aside from enjoying their (special) rights. It is also reported that Zhou was commissioned by SEAC to conduct research on incorporating the idea of Chinese nation into both the Chinese Constitution and the Party Charter.

In addition to research, the institute works actively with the authority to provide training services to cadres. Since its inception, the institute has been working with both the Yunnan Provincial United Front Work Department and Provincial Ethnic Affairs Commission to train "provincial-level

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[124] http://www.inpfg.ynu.edu.cn/gywm/sxzj.htm
[125] http://www.inpfg.ynu.edu.cn/shfw/jczx.htm
[126] Original Chinese title: 当代国内外民族理论政策聚焦问题.

religious leaders" (Ch: *shengji zongjiao lingxiu*). Until 2016, the institute has trained more than 900 cadres in ethnic work and more than 100 personnel in religious affairs management.[127] In June 2016, the institute became the host for "Research Base (Ch: *yanjiu jidi*) for Nationality Politics and Borderland Governance of Chinese Association of Political Science".[128] It also operates two major databases: Specialty Database of Geopolitics and Borderland Governance[129] and Big Data Platform for Borderland and Geopolitics.[130]

2013 also saw the founding of another research center for ethno-national politics, the Institute of Ethno-National Political Research (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi yanjiuyuan*) at Southwest University of Political Science and Law.[131] Zhou Ping also serves as the Chief Expert for this institute, as well as its director. The institute is a collaboration between the university and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) and operates under the designation "SEAC Research Base for Minzu Theory and Policy".[132]

During this period, scholars of ethno-national politics also began to mobilize their members across the country and sought to consolidate a dedicated community of their particular interests. From 2013 to 2016, the publishing house of the CASS Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology's flagship journal *Ethno-National Studies* (Ch: *minzu yanjiu*) led the initiative to organize four "Forum on Chinese Minzu Theory and Ethno-National Politics," each year with a different institutional partner. The first Forum was co-organized with East China University of Political Science and Law's Institute of Political Science under the title "Ethno-National (Minzu) and Ethnic Politics Studies in

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[127] http://www.inpfg.ynu.edu.cn/shfw/shpx.htm
[128] http://www.inpfg.ynu.edu.cn/info/1042/1017.htm ; http://www.cqjw.gov.cn/Item/6370.aspx
[129] Original Chinese title: 地缘政治与边疆治理特色资料库.
[130] Original Chinese title: 边疆与地缘大数据平台.
[131] http://appa.swupl.edu.cn/ghgk/ghgk1/index.htm
[132] For more information about this type of "research bases," see http://www.seac.gov.cn/art/2018/1/23/art_144_298504.html (SEAC)

Comparative Perspective" in August 2013.[133] According to conference participants, the forum

started a useful platform for interdisciplinary research and exchange between ethnology and political

science in China.[134] The second Forum was co-organized with Guangxi University for Nationalities

under the title "Academic Symposium on Institutions, Rights, and National Identification"[135] in

October 2014. The conference agenda reflected an increasing recognition of the need for rethinking

and reorienting institutions of ethnic affairs management around the strengthening of national

identification (J. 俊毅 Ma 马 2015). The third Forum was co-organized again with East China

University of Political Science and Law's Institute of Political Science under the title "Academic

Symposium on Ethno-National Politics and Modernizing Ethnic Affairs Governance"[136] in

December 2015. The fourth and the latest Forum was co-organized with Dianxi Normal University

of Science and Technology under the title "Minzu Theory with Chinese Characteristics and

Significant Development in Ethno-National Politics in the New Era in Comparative Perspective"[137]

in October 2016.

These meetings reflect the increasing salience of ethno-national politics in China as well as the

growing recognition of the need for an interdisciplinary effort to approach the minzu question in

China. Moreover, they demonstrate the pluralization of the knowledge community as increasingly

more fields are invited to participate in the discussion. Take the second Forum in Nanning as an

example, more than 80 participants came from over 17 universities and research institutes across the

country, roughly half of them (8) were not from traditionally minzu-focused schools, such as the

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[133] Original Conference title in Chinese: "比较视野下的民族与族群政治研究"
http://psi.ecupl.edu.cn/cp/cpchina/inner_pages/conferences/201308/agenda.htm
[134] http://www.cssn.cn/zx/201604/t20160403_2949886_5.shtml
[135] Original Conference title in Chinese: "制度·权利·国家认同学术研讨会"
http://www.scuec.edu.cn/s/211/t/1322/6e/7b/info93819.htm
[136] Original Conference title in Chinese: "民族政治与民族事务治理现代化学术研讨会"
http://www.ecupl.edu.cn/_s2/9c/07/c65a39943/page.psp
[137] Original Conference title in Chinese: "比较视野下新时期中国特色民族理论与政治大发展"
http://www.wynu.edu.cn/info/1088/3202.htm

nationalities institutes (Ch: *minzu yuanxiao*). The Third Forum in Shanghai attracted more than 60 participants from over 12 universities and research institutes, again roughly half of them (5) were from non minzu-focused schools. The latest one in Lincang also had a similar composition in terms of its participants.

Lastly, scholars also began to utilize venues outside of traditional academic journals to publish their research and exchange opinions. From 2013 to 2017, a book-series were compiled every year under the title "Studies of Ethno-National Politics" (Ch: *minzu zhengzhi jikan*).[138] By 2017, four volumes have been published by the Social Sciences Academic Press (Ch: *shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe*) in Beijing. The leading editor is Qing Jue, professor and vice chancellor of the Central Minzu University and also a nationally known expert on ethno-national politics.

*7.3.2 Rise of Government Think Tanks*

During this period, the government also became increasingly active in pursuing cultivating knowledge communities that suit their particular policy and/or political needs. A number of scholars also actively pushed for the development of specialized knowledge community oriented towards policy consultation (Jian 鉴 Wang 王 2014) . A dedicated policy research unit for governance in Xinjiang, "Xinjiang Think Tank" (Ch: *xinjiang zhiku*) was established in February 2015, led by the Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies of CASS.[139] The state-led initiative was met with strong receptive attitude from the officials, including members from the Central Politburo Standing Committee, the XUAR Party Committee, the Central Secretariat, State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC), the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and the CPPCC's Ethnic

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[138] Original Chinese title of the volume: "民族政治辑刊", see http://www.jikan.com.cn/collectedPapers_516.html
[139] http://bjs.cssn.cn/xwzx/xwzx_tzgg/201805/t20180502_4220551.shtml

and Religious Affairs Committee.[140] According to the press release from CASS, more than 60 experts from government and civilian research units as well as universities participated in the founding events as well, suggesting that the personnel make-up of Xinjiang Think Tank is likely also a combination between the policy researchers and academic ones.

In June 2016, a similar policy research unit for Tibet, "Tibet Think Tank" (Ch: *xizang zhiku*) was also established in Beijing and led by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of CASS.[141] Similar to the Xinjiang Think Tank, Tibet Think Tank received endorsement from a wide range of high-level party and state officials. Interestingly, neither Xinjiang Think Tank nor Tibet Thank Tank is based or led by their respective regional Academy of Social Sciences, which have been and remain the one of the most influential government-sponsored research units on socio-political issues within each region. The concentration of leadership in the capital-based Chinese Academy of Social Sciences seems to confirm the central leadership's intention to exert greater influence over regional policy-making under Xi Jinping. At the same time, the division of labor between two different units with the CASS also suggests a possible differentiated approach for Xinjiang and Tibet policy respectively. The Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies – which is charge of the Xinjiang Think Tank – has a known record of promoting hardline approach towards ethnic minorities in particularly Xinjiang, whereas the SEAC-affiliated Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology has the stronghold of the party's theoreticians of minzu policy, defending the status quo against challengers such as Ma Rong and the "two-Hu" during the debate from early 2000s to 2014.

In addition to the aforementioned SEAC Research Base for Minzu Theory and Policy, which have been established in collaboration with universities and research institutes across the country for years, SEAC made renewed effort to strengthen its inventory of policy consultation by announcing

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[140] http://www.guoyancm.com/dongtai/zk/2015-02-16/1412.html
[141] http://www.cssn.cn/zzx/zzxzt_zzx/ds/dsj/201612/t20161226_3358532.shtml

further plan for creating and supporting policy think tanks. In December 2016, the SEAC released the "Plan for Building the State Ethnic Affairs Commission's Ethnic Work Think Tank (2016-2020)".[142]

## 7.4 Inter-paradigm Professional Debate

The Second Xinjiang Work Conference and the Fourth Central Conference on Ethnic Work in 2014 had some limited effect on tempering the tension caused by the division among scholars of minzu. Nonetheless, disagreements persisted. Such an outcome is likely due to the ambiguous message sent from the central leadership, which is best summarized in the statement that the authority would continue to "uphold and improve the system of ethnic regional autonomy". Although the expression already existed during Hu Jintao administration, the continuing endorsement of this expression against the sharp disagreement regarding this policy suggests a neutral, if not deliberatively ambivalent, stand of the leadership towards it. Key participants from the pre-Xi debate were quick to capitalize on the ambiguity of the term to elaborate on how their preferred policy direction has received the authority's endorsement (Hao 郝 2015; R. 戎 Ma 马 2015).

The full-text of Xi's speech was not (and remains not) publicized, with only partial segments included and released in the edited volume of selected speeches by Xi. Some scholars have attempted to use un-disclosed content to further advance their case. Yet the apparent semi-secret nature of those content limited their impact on the wider scholarly discourse. Notably, despite the allegedly explicit call by Xi Jinping asking to stop using the term "de-politicization", scholars

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[142] Original Chinese title: "国家民委民族工作智库建设规划（2016—2020 年）". The full-text of the document is available via http://www.ncpssd.org/topics/message.aspx?id=88

continued to employ alternative expressions of the same idea in their exchanges. It appears that in the immediate aftermath of two meetings, there were relatively little substantive base.

### 7.4.1 Interpreting the Center's Message

Immediately following the Second Central Conference on Xinjiang Work (2014.05.28-29) and the Fourth Central Conference on Ethnic Work (2014.09.28-29), main participants in the previous debate published their response and updated their positions. Hao Shiyuan was first to react to the twin meetings in 2014. Writing in *Journal of Minzu University of China* (Ch: *zhongyang minzu daxue xuebao*), Hao explicitly titled his article as an interpretation of the message from central leadership: "Ethnic Regional Autonomy: What Was Discussed at the Central Conference on Ethnic Work?" In this article, Hao focused on the criticism against ethnic regional autonomy during the earlier debate[143] – a point both the "depoliticization" thesis and "second generation" thesis have made. To show that the central leadership has sided with his view, Hao used a quote from Xi – the one which SEAC director Wang Zhengwei also referred to[144] – as his weapon to attack anyone who dare to question further the legitimacy of his position:

> "He [Xi Jinping] further pointed out that: 'some people said that we should no longer keep the system of ethnic regional autonomy anymore and that ethnic autonomous regions could run the same arrangements as other provinces and municipalities. This view is wrong and politically harmful. I shall state it again clearly: the idea that the system of ethnic regional autonomy should be abolished must stop.'" (Hao 郝 2015, 8)

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[143] See chapter 6, section 6.4 "Inter-paradigm Political Debate".
[144] See chapter 7 (this chapter), section 7.2 "Collaborative Policy Subsystem".

Hao was careful, however, not to let him be interpreted as promoting ethnic federalism. Once he made it clear that any attempt to abolish China's ethnic regional autonomy would be illegitimate, Hao went to great length to clarify what he exactly advocates. A careful comparison of his discussion of ethnic regional autonomy with his earlier pieces shows that Hao has in fact adjusted his position to become consistent to the balanced position of the leadership, despite what might appear to be a one-sided victory of his position from his confident language in the first part of his article. For example, Hao explicitly prioritized national unity over ethnic regional autonomy, quoting what was likely lines from the speeches at the Central Conference on Ethnic Work that:[145]

"Ethnic regional autonomy is not the kind of autonomy enjoyed solely by any particular ethnic group; an ethnic autonomous region is not a region owned solely by any particular ethnic group. This point must be understood clearly, otherwise [we] will get on a wrong path" (Hao 郝 2015, 9)

For another example, Hao echoed Xi Jinping in suggesting that ethnic regional autonomy must not only consider the "ethnic factor" but also the "regional factor" (Hao 郝 2015, 10) As previously discussed, this is a point made by Xi in his speech at the 2014 meeting on ethnic work, which was something quite plausibly inspired if not directly informed by the reform advocates such as Ma Rong and Hu Angang & Hu Lianhe. By emphasizing his categorical rejection of the earlier reform proposal while explicitly aligning himself with ideas clearly traceable to the former, Hao appeared to be contradicting himself. However, what is clear from a comparison of his 2015 article and Xi's 2014

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[145] The content was put between quotation marks in Hao's article without any source provided. Given that Hao was present at the Central Conference on Ethnic Work and this article of him was mainly about interpreting the discussion at the meeting, it is very likely that he was referring to specific passages of the documents being circulated at the meeting, but which was not convenient for him to share or even name.

speech is that Hao has adjusted his position according to the tones set by Xi Jinping. It is this tone –
which, as previously discussed, represents the new leadership's attempt to mediate and rationalize
the gap between different interests and demands revolving around minzu policy – that gave both
Xi's speech and Hao's interpretation the self-contradictory character.

The earliest and one of the major contenders in the debate, PKU professor Ma Rong, also
published his reading of the twin meetings. A month after Hao's article, Ma's reaction to the
meeting, titled "Holding the Flag, Standing the Ground, Adjusting the Direction, Carrying Out
Reform Based on Reality——An Interpretation of the Central Conference on Ethnic Work", was
published in *Qinghai Journal of Ethnology* (Ch: *qinghai minzu yanjiu*). Ma first reviewed different opinions
present in the previous debate. After carefully avoiding the phrase "depoliticization" or "second
generation minzu policy" in discussing his and other reform advocates' views while highlighting
their opponents' criticism against the existing policy, Ma concluded that these seriously divergent
and antagonistic positions have "led to a certain degree of ideological confusion and disagreements
in our country's minzu theory circle and ethnic work community" (R. 戎 Ma 马 2015, 83). The main
body of Ma's article was devoted to offering his understanding of the central leadership's message at
the meeting. As his 16-character title already implied, Ma's interpretation consists of two parts:
"Holding the Flag, Standing the Ground" and "Adjusting the Direction, Carrying Out Reform
Based on Reality". The first part, on which Ma spent only half a page, refers to maintaining the
consistency of ideological framework so to ensure political stability during times of reform and
transition, a practice that Ma believed was similar to Deng Xiaoping's strategy in pushing the
"Opening-Up and Reform" (R. 戎 Ma 马 2015, 84). The second part, which Ma used more than five
pages and broke down into 11 sub-sections to elaborate, detailed his understanding of all the "new
elements" to minzu policy that the center has adopted at the meeting. Clearly Ma wanted his reader
to know that the meeting was mainly about "change" rather than "non-change". Although he

admitted that ethnic regional autonomy should not be abolished, he went into great detail discussing how the existing minzu policy should be "improved" along the lines that he had been advocating, e.g. considering both "ethnic factor" and "regional factor" in designing affirmative actions, promoting "contact, exchange, and integration among ethnic groups", and guarding against "local parochial nationalism" in minority-concentrated areas.

### 7.4.2 *"Signaling Left, Turning Right"?*

In a way, Hao Shiyuan and Ma Rong's reactions capture the essence of the scholarly discourse about minzu policy in the post-2014 era. On the one hand, the twin meetings in 2014 made it clear that the new central leadership under Xi Jinping had no intention to systematically redesign the policy in a top-down fashion as some had advocated; on the other hand, the meetings did reveal or at least imply that the center would be willing to adjust the policy in face of new circumstances and new challenges and to allow inconsistencies across different places and groups. This seemingly self-contradictory – or "pragmatic" – message essentially opened door to a multiplicity of policy changes that the reform advocates had wanted and that would allow the policy to move in an integrationist direction without naming them a "depoliticization" policy or "second generation policy". Although the center sent a strong message rejecting any proposal to abolish ethnic regional autonomy, given its widely acknowledged insufficient implementation even among Chinese academics themselves (Hao 郝, Zhang 张, and Ma 马 2014), it is rather evident that the center intends only to maintain the existing policy – of which ethnic regional autonomy constitutes the core element – on a rhetorical level while allowing reforms that could undermine the autonomy of ethnic minorities to be carried on, e.g. pushing nationwide Mandarin education and enforcing stricter control over practice of religious faith. The scholar discourse was highly responsive to this message: aside from implying a small victory from Xi's rejection of abolishing the ethnic regional autonomy, Hao had to conceded

to a number of points which were originally championed by the reform advocates and now accredited by the central leadership; Ma, on the other hand, need only to admit that there were some "disagreements" and acknowledge the correctness of the leadership's decision to maintain ethnic regional autonomy, before boldly delving in great detail into all sort of policy adjustments that are not only consistent with his earlier position but now granted legitimacy from the top.

This pattern is reflected in the broader scholarly community as well. On the other hand, a few scholars continue to pen criticism against the "de-politicization" and "second generation minzu policy" thesis, and use venues such as the Annual Conference of the Association of Chinese Minzu Theory to publicize their view (Shizhe 世哲 Liu 刘 2015; Zuo 左 and Liu 刘 2015). On the other hand, an increasing number of people began to discuss ideas that were included in the earlier reform proposals while paying a lip service to a rejection of "de-politicization" and "second generation" in order to appear "politically correct". For example, law professor at Shanghai University Pan Chuanbiao proposed a "de-legalization" of ethnic status (C. 传表 Pan 潘 2016). In their coauthored article, Chen Huaichuan from Xinjiang Normal University and Gan Wenxiu from Hexi Academy sought to delink the concept of "ethnic minorities" from "socially disadvantaged" (H. 怀川 Chen 陈 and Gan 甘 2016). Hu Youze and Cheng Rong from Northwest University for Nationalities discussed the problems the problems with the policy of "Two Fewers, One Lenienncy", a measure designed to grant legal leniency to individuals of ethnic minority background, and proposed that the policy should be abolished in the future (Hu 虎 and Cheng 程 2016). In a different article, Li Jian from Sichuan University also discussed this topic, linking specifically the policy "Two Fewers, One Lenienncy" with the problem of "politicizing" or "ethicizing" otherwise normal legal disputes (Jian 剑 Li 李 2016). On the more theoretical side, Zhao Gang from Yanbian celebrated the introduction of the concepts such as "governance" and "citizen-society" (Ch: *gongmin shehui*) into the minzu policy

discourse while highlighting his rejection of both the "depoliticization" and "second generation" theses (Zhao 赵 2016).

All in all, greater space for more critical discussion of minzu policy has clearly followed in the years after the twin meetings. Critics of the earlier reform proposals, represented by Hao Shiyuan, adjusted their position in a way much closer to those proposals even as they continue to criticize the latter rhetorically. On the other hand, more scholars are emboldened to take on specific issues of minzu policy and examine them critically with theoretical and conceptual tools different from that of the conventional minzu theory community.

**Chapter 8 Violence, Ethnicity, and Minzu Debate**

**8.1 Alternative Explanations**

The analysis so far (chapter 4 to chapter 7) demonstrates that the evolution of the PRC debate from 1979 to 2017 generally corresponds to the expectation of my theory. It offers positive evidence that a covariation exists between the two explanatory variables – the conflict in the policy subsystem and the fragmentation in the knowledge community – and my dependent variable – the character of the academic policy debate, measured by the level of academic politicization and theoretical heterogeneity. However, as we discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.3), this analysis alone – i.e. the single unit, diachronic analysis of PRC minzu debate from 1979 to 2017 – is not sufficient to rule out alternative explanations.

Specifically, I considered two alternative explanations based on two potentially relevant yet unaccounted for factors. The first one is the intensity of ethnic violence (hereafter abbreviated as "violence"), which could act as an external factor politicizing a debate through incentivizing academics to seize the window of opportunity so to maximize their impact on the policy discourse. This could challenge my hypothesized causal link between the conflict in the policy subsystem and the academic politicization of the debate, because if politically-oriented writings of academics are a direct reaction to heightened ethnic violence in the country, then it means that the conflict among political elites has no significant bearing on the debate, if at all. The implication would be that academics are triggered by and directly act upon what common people would perceive as politically important events, i.e. incidents of ethnic violence, rather than motivated by and act on behalf of the policy-making elites. Should this be the case, we should observe that the level of academic politicization is most sensitive to the occurrence of ethnic violence. Alternatively, if ethnic violence has no direct bearing on the debate, then we should observe no such associations.

The second one is the ethnic identification of the authors (hereafter abbreviated as "ethnicity"), which could operate as an internal factor polarizing a debate through incentivizing authors of ethnic minority background to be particularly politically-active and to identify strongly with a particular ("accommodationist") policy position. This would challenge my hypothesized causal link between the fragmentation in the knowledge community and the theoretical heterogeneity of the debate, because if accommodationist-leaning pieces by academics in the minzu policy debate are mostly caused by a writer's ethnic identification – or more likely, the status of being an ethnic minority – then it means that a person's identification with a particular research tradition has no significant bearing on one's expressed opinions in the debate. By extension, this would also mean that a greater fragmentation of knowledge community – in the sense of a pluralization of research traditions – does not lead to a greater variety of theoretical viewpoints. Alternatively, if ethnic identification has no strong influence on a person's expressed opinions in a debate, then we should observe no such associations.

Both "violence" and "ethnicity" constitute reasonable competing alternative explanations. To reinforce the causal inference in my theory, I need to rule them out or at least demonstrate that their influence is not as strong as the primary explanatory variables in my theory. This chapter takes up that task. It consists of two separate tests, each dealing with one alternative explanation. The first test juxtaposes the occurrence of ethnic violence with scholarly pieces dedicated to debating minzu policy from 1990-2005 in order to check whether a plausible correlation exists between the two. The second test measures and compares the impact of a list of individualized demographic factors on one's policy position in order to check whether ethnic identification – specifically the status of being an ethnic minority – plays a bigger role than one's disciplinary background in shaping one's policy position. This test was carried out using a content analysis of the minzu policy debate between 2000 and 2014. To perform these two tests, I use an original dataset, the PRC Minzu Debate Dataset, that

consists of Chinese academic journal articles which were published between 1990 and 2014 and which focus specifically on minzu policy of China. For the first test, I also borrowed the Ethnic Violence in China (EVC) dataset created by Xun Cao, Haiyan Duan, Chuyu Liu, James A. Piazza, and Yingjie Wei (X. Cao et al. 2018)[146]. Below I first present the research design (8.2), where I elaborate on the logic behind the research design as well as the data used for the tests. Then I present my analysis and discuss my findings (8.3). Based on the two tests, I argue that both alternative explanations seem unpersuasive and that my theory still holds (8.4).

## 8.2 Research Design

### 8.2.1 Logic

The first test is concerned with the following proposition: the occurrence of ethnic violence – instead of the conflict in the policy subsystem – plays a larger role in the politicization of the academic debate on minzu policy. If this is the case, then we should expect to see the debate reacting strongly to occurrence of ethnic violence. We know from our analysis in the previous chapters that during the period between 1989 to 2003, i.e. Jiang Zemin's term, there was a gradual politicization of the debate due to the intensification of intra-elite conflict. The rising ethnic tensions in Xinjiang since the 1980s caused the balance between soft- and hard-line approaches no longer sustainable and led to a regressive turn in Beijing's Xinjiang policy in the mid-1990s. As a result, the academic policy debate became more politically-oriented. The co-presence of both rising ethnic violence and increased intra-elite conflict during the same period means that it is challenging to separate the effect of one from the other. However, while intra-elite conflict as a structural feature of the policy subsystem does not usually vary greatly in a short period of time, the occurrence of

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[146] See Xun Cao's personal webpage: https://sites.psu.edu/xuncao/data/ (accessed January 10th 2019).

ethnic violence does. Thus, given what we know about the structural feature of policy subsystem during the above said period, i.e. from 1989 to 2003, I could simply juxtapose the occurrence of ethnic violence in Xinjiang per year with the number of published academic articles on minzu policy per year during this period. If ethnic violence directly triggers more politicized debate, we should observe more pieces about discussing minzu policy following intense occurrence of violence.

The second test is concerned with the proposition: a person's ethnic identification – instead of his/her affiliation with a research tradition - plays a larger role in the person's expressed policy preference during the debate. From the previous chapters, we know that during the intense inter-paradigm political debate from 2003 to 2013, academics in the minzu debate was divided into two main opinion camps largely along the line of "accommodation vs. integration". This result was due to both the intense conflict among elites in the policy subsystem and a greater fragmentation in the knowledge community from the previous period. The disagreeing policy opinions that we observed were not only expressed in highly politicized language but also rooted in strikingly different theoretical assumptions. However, if this later outcome was mainly caused by the writers' ethnic identification rather than his or her affiliation with a particular research tradition, it means that we should observe a clear effect of one's ethnic identification – e.g. Han vs. non-Han – on one's preference for a particular policy position – e.g. integration vs. accommodation. To assess this proposition, I could look into a sample of academic policy debate in order to examine whether such association exists. The policy debate between 2003 and 2013 is a good candidate for the test because during this time we saw many academics openly and explicitly identifying with contrasting policy positions. A survey of this debate that incorporates both the content of each opinion piece and the demographic information of its author would allow me to check whether one's ethnic identification explains better the policy preference than the affiliation with a research tradition, as my theory would expect.

*8.2.2 Data*

As said above, to perform the two tests I use a dataset consisting of academic journal articles that were published in PRC between 1990 and 2014 and whose substantive focus was China's minzu policy. I used CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure) academic journal database to generate a sample of the minzu policy debate. To select only articles that discuss contemporary Chinese minzu policy, I performed a two-steps filtering. In the first step, I run an automatic search on all academic journal articles from 1990 to 2014, using a keyword combination of "minzu policy" (Ch: *minzu zhengce*) in the article title and "China" (Ch: *zhongguo*) in the subject area. This operation allows me to pick out articles that place an emphasis on minzu policy (as it is significant enough to be in the title), with reference also to China. The automatic search returns me with over 450 results. Although this may look like a substantial size of material, the majority of them are in fact irrelevant to the topic of this study. To improve the sample representativeness, I had to exclude articles lacking a substantive discussion on contemporary Chinese minzu policy. This operation was done manually, but according to a clearly defined guideline and in a consistent manner. Those that are excluded can be broken down into four categories: 1) studies of foreign countries' minzu policy (exempted from removal if discussion of China is included), 2) studies of pre-PRC minzu policy (e.g. ancient China, Republican China, exempted from removal if discussion of contemporary China is included), 3) book reviews (on related subjects), and 4) curriculum design (on related subjects). In the end, only 225 articles were retained for the entire dataset. From here, two different sub-datasets were created for the different purposes of the two tests respectively.

For the first test (the "violence" hypothesis), I limit the time scope to between 1990 and 2005, which gives me 76 articles. This is so because to test whether ethnic conflicts had any impact on the minzu policy debate, I borrowed the Ethnic Violence in China (EVC) constructed by Xun Cao et al,

which only has data on the occurrence of ethnicity-related violence in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) between 1990 and 2005. It would make little sense for me to include the debate data after 2005. EVC dataset is useful because it is to-date the most systematic dataset on ethnic-conflicts in contemporary Xinjiang. Additionally, Xinjiang has been the major site of ethnic conflicts in the country during the last three decades or so. While it is geographically limited, the salience of ethnicity-related violence Xinjiang should give us some indication of the degree of the external shock on the knowledge community to produce policy-related pieces. According to the creators of EVC, ethnic violence is defined as "the intentional execution of violent acts, perpetrated by individuals or groups of ethnic minority status, with political motivations". More specifically, because of the focus on Xinjiang, the dataset "only include[s] violent events that at least involved one ethnic minority" but not those that "occur between members of the Han majority or events occurring between Han civilians and the government" (X. Cao et al. 2018, 3). To perform the test, I compare the intensity of ethnic conflicts in Xinjiang with the intensity of academic policy debate during the same period (1990-2005) in order to see whether any correlation can be observed.

For the second test (the "ethnicity" hypothesis), I carried out a content analysis on the academic policy debate using a sub-dataset limited to the period between 2000 and 2014. The content analysis allows me to capture the trajectory, patterns, and distribution of opinions of the entire expert community during the course of the debate. The time scope was chosen for the following reasons: 2001 was the year when the first and, to-date, only amendment to the Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy (LERA) was made. The amendment contains one important change with regard to the status of the law; instead of being an "important political institution" (Ch: *zhongyao zhengzhi zhidu*) of the PRC, LERA now is considered as a "basic political institution" (Ch: *jiben zhengzhi zhidu*). The LERA amendment set the stage for a new round of exchange of opinions. On the other hand, 2014 saw the latest Central Conference on Ethnic Work, whereby the top leadership allegedly rejected a

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minzu policy reform. By choosing to include articles from 2000 to 2014, I sought to capture the policy discourse during the entire cycle of post-2001 LERA amendment debate. All in all, 177 articles were retained in the dataset for the second test. Below I further discuss the coding strategy for the content analysis required for the second test.

*8.2.3 Coding*

To enable the analysis for the second test, I coded the aforementioned 177 articles with a uniform scheme. For each piece, I extract two categories of information. The first category is "ideological reference", which contains seven questions designed to summarize the general ideological frame of a given piece. I created the questions based on the signature terms of the successive CCP leadership's ideological doctrine. To them I also added "Confucianism" (Ch: *rujia* or *rujia sixiang*) because of its recent revival as an alternative source of ideology to the orthodox party discourse (S. Wu 2014). "1" is given when an article invokes a certain term in the course of discussing China's minzu policy, whereas "0" is given when the term is not mentioned or used in such a manner.

**Table 12 – Ideological and Prescriptive References**

| # | *Ideological References* |
|----|---|
| *Q1* | Does the author emphasize Marxism? |
| *Q2* | Does the author emphasize Mao Zedong Thought? |
| *Q3* | Does the author emphasize Deng Xiaoping Theory? |
| *Q4* | Does the author emphasize the Important Thought of Three Represents? |
| *Q5* | Does the author emphasize the Scientific Outlook on Development? |
| *Q6* | Does the author emphasize China Dream? |
| *Q7* | Does the author emphasize Confucianism? |
| **#** | *Prescriptive References* |
| *Q1* | Does the author emphasize the need to fight against ethnic splittism? |
| *Q2* | Does the author emphasize the need to fight against religious extremism? |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Q3* | Does the author emphasize the need to fight against violent terrorism? |
| *Q4* | Does the author emphasize the need to weaken ethnic consciousness of the minorities? |
| *Q5* | Does the author emphasize the need to depoliticize ethnic relations? |
| *Q6* | Does the author emphasize the need to adjust, update, or improve China's minzu policy? |
| *Q7* | Does the author emphasize the need to protect and promote minority languages? |
| *Q8* | Does the author emphasize the need to protect and respect the freedom of religious faith? |
| *Q9* | Does the author emphasize the need to uphold the system of ethnic regional autonomy? |
| *Q10* | Does the author emphasize the need to enact autonomous regulations? |

The second category is "prescriptive reference", which has ten questions and describes the types of tasks that an article prescribes for the Chinese government to focus on. I created these questions based on my knowledge of the policy discourse acquired from both my extensive fieldwork and the process of studying the material contained in this dataset. Similar with above, "1" is given when an article proposes a certain task to the reader, while "0" is given if this task is not mentioned or stated in such a manner. As one would expect, not every article addresses all the questions. However, this coding scheme fits the structure of most articles in my dataset.

Once articles are coded, I proceeded to map out the trajectory and pattern of the policy debate, and clusters of opinions. To understand what each "cluster" means, i.e. what are the specific logics of their argumentation, I undertook an in-depth reading of the key texts within each cluster. The immersive experience in the Chinese scholarly community and interviews with key figures of the debate provide me particularly valuable insights as well as background knowledge. With a better understanding of the context and thus a more-informed examination of the texts' arguments and rhetorical strategies, I was able to speculate on their effectiveness and impact on the discourse and policy-making.

Lastly, in addition to analyzing the articles' content, I also collected a basket of information on their authors. I obtained them either using the information in the articles, or when the former is unavailable, personnel profiles on school or other reliable public websites (e.g. Baidu Encyclopedia).

Relating the authors' background with results from the content analysis of their articles allows me to test various explanations for the experts' behaviors. Specifically, for each author I collect five categories of information: 1) membership in Chinese Marxist Ethnology, 2) ethnicity, 3) gender, 4) age, 5) position at a nationality institute (Ch: *minzu yuanxiao*). The first and the last question require a bit of clarification. "Chinese Marxist Ethnology" refers to the fields of studies most closely associated with the state's minzu policymaking, e.g. "minzu theory" (Ch: *minzu lilun*), "minzu policy studies" (Ch: *minzu zhengce yanjiu*), and "ethnic and religious studies" (Ch: *minzu zongjiao yanjiu*). Nationality institutes, on the other hand, are higher education institutions historically designed for the tasks of policy-oriented ethnic minority studies, extending education to minority students, and the training of minority cadres (Jianmin 建民 Wang 王, Zhang 张, and Hu 胡 1998). As one can infer, a large number of Chinese Marxist Ethnologists used to work in nationality institutes. But this is no longer the case with the restoration of previously disbanded social sciences (L. Cheng and So 1983). Thus, I consider them separately in my analysis. In sum, I expect the two to have a positive effect on one's anti-reform/pro-status quo tendency, because they represent respectively the disciplinary and institutional link between an expert and the minzu policy establishment; in contrast, I expect ethnicity – the basis of the second alternative explanation – to have no effect on one's anti-reform/pro-status quo tendency.

## 8.3 Testing Alternative Explanations

*8.3.1 Background*

To briefly recap the background of the debate captured in my dataset: since the 1980s, ethnicity-related social conflicts in minority areas, particularly Tibet and Xinjiang, increasingly attracted people's attention (M. Clarke 2007). Semi-public critical discussion surfaced in the early 2000s and gradually gained steam over the years. Among the earlier participants, Ma Rong's "A New Approach

to Understand Ethnic Relations" was arguably the most notable piece (R. 戎 Ma 马 2004). In this article, Ma called for a major rethinking of minzu policy along the lines of "depoliticizing ethnic identities". Critics stepped up their game in the aftermath of unrests in Tibet and Xinjiang, by calling openly for a different policy altogether. In 2011, Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe published their treaties on "the Second Generation Minzu Policy" (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011). When the article was republished by the prestigious *Xinhua Wenzhai*, a biweekly publication of the People's Publishing House and a platform for discussing policy ideas among party elites, many believe this indicates potential support from the top. Within the academic community, voices against the reform appeared as early as Ma Rong's 2004 "A New Approach". Scholars from the Ethnology Institute of CASS (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and various Nationality Institutes (*minzu yuanxiao*) were quick to sense the threat in Ma's thesis and began taking counter-actions (Jianyue 建樾 Chen 陈 2005b; Y. 玉屏 Chen 陈 2008; Xi'en 希恩 Wang 王 2009). Within months after the "Second Generation Minzu Policy" came out, the anti-reform experts exploded into a full-fledge policy advocacy campaign.

The mobilization began in early 2012, when a "Symposium on Hot Topics in Ethnic Theory Studies" was convened in Beijing. Participants include not only ethnic minority studies experts across the country, but also representatives from State Ethnic Affairs Commission, United Front Work Department, Central Party School, and editors from a dozen of journal of ethnic minority studies. The symposium set the tone of the minzu policy establishment's response: "depoliticization" and "second generation minzu policy" must be rejected (Pei 裴, Chen 陈, and Gong 公 2012). From then on, a nationwide coordinated counter campaign began. The leading writer of this camp, Hao Shiyuan from CASS, wrote and published four articles in a row in 2012 alone, attacking the reform proposal from its logics to the evidence and the political implications

(Hao 郝 2012a, 2012b, 2012d, 2012c). Jin Binggao, Professor at Central Minzu University, also coauthored a number of attack pieces in very short span (B. 炳镐 Jin 金 and Xiao 肖 2012; B. 炳镐 Jin 金, Pei 裴, and Xiao 肖 2012). From 2011 to 2014, the ethnic minority studies experts initiated and carried on a systematic anti-reform campaign.

*8.3.2 Violence and Academic Activism*

To test the "violence" hypothesis, I plot the occurrence of ethnic violence in Xinjiang and the number of academic articles on minzu policy debate per year together. As the graph below shows, there is very little correlation between the occurrence of violence and the intensity of debate. During the 1990s, the intensity of violence saw a first spike in 1993 before reaching the second spike as well as the most intense year in 1997. After 1997, however, the intensity of violence dropped significantly and never picked up again. In fact, from 2000 to 2005 the number of ethnic violence in Xinjiang was on average (3.5 incidents per year) much lower than the average number from 1990 to 1999 (19.2 incidents per year). In contrast, the academic debate on minzu policy by and large maintained a similarly moderate pace. From 2000 to 2005 an average of 4.7 articles were published in comparison with the period from 1999 to 1999, when an average of 4.8 articles were published.

This result is consistent with the finding in chapter 5, where I argue that during Jiang Zemin's term, i.e. from 1989 to 2003, the academic debate on minzu policy was an intra-paradigm political one. The heightened ethnic conflict in Xinjiang did have a role to play in the debate, but only through its effect on the conflict in the policy subsystem. As it is shown in chapter 5, the party leadership under Jiang altered the policy for Xinjiang in response to the ethnic violence in the region. Because but it was a contested decision, the ensuing conflict among elites caused the debate to become politicized, even though the intensity of ethnic violence dropped afterwards, likely due to

the intensified security measures adopted by the XUAR authority. In sum, the test does not discover any correlation between the intensity of ethnic violence and the intensity of academic policy debate. The result is not conclusive, as the data on ethnic violence is limited to one region, however important it might be. Thus, I can only assume that given the available evidence, there is not sufficient proof for the first alternative explanation.

| **Table 13 – Ethnic Violence vs. Debate, 1990-2005** | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year | # articles | # violence |
| 1990 | 6 | 8 |
| 1991 | 5 | 8 |
| 1992 | 1 | 18 |
| 1993 | 1 | 22 |
| 1994 | 4 | 13 |
| 1995 | 5 | 14 |
| 1996 | 5 | 25 |
| 1997 | 9 | 38 |
| 1998 | 6 | 23 |
| 1999 | 6 | 23 |
| 2000 | 3 | 2 |
| 2001 | 4 | 7 |
| 2002 | 10 | 2 |
| 2003 | 4 | 3 |
| 2004 | 3 | 3 |
| 2005 | 4 | 4 |

**Figure 11 – Ethnic Violence vs. Debate, 1990-2005**
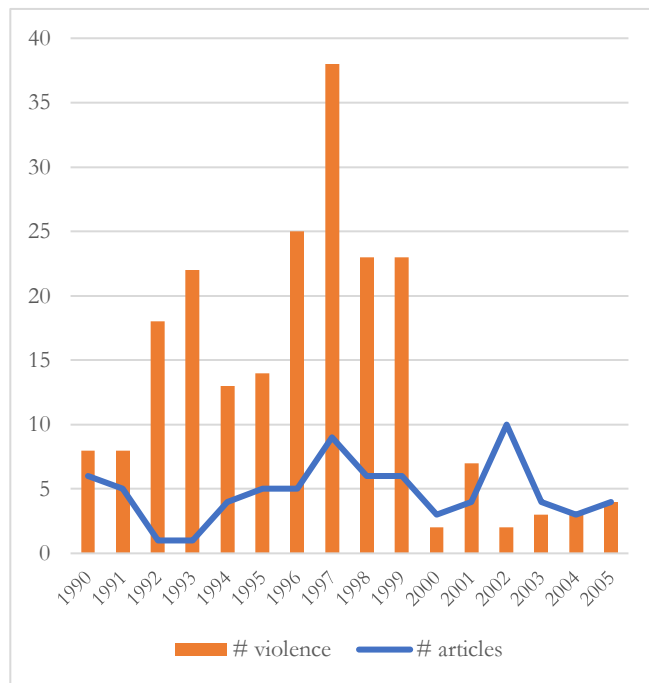


*8.3.3 Ethnicity and Policy Preference*

To test the "ethnicity" hypothesis, I first carry out a content analysis of the 177 articles. Below I first report the overall pattern uncovered through this operation. The overwhelming majority of the participants to the discussion on minzu policy are academics, including professors (30.94%), assistant professors (18.23%), lecturers (9.94%), doctoral students (9.94%), master students

(10.50%), research fellows (8.84%), assistant research fellows (2.76%). Together they comprise over 90% of the authors. Less than one-third of the authors are female (26.52%).

More than half of them are Han (55.80%), while slightly less than half are ethnic minorities as officially recognized by the Chinese government. Among the latter group, the Mongolian scholars made the most appearance (8.84%), followed by Korean (8.29%), Hui (4.97%), Manchu (3.87%) and Zhuang (3.87%). All in all, fifteen different ethnic groups are featured in the sample. While data on author's age is incomplete, based on what we have -- 87% out of the total -- the age group "40-50" seem to have made the most appearance (28.18%), followed by age group "50-60" (21.55%) and age group "30-40" (16.02%).

Most of the authors work in the higher education and research sector. 71 out of 181 (39.23%) work at nationality institutes, a special type of higher education institution similar to colleges and universities but with extra quota for ethnic minorities. Most of these schools are in regions with a relatively large ratio of minority in the local population. Colleges and Universities excluding nationality institutes comprise another 34.81%. Together they constitute 74.03%, or three-fourth of the entire sample. The next two in row are government-sponsored research institutes (10.50%), e.g. academy of social sciences, and Party Schools (8.84%). A handful of contributors also write from their official posts, either government agencies (2.75%) or party organs (1.10%).

Geographically speaking, roughly one-third of the authors work in Beijing (32.60%), while the others spread across 26 provinces and autonomous regions (67.40%). The next three provincial units that made the most appearances are Hubei (8.84%), Yunnan (7.73%), and Inner Mongolia (5.52%). The allocation of the journal reflects an even more diverse pattern. While Beijing-based journals remains the relative majority (17.13%), the proportion is much closer to a few other provinces, such as Heilongjiang (12.71%), Guangxi (11.05%), and Yunnan (10.50%).

**Figure 12 – Share of Articles by Author's Occupation, 2000-2014**
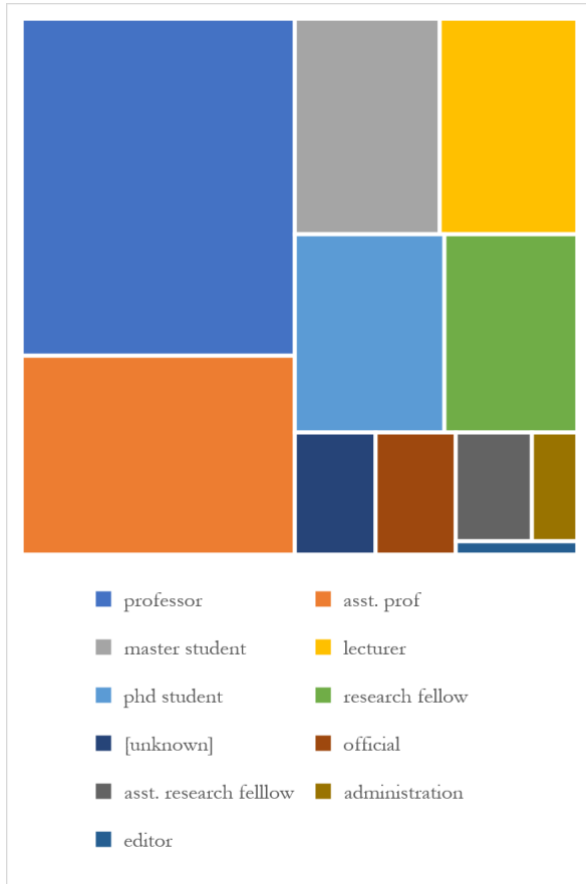


**Figure 13 – Share of Articles by Author's Ethnicity, 2000-2014**
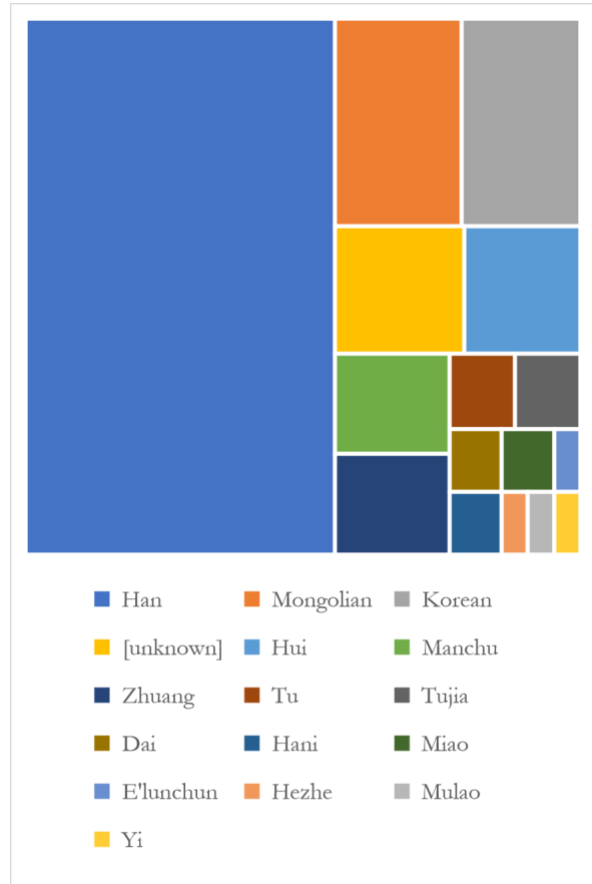


**Figure 14 – Share of Articles by Author's Affiliation, 2000-2014**
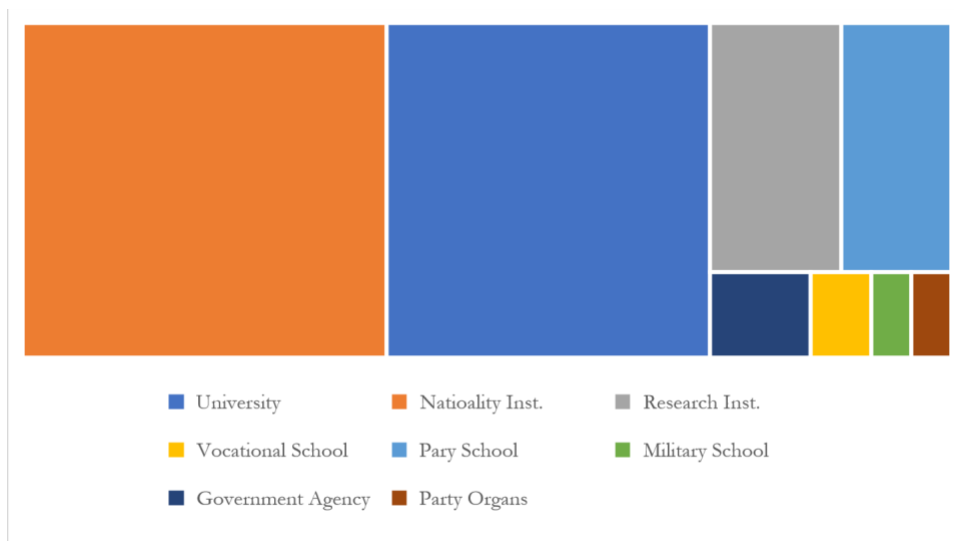
Chronologically speaking, the discourse on minzu policy between 2000 and 2014 shows an increasing salience of the topic over time. During the first half of the entire period (2000-2007) the discussion appears to be less intense. One exception was 2002, which saw a spike in interests in minzu policy, possibly because the first amendment to the Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy was passed by the National People's Congress the year before (Feb 28th, 2001). After 2008, however, the topic became much more salient and continued to be so until the end of the second half (2008-2014). The turning point is 08-09, when the number of articles suddenly jumped to double digits. This is likely due to the two widely publicized ethnic riots known as, respectively, the Lhasa "3-14 incident" (2008) and the Urumqi "7-5 incident" (2009). Taken together, post-2007 articles account for 80.66% of the discussions on minzu policy, more than three-fourth of the sample. The intensity of discussion reached its peak around 2011, evidently due to the publication of Hu and Hu's "Second Generation Minzu Policy" as discussed in the previous chapters. Breaking down the articles according to the occurrence of key prescriptive references identified for content analysis, it is apparent that it is also during the last four years, i.e. from 2011 to 2014, when the debate reached its climax in terms of the level of politicization.

**Figure 15 – Number of Articles by Year, 2000-2014**
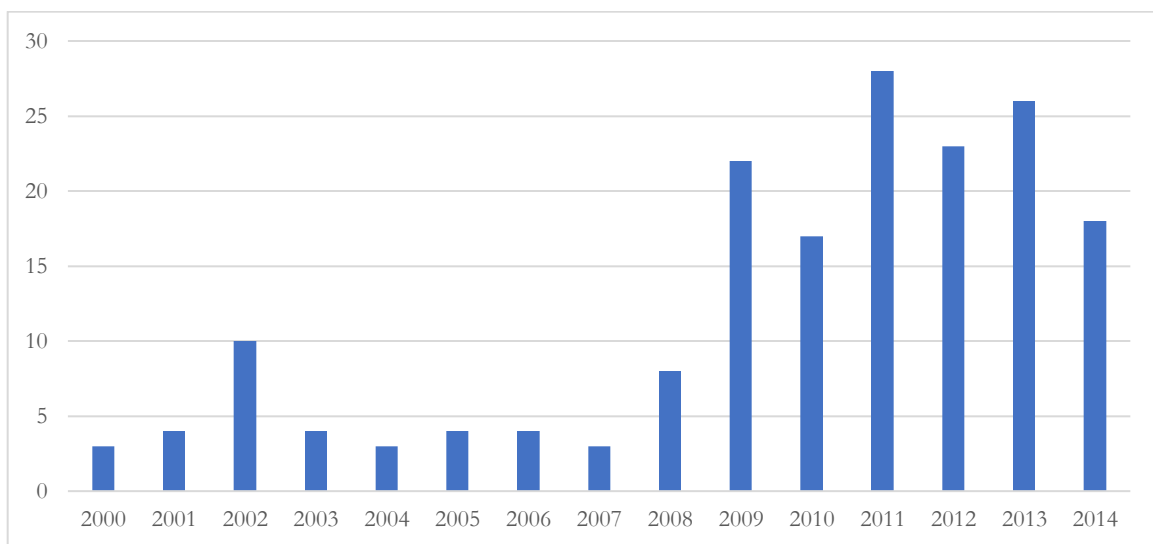
**Figure 16 – Trends of Prescriptive Reference, 2000-2014**
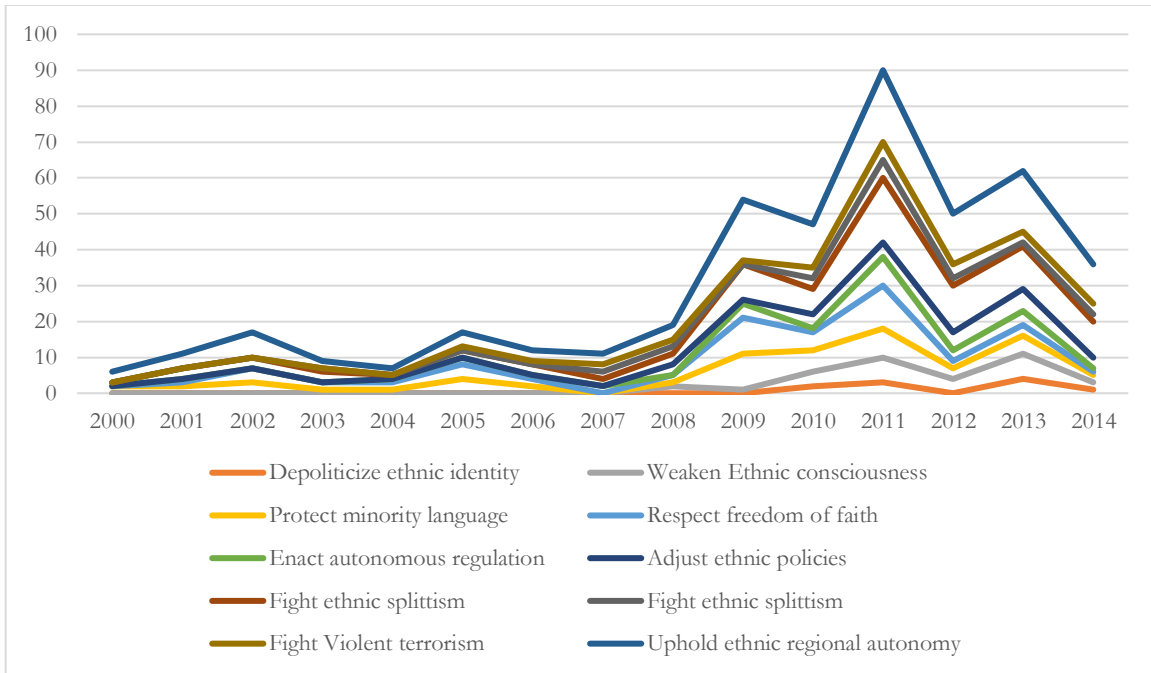


Lastly, from an epistemic community point of view, participants to the discussion appear to be much more willing to cite from their peers than from the western literature. Less than 5% of the authors cited original scholarly works from the west, and only 21.55% of them cited translated western works. In other words, less than one-thirds of the authors in the sample referred to western academic literature. In contrast and different from the findings of some earlier works on Chinese scholarly discourse, the authors cite overwhelmingly from their peers (71.43%), even more than from speeches made by the state leaders (53.04%). Given the political nature of the discussion, it is interesting that the academics in China are more willing to speak with one another than constantly referring to the party discourse.

This pattern is also reflected in how frequent an author pays lip-services to the party doctrines. Only two-thirds of the articles emphasized that the connection between China's minzu policy with Marxism (67.40%). With regard to the specific "signature ideologies" developed by PRC's top leaders, the articles in the sample reveal a surprisingly low interest in making references to them.

One might have expected the authors to be more willing to do so, in order to justify their argument or demonstrate their political loyalty when discussing such a highly sensitive topic. Yet only 12.15% mentioned Mao Zedong Thought (Ch: *maozedong sixiang*), 10.61% Deng Xiaoping Theory (Ch: *dengxiaoping lilun*), 11.60% Three Represents (Ch: *sange daibiao*), 25.41% Scientific Outlook on Development (Ch: *kexue fazhanguan*), and 3.87% China Dream (Ch: *zhongguomeng*).

To identify how policy recommendations are distributed, I run a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) using the ten "prescriptive references". The result shows three prominent dimensions of opinion divisions. But as one can see from the figure above, the intensity of the debate rose significantly after 2008. It is thus possible that the clustering might change as we narrow down the scope. To capture the division of opinions during the most intense debate, I applied a second PCA on articles published between 2011 and 2014.

**Table 14 – Principal Component Analysis (Top Three Principal Components), 2000-2014**

| *Variable* | *Comp1* depoliticization | *Comp2* institutionalization | *Comp3* accommodation |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fight ethnic splittism* | 0.1385 | 0.4235* | -0.0608 |
| *Fight religious extremism* | 0.2071 | 0.5472* | 0.0018 |
| *Fight Violent terrorism* | 0.1996 | 0.5699* | -0.0712 |
| *Weaken Ethnic consciousness* | 0.4945* | -0.0946 | 0.1900 |
| *Depoliticize ethnic identity* | 0.4144* | -0.1257 | 0.2706 |
| *Adjust ethnic policies* | 0.4924* | -0.1011 | 0.1784 |
| *Protect minority language* | -0.2476 | 0.1215 | 0.6263* |
| *Respect freedom of faith* | -0.1845 | 0.1021 | 0.6761* |
| *Uphold ethnic regional autonomy* | -0.3521* | 0.1087 | -0.0135 |
| *Enact autonomous regulation* | -0.1414 | 0.3529* | -0.0234 |

N=177, * if coefficient≥0.3

I chose 2011 because the year before, 2010, has particular political significance. In 2010, two work conferences on respectively Xinjiang and Tibet were convened in Beijing, making the last

imprint of Hu Jintao administration on minzu policy (The Central People's Government of the PRC 中华人民共和国中央人民政府 2016). The succeeding four years are characterized by the anticipation of both a new leadership (Xi Jinping took office in 2013) and a new direction on minzu policy (ethnic work conference under Xi convened in 2014). Therefore, the period from 2011 to 2014 is not only a time of intense debate but should also have been a period of concentrated policy lobbying in hoping to influence the incoming administration's take on the policy. We should thus expect to see an even starker contrast between different groupings in this period. However, we see that the second PCA on articles from 2011 to 2014 produced a more or less similar result (see table below). This is likely due to the fact that the majority of strongly opinionated articles concentrate in this period, thus even a PCA on the entire timespan does not produce a very different picture.

**Table 15 – Principal Component Analysis (Top Three Principal Components), 2011-2014**

| Variable | Comp1 depoliticization | Comp2 institutionalization | Comp3 accommodation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fight ethnic splittism | -0.0760 | 0.4738* | -0.0259 |
| Fight religious extremism | 0.0809 | 0.5535* | 0.1222 |
| Fight Violent terrorism | 0.0521 | 0.5898* | -0.0577 |
| Weaken Ethnic consciousness | 0.5103* | 0.0678 | -0.0278 |
| Depoliticize ethnic identity | 0.4770* | -0.0220 | 0.0961 |
| Adjust ethnic policies | 0.5030* | 0.0628 | -0.0447 |
| Protect minority language | -0.0392 | -0.0413 | 0.6822* |
| Respect freedom of faith | 0.0286 | 0.0468 | 0.7034* |
| Uphold ethnic regional autonomy | -0.3999* | 0.0103 | 0.0721 |
| Enact autonomous regulation | -0.2859 | 0.3290* | -0.0611 |

N=95, * if coefficient≥0.3

Because the coding used a nominal variable (0/1) for each question, where 1 is given to a positive answer and 0 to either a negative or a non-answer, one can also interpret this result as three distinct opinion clusters in the policy discourse. Each cluster, therefore, represents a group of policy

prescriptions with a specific focus. For the sake of simplicity and accessibility, I rename these three clusters as "depoliticization," "institutionalization," and "accommodation," respectively.

The first opinion cluster is the "depoliticization" camp. Members of this camp are associated with the opinions that the government should work to weaken the "ethnic consciousness" of the minorities, depoliticize their ethnic identity, and adjust the existing minzu policy. In addition, they either oppose the ethnic regional autonomy, or avoid endorsing it. Upon close reading, it became clear that the critics see "ethnic consciousness" as a transmission belt between ethnic regional autonomy and the rising ethnic tensions. In other words, ethnic regional autonomy causes increasing ethnic tensions, due to its nurturing of the "ethnic consciousness". One can find this argument in the works of Zhou Ping (P. 平 Zhou 周 2010), Wang Heng (H. 恒 Wang 王 2010), Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe (A. 鞍钢 Hu 胡 and Hu 胡 2011), Liu Dongliang (D. 东亮 Liu 刘 2011), Luyang Lingbing (Luyang 卢阳 2011), Ma Rong (R. 戎 Ma 马 2013), Huang Lifu and Liufan (L. 立莆 Huang 黄 and Liu 刘 2013), Qu Haiyang et al. (Qu 曲, Huang 黄, and Wu 吴 2013), and Yu Long (Yu 宇 2013). By faulting existing minzu policy for inciting inter-ethnic tension and threatening social stability, the critics in effect put it on trial for being against national interests. While they acknowledge the historical utility of this policy, they argue that new circumstance demands a new solution, which should focus on weakening ethnic (sub-national) identification, depoliticizing ethnic identities, and strengthening national identification.

The second cluster is the "institutionalization" camp. Members of this camp emphasize the need to guard against ethnic splittism (Ch: *minzu fenlie zhuyi*), religious extremism (Ch: *zongjiao jiduan shili*), and violent terrorism (Ch: *baoli kongbu shili*). They also highlight the need to enact "autonomous

regulations".[147] Ethnic splittism can refer to wide range of activities, including but not exclusive to inciting ethnic hatred, engaging in ethnic violence, organizing or participating in separatist movement. In recent years, the term became frequently associated with "religious extremism" and "violent terrorism". Together referred to as the "three evil forces" (Ch: *sangu shili*), they are often treated as the main threat to social stability and territorial integrity. The correlation between the emphasis on "three evil forces" and "autonomous regulation" reveals an important difference between this camp and the first one. Whereas "depoliticization" camp treats minority's "ethnic consciousness" as the problem, here the threat comes from an "external other," namely, the "three evil forces" who sabotage the country's stability and peace. Consequently, the solution is precisely not to abandon existing policies, but to strengthen them against external threats. Articles such as Li Dajian (D. 大健 Li 李 2006), Gong Xiuping (Gong 宫 2007), Zeng Chenggui (Zeng 曾 2007), Liu Zaihua (Z. 在华 Liu 刘 2011), Shi Chenghu (Shi 史 2011), Hao Shiyuan (Hao 郝 2011, 2012a), and Lei Zhenyang & Chen Meng (Lei 雷 and Chen 陈 2013) exemplify this logic. By affirming the historical success of minzu policy and focusing on the "three evil forces," they attempt to make a case for institutionalizing existing policy, particularly through autonomous regulations.

The third cluster is the "accommodation" camp. Members of this camp emphasize the need to protect minority languages and religious freedom. Minority language and religious faith are key identity markers in the PRC. During the ethnic classification, language and religion were used as important criteria for granting official recognition to a number of ethnic groups (Mullaney 2011). Under the current policy, the government also should invest in the preservation and development of

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[147] The significance of 'autonomous regulation' (*zizhi tiaoli*) for an autonomous region of any level is twofold: on a symbolic level, it is an acknowledgement of an agreement between the central government and regional one to commit to the principle of ethnic regional autonomy; on a more practical level, it would specify the division of power between the central and regional government, according to which the "autonomy" is to be operationalized. While more than half of the autonomous units were established before 1960s, the process of enacting autonomous regulation did not begin until after the LERA came to effect in 1980s. Today a dozen of autonomous areas still does not have their own autonomous regulation.

minority languages, as well as ensuring the freedom of faith. In comparison, this camp reflects more affinity with the second camp than the first, with emphasis on protecting diversity. While there is no fundamental disagreement with the "institutionalization" camp, a lack of emphasis on autonomous regulations suggests they are more likely status-quoist. In other words, while they do not support "depoliticization," they also avoid openly siding with more "institutionalization". Duan Yunxue (Duan 段 2002), Cong Songri (Cong 丛 2009), Du Junhua (Du 杜 2011), Huang Zhu (Z. 铸 Huang 黄 2012), Zhao Gang (Zhao 赵 2013), and Sun Yu (Yu 雨 Sun 孙 2014) are a few examples of this line of thinking.

The "depoliticization" camp is the closest to the position of the pro-reform coalition. The "institutionalization" camp and "accommodation" camp, on the other hand, likely represent the anti-reform camp. While "depoliticization" stands out as a clearly prominent opinion cluster, it is far from being the dominant voice. Rather, opinions are polarized between those seeking to change policy towards repressing ethnic identities and those seeking to keep existing policy, while preserving ethnic identities. As the summary of principal components in the second PCA shows, the "depoliticization" camp account for 29.20% of the variance, whereas the combined "institutionalization" and "accommodation" camp account for 34.18%. Thus, the pro-reform opinion did not represent the majority in the intense debate from 2011 to 2014. Furthermore, when one compares the frequency of the ten "prescriptive references," the most popular recommendation ("upholding ethnic regional autonomy") negatively correlates with the "depoliticization" camp in the PCA analysis (Figure 16). The second most popular recommendation ("fighting ethnic splittism") is most closely associated with the "institutionalization" camp. The signature recommendation of the first camp, "depoliticizing ethnic identity" is in fact the least mentioned one, appearing only 8 times out of 95 articles.

Thus, although pro-reform advocates constituted a powerful bloc within the expert community, anti-reform and status-quoist advocates responded with a more powerful counter campaign. The overwhelmingly support for the two anti-reform/status-quoist recommendations in comparison the rest further shows clearly the relative outnumbered position of the pro-reform camp. The above findings largely correspond and confirm the findings in chapter 6.

**Figure 17 – Frequency: Prescriptive Reference, 2011-2014**
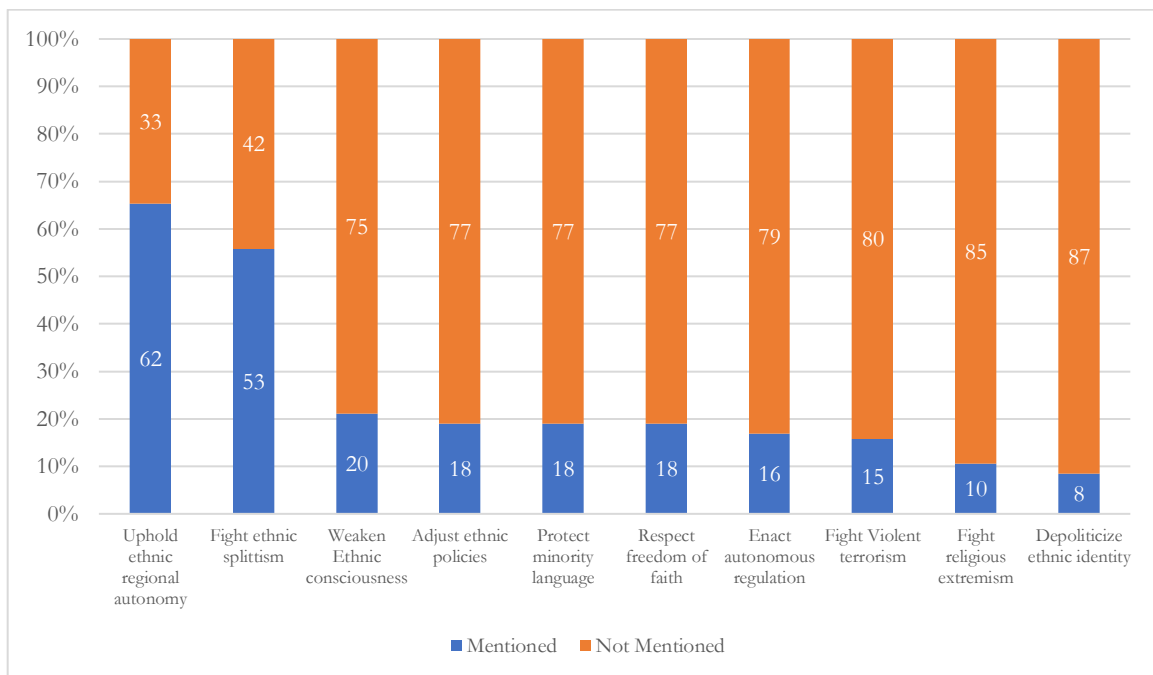


Now to the important question concerning the "ethnicity" hypothesis: who are the ones supporting each of the ten policy recommendations? What could explain the academic's behavior? OLS regressions on the "prescriptive references" and "ideological references" with authors' profile provide us some tentative answers. As we can see from the tables below, membership in Chinese Marxist Ethnology ("field") correlates strongly with a number of important indicators. Among the "prescriptive references", the membership is negatively correlated with "weaken ethnic consciousness", "depoliticize ethnic identity", and "adjust minzu policy". Among the "ideological

references", it is positively correlated with "Marxism", "Mao Zedong Thought", "Deng Xiaoping Theory", and "Three Represent".

In sum, experts who are members of the Chinese Marxist Ethnology are more likely to oppose measures that represent the reform proposal. At the same time, they are also more likely to invoke orthodox ideological terms than the rest of the expert community. Therefore, it appears that the core of the powerful anti-reform advocacy came from a group of experts with very distinct disciplinary and ideological backgrounds. These backgrounds, as I mentioned earlier, reflect a close tie to the state's minzu policy. Given our foregoing discussion, this result suggests that the effective coordination of the anti-reform advocacy might have benefitted from the common background of these experts, which likely have provided them with extra incentives to play their part in the debate due to their shared membership in the field of minzu studies, which has close link with the minzu policy agency. Based on the above evidence, we can reasonably argue that the second alternative explanation, which predicts that ethnicity could have acted as a more powerful explanation for the behavior of academics in the debate, receives no support from the test. Rather, it is the membership in one's field of studies that had the stronger influence.

## 8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I tested two alternative explanations. The tests show that neither the occurrence of ethnic violence nor a writer' ethnic identification has a strong influence on the character of a debate as I have suspected. As a result, my theory still holds, which argues that the conflict in the policy subsystem and the fragmentation in the knowledge community are the most important explanatory factors for the character of an academic policy debate. In the next chapter, I shall summarize the main findings of this study and discuss the implications.

# Table 16 – Field, Ethnicity, Gender, Age, Institutional Affiliation on Prescriptive References, 2011-2014

| | Fight ethnic splittism | Fight religious extremism | Fight Violent terrorism | Weaken Ethnic consciousness | Depoliticize ethnic identity | Adjust ethnic policies | Protect minority language | Respect freedom of faith | Uphold ethnic regional autonomy | Enact autonomous regulation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Field | 0.0842 (0.1223) | -0.0403 (0.0783) | -0.029 (0.0911) | -0.2478* (0.0975) | -0.1711* (0.0663) | -0.1916* (0.0954) | -0.0261 (0.1014) | -0.1436 (0.0946) | 0.0640 (0.1216) | 0.1118 (0.0952) |
| Ethnicity | -0.1345 (0.1168) | 0.0216 (0.0749) | -0.0717 (0.0871) | -0.1436 (0.0931) | -0.0423 (0.0633) | -0.1088 (0.0911) | 0.0036 (0.0969) | 0.0600 (0.0904) | 0.1429 (0.1162) | 0.0326 (0.0910) |
| Gender | -0.1446 (0 .1273) | 0.0650 (0.0816) | 0.0950 (0.0949) | -0.1975 (0.1016) | -0.1290 (0.0690) | -0.1737 (0.0993) | -.01943 (0.1056) | 0.1667 (0.0985) | 0.0792 (0.1267) | -0.0608 (0.0992) |
| Age | 0.0077 (0 .0046) | 0.0024 (0.0030) | 0.0063 (0.0035) | 0.0000 (0.0037) | 0.0010 (0.0025) | 0.0012 (0.0036) | 0.0033 (0.0038) | 0.0025 (0.0036) | 0.0011 (0.0046) | 0.0041 (0.0036) |
| Int. Affiliation | -0.0653 (0.1125) | -0.0702 (0.0721) | -0.0080 (0.0838) | -0.1132 (0.0897) | -0.0876 (0.0610) | -0.1351 (0.0877) | -0.0348 (0.0933) | -0.0630 (0.0870) | 0.0910 (0.1119) | -0.0370 (0.0876) |
| Constant | 0.3653 (0.2412) | -0.0213 (0.1545) | -0.1504 (0.1797) | 0.6222 (0.1923) | 0.2876 (0.1307) | 0.4876 (0.1881) | 0.0775 (0.2000) | -0.0042 (0.1866) | 0.3751 (0.2398) | -0.0414 (0.1878) |
| Observations | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 |

Standard errors in parentheses
* P<0.05, **P<0.01, ***P<0.001

**Table 17 – Field, Ethnicity, Gender, Age, and Institutional Affiliation on Ideological Reference, 2011-2014**

|  | Marxism | Mao Zedong Thought | Deng Xiaoping Theory | Three Represents | Scientific Outlook on Development | China Dream | Confucian Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Field | 0.3270** | 0.2094** | 0.1383** | 0.1383** | 0.0840 | -0.0456 | -0.0590 |
|  | (0.1158) | (0.0675) | (0.0497) | (0.0497) | (0.1039) | (0.0663) | (0.0444) |
| Ethnicity | 0.1408 | 0.0339 | 0.0689 | 0.0682 | 0.0320 | -0.0464 | 0.0116 |
|  | (0.1106) | (0.0645) | (0.0475) | (0.0475) | (0.0993) | (0.0634) | (0.0424) |
| Gender | -0.0722 | 0.1158 | 0.0641 | 0.0641 | -0.0624 | -0.0654 | -0.0433 |
|  | (0.1206) | (0.0708) | (0.0517) | (0.0517) | (0.1083) | (0.0691) | (0.0462) |
| Age | -0.0046 | -0.0012 | -0.0012 | -0.0012 | 0.0043 | 0.0048 | 0.0027 |
|  | (0.0044) | (0.0026) | (0.0019) | (0.0019) | (0.0039) | (0.0025) | (0.0017) |
| Int. Affiliation | 0.1033 | -0.0714 | -0.0565 | -0.0565 | -0.0980 | 0.0175 | 0.0617 |
|  | (0.1065) | (0.0621) | (0.0458) | (0.0457) | (0.0956) | (0.0610) | (0.0408) |
| Constant | 0.6253 | -0.0486 | -0.0386 | -0.0386 | 0.0338 | -0.0565 | -0.0629 |
|  | (0.2284) | (0.1330) | (0.0979) | (0.0979) | (0.2050) | (0.1308) | (0.0875) |
| Observations | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 |

Standard errors in parentheses
* $P<0.05$, **$P<0.01$, ***$P<0$

**Chapter 9 Conclusion**

**9.1 Summary of Findings**

This study asks the question: how do we account for the changes in the character of academic policy debate in Post-Mao China? From chapter 4 to chapter 7, I showed how changes in the policy subsystem and knowledge community influenced the way in which PRC academics talked about China's minzu policy.

As we have seen, scholars of ethnicity began a heated discussion about the theoretical foundation of minzu policy following the restoration of social sciences in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution (chapter 4). Under a reformist leadership and a generally collaborative policy system, a reconstituted knowledge community immediately plunged itself into a debate about the nature of interethnic relations in China at the time, with particular attention to the question whether there was persisting "de facto inequalities" among ethnic groups.

Following the Tiananmen crackdown, the government gradually adjusted its minzu policy from an emphasis on cultural accommodation to an emphasis on development and, particularly in the case of Xinjiang, security (chapter 5). As the policy community became increasingly contentious due to this shift, a mildly diversifying research community on ethnicity was featuring increasingly political debate on minzu policy. Interests in politics of ethnicity began to motivate scholars outside of ethnology-related disciplines to join the discourse. As a result, a debate revolving around "ethnic consciousness" and its political ramification for the stability of the Chinese state took the center stage in the decade after the collapse of USSR, in which we saw the transition from theoretical debate to explicit policy critique.

The tension between development and security in China's post-1989 minzu policy soon escalate (chapter 6). Starting from early 2000s, persisting ethnic tensions in the border regions gradually eroded the patience of hardliners in the leadership. The sudden outbreak of violence in two high-profile incidents in respectively 2008 and 2009 brought to the public the internal tension of minzu policy up until then and further aggravated the conflict between party elites with contrastingly different policy preferences (accommodation vs. integration). As the leadership hastily made adjustments in the aftermath of ethnic unrests in Tibet and Xinjiang with ad-hoc measures such as "ethnic solidarity education", a pluralistic knowledge community took the lead to propose radically different policy alternative for the state. Scholars with background in sociology and political science, in particular, attacked the existing minzu policy for fostering ethno-nationalism of the minorities – particularly Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang – and endangering China's political stability.

Although the campaign did not succeed to convince the leadership for a systematic policy reform, the critical voice in the knowledge community on minzu managed to carve out and maintain a niche for continuing their policy-minded intellectual pursuit. Following the latest leadership transition, the party under Xi Jinping undertook a number of measures to the contain the intra-elite tensions through re-consolidating central control over minzu policy-making, while continuing to allow the securitization of in minority-concentrated border regions to go on (chapter 7). The knowledge community – despite increasing disciplinary diversity, research specialization, and professionalization – moderated the tone of overt political criticisms but continued to carry out critical policy discussion through studying specific policy instruments or practices.

Taken together, the evidence presented in the preceding chapters largely supports my theory as it was laid out in chapter 2. From 1979 to 2017, the academic debate on minzu policy went from an intra-paradigm professional debate to an inter-paradigm political debate – as the conflict in the policy subsystem and the fragmentation in the knowledge community increased – only to become

somewhat moderated into an inter-paradigm professional debate following the direct intervention of the party leadership to unify policy discourse since 2014 on. Furthermore, as the analysis in chapter 8 shows, the changes in the character of the debate cannot be attributed to either the occurrence of ethnic violence or the ethnic identification of the participating academic writers. In sum, we can explain a good degree of the way in which professional academics in Post-Mao China debate minzu policy by looking at both the changes in the level of conflict in the minzu policy subsystem and the level of fragmentation in the minzu knowledge community over time.

## 9.2 Minzu Debate and Intellectual-State Relations in Post-Mao China

### 9.2.1 A Threatened Yet Nonetheless Open Policy Discourse

What do my findings tell us about the relationship between professional academics and the contemporary Chinese state? Although my study does not examine academic freedom, it is reasonable to say that by and large scholars are allowed and encouraged to pursue research on a variety of issues and from a variety of theoretical and methodological angles in the post-Mao era. Minzu policy remains a politically sensitive topic in the present period, as evident by the language employed in the "Depoliticization" and the "Second Generation Minzu Policy" debate (see chapter 6, 7 and 8). Yet despite charges made in highly political terms by participants of the debate – especially by the critics of the reform proposals – the scholarly community carried on the debate in semi-public platforms, i.e. academic journals and books, without anyone suffering political repercussions for their opinions. Even after the 2014 Central Conference on Ethnic Work where Xi Jinping allegedly called off propositions advocating the abolishment of ethnic regional autonomy, ideas and opinions associated with such proposals continued to be circulated among scholars.

Admittedly, there *are* boundaries in terms of what can be expressed in public or semi-public settings, e.g. academic publications, media interviews, or professional gatherings. No one would dare

to openly advocate, for instance, that the government should replace the existing institution of ethnic autonomous regions with a federalist system. However, within the parameter of permissible discussion, a wide range of opinions and perspectives continue to exist and clash with one another. This holds true even during the present time when claims are frequently made that the Chinese government is attacking the freedom of opinion,[264] as scholars in China continued to explore and debate among themselves about the future of minzu policy (Gong 龚 2014; R. 戎 Ma 马 2015; Hao 郝 2015; Xiaojun 小军 Zhang 张 2016; F. 芬 Wang 王 2017; Y. 悦 Wang 王 2017; W. 文钢 Li 李 2017; Yan 严 2018). Therefore, it is safe to argue that the intellectual community in today's China enjoy much greater freedom in pursuing research and expressing professional opinions on policy issues comparing with the earlier period, i.e. from 1957 (when Anti-Rightist Campaign was launched) to late 1970s (when the Cultural Revolution was over). It remains to be seen whether the current administration would make any further offense against the intellectual freedom of China's domestic academic community. At the same time, what is equally interesting yet less studied is *how* scholars inside the country navigate various implicit and explicit rules about permissible speech to continue their critical policy discussion and *what* the discussion tells us about the likely trajectories of China's minzu policy and ethnic politics.

*9.2.2 An Uneven Terrain for Critical Academic Engagement*

As we saw in chapter 7, following the 2014 Central Conference on Ethnic Work, most participants of the earlier minzu policy debate moderated their tone. At the same time, the debate

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[264] Tom Phillips, "China's young reporters give up on journalism: 'You can't write what you want'," The Guardian, Feb 12th 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/12/china-journalism-reporters-freedom-of-speech, accessed October 26th, 2018; Sherisse Pham, "NYT, BBC and others barred from China's big moment," CNN Business, October 25, 2017, https://money.cnn.com/2017/10/25/media/china-western-media-xi-jinping-congress/index.html, accessed October 26th 2018.

left a space for critical discussions, which was sustained by a generally collaborative policy environment and a pluralistic knowledge community until the present day. In this discourse, we find a continuous and constructive dialogue about how specific policy practices and instruments could be adjusted, improved, or reformed, as I have argued in chapter 7 (Niu 牛 2016; Hu 虎 and Cheng 程 2016; D. 道坤 Zhu 朱 2018). At the same time, the increasing research specialization and the growing division of labor within the knowledge community might have also facilitated the distancing of scholars from certain topics, either because they are not immediately relevant to their research or it would be politically unwise for them to take a position on those matters. Take Xinjiang's "de-extremification policy" as an example,[265] after 2013 there was an evident increase in number of articles on the topic (see the figure below).

**Figure 18 – Number of Articles on "De-Extremification", 1979-2016**
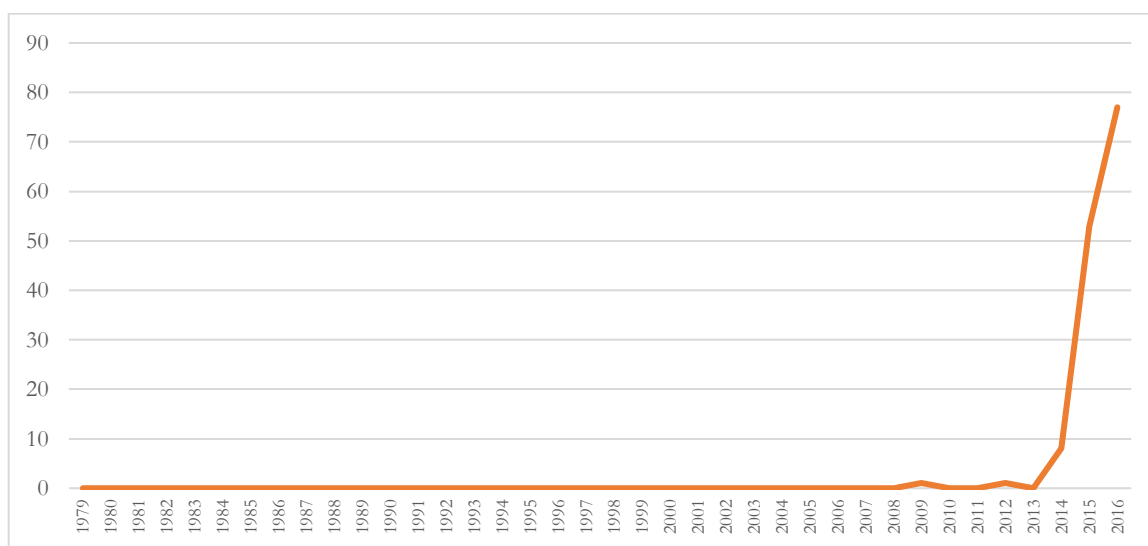


Many authors work either directly for the government or in public research units (e.g. colleges, universities, government think tanks) with a focus or specialization on law and enforcement, e.g. public security, police studies, legal studies, and counter-terrorism. Out of 140 publications on "de-

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[265] See chapter 7, section 7.2.2 "Continuing Securitization of Minzu Policy for Tibetans and Uyghurs".

extremification" from 1979 to 2016[266] only two were written by authors with an affiliation whose focus was ethnic minority or minzu policy. Yet "de-extremification policy" is clearly related to minzu policy. Contrasting the international outcry over the recent revelation of "re-education camps" in Xinjiang with the collective silence of scholars of ethnicity in China,[267] one can see that there is a clear uneven engagement by the knowledge community. While the reasons for the absence of scholars of ethnicity in the "de-extremification" discussion is not clear, it is evident that this somewhat open space for policy discussion is not without its own bias, i.e. while it does allow critical voices, it might be favoring certain topics and certain directions than others.

### 9.2.3 A More Tolerant Public Space

In recent years, Chinese academics not only engage with one another in professional venues, but also publicize their opinion about minzu policy via media. During the "Depoliticization" and the "Second Generation Minzu Policy" debate, the state media outlet Global Times (Ch: *huanqiu shibao*) served as a regular public platform for scholars to openly debate minzu policy. Examples include Central Minzu University professor Wu Chuke, Xiong Kunxin, Ming Hao, Yan Qing, Zhang Haiyang, CASS researcher Li Sheng, Norbu Wangdan, Hao Shiyuan, PKU professor Ma Rong, Central Institute of Socialism professor Shen Jiaping, Xinjiang University professor Adilijiang Abulaiti, Zheng Liang, Xinjiang Academy of Social Science researcher Tu'erwenjiang Turxun, SEAC researcher Cao Jian.[268]

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[266] The articles are selected using automatic search on CNKI (Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure). The filtering criteria are: 1) subject includes "de-extremification" (Ch: *qu jiduanhua*), 2) published between 1979 and 2016.

[267] "China Uighurs: Xinjiang legalises 're-education' camps," October 10th, 2018, BBC, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-45812419, accessed October 26th, 2018; Lily Kuo, "From denial to pride: how China changed its language on Xinjiang's camps," Oct 22nd, 2018, The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/22/from-denial-to-pride-how-china-changed-its-language-on-xinjiangs-camps, accessed October 26th, 2018.

[268] All articles appeared on Global Times: "Hao Shiyuan: No Need to Glorify Indian's Ethnic Policy" ("郝时远：不必美化印度的民族政策"), August 22nd 2012, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/1152/2012-08/3056703.html; "Wu Chuke: Soviet Nationalities Policy Must Not be the 'Template'" ("吴楚克: 苏联的民族政策不能是'模板'"), January 23rd 2013,

In addition to conventional media, a number of scholars also took advantage of the power of social media to publicize their policy opinions. One example is Xi Wuyi, researcher at CASS Institute of World Religion and director of the 2010-founded CASS Center of Science and Atheism Study (Ch: *kexue yu wushenlun yanjiu zhongxin*), who has been not only very active on Sina Blog and Sina Weibo[269] but also highly critical about the present minzu policy.[270] Xi Wuyi has been particular vocal about what she perceived as the growing influence of religion – particularly Islam – in the public life of China. Grassroot Han supremacism – including anti-ethnic minority, anti-Muslim, and anti-Black discourse – has existed independently from the involvement of establishment intellectuals for many years (Sautman 1994; Leibold 2010; Y. Cheng 2011; Carrico 2017). However, Xi Wuyi's essays and comments – with her often polemical criticism of the existing policy regarding ethnicity and religion and her extensive use of social media platform – represent yet another form of critical policy engagement, where a direct communication channel is being established between intellectuals working for public education and research institutions and the general population. While it remains to be studied the social, political, and policy impact of their activities, it is certain that Xi Wuyi and

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http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-01/3572290.html; "Ming Hao: China Is Not a So-called 'Nation-State'" ("明浩: 中国不是所谓的'民族国家'"), April 20th 2013, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-04/3852419.html; "Experts: Improve Minzu Policy, Promote Stability in Border Regions" ("专家: 完善民族政策, 促进边疆地区稳定"), July 11th 2013 http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-07/4115157.html; "Xiong Kunxin: China's Minzu Theory Must Not Give Itself Up" ("熊坤新: 中国民族理论不能自我放弃"), October 28th 2013, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-10/4495639.html; "Zheng Liang: Media Discourse on Counter-Terrorism Must be Delinked from Ethnicity and Religion" ("郑亮: 反恐媒介话语须与民族宗教脱钩"), November 1st 2013 http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-11/4516355.html; "Scholars Discussing Minzu Question #1: the 'Marginalization' of Ethnic Minorites Deserves Attention" ("学者讨论民族问题之一: 少数民族'被边缘化'值得注意"), November 12th 2013, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2013-11/4557131.html; "Abulaiti: Slandering Bilingual Education is Doing Harm to Ethnic Minorities" ("阿布来提: 诋毁双语教育，是在害少数民族"), June 12th 2014, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2014-06/5017749.html; "Hao Shiyuan: China's Minzu Policy Is Not 'Outmatched by Others'" ("郝时远: 中国民族政策并非'技不如人'"), April 7th 2015, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_world/2015-04/6107998.html; "Ma Rong: No Need to Put a Negative Label on Nationalism" ("马戎：不必将民族主义贴上负面标签"), April 28th 2015, http://opinion.huanqiu.com/culture/2015-04/6290821.html, accessed October 26th 2018.  accessed October 26th, 2018.
[269] Sina Weibo (Ch: *xinlang weibo*) is the largest microblogging service and one of the most popular social media platforms in China.
[270] Xi Wuyi's Sina Blog: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_55f6f0270102xqd3.html; Xu Wuyi's Sina Weibo: https://www.weibo.com/u/1442246695?from=myfollow_all, accessed October 26th 2018.

alike represent a group of new public intellectuals willing and capable of taking advantage of new media to influence public opinion in today's China.[271]

## 9.3 Minzu Debate and Intellectual Innovations in Post-Mao Policy Fields

It would not be sufficient if this conclusion does not address the big question posed at the beginning of this dissertation, i.e. how do intellectual innovations in policy fields occur under authoritarian China? The answer, as it should be clear by now, is that the changing intellectual-state relations during the past two decades or so had enabled a more dynamic, critical policy discussion in China; with regards to minzu policy in particular, the fragmentation of knowledge community has led to a pluralization of theoretical viewpoints of academics, who have proved to actively take advantage of the open space created by policy struggles among elites to push for new ideas, perspectives, as well as greater acceptance of their very presence and intervention in the minzu policy discourse. At the time of writing, the minzu discourse based on the immediate Post-Mao consensus faces unprecedented challenge. A new generation of scholars are actively questioning the conceptual and theoretical foundation of the existing minzu policy by drawing from a variety of disciplines, ranging from political science, anthropology, to legal studies, history, and borderland studies.

It should be noted that the focus of this study is the potential of an academic policy debate in terms of fostering intellectual innovations in the policy fields. The evaluative standard is not based on what policy decision(s) comes after or out of the academic discussions. Rather, the concern is when one could expect a debate to be best suited to challenge conventions, promote new ideas,

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[271] For a quick, non-academic discussion of Xi Wuyi and online Han supremacism, see Yao Jinyong, "The Evil-Minded Xi Wuyi Who Strives to Stir Up Troubles for Ethnic Relations" ("居心叵测、竭力挑拨民族矛盾的习五一"), http://www.zghzxw.com/content-168-1002-1.html; Zhang Jianmin, "The Evolution of Online Anti-Muslim Writers" ("网络穆黑的前世今生"), http://blog.sciencenet.cn/blog-100379-1000163.html, accessed October 26th 2018.

while keeping the space for dialogue open. In contrast, a number of scholars have followed the minzu policy debate alongside the trajectory of ethnic politics in China in the last decade or so. Among them, Mark Elliot's (2015) analysis focused more on the epistemic genealogy of the debate, whereas Barry Sautman (2010, 2012) and James Leibold (2013) studied more closely the policy implications. Both latter authors have noted the dangerous tendency of relaxing the rigid ethnicity-based affirmation action programs while emphasizing identification with the "national" cultural and language, as reform proposals during the latest debate called for. Moreover, there has been a number of disturbing recent developments in the Chinese government's approach to ethnic minorities that seem to echo the viewpoints expressed in the debate. It is not unreasonable to infer that the space opened up in the minzu discourse by the debate and the reform proposals that drove the debate were in some way connected with those regressive policy developments. A critical analysis of the minzu policy discourse with greater attention on the government's justification of those regressive practices would help to elucidate better the social and political impact of the academic policy debate. The present study, however, makes no evaluation in any way the actual policies being implemented in light of their consequences; nor does it seek to assess the political ramification of the PRC official and intellectual discourse on ethnic politics and interethnic relations in China and elsewhere from a normative standpoint – both are extremely important topics and should receive more attention from political scientists. Rather, what I would like to propose is a recognition that, despite recent policy development, the debate that publicized those radical proposals was not merely a result of policy conflict, but also a product of intellectual pluralization of the knowledge community. This latter development should, hopefully, do more good than harm to the improvement of governance in China in the long term.

**Appendix A Glossary**

**a) State Agencies and Party Organizations**

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

    abbr. Central Committee

中国共产党中央委员会 *zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhui*

    abbr. 中共中央 *zhonggong zhongyang*

Central Coordinating Small Group for Tibet Work

中央西藏工作协调小组 *zhongyang xizang gongzuo xietiao xiaozu*

Central Coordinating Small Group for Xinjiang Work

中央新疆工作协调小组 *zhongyang xinjiang gongzuo xietiao xiaozu*

Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China & the People's Republic of China

    abbr. CMC

中国共产党和中华人民共和国中央军事委员会 *zhongguo gongchandang he zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhongyang junshi weiyuanhui*

    abbr. 中央军委 *zhongyang junwei*

Central National Security Commission of the Communist Party of China

    abbr. CNSC

中央国家安全委员会 *zhongyang guojia anquan weiyuanhui*

    abbr. 国安委 *guo'anwei*

Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission of the Communist Party of China

    abbr. Central Poli-Legal Commission

中共中央政法委员会 *zhonggong zhongyang zhengfa weiyuanhui*

    abbr. 中央政法委 *zhongyang zhengfawei*

Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China

    abbr. Politburo

中国共产党中央政治局 *zhongguo gongchandang zhongyan zhengzhiju*

    abbr. 政治局 *zhengzhiju*

Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of China

    abbr. Central Secretariat

中国共产党中央书记处 *zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang shujichu*

    abbr. 中央书记处 *zhongyang shujichu*

Chinese People's Armed Police Force

    abbr. PAP

中国人民武装警察部队 *zhongguo renmin wuzhuang jingcha budui*

    abbr. 武警 *wujing*

Chinese People's Liberation Army

    abbr. PLA

中国人民解放军 *zhongguo renmin jiefangjun*

    abbr. 解放军 *jiefangjun*

Ethnic Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government (1949-1954)

    abbr. EAC

中央人民政府民族事务委员会 *zhongyang renmin zhengfu minzu shiwu weiyuanhui* (1949-1954)

    abbr. 中央民委 *zhongyang minwei*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ethnic Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress<br><br>    abbr. NPC-EAC | 全国人民代表大会民族委员会 *quanguo renmin dabiao dahui minzu weiyuanhui*<br><br>    abbr. 全国人大民委 *quanguo renda minwei* |
| Ethnic and Religious Affairs Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference<br><br>    abbr. CPPCC-ERAC | 中国人民政治协商会议全国委员会民族和宗教委员会 *zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi quanguo weiyuanhui minzu he zongjiao weiyuanhui*<br><br>    abbr. 全国政协民宗委 *quanguo zhengxie minzongwei* |
| General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China<br><br>    abbr. Central Office | 中国共产党中央办公厅 *zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang bangongting*<br><br>    abbr. 中办 *zhongban* |
| Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region<br><br>    abbr. GZAR | 广西壮族自治区 *guangxi zhuangzu zizhiqu*<br><br>    abbr. 广西 *guangxi* |
| Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region<br><br>    abbr. IMAR | 内蒙古自治区 *neimenggu zizhiqu*<br><br>    abbr. 内蒙/内蒙古 *neimeng/neimenggu* |
| Islamic Association of China<br><br>    abbr. IAC | 中国伊斯兰教协会 *zhongguo yisilanjiao xiehui*<br><br>    abbr. 中国伊协 *zhongguo yixie* |
| Lanzhou Military Region of the Chinese People's Liberation Army<br><br>    abbr. LMR | 中国人民解放军兰州军区 *zhongguo renmin jiefangjun lanzhou junqu*<br><br>    abbr. 兰州军区 *lanzhou junqu* |
| Ministry of State Security of the People's Republic of China<br><br>    abbr. MSS | 中华人民共和国国家安全部 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia anquan bu*<br><br>    abbr. 国安部 *guoanbu*, 安全部 *anquanbu* |
| National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic of China<br><br>    abbr. CPPCC | 中国人民政治协商会议全国委员会 *zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi quanguo weiyuanhui*<br><br>    abbr. 全国政协 *quanguo zhengxie* |
| National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China<br><br>    abbr. NPC | 中华人民共和国全国人民代表大会 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo quanguo renmin daibiao dahui*<br><br>    abbr. 全国人大 *quanguo renda* |
| Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region<br><br>    abbr. NHAR | 宁夏回族自治区 *ningxia huizu zizhiqu*<br><br>    abbr. 宁夏 *ningxia* |
| Production and Construction Corps of the Xinjiang Military District of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (1954-1975) | 中国人民解放军新疆军区生产建设兵团 *zhongguo renmin jiefangjun xinjiang junqu shengchan jianshe bingtuan* (1954-1975) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (1981-present)<br><br>    abbr. XJPCC | 新疆生产建设兵团 *xinjiang shengchan jianshe bingtuan* (1981-present)<br><br>    abbr. 兵团 *bingtuan* |
| State Administration for Religious Affairs of the People's Republic of China<br><br>    abbr. SARA | 中华人民共和国国家宗教事务局 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia zongjiao shiwuju*<br><br>    abbr. 宗教局 *zongjiaoju* |
| State Council of the People's Republic of China<br><br>    abbr. SC | 中华人民共和国国务院 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan*<br><br>    abbr. 国务院 *guowuyuan* |
| State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China (1978-present)<br><br>    abbr. SEAC | 中华人民共和国国家民族事务委员会 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia minzu shiwu weiyuanhui* (1978-present)<br><br>    abbr. 国家民委 *guojia minwei* |
| Tibet/Xizang Autonomous Region<br><br>    abbr. TAR | 西藏自治区 *xizang zizhiqu*<br><br>    abbr. 西藏 *xizang* |
| United Front Work Department (of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China)<br><br>    abbr. UFWD | 中共中央统一战线工作部 *zhonggong zhongyang tongyi zhanxian gongzuo bu*<br><br>    abbr. 统战部 *tongzhanbu* |
| Xinjiang Military District of the Chinese People's Liberation Army<br><br>    abbr. XMD | 中国人民解放军新疆军区 *zhongguo renmin jiefangjun xinjiang junqu*<br><br>    abbr. 新疆军区 *xinjiang junqu* |
| Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region<br><br>    abbr. XUAR | 新疆维吾尔自治区 *xinjiang weiwu'er zizhiqu*<br><br>    abbr. 新疆 *xinjiang* |

## b) Laws, Regulations, and Policies

| | |
|---|---|
| Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982/1988/1993/1999/2004/2018)[272] | 中华人民共和国宪法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo xianfa* (1982/1988/1993/1999/2004/2018) |
| Counterterrorism Law of the People's Republic of China (2015) | 中华人民共和国反恐怖主义法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo fankongbuzhuyi fa* (2015) |
| Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (2000) | 中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia tongyong yuyan wenzi fa* (2000) |

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[272] The first date in the bracket refers to the one when the law was first enacted or approved. The date(s) following the first one refers to those when the laws received amendments. This applies to all the bracketed dates in this section and after.

| | |
|---|---|
| Law on Ethnic Regional Autonomy of the People's Republic of China (1984/2001)<br><br>    abbr. LERA | 中华人民共和国民族区域自治法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu quyu zizhifa* (1984/2001)<br><br>    abbr. 民族区域自治法 *minzu quyu zizhifa* |
| National Security Law of the People's Republic of China (2015) | 中华人民共和国国家安全法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia anquan fa* (2015) |
| Regulation on Religious Affairs (2004/2017) | 宗教事务条例 *zongjiao shiwu tiaoli* (2004/2017) |
| Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Regulation on De-extremification (2017) | 新疆维吾尔自治区去极端化条例 *xinjiang weiwu'er zizhiqu qujiduanhua tiaoli* (2017) |

## c) Academic and Research Organizations

| | |
|---|---|
| Center for Chinese Borderland History and Geography Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1983-2014)<br>Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2014-present) | 中国社会科学院中国边疆史地研究中心 *zhongguo shehui kexueyuan zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu zhongxin* (1983-2014)<br>中国社会科学院中国边疆研究所 *zhongguo shehui kexueyuan zhongguo bianjiang yanjiusuo* (2014-present) |
| Central Institute for Nationalities (1951-1994)<br>Central University for Nationalities/Minzu University of China (1994-present)<br><br>    abbr. CIN (1951-1994), CUN/MUC (1994-present) | 中央民族学院 *zhongyang minzu xueyuan* (1951-1994)<br>中央民族大学 *zhongyang minzu daxue* (1994-present)<br><br>    abbr. 中央民院 *zhongyang minyuan* (1951-1994), 中央民大 *zhongyang minda* (1994-present) |
| China Tibetology Research Center | 中国藏学研究中心 *zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin* |
| Chinese Academy of Sciences<br><br>    abbr. CAS | 中国科学院 *zhongguo kexueyuan*<br><br>    abbr. 中科院 *zhongkeyuan* |
| Chinese Academy of Social Sciences<br><br>    abbr. CASS | 中国社会科学院 *zhongguo shehui kexueyuan*<br><br>    abbr. 中国社科院 *zhongguo shekeyuan* |
| Chinese Ethnological Research Association (1980-1984) | 中国民族学研究会 *zhongguo minzuxue yanjiuhui* (1980-1984) |
| Chinese Nationalities Study Association (1984-1991) | 中国民族学会 *zhongguo minzu xuehui* (1984-1991) |
| Chinese Ethnology Association (1991-present) | 中国民族学学会 *zhongguo minzuxue xuehui* (1991-present) |
| Division of Research, Central Institute for Nationalities (1952-1980)<br>Institute of Nationalities Research, Central | 中央民族学院研究部 *zhongyang minzu xueyuan yanjiubu* (1952-1980) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Institute for Nationalities (1980-1993)<br>Department of Ethnology, Central Institute for Nationalities (1983-present)<br>Faculty of Ethnological Research, Central University for Nationalities (1993-2000)<br>Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Central University for Nationalities (1995-present)<br>Faculty of Ethnology and Sociology, Central University for Nationalities (2000-present) | 中央民族学院民族研究所 *zhongyang minzu xueyuan minzu yanjiusuo* (1980-1995)<br>中央民族学院民族学系 *zhongyang minzu xueyuan minzuxuexi* (1983-present)<br>中央民族大学民族学研究院 *zhongyang minzu daxue minzuxue yanjiuyuan* (1993-2000)<br>中央民族大学民族学人类学研究所 *zhongyang minzu daxue minzuxue renleixue yanjiusuo* (1995-present)<br>中央民族大学民族学与社会学学院 *zhongyang minzu daxue minzuxue yu shehuixue xueyuan* (2000-present) |
| Institute of Nationalities, Chinese Academy of Sciences (1958-1977)<br>Institute of Nationalities, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1977-2002)<br>Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2002-present) | 中国科学院民族研究所 *zhongguo kexueyuan minzu yanjiusuo* (1958-1977)<br>中国社会科学院民族研究所 *zhongguo shehui kexueyuan minzu yanjiusuo* (1977-2002)<br>中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所 *zhongguo shehui kexueyuan minzuxue yu renleixue yanjiusuo* (2002-present) |
| Institute of Sociology, Peking University (1985-1992)<br>Institute of Sociology and Anthropology, Peking University (1992-present) | 北京大学社会学研究所 *beijing daxue shehuixue yanjiusuo* (1985-1992)<br>北京大学社会学人类学研究所 *beijing daxue shehuixue renleixue yanjiusuo* (1992-present) |
| Tibet Academy of Social Sciences | 西藏社会科学院 *xizang shehhui kexueyuan* |
| Tibet Think Tank | 西藏智库 *xizang zhiku* |
| Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences | 新疆社会科学院 *xinjiang shehui kexueyuan* |
| Xinjiang Think Tank | 新疆智库 *xinjiang zhiku* |

## d) Academic Disciplines

| | |
|---|---|
| Anthropology | 人类学 *renleixue* |
| Counter-Terrorism Studies | 反恐学 *fankongxue* |
| Cultural Anthropology | 文化人类学 *wenhua renleixue* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu History | 民族史 *minzushi* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu Policy Studies | 民族政策学 *minzu zhengcexue* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu Politics | 民族政治学 *minzu zhengzhixue* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu Question Studies | 民族问题研究 *minzu wenti yanjiu* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu Sociology | 民族社会学 *minzu shehuixue* |

| Ethno-National/Minzu Studies | 民族研究 *minzu yanjiu* |
| Ethno-National/Minzu Theory | 民族理论 *minzu lilun* |
| Ethnology | 民族学 *minzuxue* |
| Folklore Studies | 民俗学 *minsuxue* |
| Borderland Politics | 边疆政治学 *bianjiang zhengzhixue* |
| Borderland Administration | 边政学 *bianzhengxue* |
| Marxist Ethnology | 马克思主义民族学 *makesi zhuyi minzuxue* |
| Physical Anthropology | 体质人类学 *tizhi renleixue* |
| Religious Studies | 宗教学 *zongjiaoxue* |
| Sociology | 社会学 *shehuixue* |
| Soviet Ethnography (Советская Этнография) | 苏联民族学 *sulian minzuxue* |
| Tibetology | 藏学 *zangxue* |

## e) Political Concepts

| Contact, Exchange, Integration among Ethnic Groups | 各民族交往交流交融 *geminzu jiaowang jiaoliu jiaorong* |
| De-extremification | 去极端化 *qu jiduanhua* |
| De-politicization | 去政治化 *qu zhengzhihua* |
| Diversity in Unity | 多元一体 *duoyuan yiti* |
| Ethnic Integration | 民族融合 *minzu ronghe* |
| Ethnic Solidarity | 民族团结 *minzu tuanjie* |
| Five Keys | 五把钥匙 *wu ga yaoshi*[273] |
| Four Identifications<br>Five Identifications | 四个认同 *sige rentong*[274]<br>五个认同 *wuge renting*[275] |

[273] "Problems with mind should be worked through mind, problems with culture should be worked through with culture, problems with conventions should be treated with respect, problems with religion should be handled according to the actual conditions of the religion, problems with violent terrorism should be dealt with through the rule of law and strike-hard actions." ("思想的问题用思想的方法去解决，文化的问题用文化的方式去解决，习俗的问题用尊重的态度去对待，宗教的问题按照宗教规律去做好工作，暴恐的问题用法治和严打的方式去解决")

[274] "Identification with the Motherland, Identification with the Chinese Nation, Identification with the Chinese Culture, Identification with the Socialist Path" ("对祖国的认同, 对中华民族的认同, 对中华文化的认同, 对社会主义道路的认同")

[275] "Identification with the Great Motherland, Identification with the Chinese Nation, Identification with the Chinese Culture, Identification with the Chinese Communist Party, Identification with the Socialist Path" ("对伟大祖国的认同, 对中华民族的认同, 对中华文化的认同, 对中国共产党的认同, 对中国特色社会主义的认同")

| Four Safeguards | 四个维护 *sige weihu*[276] |
|---|---|
| Five Safeguards | 五个维护 *wuge weihu*[277] |

Great Han-ism　　　　　　　　　　　大汉族主义 *dahanzu zhuyi*
Han Chauvinism　　　　　　　　　　 大汉沙文主义 *dahanzu shawen zhuyi*

Great Western Development　　　　　 西部大开发 *xibu dakaifa*

Halalification　　　　　　　　　　　泛清真化 *fan qingzhenhua*

Harmonious Socialist Society　　　　 社会主义和谐社会 *shehui zhuyi hexie shehui*

Local Nationalism　　　　　　　　　地方民族主义 *difang minzu zhuyi*
Parochial Nationalism　　　　　　　 狭隘民族主义 *xia'ai minzu zhuyi*

Marxist Outlook on Minzu　　　　　　马克思主义民族观 *makesi zhuyi minzuguan*

People's War against Terrorism　　　 反恐人民战争 *fankong renmin zhanzheng*

Scientific Outlook on Development　　 科学发展观 *kexue fazhanguan*

Second Generation Ethno-National (Minzu)　第二代民族政策 *di'erdai minzu zhengce*
Policy

Stability Maintenance　　　　　　　 维稳 *weiwen*

State-Nation　　　　　　　　　　　 国族 *guozu*

Stationing-in-Xinjiang Cadres (post assignment)　留疆干部 *liujiang ganbu*
Stationing-in-Xinjiang Soldiers (post　　　　留疆战士 *liujiang zhanshi*
assignment)

Strike-Hard Campaign　　　　　　　 严打 *yanda*
Strike Hard and Maintain High Pressure　　 严打高压 *yanda gaoya*

Supporting-Tibet Cadres　　　　　　 援藏干部 *yuanzang ganbu*
Supporting-Xinjiang Cadres　　　　　援疆干部 *yuanjiang ganbu*

Three Evils/Three Evil Forces　　　　三股势力 *san'gu shili*[278]

Three Represents　　　　　　　　　 三个代表 *san'ge daibiao*

Two Fewers, One Leniency　　　　　　两少一宽 *liangshao yikuan*

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[276] "Safeguard Interests of the People, Safeguard Sanctity of Law, Safeguard Ethnic Solidarity, Safeguard Unity of the Motherland," ("维护人民利益, 维护法律尊严, 维护民族团结, 维护祖国统一")

[277] "Safeguard Socialist Democracy, Safeguard Socialist Rule of Law, Safeguard Fundamental Interests of the Masses, Safeguard Unity of the Motherland, Safeguard Ethnic Solidarity" ("维护社会主义民主, 维护社会主义法制, 维护人民群众根本利益, 维护祖国统一, 维护民族团结")

[278] "Violent Terrorism, Ethnic Splittism, Religious Extremism" ("暴力恐怖势力, 民族分裂势力, 宗教极端势力")

| | |
|---|---|
| Two Inseparables | 两个离不开 *liangge libukai*[279] |
| Three Inseparables | 三个离不开 *san'ge libukai* [280] |
| Three Indistinguishables | 三个分不清 *san'ge fenbuqing*[281] |
| | |
| Visit, Benefit, Get Together | 访惠聚 *fang hui ju*[282] |

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[279] "Han are inseparable from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities are inseparable from Han" ("汉族离不开少数民族, 少数民族离不开汉族")

[280] "Han are inseparable from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities are inseparable from Han, ethnic minorities are inseparable among each other" ("汉族离不开少数民族, 少数民族离不开汉族, 各少数民族之间也互相离不开")

[281] "Han are indistinguishable from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities are indistinguishable from Han, ethnic minorities are indistinguishable among each other" ("汉族与少数民族分不清, 少数民族与汉族分不清, 少数民族与少数民族分不清")

[282] "Visit (the People), Benefit (the People), Get Together (the Hearts of the People)," in Chinese: "访民情, 惠民生, 聚民心"

**Appendix B List of Interviews**

| Numbering | Date | Location | Interviewee Type |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20130603BJA | 2013-06-03 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130604BJA | 2013-06-04 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130616BJA | 2013-06-16 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130701BJA | 2013-07-01 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130705BJA | 2013-07-05 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130710BJA | 2013-07-10 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20130716BJA | 2013-07-16 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20140721BJA | 2014-07-21 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20140801BJA | 2014-08-01 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20140828KMA | 2014-08-28 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20140829KMA | 2014-08-29 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20140902KMA | 2014-09-02 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20140905KMA | 2014-09-05 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20140911BJA | 2014-09-11 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141013BJA | 2014-10-13 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141021BJA | 2014-10-21 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141023BJA | 2014-10-23 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141104BJA-1 | 2014-11-04 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141104BJA-2 | 2014-11-04 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20141104BJA-3 | 2014-11-04 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150319BJJ | 2015-03-19 | Beijing | Journalist |
| 20150324BJA | 2015-03-24 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150330BJA | 2015-03-30 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150331BJA | 2015-03-31 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150401BJA | 2015-04-01 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150404BJA | 2015-04-04 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150413KMA | 2015-04-13 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20150415KMO | 2015-04-15 | Kunming, Yunnan | Official |
| 20150416KMO | 2015-04-16 | Kunming, Yunnan | Academic |
| 20150513BJA | 2015-05-13 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150515BJA | 2015-05-15 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150618BJA | 2015-06-18 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150623BJA | 2015-06-23 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150625BJA | 2015-06-25 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150630BJA | 2015-06-30 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150703BJA | 2015-07-03 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20150711UQA | 2015-07-11 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Academic |
| 20150713UQA | 2015-07-13 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Academic |
| 20150714UQO | 2015-07-14 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Official |
| 20150714UQA | 2015-07-14 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Academic |
| 20150715UQE | 2015-07-15 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Educator |
| 20150715UQA | 2015-07-15 | Urumqi, Xinjiang | Academic |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20150724YMA | 2015-07-24 | Yumin County, Xinjiang | Academic |
| 20150807YJO | 2015-08-07 | Yanji, Jilin | Official |
| 20150807YJA | 2015-08-07 | Yanji, Jilin | Academic |
| 20150810HCO | 2015-08-10 | Hunchun, Jilin | Official |
| 20150812YJA | 2015-08-12 | Yanji, Jilin | Academic |
| 20150813YJA | 2015-08-13 | Yanji, Jilin | Academic |
| 20160116BJA | 2016-01-16 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20160117BJA | 2016-01-17 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20160119BJA | 2016-01-19 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20160725XNA | 2016-07-25 | Xining, Qinghai | Academic |
| 20160729TRE | 2016-07-29 | Tongren County, Qinghai | Educator |
| 20160730TRE | 2016-07-30 | Tongren County, Qinghai | Educator |
| 20160730TRO | 2016-07-30 | Tongren County, Qinghai | Official |
| 20160731TRO | 2016-07-31 | Tongren County, Qinghai | Official |
| 20160802LZA-1 | 2016-08-02 | Lanzhou, Gansu | Academic |
| 20160802LZA-2 | 2016-08-02 | Lanzhou, Gansu | Academic |
| 20160802LZE | 2016-08-02 | Lanzhou, Gansu | Educator |
| 20160803LZA | 2016-08-03 | Lanzhou, Gansu | Academic |
| 20160810BJA | 2016-08-10 | Beijing | Academic |
| 20180822BJA | 2016-08-22 | Beijing | Academic |

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"中国女大亨——热比娅 [China's Female Tycoon - Rebiya]." 1994. *现代经济信息 [Information on Modern Economy]*, no. 2.

"民族研究 1958—1959 年总目录 [Combined Catalog of Ethno-National Studies, 1958-1959]." 1959. *民族研究 [Ethno-National Studies]*, no. 1 (January): 1–4.

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## Background

**GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies**, Hamburg, Germany
　**Research Fellow**, DFG Project "Legitimate Multipolarity", December 2018-November 2021
　Affiliated Research Team: "Ideas and Agency" & "Authoritarian Politics"
**GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies**, Hamburg, Germany
　**Visiting Fellow**, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung "Ausländerförderung", September 2016-August 2018
　Affiliated Research Team: "Authoritarian Politics"
**Syracuse University**, Syracuse, NY, United States (USA)
　**PhD**, Comparative Politics, International Relations, September 2011-May 2019
　Dissertation: "The *Minzu* Debate: Policy Subsystem, Knowledge Community, and Academic Discourse in Ethnic Policy-Making of Post-Mao China", Committee: Profs. Brian Taylor, Gavan Duffy, Hongying Wang, Dimitar Gueorguiev, Heike Holbig, Norman Kutcher (External Chair)
　**MA**, International Relations, January 2010-May 2011
　**MA**, Political Science, August 2008-May 2011
**Nanjing University**, Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, People's Republic of China (PRC)
　**BA**, International Politics, September 2003-June 2007

## Research & Teaching Interests

| | |
|---|---|
| Politics of authoritarian regimes | Theories of international relations |
| Politics of contemporary China | Postcolonial theory and global IR |
| Authoritarian policy process | International political legitimacy |
| Science, experts, and politics | International relations in East Asia |
| Nationalism and ethnicity in Asia | Epistemic communities and foreign policy |
| Multicultural governance in China | Qualitative data analysis |

## Working Papers

Sinan Chu, "The Conservative Experts: Chinese Marxist ethnology, advocacy coalition, and the non-reform of contemporary Chinese ethnic policy", Revise & Resubmit.

Sinan Chu, "Whither Chinese Confucian IR: The Sinocentric Subject and the Paradox of Tianxia-ism", Revise & Resubmit.

Sinan Chu & Massimo Ramaioli, "US Policy toward Tibet from 1945 to 1969: a postcolonial CDA inquiry", Under Review.

Sinan Chu & Dimitar Gueorguiev, "We Asked You: policy preferences and consultative democracy in China", prepared for journal submission in winter 2019.

Sinan Chu & Massimo Ramaioli, "Critical Discourse Analysis meets Postcolonial Theory: A Methodological Proposal", prepared for journal submission in winter 2019.

Sinan Chu, Sreeradha Datta, & Johannes Plagemann, "The Paradox of Competing Connectivity Strategies in Asia", prepared for journal submission in summer 2019.

## Award & Grant

Ausländerförderung (Foreign Student Scholarship), Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2016–2018.
Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs Summer Research Grant, Syracuse University, 2016.
Roscoe-Martin Fund for Research, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 2014.
Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs Summer Research Grant, Syracuse University, 2014.
Graduate Student Organization Research Grant, Syracuse University, 2014.
Research Travel Grant, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, 2013.

## Conference Presentations

"The Conservative Experts: Chinese Marxist ethnology, advocacy coalition, and the non-reform of contemporary Chinese ethnic policy", European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference, Hamburg, Germany, August 2018.

"Applying Critical Discourse Analysis in Postcolonial Analysis of Foreign Policy-Making", American Political Science Association (APSA), San Francisco, CA, USA, September 2017.

"Critical Discourse Analysis between Postcolonial Theory and Foreign Policy-Making", Western Political Science Association (WPSA), Vancouver, BC, Canada, April 2017.

"Open Policy Debate and Policy Legitimation: China's Ethnic Policy in the Post-Mao Era", Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, IL, USA, April 2017.

"Policy Advocates or Professional Researchers? The Role of Experts in China's Ethnic Minority Policymaking", Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, IL, USA, April 2016.

"The Logic of Othering: Dynamic Constructions of Tibet and China in US Foreign Policy Discourse", International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans, LA, USA, February 2015.

"Orientalism and the Politics of Representation: A Social Constructivist Analysis of the Relationship between Tibet, China, and the United States", Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, IL, USA, April 2013.

"Orientalism and the Politics of Representation: A Social Constructivist Analysis of the Relationship between Tibet, China, and the United States", New York State Political Science Association (NYSPSA), Syracuse, NY, USA, April 2013.

"Spatial Politics: A Geographical Theory of Territorial Collective Identity Formation", Northeastern Political Science Association (NPSA), Boston, MA, USA, November 2012.

"Making Room for the Minority? A Theoretical Justification of Selective Population Control", New York Conference on Asian Studies (NYCAS), Buffalo, NY, USA, September 2011.

## Invited Talks

"Nation, nationalism, national identity: introduction to contested concepts" & "Variety of Nationalisms: the Case Study of China", Workshop for Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung seminar "Die Vielfalt der Nationalismen", Hotel Sylter Hof, Berlin, Germany, March 19 2019.

"Variety of Nationalisms: the Case Study of China", Lecture for Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung seminar "Nationalismus: Einführung in die Anatomie eines globalen Phänomens", Hotel Gersfelder Hof, Gersfeld, Germany, March 21 2018.

"Ethnic Policy Debate in Post-Mao China", Research Team "Ideas and Agency", German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany, October 9 2017.

"Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom…or Not: Intra-Elite Conflict and Open Policy Debate in China", Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, April 14 2016.

"The Logic of Othering in US Foreign Policy Discourse: A Case Study of the Dynamic Construction of Tibet and China", Center for the Study of Ethnic Minorities, Central Minzu University of China, Beijing, PRC, December 12 2014.

## Research Experience

### Research Assistant
**Prof. L.H.M. Ling**, The New School, New York, NY, USA, 2016-2018
Archival research, interview, and workshop logistical support for project "Culture, Globalization, and Conflict: Rethinking China's 'One Belt, One Road' Policy"
**Prof. Dimitar Gueorguiev**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, 2016-2017
Survey design, implementation, and literature review for project "Public Consultation in Contemporary PRC Policy-making"
**Prof. Hongying Wang**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, 2012-2013
Archival research on Chinese academic discourse on global economic governance
Archival research on China's foreign assistance and cultural diplomacy
**Prof. Terry Lautz**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, 2011-2012
Archival research for project "Confucius Institutes and China's Soft Power"
Archival research and document translation for book project *John Birch: A Life* (December 2015)

### Research Intern
**Ms. Katy Yan**, International Rivers, Berkeley, CA, USA, 2009-2012
Data collection and compilation on hydroelectric projects funded through the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) under United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

## Teaching Experience

**Lecturer**, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
Nationalism in Emerging Powers: The Case of China and India, Summer 2018
**Lecturer**, Syracuse University SU Abroad/Tsinghua University, Beijing, PRC
Minority Policy and National Identity in China, Fall 2014 & 2015
**Teaching Assistant**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA
International Relations (Prof. Terrell Northrup), Fall 2009 & 2011, Spring 2013 & 2014
International Relations (Prof. Francine D'Amico), Spring 2010 & 2011
International Relations (Prof. Mark Rupert), Spring 2012
International Law (Prof. Francine D'Amico), Fall 2013
Media and Politics (Prof. Shana Gadarian), Fall 2012

## Professional Trainings

The Eighth European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Winter School in Method and Techniques, University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany, February 22-24 2019.

The Sixth Chinese Political Sociology Workshop, University of Chicago Center in Beijing, Renmin University of China, Beijing, PRC, July 20-22 2016.

The Second Advanced Seminar on Northwest China-Central Asian Ethnology, Xinjiang Normal University, Urumqi, PRC, July 8-12 2015.

Max Planck Institute Ethnic and Cultural Diversity Summer School, Center for the Study of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity, Central Minzu University, Beijing, PRC, July 7-11 2014.

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research (IQMR), Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, June 18-29 2012.

## Community Service

**Syracuse University**, Syracuse, NY, USA
Graduate Student Representative on Meredith Professor Award Committee, AY 2013-2014
Graduate Student Representative on Promotion & Tenure Committee, AY 2013-2014
University Teaching Associate of Future Professoriate Program, AY 2012-2013
Graduate Student Representative on Promotion & Tenure Committee, AY 2012-2013
Post-Comps Cohort Representative of PSGSA, AY 2011-2012

## Other Skills

English (Proficient), Mandarin Chinese (Native), German (B2/Intermediate)
Standard Arabic/al-fusha (A1/Beginner), Russian (A1/Beginner), Japanese (A1/Beginner)
MS Office, Stata, MAXQDA, Zotero, Evernote