A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE CREATION, LANGUAGES AND EDUCATION OF CHINA'S MINORITY PEOPLE

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A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Kalamazoo College.

2010
For Madeline Chu, for providing me with much-needed, repeated and patient help, and for Meng Lili, for sparking my interest in China's minority peoples.
Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to China's minzu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Policies and Goals</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in minzu schooling</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Difficulties</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors of shaoshu minzu resistance to assimilation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: China's minzu</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With China's rapid rise as a cultural and economic power over the past thirty years, and with the claim that the 21st century will be China's century, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has become an important consideration in the policies of world governments, international businesses and academic research. China is often seen as a cultural powerhouse, with Confucianism, an extensive dynastic history and a writing system at its core. Although it is acknowledged that minority peoples make up nearly 10% of China's population, their small percentage of the population belies the impact that these peoples have on the government policy of the PRC. In order to understand the importance which China's minority population has for government policy, it is essential to understand the political origin of the labels which minority groups are given by the state. When the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) undertook its minzu (literally: clan of people) identification project in the 1950s, it claimed to adhere to specific criteria. The reality is that China's minzu identification project was a haphazardly conducted and politically motivated categorization of China's waizu.\textsuperscript{1} Politics, pre-existing categories, and highly complex situations caused the minzu identification project to fail in its attempt to adhere to Stalin's criteria. Despite a failure to adhere to its alleged framework, the results of the minzu identification

\textsuperscript{1} Waizu (literally outsider tribe) describes the “barbarian” peoples around the borders of Imperial China who did not submit to Chinese rule nor fit within the Imperial hierarchy. Waizu stands in contrast to neizu, which describes the people of China proper, those who accepted the culture of China. At points in this paper when pre-1950s situations are referred to, the terms neizu and waizu will be used rather than any minzu label, due to the fact that the minzu labels were not created until the 1950s.
project, the current 56 minzu groups, have become a part of modern Chinese people's self-identity. The PRC wants to promote and protect its own national unity, and as it perceives many of the minzu groups as lacking a historical connection to China, the state promotes national unity in relation to the shaoshu minzu by integrating them into and assimilating them to the majority culture of the hanzu via the public state-run school system. However, the different worldviews, priorities, and economic situations between hanzu and minority peoples make implementation of this goal difficult for the PRC. Language differences between the various minzu is a factor that greatly hinders the spread of the state-promoted ideas to minority minzu peoples. At the same time, distinct geographic areas, cultures that are historically separated from han culture, hanzu-shaoshu minzu antagonism and extra-China similars also cause the minority people of China to be less susceptible to the government's attempts at sinicization.

INTRODUCTION TO CHINA'S MINZU

The minzu categories were officially created in China during the 1950s by the new communist government's minzu identification project. When the CCP undertook its minzu identification project it claimed to adhere to Stalin's four criteria for identifying nationalities. Despite this claim, in reality China's minzu identification project was a haphazard and non-unified attempt which lacked any overarching framework. The minzu are categories for grouping different peoples, and these categories were officially created in China during the 1950s by the government's minzu identification project.

China's shaoshu minzu make up 9.44% of China's population and consist of every individual in China

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2 Throughout this paper the term “Chinese” will refer to any citizen of the People's Republic of China, regardless of minzu category or self-identification. Rather than use the same term to refer to the culture and the language of the hanzu people (a people often called the Chinese people) the term Mandarin (普通话, pǔ tōng huà) will be used to refer to the official language of the People's Republic of China, and hanzu and han to refer to the people which make up the most populous minzu of the PRC.

3 Hanzu is the only minzu group in China which is not a minority. Accounting for more than 90% of China's population, hanzu are culturally, linguistically, and politically dominant in Chinese society when compared to any of the other minzu.
who is not categorized as *hanzu*, the *minzu* group which make up the majority of China's population. Before the *minzu* identification project, the notion of *hanren* dated back to the Han Dynasty, but the category of *hanzu* was a modern creation of Sun Zhongshan and his fellow anti-Qing activists,\(^4\) meant to unify the *neizu* people who were part of China.\(^5\) *Minzu* is often translated as ethnic groups or as nationality,\(^6\) but both of these English terms fail to portray the meaning of *minzu*, which is a government-created category lacking the connotations implied by ethnicity and nationality.\(^7\) Ethnic group and ethnicity are misleading translations due to the fluid and changing nature of ethnic groups,\(^8\) the requirement for self-identification, and its meaning as a group of people who share a common cultural background.\(^9\) These three meanings do not apply to all the *minzu* groups which were identified during the 1950s. Nationality is also a misleading translation, due to its association with citizenship and the state, which places emphasis on a political relationship. Therefore, throughout this paper *minzu* will be left untranslated to describe the categories which the CCP's *minzu* identification project created. *Minzu* will also refer to individuals and groups of people who were categorized under the various categories created by the CCP's *minzu* identification project.\(^10\)

The peoples, cultures, and civilizations of the *waizu* existed within the geographical space currently claimed by the PRC long before the rise of the CCP, and in some cases had influenced Chinese politics well before the 20\(^{th}\) century. However, when the CCP began its *minzu* identification project in order to categorize its citizens, the peoples who used to be known under the broad category

\(4\) Sun Zhongshan (孫中山), often romanized as Sun Yat-Sen
\(5\) Gladney (1995)
\(6\) Ke (2010), Wu (1990), and Bruhn (2008), all use the term “nationality” to refer to *minzu*. Brown (2002), The New York Times, and the Chinese Constitution all refer to *minzu* as “ethnicity.”
\(7\) See Harrell (1996) for a discussion on the meaning of the term *minzu*.
\(8\) Peoples (2008)
\(9\) Merriam-Webster Online (2010)
\(10\) It is important to keep in mind that none of the *minzu* categories have a strict relationship with ethnicity or self-identification, although some *minzu* categories are more aligned with the group's self-identity than others. All of the *minzu* categories, including *hanzu*, are labels that were created by political entities with goals of political unity rather than anthropological description.
of *waizu* were then categorized into various *minzu* groups, which became static categories imposed on people by the CCP. This process began in the early 1950s shortly after the CCP came to power. After the CCP had received requests from over four hundred groups seeking recognition as *shaoshu minzu*, a special commission was designated to categorize the groups. Due to the close relationship between the PRC and the USSR as two cooperating communist states, the categorization was carried out according to Stalin's criteria from "Marxism and the National Question." These criteria stipulate that a *minzu* should be a group possessing four vital common traits: a common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.

Armed with the Marxist philosophy of historical progression and with Stalin's definition of how various peoples should be classified, in the 1950s teams of linguists, anthropologists, and ethnologists were sent to investigate the *waizu* peoples of China, to determine which ones conformed to Stalin's four criteria. Even though the teams dispatched by the state as a part of the *minzu* identification project were instructed to categorize groups according to Stalin's four criteria, many other factors affected the process of categorization. Analysis of China's current *shaoshu minzu* populations reveals that there was great variation in how strictly Stalin's four criteria were followed in the categorization of the *minzu* groups: the 55 minority *minzu* that were recognized by the Chinese state were created due to a combination of Stalin's criteria with other political and historical factors, some of which I will describe below.

During the *minzu* identification project the creation of the CCP's *minzu* lacked a unifying framework, which resulted in haphazard categories. Although Stalin's criteria were the alleged standard to be followed, the categorization of many *minzu* were affected by politics, pre-existing categories, and a significantly more complicated anthropological landscape than Stalin's criteria allowed.

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11 Wu (1990)
12 Stalin (2003)
13 Harrell (2001)
14 Unger (1997)
The identification of some of the minzu groups by the state in the 1950s was significantly influenced by politics, much more than they were influenced by Stalin's criteria. Like the Bolsheviks when they dealt with their own question of identifying diverse peoples, the PRC's policy concerning its minzu did not rest primarily on ideological or theoretical grounds, but rather it was focused on gaining support from the non-hanzu peoples of China in building a new state. During the long march, when the core of the CCP traveled through the most concentrated waizu areas of China, including Guizhou, Yunnan, and Sichuan Provinces, the CCP was often faced with the options of being exterminated at the hands of the “barbarians,” or granting promises of special treatment to these waizu peoples. As a result of the difficult circumstances that the CCP had to endure, promises of the right to special treatment and secession were made by the CCP to many waizu peoples. Pre-existing Soviet ethnology also impacted the CCP's minzu identification project, as the PRC had close political ties with the Soviet Union during the 1950s. The minzu categorization of many of China's Muslim minzu in the northwestern part of the country was greatly affected by prior Soviet identification of these peoples, and the Muslim peoples of China were split into ten different minzu. The Muslim peoples of China who both lacked a distinct language or locality and who had not been previously identified by the Soviets, were categorized as huizu, effectively labeling them as Chinese Muslims.

But international politics and nation-building were not the only kind of politics that affected the minzu categories. Provincial governments' decisions also differed in the recognition of shaoshu minzu peoples, and while the minzu identification project was supposedly a central government undertaking,

15 The long march was an extended military retreat in which the Red Army (later to become the People's Liberation Army) fled from Guomindang (国民党) forces after leaving their base at Jiangxi (江西). Although the Red Army had repeated conflicts with Guomindang forces, they also had confrontations with aggressive tribes and local warlords in the areas that they traveled through.
16 Gladney (2004)
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 The term hui, prior to the minzu identification project, had generally been used to refer to Islam, and thus any individual practicing Islam was hui. This influenced the minzu identification project in that many genetically unrelated Islamic peoples fell under the state's category of huizu, merely because they shared a religion.
provincial authorities also had the power to make decisions which affected the *minzu* categorization process. Some peoples who are historically, linguistically, or culturally related are known by different names in different provinces, sometimes due to incomplete scholarship and sometimes to political maneuvering. For instance, the *zhuangzu* people were previously a single ethnic group with the *buyizu* of Yunnan Province. When a *minzu* identification team learned of the name the local people gave themselves, the *buyi*, they were declared to be a distinct *minzu* separate from the *zhuangzu*.\(^{20}\) Likewise, the Naze people are categorized as part of the Mongol\(^{21}\) *minzu* in Sichuan Province, but as part of the *naxi minzu* in Yunnan Province.\(^{22}\) Furthermore, the self-identified primi people who live in Yunnan Province are a part of the *pumizu*, but the primi people who live in Sichuan Province are a part of the Tibetan *minzu*, despite the fact that all primi people share a common language and culture.\(^{23}\)

This kind of situation is not always due entirely to provincial differences in categorization, as political influence affecting *minzu* categorization can even originate from a small group or a single influential individual. In the case of the *baima* people\(^{24}\) of northwestern Sichuan Province, the *baima* belong to the Tibetan *minzu* according to the government, but *baima* people contest this categorization and have printed a collection of historical essays to prove their difference from other Tibetans. However, it is widely said that the tenth Panchen Lama opposed any splitting of the Tibetan *minzu*, and this opposition from a powerful religious and political figure prevented any possibility of the *baima* gaining recognition as an independent *minzu*. Tibetan scholars have also attacked the ideas of *baima* and primi peoples as distinct *minzu* separate from Tibetan.\(^{25}\)

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\(^{20}\) Unger (1997), pg 13

\(^{21}\) In this paper most of China's *minzu* will be referred to using a the pinyin system to romanize their labels. However, *minzu* which are relatively well-known in the English language and which already have a fairly widely accepted English name (the Mongols, the Uyghurs, the Koreans, and the Tibetans) will be referred to by that name. For a list of English names of all *minzu* see appendix a.

\(^{22}\) Yang (2009b)

\(^{23}\) Harrell (2001)

\(^{24}\) 白馬人, báimǎrén

\(^{25}\) Ibid.
framework, the creation of minzu categories for many of China's waizu was instead shaped by pre-existing categories from China's pre-modern history rather than strictly following Stalin's four criteria. In reality a complicated mixture of Stalin's criteria and a pre-modern Chinese worldview combined to create many of the minzu categories that are still used today. Some minzu in China do not fit all of Stalin's criteria, yet according to the pre-modern Chinese worldview these peoples compose a distinct ethnic group. Thus, problematic categories arose when the minzu identification project categorized such peoples according to the traditional Chinese worldview rather than categorizing such peoples in accordance with Stalin's criteria. The Manchu are a prime example of conflicts between the frameworks of Stalin's four criteria and the existing pre-modern Chinese categories. As a people, the Manchu had begun to lose their spoken language as early as mid-eighteenth century, and by the end of the Qing Dynasty it was seriously endangered.26 At the time of the minzu identification project in the 1950s there were few speakers of the Manchu language, and the Manchu as a people were neither unified by geographic location nor by economic practice, both of which are required by the Stalin's criteria. Despite their lack of conformity with Stalin's criteria, the Manchu people were still given minzu status by the PRC. As the rulers of China's last Dynasty, the Qing, the Manchu people played a key role in Chinese history, and thus in the pre-modern Chinese worldview they were acknowledged as a distinct group, separate from hanzu.

Although politics and pre-existing categories had significant effects on the minzu identification project, possibly the single fact that made it most difficult for the PRC's categories to adhere to Stalin's criteria was that China's ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity was more complicated than categorization by Stalin's criteria allowed. Often linguistically, ethnically, and culturally different groups of people would live nearby to each other, intermingling, intermarrying and having effects on each other's cultures and languages. This blurred the boundaries between different groups of people and

26 Rhoads (2000)
created a very complex situation. The lack of distinct geographic space, economy, language, and mindset for each group of people, made categorization according to Stalin's criteria virtually impossible. In China's southwestern Yunnan Province, where different linguistic and cultural groups lived intermixed, *minzu* identification teams had to create their own criteria for the categorization of diverse peoples. Due to this ad-hoc identification process, it is not unusual for members of state-recognized *minzu* groups to have little more than the title of their *minzu* and similar treatment from the state in common.

Since the *minzu* identification work of the 1950s, these categories have held a very real significance in people's lives, and have been integrated into individuals' self-identity. Although some peoples who are now identified as *shaoshu minzu* may have not seen themselves as distinct from the *hanzu* before the *minzu* identification project of the 1950s, the general trend in China is that the state's *minzu* categories tend to gradually become a part of people’s ethnic consciousness and self-identity so that people become invested in their own *minzu* category. This means that even though the *minzu* label was originally imposed upon the minority peoples by the state, over time the *shaoshu minzu* have incorporated these labels into their self-identity. The benefits which minority *minzu* gain merely by the fact that they are identified as something other than *hanzu* are numerous and important. State funds are regularly allocated for minority cultural preservation projects in order to nurture an identity based around the *minzu*, such as special minority *minzu* schools, cultural promotion projects and extra funds for economic development. Even if these *minzu* groups were not how people identified themselves before the 1950s, these categories have become a core part of the identity of individuals categorized as *shaoshu minzu*. The *minzu* categories may be “an artificial identity... but not less real than an artificial lake.”

27 Harrell (2001)  
28 Bovingdon (2002)  
29 Chirkova (2007)  
30 Smith (2005)
Despite their small population relative to the *hanzu* majority, there are several reasons that the *shaoshu minzu* population has great social, economic and political importance to the Chinese government's policies. First, even though as of 2005 *shaoshu minzu* only accounted for 9.44% of China's population, the total population of all non-*hanzu* individuals in China is estimated at 123.33 million.\(^{31}\) The total minority minzu population of China is greater than the population of Britain, Germany or France, and if all of China's *shaoshu minzu* were gathered into a single country, it would be the tenth most populous state in the world.\(^{32}\) Second, in addition to the vast number of minority *minzu* which are present in China, these minorities reside in politically and economically significant locations. *Shaoshu minzu* are concentrated in areas spanning nearly 60 percent of China's landmass.\(^ {33}\) Four of China's five *minzu* autonomous regions share borders with other countries. Within the border provinces, *shaoshu minzu* exceed 90 percent of the population in many counties and villages along many border areas of Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Yunnan.\(^ {34}\) Finally, a great number of China's *shaoshu minzu* live in politically or economically important areas. Many of China's *shaoshu minzu* live in the western regions of the country, and China's two most sensitive *minzu* areas are also two of its most politically sensitive areas. Tibet is a buffer zone for China's tense relationship with India,\(^ {35}\) and Xinjiang is an especially important area economically, seeing as it contains about 40% of China's coal reserves, more than a fifth of its natural gas, as well about half of China's mineral deposits.\(^ {36}\) Xinjiang shares borders with Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, meaning that it possess more and longer international borders than any other Chinese province, giving it unique political importance for China's international relations. Yunnan province is important for China's relations with Southeast Asia, due to it's shared borders with Vietnam, Laos and Burma. People

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31 Embaixada Da Republica Popular Da China Em Portugal (2010)  
32 Poston (1987)  
33 Gladney (1995)  
34 Gladney (1995)  
35 Larson (2009)  
36 Teague (2009)
culturally and linguistically related to China's minority minzu live in these adjacent countries, giving Yunnan unsurpassed political, military and economic importance for China's interests in Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{37} Inner Mongolia, another traditionally shaoshu minzu area has 25\% of China's coal reserves, 25\% of China's pastureland and many economically important minerals.\textsuperscript{38} Inner Mongolia also shares borders with both Russia and Mongolia, two countries that the PRC has had highly fluctuating relations with throughout the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The political and economic importance of China's shaoshu minzu is far greater than their 9.44\% of the population would imply, and this relatively greater importance is reflected in government policy towards shaoshu minzu.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND GOALS

Among the large population of Chinese citizens who are not categorized as hanzu, many were not a part of Chinese dynastic history, do not use Mandarin as their native language, and have cultures different from hanzu culture. For the PRC cultivating shaoshu minzu identities as citizens of China is important for national unity. National unity and economic development are two tasks that the PRC pursues for the well being of all of its citizens, and these are tasks which China particularly pursues in order to integrate its minority minzu groups.\textsuperscript{39} With the creation of the PRC in the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, the PRC desires all citizens to develop a common national identity.\textsuperscript{40} As a method of promoting a national identity, the state desires shaoshu minzu place more loyalty in the Chinese state than in ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{41} The CCP views this goal as an important security measure.

Due to the geographically peripheral locations near international borders in which many minority minzu live, as well as due to the culturally related peoples that many shaoshu minzu have

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{37} Dong (2004)
  \item \textsuperscript{38} Li (1989)
  \item \textsuperscript{39} Shih (2002)
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
across international borders, *shaoshu minzu* loyalty to the state is vital for the PRC's national security, a lack of identification with the PRC could cause minority peoples to cross international borders to join their brethren in Mongolia, Tajikistan, Nepal, or Vietnam. A major method of encouraging *shaoshu minzu* identification with the PRC and loyalty to the state is for the state government to help *shaoshu minzu* to develop economically. The goal of economic development of minority peoples is used by the government in order to nurture identification with the state, and as a method to integrate *shaoshu minzu* into mainstream Chinese society. Integration in which *shaoshu minzu* become more involved in Chinese society often involves the threat of cultural and linguistic assimilation.\(^{42}\)

This integration and assimilation is commonly pursued by the PRC through the public education system. China's government-controlled education system is an effective method to introduce *shaoshu minzu* to *han* culture, and therefore the state attempts to use education to draw *shaoshu minzu* allegiance to the Chinese state.\(^{43}\) This goal is strived for through instruction in Mandarin,\(^{44}\) the study of *han* history and culture, and the use of textbooks and educational materials focused on the *han* people, all of which are universal throughout all Chinese public schools except for a small number of special minority *minzu* schools.\(^{45}\) From the standpoint of the state, it is imperative that *shaoshu minzu* learn Mandarin so that they can enhance their economic opportunities and their social status,\(^{46}\) therefore becoming more integrated into the society and culture of China.

Although the *han* culture has integrated and assimilated many cultures and peoples throughout history, integration and assimilation are functioning more rapidly and more strongly now than ever before. This is because of the simple fact that education is now more widely available throughout

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42 Heisey (2005)
43 Clothey (2001)
44 Mandarin (普通话, pǔ tōng huà) is the official language of China, and is taught in schools throughout the country, regardless of local conditions or usefulness. It is in the Chinese language family, and it is widely spoken by *hanzu* as a first language. In this paper, Mandarin will be considered as a *han* language, in contrast to the *shaoshu minzu* languages.
45 Even at many government funded minority schools, the speaking of minority *minzu* languages is forbidden in classrooms and on campus. This is because the function of education is to make students competitive in mainstream society, where their minority *minzu* languages are not spoken. Shih (2002), pg 70
46 Shih (2002)
Due to this historically unprecedented spread of education across China, more people are being educated in state-sponsored and state-run public schools. The content of these state-run schools is a combination of centralized state control over the content of education and the dominant political power of the majority hanzu, meaning that without a government post or a high position in the CCP people have no legal means to affect the content taught in schools. This seems to have little relevance to the situation of shaoshu minzu in particular until the percentage of minority minzu in the CCP is analyzed. Xiaowei Zang (a scholar of education and social stratification in China) found that more than 98 percent of the CCP ministers and CCP provincial secretaries were hanzu, and that shaoshu minzu cadres are less likely to have top posts in the CCP hierarchy. This means that which is controlled by the CCP is functionally controlled by hanzu.

The study of hanzu language and culture is widespread in China. All over China education is standardized in terms of what is studied in primary and secondary schools, and this standardization is decided by the state. According to the Chinese constitution minority autonomous regions may manage their own education and teach in their own language, but only in a small number of minority areas have educational materials relevant to the minority concerned been designed, and any educational materials relevant to minority populations would have to be taught in addition to the standard state-required materials, which have a strong nationalistic content. For a school to teach material relevant to a local minority, the additional workload that would be required of the students serves as a strong disincentive to the development and use of any minority-focused materials. The combination of 

47 Mackerras (2004)
48 Qian and Smyth (2005)
50 Hansen (1999a)
51 Nelson (2005)
52 CDB (2000)
53 Mackerras (1994)
54 Clothey (2001)
centralized state control over the content of education and the standard of Mandarin and educational materials focused on *hanzu* culture combine in a way that allow education and language policies of schools to correspond with the political agendas of the state. The content of education and the language of schooling are used to foster ideological ties to the state and the CCP.\(^{55}\)

Through public education the PRC encourages *shaoshu minzu* to accept the prevailing socialist ideology and concept of a Chinese state,\(^{56}\) which uses a Marxist theory of social evolution to justify the *hanzu* as the most advanced *minzu*, and therefore to justify the *hanzu* as the one *minzu* whose culture and practices should be adopted by all other *minzu*. This Marxist theory of social evolution is presented in Chinese state schools as a fact, so many people accept the minority peoples' 'backwardness' relative to the majority *hanzu* due to the theory's hierarchical ranking of China's *minzu*.\(^{57}\) Following this line of thought, the education system of contemporary China attempts to encourage minorities to embrace a modern and unified Chinese national culture,\(^{58}\) a national culture which is based on *hanzu* culture.

The existence of many *shaoshu minzu* languages and cultures are threatened by “...the Chinese education system and its nationally standardized curriculum, which is designed to transition students to speaking Putonghua and [to] instill the ideology of the Chinese state.”\(^{59}\) This state-encouraged transmission of *han* language and culture throughout schools in China deprives minority *minzu* students of the opportunity to study their own *minzu*’s language and culture.\(^{60}\) The same kind of mathematics, literature, and history are studied throughout all public schools in China, regardless of the local conditions and of the local *minzu*’s culture and language,\(^{61}\) and the subjects that children learn in China's state-run schools are always those most relevant to the *hanzu* majority population, rather than

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\(^{55}\) Nelson (2005)

\(^{56}\) Mackerras (1995)

\(^{57}\) Hansen (1999a)

\(^{58}\) Mackerras (1995)

\(^{59}\) Bruhn (2008)

\(^{60}\) Johnson (2000)

\(^{61}\) Clothey (2001)
those which are relevant to the local shaoshu minzu population.\textsuperscript{62}

What students do learn about their own minzu in Chinese state schools is learned through absence: the fact that daizu people's language and literature have no place in education teaches students that they are not important subjects, and that they are not relevant for modern education.\textsuperscript{63} Likewise, that fact that in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region every Mongol child who goes to school learns about hanzu culture and history while it is unusual to have any Mongol stories in the school textbooks\textsuperscript{64} implies the importance of hanzu culture while teaching students that Mongol culture in unimportant and has no place in a modern education. In any minority area, even in autonomous regions, “Individual minority histories, literature or other cultural materials are not likely to be a part of the curriculum,”\textsuperscript{65} and from this minority students learn that their own cultures and traditions are irrelevant to being a citizen of the modern Chinese state. What students learn in Chinese public schools about shaoshu minzu is the classification of minzu into a hierarchy, which is presented as a natural fact rather than a process performed by the Chinese state,\textsuperscript{66} which teaches students the inherent superiority of hanzu relative to all other minzu. Implicit in the Chinese state's interpretation of Marx's theory of progress, modernization and the development of societies is the idea that “so-called traditional societies have cultural deficiencies that should be improved through education,”\textsuperscript{67} and through this the students also learn that in order to improve their status in life they must learn from the hanzu and become more like the hanzu.

With all minzu eventually progressing through Marx's stages of development to become continually more like the hanzu, the hope of the Chinese state is that cultural assimilation will cause the different minzu to fade away, resulting in a single proletariat group, not differentiated by separate

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
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\item[62] Mackerras (1994)
\item[63] Hansen (1999a)
\item[64] Borchigud (1995)
\item[65] Clothey (2001)
\item[66] Hansen (1999b)
\item[67] Clothey (2001)
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
cultures, languages, or customs.\textsuperscript{68} With this in mind, from the viewpoint of the state “The two major
tasks of assimilation are to improve people's ability to speak and write Mandarin and to inculcate
patriotism towards the Chinese state.”\textsuperscript{69} Improving \textit{shaoshu minzu} peoples' ability to speak Mandarin
strives to allow minority \textit{minzu} to thrive economically through interaction with the Mandarin-speaking
\textit{hanzu} majority. Inculcating patriotism towards the Chinese state is so that the various \textit{minzu} all identify
themselves as Chinese citizens, which the state hopes will prevent \textit{minzu} groups from desiring their
own sovereign states, which would weakening the PRC.

For minority \textit{minzu}, however, the basic goals of education is to gain fluency in Mandarin and
literacy in written form of the \textit{han} language as a means to advance economically and participate
politically,\textsuperscript{70} without the implications of loyalty to the state and cultural assimilation attached to it.
Minority people see this goal as a necessity to economic advancement, commonly without specific
consideration of it as a precursor to identification with the state. The claim of the Chinese state is that
Mandarin “is an essential cornerstone of the state, has a dominant position in political promotion and
social mobility, and carries with it important economic, political, intellectual and social forces.”\textsuperscript{71}
Although there are some minority areas in which the local \textit{shaoshu minzu} language is a requirement for
business, in general the state's claim is true. The needs of modernization, advancement and
development require that \textit{shaoshu minzu} learn the \textit{han} language of Mandarin in order to succeed
beyond the borders of their native areas. Competency in Mandarin, is widely recognized by most
minority group members as an important factor in social advancement.\textsuperscript{72} Despite the wide recognition
of Mandarin as a precondition for social and economic advancement, there are still many factors
hindering \textit{shaoshu minzu} education in China.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{68} Mackerras (1994) \\
\textsuperscript{69} Shih (2002) \\
\textsuperscript{70} Hansen (1999a) \\
\textsuperscript{71} Bilik (1998) \\
\textsuperscript{72} Dreyer (1976)
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The promotion of Mandarin in classrooms is at the expense of local minzu languages, since every class taught using Mandarin is one less class that can be taught using the local minzu language. Likewise, the study of han culture is done at the expense of studying the local shaoshu minzu culture. Though few areas have attempted to implement education which includes both local shaoshu minzu culture and state-promoted hanzu culture, such a situation seems to be rare; the general tendency is either full immersion in hanzu culture through a state-run school, or complete lack of introduction to hanzu culture by not attending a state-run school. The nation-building and education taught by the state-run schools is promoted by the government as a crucial method for shaoshu minzu to achieve technical and economic development, something which the state sees as a requirement for the minority peoples to more fully integrate into China's han-dominated society.73 There are many setbacks in the actual implementation of these policies though, as practical difficulties and non-cooperative minority populations can prevent the linguistic and cultural assimilation which is desired by the Chinese state to help the minorities develop economically.

DIFFICULTIES IN MINZU SCHOOLING

Despite the government's great efforts to advance shaoshu minzu economically and to assimilate them culturally, the different worldviews, priorities, and economic situations of minority peoples makes implementation of this goal difficult for the PRC. One of the factors which hinders the government's goal of advancing shaoshu minzu education in China is many people's lack of understanding of education and lack of appreciation for education. Rather than the economic, linguistic or geographic difficulties that many shaoshu minzu people face, some minority minzu parents have what government

73 Clothey (2001)
representatives label as an “ideological problem”: they do not see the value of schooling.\textsuperscript{74} For many poor rural people, the idea of education is directly tied to making money by capitalizing upon the knowledge gained through schooling, and occasionally minority minzu individuals do not understand the desirability of making money.\textsuperscript{75} According to an interview which Colin Mackerras conducted with a leader of the Minority Nationalities Research Center, many minzu's traditional ideas and low educational levels prevent them from taking full advantage of the new educational opportunities that are available to their children.\textsuperscript{76} Practical skills are seen as far more important than the study of hanzu history, hanzu culture, and the elementary levels of mathematics and sciences, and resistance to schooling focused on these subjects is a setback in the government's attempt to sinicize minority populations through education. A great number of minority minzu parents resist sending their children to school due to the lack of relevance the academic subjects have to their daily lives and to earning a salary,\textsuperscript{77} and many minority minzu parents believe that knowing about their language and religion is of greater importance for their children than the study of mathematics, science and hanzu history and culture.\textsuperscript{78} When the minority minzu students do not understand the material taught in class and quickly lose interest, and as a result students drop out of school after a short time of attendance.\textsuperscript{79}

Additionally, some young students themselves also have worldviews in which the value of an education from the state is not important. For example, Tibetans are a minzu in China whose traditional economy centers around herding. For many Tibetan boys there is no worthy work other than herding, as the men of their culture have always been shepherders and they want to be nothing else,\textsuperscript{80} so attending a school to become something other than a herder is seen as useless from their perspective. Getting an

\textsuperscript{74} Postiglione (2006)
\textsuperscript{75} Mackerras (1994)
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{77} Lee (2003)
\textsuperscript{78} Johnson and Chhetri (2002)
\textsuperscript{79} Shih (2002)
\textsuperscript{80} Postiglione (2006)
education is problematic for these youth in that is was not important to the traditional Tibetan male identity,"\(^81\) which values men who are travelers, good horsemen, and masters of the mountains, able to travel for days in the mountains without food or comfort and never complain.\(^82\) Since attending a state school would grant a young Tibetan boy none of these skills which are culturally important for them to have, there is a clash of values between the state, which wants all Chinese citizens to receive primary education, and the traditional Tibetan mindset, in which attending school is not important for a boy's identity.

Another factor which prevents the spread of Chinese state-sponsored education to all of China's shaoshu minzu is a view shared by both students and their parents that the value of working is greater than the value of an education from the state. Contributing directly to the local economy by finding employment or by working family fields seems more useful to many people than attending school.\(^83\) According to Fan Ke's field work in a huizu community in southern Fujian province, “As long as children could do basic arithmetic and write simple letters their parents thought it was enough for dealing with prospective employers. So parents would discourage boys from lingering unnecessarily in school.”\(^84\) In Gerald Postiglione's work in rural Tibet it was found that few Tibetan students attended school during the harvest,\(^85\) demonstrating that in the parent's view education in the school is secondary to economic productivity at home. It is likely that this is a problem in many poor and rural areas, rather than being exclusive to shaoshu minzu students and areas, but it has been found that minority minzu students leave school to go to work more commonly than hanzu students.\(^86\) Leaving school to work is not seen by these children negatively, nor is there any social stigma which prevents children from dropping out of school. This is greatly due to the fact that children who drop out of school have not lost

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\(^{81}\) Ibid.
\(^{82}\) Hillman and Henfy (2006)
\(^{83}\) Mackerras (1995)
\(^{84}\) Ke (2010)
\(^{85}\) Postiglione (2006)
\(^{86}\) Hannum (2002b)
any opportunities, since job openings would not be available to them anyway. This is not a simple misperception on the part of the students or the parents.

For minority minzu students from rural areas, economically education often is not worth it. The kind of job an individual can get in a city with a middle school or a high school degree often pays less than farming. Good paying jobs require a college education, and getting into college and affording the costs of tertiary education are both very difficult. Schooling is considered a waste of time if the child does not go on to get a specialized secondary school education which would ensure a good paying job, as individuals who are not trained in some kind of special skill are often only able to find for casual or seasonal jobs. Vocational secondary schools exist, for students who have completed primary school, but at these schools the “Subjects offered... range from sewing, woodworking and jade-working to agriculture, tourism and finance,” none of which helps the CCP indoctrinate minority minzu populations with state ideology. These vocational schools do, however, help minority minzu peoples to develop economically and take part in the modernization process. Vocational schools are very practical in impoverished areas where a practical skill is needed in order to make an income, and for families which would be unable to afford a college education. In this sense, the population of vocational schools helps counter the lack of minority enrollment in the normal public schools, but by focusing on such practical skills as tourism, agriculture and finance, the state is unable to use vocational schools as a medium for transmitting knowledge about hanzu people, culture and history.

The sheer factor of inconvenience of schooling also prevents some students from attending, therefore hindering the state's effort to modernize and sinicize its shaoshu minzu populations. Particularly for shaoshu minzu living in rural areas, schools are often located too far away from the

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87 Shih (2002)
88 Ibid.
89 Hansen (1999a)
90 Ke (2010)
91 Lee (2003)
student's homes to make daily trips feasible. Although primary schools are more numerous, there are many rural shaoshu minzu villages with no secondary school closer than an hour long walk away. Very poorly developed or nonexistent transportation facilities make a student's physical journey from school to home very inconvenient. In general, transportation infrastructure is minimal in rural minority areas, and this inconvenience prevents many minority students from attending school on a regular basis. The comfort and the quality of schools in rural areas are often low, and it is not unknown for classrooms in shaoshu minzu areas to be cold, dark, and poorly heated in wintertime. No doubt this is not the situation of all rural schools in minority areas, but it is common enough to provide a disincentive to many would-be minority minzu students.

Another practical barrier to shaoshu minzu receiving state-sponsored education is purely economic: tuition fees and fees and the cost of materials such as books add another financial burden to households which, in rural areas, are often already living on very tight budget. This extra financial burden discourage parents from sending a child to school. Although China's “...Law on Compulsory Education of 1986 designated nine years of education, 6 years of primary and three years of lower secondary, as compulsory for all children,” the state is not allocating enough funding to public schools to make this ideal a reality. This is one of many areas in which Chinese law and policy concerning shaoshu minzu are significantly different from the reality which shaoshu minzu citizens experience. Policies tied to the market reforms of China's reform and opening brought about the decentralization of educational finance, which tightened the link between schools' financial base and local economic conditions, forcing local communities to fund their own schools. Although this did not provide a significant set back in all areas, “as responsibility for financing education increasingly fell to local

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92 Mackerras (1995)
93 Postiglione (2006)
94 Hannum and Adams (2008)
95 Hansen (1999a)
96 Hannum (2002a)
governments and communities, poor areas without the resources to finance education increasingly covered the costs of education by charging fees to families.\textsuperscript{97} Such fees must be paid in order to attend school in poor areas, the areas in which the students can least afford such additional costs. Shaoshu minzu are often located in economically depressed areas,\textsuperscript{98} making them a part of the population who can least afford such additional fees for school attendance. Even if these economic barriers can be overcome through family savings or through taking on loans, the payment of college fees can be incredible difficult for many families from poor ethnic areas,\textsuperscript{99} making the number of minority minzu student entering college significantly less than their percentage of the population.\textsuperscript{100}

A final factor which prevents minority minzu students from attending a state-run school, and therefore interferes with the government's goal to educate the minority population with hanzu material, is the fact that some minorities have schooling systems of their own, unrelated to the public education system run by the state. An education from these minority-centered and minority-run institutions is valued by shaoshu minzu much more than an education from the state's han language and han culture dominated schooling system. For the purposes of socializing their children to their own minzu culture, some shaoshu minzu families decide that enrollment in a minzu-focused institution will be more effective in teaching children about their own culture than enrollment in a state-run public school would. For the huizu, an Islamic minority, it is common to have children attend a local mosque for religious schooling in addition to attending the state-run school for secular schooling. Some huizu parents regard religious education as superior to the state's schools, and therefore see a religious education from the Mosque as a replacement for the state-sponsored education from public schools. Additionally, huizu parents see Islamic education as a necessity for “the protection and advancement of

\textsuperscript{97} Hannum (2002a)  
\textsuperscript{98} Clothey (2001)  
\textsuperscript{99} Shih (2002)  
\textsuperscript{100} Sautman (1999)
their people and their faith.\textsuperscript{101} Parents believe it would be more useful for the children to learn the Koran, the Arabic language, and the Persian language,\textsuperscript{102} skills which are central to the huizu concept of what it means to be a good Muslim, and skills which are not taught in most government organized schools. Therefore, parents' desire to nurture and protect their own minzu's culture is in direct conflict with the state's desire to spread hanzu culture to all peoples in China. In huizu communities in Ningxia Province decreases in public school enrollment are accompanied by an increased number of students pursuing an education at a Mosque,\textsuperscript{103} a part of a broad religious revival among some huizu communities in Ningxia Province. The daizu also have their own tradition of education. The daizu are located mainly in Yunnan Province and are culturally related to the Thai people\textsuperscript{104} who form the majority of the population in Thailand.\textsuperscript{105} The daizu are a people with a strong tradition of Theravada Buddhism whose culture and temple schooling have been well-documented in the recent decades by anthropologists and ethnologists, both Chinese and Western.\textsuperscript{106} In areas with large daizu populations such as Xishuangbanna Prefecture (西双版纳傣族自治州)\textsuperscript{107} in southern Yunnan Province,

``Traditionally, a large proportion of Dai boys and men would spend a period of time as monks, even if they did not enter the monastery permanently... This training served a variety of practical and symbolic purposes. Temples were the only place where Dai men could learn the written Tai language, the script in which religious texts are written. Temple education also included mathematics, literature, and history. Becoming a monk was also an opportunity for merit-making and a rite of passage for Dai males.``\textsuperscript{108}

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\textsuperscript{101} McCarthy (2009) \\
\textsuperscript{102} Gladney (1992) \\
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{104} McCarthy (2009) \\
\textsuperscript{105} CIA (2010b) \\
\textsuperscript{107} Xishuangbanna in the romanized form of the Chinese name for the location. The name in the Tai language is สิบสองปัน нал, romanized as Sipsongpanna. It will be referred to as Xishuangbanna in this paper. \\
\textsuperscript{108} McCarthy (2009)
\end{flushleft}
Within the Xishuangbanna daizu autonomous county, an area in which daizu compose 34 percent of the population\textsuperscript{109}, the daizu temple education was already well-established by the time the CCP's cadres arrived and attempted to implement a government-organized education system. For the daizu of Xishuangbanna, Chinese schools are an unattractive institution for their children's education because of the rejection of Tai language, history, culture and Buddhism in the state's school system.\textsuperscript{110} The purpose of public education in Xishuangbanna is to prepare daizu children to enter hanzu culture,\textsuperscript{111} so participation in temple education is generally considered by the daizu people as more important to their own culture and identity than an education from the state school. From the daizu perspective, the purpose of having children attend school is not to learn to speak fluent Mandarin, but to turn them into good people. Furthermore, whereas Chinese state organized schools only begin to appear in Xishuangbanna after the PRC was established in 1949, sending young boys to a local temple for education is a practice built on traditional culture and religious belief, and as such is a habitual practice for most daizu. Buddhist temple education is also important for daizu group identity, while at the same time it is a convenient and practical method for transmitting the daizu script, daizu history and daizu cultural values; “In comparison to this, the Chinese school in Sipsong Panna is a poor competitor.”\textsuperscript{112} In Xishuangbanna, if daizu children do not excel in or enjoy the state-run school, their parents encourage them to leave the state school and instead enter a local temple to learn from a Buddhist monk.\textsuperscript{113} The attraction of daizu students to temple education is a major reason why there are relatively low public school attendance rates for young daizu boys in Xishuangbanna, and it is widely recognized by both local villagers and the CCP that “…temple education today is an obstacle to the spread of Chinese education, and thus Chinese [hanzu] culture, language, nationalism, and knowledge

\begin{footnotes}
\item[109] McCarthy (2009)
\item[110] Hansen (1999a)
\item[111] Shih (2002)
\item[112] Hansen (1999b)
\item[113] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
of Chinese [hanzu] history. This is the main reason why Chinese authorities, including cadres and teachers, are firmly against it.”

**LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES**

Language is one of the largest factors in hindering the spread of state-promoted ideas to the minority minzu peoples. Because education is functioning as such a strong agent of cultural and linguistic integration in China, progress should be continually made toward the government's goals of integration and assimilation. Significant steps forward have been made, and minority minzu individuals who have not learned their own minzu's language but instead have learned Mandarin, as well as those who have received Chinese state-sponsored education in lieu of shaoshu minzu-run education have better adapted to the wider Chinese society than minority minzu students who do not participate in the state education system. Boarding schools that allow students to live away from their families, their villages, and their native shaoshu minzu environments have also proven successful in linguistically assimilation. Young Tibetan students who are sent to boarding schools outside of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, usually far away in eastern China, are substantially assimilated to hanzu culture when they return home. So much, in fact, that they find it difficult to reintegrate into Tibetan culture. This is nothing unique in the modernization and industrialization of peoples though, as “it has been the experience of peoples all over the world that modernization processes have a way of diluting the distinctive features of nationalities, even those with strong cultures.” This idea is perfectly in line with the Marxist end goal of the Chinese government, in which nationality, ethnic distinctions and

114 Hansen (1999a), pg 119
115 Mackerras (1995)
117 Johnson and Chhetri (2002)
118 Mackerras (1994)
China's many *minzu* will disappear, and a homogenous proletarian culture will emerge.\(^{119}\) Despite this hope of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government as a whole, there are major flaws in their plan to integrate and assimilate the minority *minzu*, one of which is the exclusion students who are non-native Mandarin speakers.

One of the largest obstacles to the PRC's attempt to sinicize its minority *minzu* population is language. China is a highly linguistically diverse and complex country. The wide range of languages spoken within the borders of China poses a great hindrance to the spread of state-sponsored *han* language education. Various researchers claim that the number of mother tongues in China range from 80-100,\(^{120}\) and while the official Chinese estimate is that China hosts 128 languages, and “The actual number of distinct languages in China may be even higher.”\(^{121}\) Dealing with this complex linguistic situation poses incredible challenges to the Chinese government, particularly in relation to its attempt to spread *hanzu* culture via the school system.\(^{122}\) In the area of education this causes special difficulties, as despite the multitude of spoken languages there are only 55 officially recognized *shaoshu minzu*.\(^{123}\) One reason for this is that the categorization of languages tends to be parallel to the categorization of *minzu* groups. This means that if a single group speaks multiple mutually unintelligible languages, only one of those languages will be recognized as a *minzu* language while the others may be categorized as dialects of the official *minzu* language, and only the official *minzu* language will receive government support.\(^{124}\) Many of the minority *minzu* languages in China have never developed writing systems,\(^{125}\) making many *shaoshu minzu* students' native languages ill-suited to classroom education. By 1989, only thirty-one of China's numerous languages were being used in the state's education system.\(^{126}\) To

\(^{119}\) Dreyer (1976)
\(^{120}\) Johnson and Chhetri (2002), Clothey (2001), Stites (1999)
\(^{121}\) Chirkova (2007)
\(^{122}\) Johnson and Chhetri (2002),
\(^{123}\) Stites (1999)
\(^{124}\) Clothey (2001)
\(^{125}\) Ibid.
\(^{126}\) Ibid.
further linguistic difficulties is the fact that language is fluid rather than static, so that people residing in areas with outside influences tend to speak a slightly different language than people in areas which are more isolated. Minority languages and Chinese languages influence each other to create new patterns of speech and vocabularies, so that new 'hybrid' dialects, accents, and languages are created.

In a schooling environment, students' language needs are important to consider. Students' native languages needs to be used if the Chinese government want to accomplish it's goals of universal education. If children cannot understand the material which is taught in school, then they will drop out and the state policy will not reach neither the children nor the villagers, a result which contradicts the purpose of teaching and promoting the national language of Mandarin in the first place. The use of minority minzu languages in schools can serve as a strong motivating factor encouraging students to stay enrolled. In the Liangshan Prefecture of southwestern Sichuan Province, there was a dramatic increase in enrollment at a local elementary school by both children and adults once local language education was offered. However, purely local language education will not allow students to succeed. With few exceptions, higher education in China is conducted in Mandarin, so any student lacking the ability to use and understand Mandarin is effectively crippled in any attempts to advance academically. Outside of an specialized shaoshu minzu environment, the language most likely to be useful and to grant its user a high social status is Mandarin, and as such individuals not competent in Mandarin will have a more difficult time finding work outside of their local linguistic community. According to the Chinese constitution, minority languages are legally equal to Mandarin, but despite this fact Mandarin is still the official language of government agencies, the media, and most educational institutions. Most employers require fluency in Mandarin Chinese, so minority minzu

127 Harrell (2001)
128 Shih (2002)
129 Harrell (2001)
130 Mackerras (1994)
131 Fifth National People's Congress (2006)
who do not speak Mandarin have fewer job possibilities.\textsuperscript{132} All \textit{shaoshu minzu} students would benefit from learning Mandarin, due to the increased opportunities that it grants them in their lives.

However, even though the officially sponsored language programs in China's public schools typically aim at linguistic assimilation for \textit{shaoshu minzu} students,\textsuperscript{133} many schools do not insure that all students have a strong grasp of Mandarin. The unfortunate side effect of this is that when Mandarin is used as the medium of instruction the language is too difficult for students to understand, and this increases apathy towards public school and desire to drop out. On the standardized tests which students are required to pass in order to enroll in middle school and high school, a significant part of the test concerns the students' ability to use Mandarin, an institutionalized barrier which makes it difficult for linguistic minority students from advancing within the state's education system.\textsuperscript{134} When minority students take these tests they are confronted with their own disadvantage when competing against students who have Mandarin as their native tongue.\textsuperscript{135} This is an especially large barrier in areas where the population is mostly composed of non-\textit{hanzu} peoples, such as rural Yunnan Province and Tibet, where entire communities speak minority \textit{minzu} languages so that there is no useful environment for students to practice Mandarin outside of the classroom. For instance, of “Tibetan children who do enroll in elementary school, less than 10\% will go onto junior high school,”\textsuperscript{136} and one of the main reasons that “…Tibetan students do not go onto secondary school is that they fail to qualify in the Chinese language portion of the entrance examination.”\textsuperscript{137} Although the PRC officially, encourages \textit{shaoshu minzu} students to learn their own languages, \textit{shaoshu minzu} language education in public schools often takes place for only a few grades in elementary school,\textsuperscript{138} and only in situations where the

\textsuperscript{132} Clothey (2001)  
\textsuperscript{133} Shih (2002)  
\textsuperscript{134} Johnson and Chhetri (2002)  
\textsuperscript{135} Johnson, (2000)  
\textsuperscript{136} Sangay (1998)  
\textsuperscript{137} Johnson (2000)  
\textsuperscript{138} Johnson (2009)
minority minzu languages are seen by the state as facilitating the learning of Mandarin, or when the promotion of a minority minzu language is considered an necessity in order to persuade the local shaoshu minzu population to enroll their children in a state-run school. Mandarin is normally the main language used in education by middle school, and if students do not have a strong enough grasp of Mandarin to understand the material, they will either fail the classes or drop out.

In areas with many shaoshu minzu who are unable to speak Mandarin upon entering school, bilingual education is sometimes employed to keep the students engaged, with the end goal being that eventually the students will be able to function in a purely Mandarin environment. However, bilingual education is also often an accidental side effect of a linguistically complex environment rather than a conscious effort to nurture non-Mandarin language skills, in which a teacher is forced to either use the local minority language to teach or to have an entire class which does not understand the lessons. This kind of bilingual education has little benefit for the students, as the lack of planning and structure does not allow them to gain competency in Mandarin. It is common for the linguistic landscape to be a compromise between the state's desire to nurture a Mandarin environment, and the teacher's need to use a non-Mandarin language to communicate with the students. The use of minority languages is often due to this kind of need, which allows the students to understand the teacher, but is not organized for the purpose of preserving the minority minzu language. This is another way in which the low education level in minority areas and the linguistic diversity of China combine to cause more difficulty to the state in enacting its goal of transmitting hanzu culture and language via the education system. When bilingual education is implemented purposefully by the state it is for the purpose of hastening shaoshu minzu students' ability to use Mandarin. Bilingual education implemented with the goal of eventual transition to Mandarin usually involves the minority language as the principal medium of

139 Hansen (1999a)
140 Smith (2005)
141 Mackerras (1995)
instruction in the first two years of elementary school when the minority minzu students have no previous knowledge of Mandarin. Chinese and the minority language is used in grades three and four, which serve as a transitional period, and Chinese is the principle language of instruction in the final two years of elementary school.

In minority minzu areas of China, “A fully implemented bilingual education program using a student's native language (to varying degrees), designed and implemented at the local level, is a way to encourage minority participation in public schools, increase academic performance of minority students and create a truly multicultural society.” However, despite multiple benefits of purposefully enacted bilingual education programs in schools, the Chinese government still fears that a society embracing a diversity of cultures and languages would be too likely to fracture, and thereby threaten the unity of the PRC. Adding to the CPP's fears of separatism is also the fact that there are not many teachers who can successfully implement bilingual education, as each minority minzu area has its own geographic and human environment, each with a different degree of need for its local language. While there are teachers that are competent in both the local minority language and Mandarin, the most qualified teachers rarely stay in poor, rural minority areas for very long. Qualified teachers are able to earn better wages and have better living conditions if they take a job in a city. The low wages and poor conditions in rural schools are poor competitors when compared to a better income in a city environment, so there is a high turnover rate for rural teachers in poor minority areas. As a result there has been both a lack of high level government support of bilingual education for minority minzu students, and a lack of resources at the local level to implement it. What bilingual education programs do exist have usually been seen as a stepping stone to the eventual adoption of Mandarin,
with the ultimate goal being linguistic assimilation.148 In addition to the language difficulties which are present with the education of many of China's shaoshu minzu, some of China's minority groups benefit from specific factors that cause them to be less susceptible to sinicization, regardless of the government's plans.

FACTORS OF SHAOSHU MINZU RESISTANCE TO ASSIMILATION

Although there are han-centric perspectives and economic factors that affect many of China's minority minzu, geography, historical distinctiveness, hanzu-shaoshu minzu antagonism and extra-China similars are all factors that help a minority minzu people to be significantly less susceptible to the government's attempts at sinicization. The minority minzu of China, primarily through China's education system, have been put under great pressure to assimilate to a hanzu way of life, and many minorities have become more and more similar to the majority hanzu over time. However, despite great pressure from the government and the state education system to become more like hanzu, minority groups that have not only resisted cultural assimilation by the hanzu, but some groups that have strengthened their minority cultures through a variety of effort. Factors that aid a minority minzu in resisting sinicization, and therefore which make the government's work more difficult, include a minzu's own geographic location, a culture that is historically separated from hanzu culture, serious antagonism with the hanzu, and reference to extra-China similars.

A minzu which lives in a geographic area in which that minzu composing an overwhelming majority of the population will be less subject to assimilation by an outside culture. Even without an numerical majority but merely a numerically significant percentage of the total population, individuals of a certain minzu will repeatedly interact with each other, thereby reinforcing their own language and

148 Shih (2002)
culture. When a minority minzu resides in a geographic area in which its own population is numerically significant, the culture of that minzu becomes the norm within this geographic space. Although hanzu language and culture remain dominant at a national level, within this space a minzu which is a minority at the level of the state is a much larger percentage of the population at the local level. This causes a minzu which is normally a tiny minority to be culturally and linguistically dominant within that space. This reduces or eliminates pressure from the majority hanzu culture to assimilate.

One of the clearest examples of a shaoshu minzu which has a geographic space of its own and a kind of a local dominance are the Koreans of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (延边朝鲜族自治州). Of the 2,336,871 individuals categorized as a part of the Korean minzu in China, “an overwhelming majority... are concentrated in the northeastern region (Manchuria), which is close to the Chinese border to North Korea.”150 About 42% of China’s Korean minzu population reside in Yanbian Prefecture, in Jilin Province, making up 38.76% of the population of the prefecture. Even though Koreans are not a numerical majority in Yanbian, the benefits of having a distinct geographic space still extend into many areas of Korean minzu's life. Koreans' residential concentration creates many opportunities for social interactions among Koreans at the local level, which help facilitate the maintenance of the Korean language, as well as the maintenance of Korean literature, food and customs. Yanbian Prefecture also serves as a center of Korean culture in China, reinforcing ethnic identity for the Koreans in other parts of China.152 Unlike some autonomous areas within China in which the autonomy grants few benefits to the local shaoshu minzu,153 the Korean population in Yanbian has a large amount of control over the local government.154 Most importantly for the nurturing of Korean identity, “Korean ethnic schools have been established at all levels – primary, secondary and

149 (Welcome to Ministry of Foreign Affairs) 외교통상부에 오신 것을 환영합니다 . (2007)
150 Min (1992)
151 YanBian Tumen River Area China (2010)
152 Min (1992)
153 CDB (2000)
154 Min (1992)
higher educational programs – and almost all Korean children in Yanbian (more than 90%) attend Korean ethnic schools (C. Lee, 1986). In Korean ethnic schools, Korean teachers give instructions in Korean for all subjects, with the exception of those related to the Chinese language and literature.155 Korean control of the education system at the local level effectively preempts any attempt by the state to sinicize Korean youth through public school.

In the southern part of Yunnan Province Daizu have a significant concentration in Xishuangbanna. As with the Koreans in Yanbian Prefecture, the fact that a significant percentage of the local population consists of daizu allows daizu individuals in Xishuangbanna to interact with other individuals of the same minzu on a regular basis. This gives them the opportunity to use their language and to reinforce the practices and customs of their culture, such as style of dress and traditional values. Personal interactions on a daily basis at the local level supersede the PRC's attempt at dictate culture from a state level.

The huizu also benefit from distinct geographic locations and the cultural reinforcing interactions that accompany them. However, huizu's geographic spaces are smaller and more dispersed than either the Koreans in Yanbian or the daizu in Xishuangbanna. As a people whose historical origins lie outside of China,156 the huizu lack a traditional homeland within the PRC. They are spread widely throughout China, with huizu communities located in every province. Despite their geographical dispersion though, huizu in China tend to live in communities in which huizu constitute a significant percentage of the population. Within larger cities these huizu enclaves are fairly isolated from the outside work, and these small isolated communities both survive and thrive among a sea of people who are, in their view, heathen.157 Even though the huizu lack a homeland within China, the way in which they live in communities that are isolated and separated from non-huizu outsiders, huizu are still able to

155 Ibid.
156 Leslie (1988)
benefit from distinct geographic areas which are their own. This allow the *huizu* to nurture their own culture through repeated interactions with other *huizu* individuals and with the community, thereby resisting sinicization by embracing *huizu* religious and dietary practices.

The second factor that will aid a minority in resisting sinicization is a historical existence distinct from the state-promoted *hanzu* history. One method which the PRC uses to integrate *shaoshu minzu* is to claim the historical unity of China and to claim the contributions of all *minzu* to Chinese culture. However, some of China's *shaoshu minzu* had empires and kingdoms which were independent of or rivals of Chinese dynasties, while some *minzu* have been more recently introduced to China and have not made significant contributions to China's culture. The existence of this kind of a history separate from China's dynastic history gives a *shaoshu minzu* people a historical reference point which proves their difference from the *hanzu* majority of present-day China. Along with such kingdoms came literature, philosophy, art, and other forms of culture that serve to distinguish a *minzu* from the *hanzu* majority. Most notable among *shaoshu minzu* who have had a distinct history from the Chinese dynastic history are the Mongols, the Tibetans, and the Uyghurs, although non-*hanzu* kingdoms also existed among other lesser-known groups, such as the *daizu*, the *yizu*, and *naxizu*.\(^{158}\) No sources, Chinese or Western, have claimed to prove the historical unity of the Russian *minzu* with the Chinese dynasties.

The PRC has attempted to integrate the *shaoshu minzu* of it's northern and western borders, but the government's efforts have not been particularly effective in the regions occupied by the Uyghurs, the Tibetans, or the Mongols.\(^{160}\) This is due strongly to the historical identity separate from dynastic China which each of these people had, much of which is drawn from kingdoms which were historically distinct from Chinese dynasties. Mongol resistance to sinicization draws greatly from a distinct

\(^{158}\) Backus (1981)  
\(^{159}\) Yang (2009a)  
\(^{160}\) Unger (1997)
historical identity, one that is legitimized by the Mongol Empire during the 13th and 14th centuries and by the traditional Mongol lifestyle of nomadism and pastoralism. Pastoralism is an economic practice very different from the traditional *hanzu* practice of settled agriculture. As an economic practice which dates back to antiquity and is adapted to the grasslands, the traditional home of the Mongol people, pastoralism became the ultimate cultural symbol defining the core of Mongol identity.\(^{161}\) Ironically this romanticized view of Mongol life has actually been false in recent years (in 1982, only 18% of Mongols in Inner Mongolia were pastoral nomads\(^{162}\)). The view of Mongols as nomadic pastoralists persists as a romantic historical version of the Mongol people, despite the fact that even by the early part of the 20th century more of China's Mongols practiced settled agriculture than nomadic herding. Today, there are more urban Mongols than herdsmen in China, but for many Mongols pastoralism and herding represent the spirit of "Mongolness,"\(^{163}\) regardless of the factual reality as to how most Mongols make their living. This appeal to the geographic space of the grasslands and to the traditional practices of pastoralism and herding are both drawn from the strong history separating the Mongol people and their historical empire from Dynastic China. These historical references give present-day Mongols a specific past which can be references to prove their difference from the *hanzu*, and the separation from a *han*-based state.

The Uyghurs of China's northwest also have a historical background distinct from Chinese Dynastic history, which provides a clear difference between the historical culture of Uyghur and *han*. During the 8th and 9th centuries a Uyghur kingdom was based in Karakoram.\(^{164}\) An independent kingdom that interacted with Chinese Dynasties, the Uyghur kingdom dispatched troops to Chang An to quell rebellions in 757 and in 762, and was ruled by individuals who claimed to be higher in rank

\(^{161}\) Bulag (2002)  
\(^{162}\) Baranovitch (2002)  
\(^{163}\) Balug (2003)  
\(^{164}\) Gladney (2004)
than the emperor of China. The Tibetans also had an empire before they were categorized as a Chinese minzu in the 1950s, and the territory of the Tibetan Empire encompassed major east-west trade routes, vying over territory with the Tang Dynasty, and at times even capturing the Tang capital of Chang An. Along with historically distinct kingdoms, for centuries both the Tibetans and the Uyghurs have been able to draw on their own arts and literature to demonstrate their distinctiveness from the Chinese Dynasties. This history separate from the Chinese dynasties holds particular importance for the separatist groups that desire an Uyghur or Tibetan state independent from the PRC. Both Tibetan independence groups and groups desiring an independent Uyghur state cite their own historically distinct kingdoms, which illustrates the continued importance that these historical kingdoms have for China's present-day shaoshu minzu.

In the China's southwestern regions, the daizu are also historically distinct from the Chinese dynasties, as they had their own independent kingdom from 1180 through the early twentieth century. Although the Kingdom of Sipsong Panna had a formal relationship with China and paid tribute to Chinese Dynasties, "...it had absolute right in military action, foreign affairs, economic activities, and internal governance..." Due to this, the daizu people can lay claim to that which few of China's minzu have: a historical kingdom which was, although close enough to have a political relation with Chinese dynasties, yet which was independent from Chinese rule, and which did not come under direct Chinese rule until the communist movement of the 20th century.

The third factor aiding a minority's ability to resist sinicization is antagonism with the hanzu majority. Shaoshu minzu who view hanzu or the Chinese state as an opponent, as a cruel force, or as a destroyer of shaoshu minzu culture are less likely to be integrated into Chinese culture and are

165 Wolfram (1982)
166 Beckwith (1993)
167 Dondup, (2007)
168 McCarthy (2009)
169 Ibid.
170 Hsieh (1995)
assimilate to hanzu culture. These minorities are then more likely to protect and nurture their own culture in the face of different culture which is viewed as antagonistic. The Mongols, huizu, Uyghurs, and Tibetans all have current or historical antagonism with the hanzu majority of China, and this is one factor which causes them be less affected by the pressures of sinicization.

Mongols in China have a great deal of tension with the hanzu, and one author states that “The modern history of Inner Mongolia is a tale of invasion, land fraud, economic debt, political intrigue, and nation-building,”¹⁷¹ a statement that draws great emphasis on the negative events and results of Inner Mongolia's unique relationship with China. Historically, the relationship between Mongols and hanzu was antagonistic due to frequent military clashes between the nomadic pastoralists of Mongol tribes and the sedentary agriculturalists of the Chinese civilization. These conflicts were so damaging to China that the defenses against the Mongols (and other nomadic raiders from the north) culminated in the Great Wall. There are also cultural tensions that are learned from the conflicting cultural messages between the state-run school system and the cultural education that children receive about being a Mongol at home. Children attending school in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region learn about Yue Fei (岳飛), who was a defender of the Southern Song dynasty against the Jurchen. Yue Fei is normally considered a hero to Chinese, but there Mongols were present in the Jurchen army, and thus Yue Fei is responsible for the death of many Mongols. While China's state-promoted history looks at Yue Fei as a patriotic hero who defended China against northern barbarians, Mongols see him as symbol of han oppression and humiliation of Mongols.¹⁷² Clashes between the Mongols and the Chinese state can be found in more recent history as well. What many Mongols perceive as the most shocking affront from the PRC came during the cultural revolution, when massive numbers of Mongols were killed as a part of a political purge of a practically non-existent Mongol separatist party.¹⁷³ As in

¹⁷¹ Jankowiak (1988)
¹⁷² Borchigud (1995)
¹⁷³ Jankowiak (1988)
other *shaoshu minzu* areas of China during the cultural revolution, in Inner Mongolia traditional dress and expression of Mongol identity were suppressed, and the state aggressively forced sinicization and integration upon Mongols.\textsuperscript{174} The Mongolian language suffered greatly, as “It was forbidden to hold public meetings in Mongolian... As most Mongol intellectuals had been silenced there was virtually nothing published in Mongolian except the Inner Mongolia Daily newspaper and the works of Chairman Mao.”\textsuperscript{175} In an article on the oppression of Mongols in the campaign against the *Nei Ren Dang*, David Sneath described the situation of the Mongols:

> “In this campaign no Mongol in a position of responsibility could be above suspicion, and to be -accused meant 'isolation'. This 'isolation' consisted of confinement and around-the-clock questioning, usually with torture. This would be carried out for weeks or months until satisfactory -confessions and information were forthcoming. It is highly probable that the Nei Ren Dang did not -exist at all at that time. It is certain that nothing on the scale of the organization the Maoists claimed to exist, actually did. For the accused Mongol the problem was that simply to confess to membership was not enough; you had to name your accomplices, so incriminating your friends. If you were agreeable enough to your captors to be released, you, as an enemy of the people, would -have no job to go to. You had to rely on the charity of those who knew that to help you might land -them in trouble. Small wonder that many Mongols committed suicide under the intolerable pressure.”\textsuperscript{176}

Although many people throughout China suffered greatly during the cultural revolution, "...one of the most important results of the anti-Nei Ren Dang campaign was the sharpening of ethnic conflict. Mongols were the victims, and it was largely Han Chinese who organized their suffering. It created a strong distrust, even hatred, of the Chinese on the part of many Mongols, and this has to a great extent persisted to the present day.”\textsuperscript{177} The fading of the nomadic lifestyle is also a result of Chinese rule, as the state-encouraged migration of *hanzu* into Inner Mongolia “...not only have changed the region's demography but also have destroyed the ecological basis for pastoralism...”\textsuperscript{178} In the beginning of the modern period, *neizu* migration into traditionally Mongol areas began to occur in great numbers.

\textsuperscript{174} Sneath (1994)
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{178} Baranovitch (2001)
During the Qing Dynasty, as the government "...became more concerned with encroachments on Chinese territory by Russia, Japan and Western powers, Han migration into Manchuria and Mongolia was actively encouraged" by the government. This *hanzu* migration into Inner Mongolia continued through the republican period, and by the time the CCP came to power there were more *hanzu* than Mongols in the region. These influxes of non-Mongol people into a traditionally Mongol area have caused *hanzu*-Mongol antagonism. As the demographic change has been accompanied by a loss of traditional Mongol lifestyle, it has also caused an awareness of what is perceived by Mongols as *hanzu*'s malicious intent to destroy the Mongol people. By 2000 Mongols composed only 17.13% of the population of Inner Mongolia, whereas Han accounted for 79.17% of Inner Mongolia's total population. Inner Mongolia has been increasingly economically integrated into China, and “By the 1990s, almost all the Mongols had settled down and abandoned their nomadic past... Overall, the long-term implications of economic and especially industrial growth, modernization, and socialism undoubtedly include the destruction of phenomena such as nomadism...” This tension between the traditional Mongol lifestyle and the modern Chinese lifestyle is visible among modern Mongol children who go to school in urban areas. Children identify as a modern Mongol as opposed to a traditional Mongol if a child is born in an urban area, or conversely as a pure Mongol as opposed to an impure Mongol if a child is from a pastoral area.

There is also antagonism between *huizu* and the Chinese state, and this antagonism directly benefits *huizu* resistance to integration and assimilation. Within China there are "...official and popular stereotypes of the Hui as violent, clannish, disloyal, and even criminal." There were large-scale

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179 Li (1989)
180 Mackerras (1994)
181 Department of Population, Social, Science and Technology Statistics of the National Bureau of Statistics of China (国家统计局人口和社会科技统计司) and Department of Economic Development of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission of China (国家民族事务委员会经济发展司) (2003)
182 Mackerras (1994)
183 Borchigud (1995)
184 McCarthy (2009)
rebellions in the mid-1800s in an attempt of many Muslims to secede in Gansu and Yunnan provinces, which resulted in millions killed.\textsuperscript{185} The Dungan Revolt\textsuperscript{186} in China's northwest, the Panthay Rebellion\textsuperscript{187} in Yunnan Province, and the Shadian Incident\textsuperscript{188} all involved significant Muslim casualties. The Shadian Incident, occurring in 1975, was the most recent large scale incident of Muslim unrest and violence in China. Specific affronts against the \textit{huizu} people by \textit{hanzu} during the Shadian Incident include forcing \textit{huizu} to eat pork and throwing pig bones into a well in order accustom \textit{huizu} to the taste of pork.\textsuperscript{189} Incidents of conflict between \textit{huizu} and \textit{hanzu} or between \textit{huizu} and the state are not restricted to history books either, but are still a fairly regular occurrence. In 1989 and 1993 Muslims throughout China protested the publication of books that portrayed Muslims and their practices in a derogatory fashion.\textsuperscript{190} In Shandong Province in 2000 police shot and killed at least five \textit{huizu} individuals in a protest march which occurred after "...after a Han butcher advertised sales of "Muslim pork" — outraging Muslims whose dietary laws forbid the eating of pork."\textsuperscript{191} In 2004, riots occurred in Henan Province between \textit{huizu} and \textit{hanzu}.\textsuperscript{192} The apparent tension between the \textit{huizu} and the \textit{hanzu} majority, often due to what is perceived as a lack of respect for the \textit{huizu} Islamic practices, has caused a view of \textit{huizu} as naturally violent and rebellious.\textsuperscript{193} This recurrent tension between the two \textit{minzu}s has helped \textit{huizu} to resist sinicization by creating an image of \textit{hanzu} and the Chinese state as entities which do not understand \textit{huizu} customs and are incompatible with \textit{huizu} culture.

The Uyghurs also have serious antagonism with the \textit{hanzu}. Throughout the 1990s, there were

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{185} Leslie (1988)
\bibitem{186} 同治陕甘回变
\bibitem{187} 杜文秀起义
\bibitem{188}沙甸事件
\bibitem{189} Lipman (2004)
\bibitem{190} Gladney (2003)
\bibitem{191} EastSouthWestNorth: Ethnic Strife in China. (2010)
\bibitem{192} Lam (2010)
\bibitem{193} McCarthy (2009)
\end{thebibliography}
bombings,\textsuperscript{194} demonstrations\textsuperscript{195} and riots in Xinjiang, all agitating against the \textit{hanzu} rule in an area that had traditionally been the home of the Uyghur people. In response, the PRC government had alleged terrorists executed.\textsuperscript{196} Unrest has continued into the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, as explosions attributed to separatist groups occurred in 2005\textsuperscript{197} and riots and fighting between \textit{hanzu} and Uyghur occurred in July of 2009.\textsuperscript{198}

The fourth and final factor which helps a minority minzu people to resist sinicization is having extra-China similars. The Mongols, the Koreans, \textit{daizu}, and \textit{huizu}, all have people with similar identity, language, history, or religion outside of the People's Republic of China, and by reference to these extra-China peoples each minority can better identify their own culture without from \textit{hanzu} influence, and thereby each minority can better promote their own culture.

China's Korean population benefits strongly from it's extra-China similars. With both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea nearby, Korean citizens of China have no shortage of extra-China reference points. The geographic closeness of the Korean population in China to the Korean peninsula “...has allowed many Korean Chinese to visit their relatives in North Korea (C. Lee, 1986:146-147). Many Koreans in North Korea have also traveled to the Yanbian area. This exchange of visits has contributed to the maintenance of Korean cultural traditions among the Korean Chinese. Moreover, the close political connection between China and North Korea has facilitated North Korea's cultural penetration into China's Korean minority. North Korea and Yanbian have exchanged a number of cultural programs through universities and other public organizations.”\textsuperscript{199} The Korean countries which serve as extra-China references to the Koreans in China work synergistically with the Korean controlled school systems in Liaoning Province, which regularly host

\textsuperscript{194} 中国反击东蒙 十七年 鄂发生暴力恐怖高峰 (2007)  
\textsuperscript{195}  Amnesty International (2005)  
\textsuperscript{196}  BBC News (1998)  
\textsuperscript{197}  Raman (2005)  
\textsuperscript{198}  BBC News (2007)  
\textsuperscript{199}  Min (1992)
cultural exchanges with the Republic of Korean, and donations of books, money, and school materials are brought from the Korean peninsula,\textsuperscript{200} so that the extra-China similars strengthen Korean identity, which in turn strengthens Korean identity, and prevent sinicization.

The \textit{daizu} people of China also benefit from extra-China similars, as \textit{daizu} is a label that covers several separate ethnic groups who speak Tai languages. When the Kingdom of Sipsong Panna was split among China, France (as Indochina), Britain (as Burma), and Thailand, the present-day \textit{daizu} people of China were also given a plethora of extra-China similars. Due in part to many culturally and historically related peoples on the other side of the border, the \textit{daizu} in southwest Yunnan “have been disinclined to assimilate to Han ways.”\textsuperscript{201} The \textit{daizu} people see how their extra-China similars in Thailand have combined a tradition of Buddhism similar to that of the \textit{daizu} with modern education, and that Thailand nevertheless has a developed economy. This provides a historical narrative that runs counter to the narrative provided by the Chinese state, which claims that modernization, development and economic progress requires the abandonment of traditional \textit{daizu} cultural practices such as Buddhism.\textsuperscript{202} Instead, the \textit{daizu} people see cultural traditions similar to their own mixing with modernization and economic development in Thailand. By this reference to their extra-China similars, the \textit{daizu} of Yunnan Province understand that their tradition of Buddhist education and a modern education are not mutually exclusive.\textsuperscript{203} The \textit{daizu} of Yunnan have been making use of extra-China similars to get monks from Thailand to come and teach in local villages. Having relatives across the Chinese border has helped the religious revival in Sipsong Banna, which has caused many young boys to receive a Thai education. A direct result of this is that many young \textit{daizu} boys become less assimilated to \textit{hanzu} society by not attending Chinese state schools.\textsuperscript{204}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{200} Shih (2002)
  \item \textsuperscript{201} Unger (1997)
  \item \textsuperscript{202} McCarthy (2009)
  \item \textsuperscript{203} Hansen (1999a)
  \item \textsuperscript{204} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Of all of China's minorities, the Mongols have what is perhaps the clearest extra-China reference point: a single united independent nation which shares a long border with China\textsuperscript{205} and which is composed overwhelmingly of ethnic Mongols.\textsuperscript{206} Mongolia declared independence from China after the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. Mongolia was subsequently occupied by Chinese troops and its independence was re-declared in 1921 after Russian troops entered Mongolia as a result of the Russian Civil War and defeated the Chinese.\textsuperscript{207} Although several other minority minzu also have some kind of extra-China similar, their external reference points are divided politically or dispersed across multiple countries. As a core feature of their identity, Mongols in China are aware that they “...are not an internal minority, but a transnational one, betwixt and between China and Mongolia.”\textsuperscript{208} During the Mao years there was a conscious effort by Mongol leaders in Inner Mongolia to forge ties with the Mongols living across the border in the Mongolian People's Republic, and throughout the history of the PRC the Mongols living just across the border have served as a "pure" and "un-sinicized" reference of Mongol culture for the Mongols living in China.\textsuperscript{209}

The huizu are another minority which benefits from having extra-China similars. Although they do not have a culturally and linguistically similar people just across a border as some of China's minzu do, the huizu's Islamic identity gives them a major strength. The world contains 1.57 billion Muslims, most of whom are outside China's borders and therefore can serve as external references for them.\textsuperscript{210} Since China's reform and opening, the identity of huizu has benefited as “The mobility and openness of the reform years has allowed increased contact with the global Islamic world.”\textsuperscript{211} Increased interaction with extra-China Muslims has allowed for educational and cultural exchanges,\textsuperscript{212} as well as an

\textsuperscript{205} At 4677 kilometers this is both China's and Mongolia's longest border with another country. See China Daily (2005)
\textsuperscript{206} 94.9% of Mongolia's population are ethnic Mongols. See CIA (2010a)
\textsuperscript{207} Ewing (1980)
\textsuperscript{208} Bulag (2003)
\textsuperscript{209} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{210} Pew Research Center (2009)
\textsuperscript{211} McCarthy (2009)
\textsuperscript{212} Ibid.
increasing influence from Arab countries in shaping a resurgence of religion and identity among huizu. In the same way that the daizu see the mixture of Buddhism and economic development in Thailand as a counter narrative to China's state-promoted method of modernization, “Arabization threatened the CPP's monopoly on modernization and stimulated the Hui to act in ways that officials neither understood nor controlled.”

For those minorities who do not have or who have not found extra-China similars, there is less motivation to preserve their own traditional culture. For instance, without an extra-China people using the zhuangzu language as their mother tongue, the study of the zhuangzu language in China is seen as fairly useless, and studying it is seen as a waste of time, especially when compared to learning Mandarin. Many of Yunnan's minority minzu lack such extra-China similars, so that few of the “minority peoples of the southwest have strong reference points external to China, be these ethnic or religious or territorial.”

CONCLUSION

In the PRC's minzu identification project of the 1950s ethnic, linguistic, historical and cultural boundaries were sometimes crossed by the minzu categories, and sometimes reinforced by them. Regardless of the effects which it has had, it is clear the the minzu identification project did not adhere strictly to Stalinist criteria. Instead, the categories created by the minzu identification project were influenced by many other factors, including political and historic ones. Since the creation of the minzu categories, the Chinese government has attempted to integrate the shaoshu minzu into Chinese society, with the eventual goal of assimilating them to han culture for the purpose of national unity and

213 Gillette (2000)
214 Kaup (2000)
215 Unger (1997)
stability. The first method by which this goal is pursued is through the economic development of shaoshu minzu, while the second method by which this goal is pursued is through nurturing loyalty to the Chinese state. The socialization of the shaoshu minzu via the education system serves strategic purposes for the PRC. Since China's reform and opening schools have become more dependent on funding from local communities, therefore schools in severely economically depressed areas consistently have trouble financing their operations. The fees which schools are forced to charge students discourage attendance by students from poor families, which in turn prevents the state's goals of Mandarin-language education and the creation of patriotism among shaoshu minzu populations. The values of minority minzu students and their families sometimes prevent students from attending school as well, as do the market forces pushing students to be immediately economically productive rather than attend class. The shaoshu minzu which have their own educational systems provide a further barrier for the Chinese state's message of Mandarin language education and loyalty to the state. However, the largest barrier to the state's goals in relation to the shaoshu minzu are the multiplicity of languages used within the borders of the PRC. Lacking qualified bi-lingual teachers to help students transition from their mother tongue to Mandarin, the state has been unable to effectively implement bi-lingual education on a broad scale. Without effectively implemented bi-lingual education, many shaoshu minzu areas of China are unable to receive state-promoted education. Four final factors increase shaoshu minzu ability to resist sinicization. A distinct geographic location allows culturally reinforcing interactions at the local level, encouraging the promotion of a local language and culture. Historical separation from the han gives shaoshu minzu proof that they are a separate people from the hanzu with a separate culture from han culture. Shaoshu minzu-hanzu encourages a minzu to view either hanzu or the Chinese state an an aggressive, malicious, or harmful force, which in turn encourages a minority minzu to be resistant to hanzu culture. Finally, the ability to reference to extra-China similars allows a shaoshu minzu within China to contrast themselves to the hanzu by comparing
themselves to their extra-China similars. With clashing value systems, language, and these final four factors all preventing the PRC’s message of Mandarin-language education and patriotism from reaching shaoshu minzu populations, the state's attempts to pursue these goals through the public education system has not been very successful.

Although the state's attempts to actively integrate and assimilate shaoshu minzu through the public school system has only seen limited success, integration and assimilation of shaoshu minzu through local development and economic growth has seen great results. If the PRC wishes it's minority populations to become more like the hanzu and to feel a greater loyalty to the Chinese state, an improved quality of life through higher standards of living is a sure route to this goal. Through the development of educational and professional opportunities for minority minzu citizens, China's shaoshu minzu populations will become more and more integrated into Chinese society, and feelings of loyalty to China will grow alongside this integration.
Appendix A: China's minzu\textsuperscript{216}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>Hán Zú</td>
<td>汉族</td>
<td>1,230,117,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang</td>
<td>Zhuàng Zú</td>
<td>壮族</td>
<td>16,178,811</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manchu</td>
<td>Mǎn Zú</td>
<td>满族</td>
<td>10,682,263</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Huí Zú</td>
<td>回族</td>
<td>9,816,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao</td>
<td>Miáo Zú</td>
<td>苗族</td>
<td>8,940,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyghurs</td>
<td>Wéiwúěr Zú</td>
<td>维吾尔族</td>
<td>8,399,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tujia</td>
<td>Tūjiā Zú</td>
<td>土家族</td>
<td>8,028,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi</td>
<td>Yì Zú</td>
<td>彝族</td>
<td>7,762,286</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mongols</td>
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<td>Zàng Zú</td>
<td>藏族</td>
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<td>Bùyī Zú</td>
<td>布依族</td>
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<td>Dōng Zú</td>
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<td>瑶族</td>
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<td>Korean</td>
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<td>Pumi</td>
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<td>普米族</td>
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\textsuperscript{216} China's Ethnicities – Ethnic Color is the most Beautiful, Ethnic Color is the World's Color (中国民族 - 民族的才是最美的，民族的就是世界的。(2009)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>Other Name</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<td>Jīnuò Zú</td>
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<td>赫哲族</td>
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<td>Lhoba</td>
<td>Luòbā Zú</td>
<td>罗巴族</td>
<td>2,965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Embaixada Da Republica Popular Da China Em Portugal, "2005 年全国 1%人口抽样调查主要


Sangay, L. *Education rights for Tibetans in Tibet and India*, in *Human rights: Positive policies in Asia*


"Welcome to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (외교통상부에 오신것을 환영합니다 )." 2007.


