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**ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS: THE
CASE-STUDY OF UYGHURS IN CHINA**

Bachelor's Thesis

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I declare I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic diversity has become a very recognizable phenomenon in many multi-ethnic societies during the last decade, which has resulted in social unrests and inter-ethnic conflicts that remain unresolved. However, the fact is that while some societies have been challenged by issues related to ethnic diversity, some of them enjoy harmony. Evidently, it proves that there are both considerably negative and positive impacts the phenomenon of ethnic diversity makes on multi-ethnic societies, and this factor in itself generates an academic interest. In this study, particularly the impacts of ethnic diversity on conflict resolution in the case of Uyghur people, who live mostly in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in China, will be analysed. Arguing that ethnic conflicts have been occurring as an outcome of political activities, this paper's main claim is that if the factor of ethnic diversity is treated by the state advantageously, it could positively contribute to the process of solving an intra-society ethnic conflict. Additionally, this research work will offer a framework as a solution to ease the on-going ethnic tensions at the state and individual levels in order to make intra-country ethnic relations working in a more productive way. Although each conflict is unique, at the same time they are very similar in terms of having and addressing the same issues. That is why the ethnic conflict in XUAR can make a contribution to any other research which focuses on ethnic conflicts and structural violence.

Key Words: ethnic diversity, Uyghurs in Xinjiang, conflict resolutions, China, ethnic conflicts.

INTRODUCTION

The People's Republic of China (further – China) is a unitary multi-ethnic country that comprises 55 various sizable ethnic groups, officially recognised as minority groups, and with the Han Chinese all make 56 different living ethnic groups in the country (Chinese White Paper 2009). China has a distinct ancient history and one can easily detect its impact on formalisation of the Chinese nationhood. The Han people are the single largest ethnic group in China, making up to 92 per cent of the country's population. In the 2000 Census, Uyghur people (who live mostly in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)) were the fifth largest group with a population of 8.4 million. Tibetans, the ninth largest group or 46 per cent of total population (5.4 million), predominantly live in Tibet Autonomous Region, and Mongols - 5.8 million – primarily reside in Mongolia Autonomous Region. The ethnic group of Hui people – the third largest or 9.8 million people – do not get associated with a particular Chinese territory and live throughout the vast country. Therefore, from the historical point of view, the formation of Chinese civilization provides a valuable understanding to the modern multi-ethnic Chinese state and the contemporary concepts of Chinese nationalism.

Because of a number of conquests completed by different dynasties, China had been able to gain huge territories and get the country associated with a number of ethnicities. In that sense, the period of the Qing Empire (1644-1911) is the most important for the country in terms of being a milestone in the formation of modern multi-ethnic Chinese nation as geographically vast and ethnically diverse (Ho 1967, 189). The formation of the modern Chinese state was featured by intensive interactions of Inner and East Asia, which has been resulted with the unification of the two region in the period of Qing Empire. What makes the period of the Qing Empire significant, in this study, is that the successful legacy of the Qing Empire in regards of ruling a country of many ethnic groups was about keeping those ethnicities relatively separate from each other, but making them loyal to the state at the same time (Rawski 1996, 831).

The main components of the vast Qing Empire were, ethnically, the Han, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Huis and Kazhaks with other ethnics. After the collapse of the Empire in 1911, the Sun Yat-sen's Republic of China had an ideology that was against the legacy of Qing and was in support of the creation of a 'Han identity' with the desire to retain all the territories of Qing Empire in the new nation-state (Rawski, 838-839). Some scholars suggest that the new ideology put the smaller ethnicities like Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uyghurs in a difficult situation to comfortably

enjoy their participation in the formation of a new national identity (Tang et al, 2010, 4). Because of this ideology and some other reasons related to the Japanese direct involvement in Chinese affairs in the interwar period, the Uyghurs and Manchus became temporary independent in 1930s and 1940s, Tibet was unattended from 1911 to 1951, and the Outer Mongolia-based Mongolian People's Republic was established in 1924. This period could be understood as the new era's starting point- more specifically the beginning of the ethnic question in China.

The conflictual situations among ethnic groups have been occurring before and after the establishment of the Communist rule in Mainland China. A desire of gaining autonomy and protesting against the ideology of the state have mainly been given as a reason for existing unrests. Having said that, it is necessary to state that the cause of conflicts might be difference depending on the ethnic group in question.

However, it could be suggested that some of the China-based ethnic groups are posing serious challenges to the concept of PRC's nation building process – this is in terms of those groups' non-fading desire to maintain their ethnic identity that could significantly differ from the identity of majority. Most probably, such a drive to keep their ethnic values and degree of difference 'alive' cause tensions within the Chinese society since 1949. This is because there is no doubt that Han culture has played a major role in the process of the formation of Chinese civilization since the Han people make the majority of the population. At the same time, it has become a serious problem for other ethnic groups when they faced the threat of assimilation to Han Chinese, while losing their distinct ethnic identity. Similarly, the policy of 'Russification' had been applied in the Soviet time on to non-Russian national minorities within the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic and, in a significant addition, the non-Russian majorities within the other titular Republics of the former USSR. It was in order for the non-Russian ethnic groups (both Slavic and non-Slavic) to adopt Russian language, history, custom and general culture as it would be their own, attacking those peoples' fundamental rights to have and enjoy their traditional way of life.

In the consideration of the current situation in China, some may observe a certain tension between ethnic nationalism and the formation of a multiethnic nation state. Although it seems that there are two separate identities – ethnic and national – the latter, in a way, is a demonstration of Chinese multiethnic concept that, actually, makes two identities more interrelated, but not separate. Therefore, if the concern of the state is the protection of national identity, and the focus for the ethnic group is to pursue their ethnic identity, to some extent that makes the relations considerably more

important to deal with at the state level. However, it has made ethnic relations a crucial issue for the country in terms of providing ethnic harmony since to maintain ethnic harmony is a way of China to ensure “the Communist Party’s legitimacy, regime stability, effective governance, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity” (Tang et al, 2010, 1).

Likewise, in an ethnically diverse country ensuring and maintenance of harmony in ethnic relations is an issue and very much related to the relations between ethnic groups and the state. That is to say, managing ethnic relations will require the examination of attitudes and policies of government over ethnic minorities. In this regard, in July 2009, the violence in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang in China’s north-west, between Uyghurs and Han Chinese, could be treated as an outcome of China’s policies towards Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, which have been maintained for a long time (Clarke 2010, 213). Furthermore, the incident has made the idea that the policy of government had not led to having a stabilised region in Xinjiang stronger (Chou 2012, 3).

Considering the above, the aim of this study is driven by the following question: “**How the factor of ethnic diversity existing within a broader society makes its impact on resolving a conflictual situation in the case of Uyghurs in PRC?**” This paper claims that if the factor of ethnic diversity is treated by the state advantageously, it could tremendously as well as positively contribute to the process of solving an intra-society ethnic conflict.

What makes the Uyghur people, in a way, significant to examine as a group of people demonstrating unrest, is that they are such a religiously, linguistically and culturally distinctive ethnic group within PRC. Furthermore, the ethnic separatism has notably become the name to identify and present the continuous situation in Xinjiang for the Uyghur people, which has been stated by many scholars. Therefore, as rights of any minority group to enjoy with their values which is, actually, stated officially in Chinese officials as “all nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal”; moreover, “the people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs” (Constitution of The People's Republic of China 1982). Therefore, the ethnic unrest in Xinjiang, given a high degree of multi-ethnicity within the broader Chinese society, could even have highly unfortunate pre-conditions to be ‘spilled over’ onto an international scene.

Resolving a conflictual situation requires identification of the cause/causes to those. In this study, ‘conflictual situations’ are understood as ethnic conflicts within a country, and this paper argues that **ethnic conflicts have been occurred as an outcome of political activities**. In other words, ethnic

conflicts will be examined as an outcome of political activities that has played important roles in guiding group identity and adjusting boundaries of political entity and has had an impact on conflict resolution among ethnic minorities.

From the methodological side of this paper, the plan is for the research question to be answered with the help of the following analytical tools: firstly, there will be a justified necessity to define the notion of ‘ethnic diversity’ in general, and then – in the context of China. There is certain logic to bring a normative dimension into this paper’s framework – this is in order to see how compatible the Chinese current legislation on ethnic diversity with the internationally-accepted understanding the phenomenon. Secondly, there will be a need to establish the measuring scope to detect the ethnic diversity’s actual impact on the process of finding a mutually excepted solution that could end the conflict. Hence, in the section two, the actual impacts of ethnic diversity will be analysed. The final section – this paper’s conclusive remarks – will be to summarise the main findings and also offer a particular framework as a solution to the ethnic conflicts at the state level (PRC) and individual level (ethnic people) in terms of making intra-country ethnic relations working in a more productive way.

Although each conflict is unique, at the same time they are very similar in terms of having and addressing the same issues. That is why the ethnic conflict in XUAR will make a contribution to any other research which focuses on ethnic conflicts and structural violence.

1. DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Before defining the term ethnic diversity in terms of making an understanding to the societies in which various ethnic groups involve it would be more appropriate to give the definition of ethnicity (ethnic groups). This is because, ethnic diversity is a measurement and ethnic groups and ethnicities are the components of the concept. However, because of the complexities of ethnic diversity around the world that has caused much debate and put the difficulty in defining the concept of ethnicity/ethnic groups. In other words, the problem in the formulation of ethnicity varies to a certain extent from country to country.

Further on, the concept has become an important that, in the last few decades, there has been an increased number of scholarly publications on the subject of ethnicity in the social sciences, in such fields of political science, sociology, history, cultural studies and social anthropology. A reason of the current academic interest in ethnicity that is being of the phenomenon very much recognizable in many societies.

In the following section, it will be making the definition of the terms ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic groups’ in different point of view. Moreover, the concept of ethnicity needs to be supplemented by other approaches such as anthropologists and international perspective in order to develop a full picture of the concept of ethnic diversity. However, while defining such terms it will be given answer the question: how do manifestations and meanings of ethnic diversity vary from place to place? Then, there will be explanations on China’s dimensions regarding ethnic groups to make comparison to other approaches (internationally excepted one).

1.1 Definition of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic groups’

The terms such as ‘ethnicity’, ‘ethnic’, and ‘ethnic group’, in their side (concept), have continuously developed from the late 1960s until the 1990s and wide use of them have still maintaining around the world (Eriksen 2010, 11-12). Likewise, as known the concept of ethnicity, ‘ethnic group’ and ‘ethnic’ are very much related with each other that are, actually, neologisms which has come, recently, to an existence in the context of western social science.

The term 'ethnic' is much older than the term 'ethnicity' which is derived from the Greek *ethnos*, which originally meant heathen or pagan (Hasmath 2011, 1). It was used in this sense in English from mid-XIV until mid-XV centuries (Erikson 2010, 4). On the other hand, the term 'ethnicity' as a first time has been used in the Oxford English dictionary in 1972.

Ethnicity, as a forms of identity politics, grew in political importance in the world after the Second World War, however, which still holds an important place in the twenty first century. For instance, in the United States 'ethnics' was used around the Second World War as a term which has been referred to Jews, Italians, Irish and other people with a consideration that were inferior to the dominant 'WASP' group, White Anglo Saxon Protestants (Eriksen 2010,4).

According to Cohen (1978), the terms 'ethnic groups' and 'ethnicity' has been described as "a set of named groupings" and singled out by the researcher as ethnic units (Hasmath 2011, 3; original source Cohen, 1978). Being a member in these named groupings is thereafter shown to have a relationship with one or more dependent variable(s). In this regard, ethnicity is used as a significant structural phenomenon existing on societal level.

Secondly, from another point of view, it could be stated that "ethnicity can be seen as one of several outcomes of group interactions in which there is differential power between non-minority and minority groups" (Hasmath 2011, 6). In other words, ethnicity can be a measurement within the structure of modern society to analyze positions of group power, as well as, relationships and 'mutual accommodation' between dominant and minority groups, which has highlighted the importance of the management of ethnic diversity in terms of setting group relations in a more peaceful way by examining power relations and social, political and economic resources between those groups (Hasmath 2011).

Thirdly, ethnicity is defined as a particular type of social identity which refers to subjective beliefs about one's origin (Schaeffer 2014, 34). Further, the researcher define ethnicity as a three dimensional concept that different elements of ethnic diversity is derived from the three: ethno-categorical, ethno-structural, and ethno-cultural diversity.

Finally, from the point of Max Weber the definition is pointed out as "we shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (Schaeffer 2014, 36; original source Weber, 1987).

On the other hand, Weber's perspective on ethnicity is that "persistent effect of the old ways [...] continue as a source of native country sentiment among emigrants even when they have become so thoroughly adjusted to the new country" (Hasmath 2011, 4; original source Weber, 1997). In the light of this expression, ethnicity could be described as a combination of language, common customs, values that extends beyond kinship (Hasmath 2011, 4).

The differences in the categorization of ethnicity has led to existence of different form of identification which is determined, as official, by countries. As one form of them, the classification of ethnicity by nation of birth has been practiced in Germany, France, Italy, and Austria. In order to explain, within the national boundaries an ethnic minority involves in a particular ethnic category and becomes a member of that group for life. However, as an ethnicity is bounded by national boundaries that is classified by sub-national areas in the case of leaving of one's ethnicity as a migrant to mentioned countries (Hasmath 2011, 1-2). For instance, if a Kurdish person is born in Turkey and migrates to Germany, after the age six, they will be formally belonging to Turkish community instead of Kurdish for making a sense to their natural life.

In the twentieth century, it has been brought a new understanding to the concept of ethnicity and ethnic groups. Particularly, in the nations such as Russia, China, and various Eastern European nations the concept of ethnicity has been determined and implemented according to a Soviet model. By this model the identification and categorization of ethnic minority groups was politicized and institutionalized with the official determinative "four commons" criterion that are "(1) a distinct language; (2) a recognized indigenous homeland and a common history; (3) a common economic life; (4) a strong sense of identity and distinctive customs, ranging from dress, religion, foods" (Hasmath 2011, 1). This is an example to the form of fixed identification. In the context of China, the current 55 official ethnic minority groups have been recognized as a result by the implementation of this model within the country though the potential of ethnic minority groups were more than 400.

In a certain period of time, post-WWII, countries such as Canada and Australia had been affected by mass-immigration. In those countries, self-identification of ethnicity was practiced. In this form of identification, it is free to define individuals themselves into an ethnic group that, probably, is the most accepted normative form of identification.

As a last point, since 'minority groups' as a term has been using often like 'ethnic groups' and 'ethnicity' in ethnically diverse societies, it would be necessary to make a definition of it with the term 'majority group' in terms of clarifying the concept of ethnic diversity.

An ethnic minority is defined as group which is inferior to the rest of the population in terms of their number and also politically non-dominant which is identified as an ethnic category or group (Eriksen, 147-148). On the other hand, majority group is defined as which “have the decisive voice in the major institutions of society and their culture determines the character of these institutions” (Isajiw 1998, 2).

1.2 From Anthropologists Point of View

Ethnicity has become a main preoccupation in social and cultural anthropology since the late 1960s and has still its effect on researches of today. There are many advantages of defining of ethnicity from anthropologist point of view since its dependence on long-term fieldwork and its comprehensive perspective of social life that makes possible to have a first-hand knowledge which is derived from social life at the level of everyday interaction. This is where ethnicity created and re-created in a great sense.

As a first, social anthropologists defines the term ‘ethnic group’ as something like ‘a people’ and go further to give an answer to the question: what is a people? That is in order to make a clear understanding to the concept. However, it should reasonably be defined for making a distinguishing between ‘ethnic group’ and ‘people’, because ‘people’ as a term has a broad sense that might be referred different characteristics of people. In other words, there is an acknowledgment that ‘ethnic group’ are a collection of people, but people are not always can be called justifiably as an ethnic group. It makes a point that they have had a difficulty in the designation of people in this regard.

Further, they make an explanation regarding characteristics of ethnicity. Notably, the cultural differences are not a measurement between two groups for determining the feature of ethnicity. To be mentioned about ethnicity a minimum contact between the groups is essential that they need to entertain ideas of each other. These are the basic required conditions and in the case that are not fulfilled, it would not be possible to mention existence of an ethnicity there. This is because relationships between the groups are accepted as a key point that only existence of groups as property are not enough without any interaction. (Eriksen 2010, 16)

Therefore, it shows, in a way, that ethnicity indicates strength and weakness of interaction between groups and as well as create an identity. In this respect, it could be said that “ethnicity has a political, organizational aspect as well as symbolic, meaningful one” (Eriksen, 17).

For making final point, in the light of expressions, ethnicity is defined “as an aspect of social relationships between persons who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom they are aware and with whom they enter into relationships” (Eriksen,16-17). Moreover, by ethnicity has been referring groups and identities which have been developed in mutual contact instead of in isolation (Eriksen, 15).

If it is needed to summarize all, Barth’s (1969, 10-11) definition from social anthropologists of view will make more sense to be emphasized that according to the researcher an ethnic group is defined “as a designated population that has four elements: (1) has a biologically self-perpetuating population; (2) shares fundamental cultural values and forms; (3) has a field of communication and interaction; and, (4) has a membership that identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category different from other categories of the same order”.

In this section, although ethnicity has been examined from social anthropologists of view, “all of the approaches of anthropology nevertheless agree that ethnicity has something to do with the *classification of people and group relationship*” (Eriksen, 5).

1.3 From International Point of View

According to the UN Statistic Division, there are some criteria to determine the characteristics of ethnic groups that are “ethnic nationality (i.e., country or area of origin, as distinct from citizenship or country of legal nationality), race, colour, language, religion, customs of dress or eating, tribe or various combinations of these characteristics” (Ethnocultural Characteristics 2013). Yet, there are no universally accepted categories and definition of these categories that define ethnic groups due to, as mentioned before, its wide differences from country to country.

The discovery of ethnicity that has necessarily required awareness of the rights of ethnic groups and management policies, so for that reason and for promoting minority groups’ participation to the unity of the country (Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity 1995). However, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has come up with the fact that “minorities in all regions

of the world continue to face serious threats, discrimination and racism, and are frequently excluded from taking part fully in the economic, political, social and cultural life available to the majorities in the countries or societies where they live” (Human Rights Day 2009).

Therefore, it would make sense to emphasize an international perspective regarding the rights of minorities. According to United Nations Human Rights, “The fundamental pillar of human rights and minority legal protection are the principles of non-discrimination and equality which constitute the basis of all core human rights treaties. They apply to everyone in relation to all human rights and freedoms and prohibit discrimination on the basis of a list of non-exhaustive categories such as race, colour, religion, language, nationality and ethnicity. Through respect for these two principles, the enjoyment of many human rights can be secured, including the right to effective participation in decision-making by minorities and in particular minority women” (United Nations Human Rights).

1.4 Ethnic Settlement in China

The fact is that China is a leading country in regards to East Asia in terms of providing definitive minority rights and autonomy rights to the ethnicities as considering them as part of the nation (Hastmath 2011, 85). Historical facts on the subject will be mentioned under this title as it is related to the period of the Communist Party of China (CPC) that is pointing out the beginning of identification matter of ethnic minorities within boundaries of the PRC. Identification of ethnic minority groups has become an issue after CPC came into power in 1949, which has started with a certain definition in the state Constitution since then.

As mentioned before the PRC was one of the country, in twenty century, which has influenced from and followed easily a Soviet model which “politicized and institutionalized the identification and categorization of ethnic minority groups”, because it was a matter, in that time, for CPC leaders to determine criteria that constitute an ethnic group since they were inexperienced in administrative matters. The four criteria were determined as “(1) a distinct language; (2) a recognized indigenous homeland and a common history; (3) a common economic life; (4) a strong sense of identity and distinctive customs, ranging from dress, religion, foods”. The number of ethnic minorities are making 105 million individuals which is officially identified as ‘minority nationalities’ (*shaoshu minzu*) by the CPC.

Under the control of the CPC special teams were organized to send into the regions in which highly populated with ethnic minorities for making research about and classify the ethnic minorities according to their history, language, religion and social and economic life. After this investigation more than 400 separate groups requested to be formally recognized, but as it was under the control of the CPC that was determined a significant number of groups were, actually, not separate from the existing groups contrary to their claim.

There seems necessary to examine some of criteria in more detail in term of distinguishing the identification style from others and, as well as, to get a better understanding of what criteria has constituted an ethnic group in the PRC. As it is known that there are hundreds and perhaps thousands of dialects, but since by ‘distinct language’ does not mean simply a dialect language spoken across China, therefore, which would not be a dimension of the first criterion. Indeed, the minority language is, actually, characterized with “distinct grammatical and phonological differences”. A common land, in the second criterion, can be explained with an example of ethnic group from within the boundaries of China. For example, majority of Mongolian ethnic people live in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in Northern China, that is sufficient to point out a common territory.

However, the recognition of all official ethnic groups have not been realized at one time. At the onset, 39 ethnic groups were officially recognized in 1954, and the other following 15 ethnic group were identified in 1964. Finally, after the Jino, an ethnic group, were added this identification has resulted in today’s number of 56 recognized ethnic groups within the PRC. According to this identification system registration of all Chinese citizens has been done according to nationality status that have still been maintaining by today as household registration and personal identification (Hasmath,85-86).

Mini Conclusion

That is the fact that the world has been discovered with a large number of people come from different nationalities having their own particular language and culture that has established a scope of diversity through the world. Thus, the fact, in a way, shows that having or presenting differences in language, culture or religion are, actually, natural result of social existence. In other words, diversity appears naturally as a social norm. Furthermore, when the scope

of diversity through the world is narrowed down to the state level, then, the existence of different ethnic minority groups has become a major factor in the measurement of diversity.

While analyzing the concept of 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic group' it is find out that there is not really a distinctive line between the two that ethnicity, in a way, refers to ethnic groups. That is to say, they constitutes a related concept and understanding. In all approaches, 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic group' has come to mean something which is related to people and their characteristics and, though it is associated with relations of people beside people as well in anthropologists view.

Ethnic groups can also be counted at the same time as minority groups that, actually, changes according to the context of residing country of ethnic groups. China as a multi-ethnic country comprises 56 various sizable ethnic groups and, on the other hand, 55 minority groups since the Han people are making the majority of the population.

In comparison to other countries such as Canada and Austria the concept of ethnicity, in China, seems simple one to understand and have certain criteria. However, notably, the way of identification of individuals in the Soviet model that has put a necessity and a narrow scope for individuals to define themselves within the boundaries of the State belonging to an officially accepted minority group (Hasmath, 1). The recognition of 55 current official ethnic minority groups, after 1949, rather than 400 plus can be demonstrated as an actual and real example to that. It proves, in a way, that the system of categorizing minorities is astonishingly generalised and, at the same time, has difficulties for ethnic individuals.

Finally, the ethnic group classification and how it has been described and implemented by CPC is considered as unusual that can be easily detected in the Uyghur example. This is mainly because, Han resettlement in a large extent into Xinjiang that has dramatically turned half of the Xinjiang's population into Han population and has created a perception of homogeneity of the Uyghur identity. (Hastmath, 87)

2. THE IMPACTS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Although some societies have been challenged by enormous ethnic diversity, some of them prosper with that. This, actually, proves that there are both negative and positive impacts of ethnic diversity on multi-ethnic societies to examine. The impact of ethnic diversity can be classified as on social relations (cohesion), ethnic relations (ethnic conflict), economy, policy (ethnic policies of state), education, and international affairs. Therefore, to what extent and how some of these factors are playing a role on the conflict resolution in the Uyghur case will be the issue to analyze more in detail. In order to make sense, because of the significant relations of the three: ethnic policy, ethnic relations and social cohesion will be examined respectively as first.

2.1 Ethnic Policies

The leaders of the states, in an ethnically diverse society, has become responsible in terms of making regulations for ethnic groups for providing inter-ethnic cohesion and stability among them and also within the country. This is because, ethnic policies have become a crucial subject for managing ethnic relations through a multi-ethnic country and in terms of “balancing ethno cultural diversity and dignity with national integration and cohesion”, which has been a highly a sensitive topic and also a challenge for Chinese policy makers (Leibold 2013, 1).

The discovery of ‘ethnicities’ or ‘ethnic groups’ in many societies has justifiably required identification for them, as their right and as part of society by states. Thus, as first, an identification policy has become an issue to be implemented for the description of ethnic groups by each multi-ethnic state in their way of identification model. Further on, some special rights will be essential after the identification for providing their settlement in a certain and peaceful way into the country. This, actually, can also be realized as one impact of ethnic diversity on administrative matter of ethnic groups.

In the context of China, the first attempts of identification of ethnic groups have been seen in the history of the CCP after they have gained power in 1949. Chinese Communist leaders had realized that to a certain extent ethnic diversity and variety of culture were recognizable at the country level after they had a trip from the southwest to northwest of China. Through the near detection of the

Communists “special treatment, recognition, and the establishment of autonomous regions to minorities” was given as promise that has led to emergence of ethnic nationality identification and ethnic minority policies since then (Hastmath, 90).

This system can be summarized under the three inter-linking policy elements and is still today’s Chinese policy which are follow as “1) the identification and classification of ethnic groups 2) a system of regional ethnic autonomy 3) a series of preferential minority-treatment policies” (Leibold 2013, 6).

By using a Soviet model-fixed identification- 56 ethnic groups have been identified inclusive Han. However, since the Han ethnic group has the large population the rest, 55 ethnic groups, have been referred to call as ‘ethnic minorities’. Moreover, to make more sense the Uyghur case, XUAR is officially established by the PRC in 1955 as one of China's five autonomous regions. As a first, ‘full equality among ethnic groups’ is stated as cornerstone of China’s ethnic policy, which is also a constitutional principle of China. Yet, the given three aspects of the principle will be helpful to clarify the concepts of full equality. The first aspect is that “regardless of their population size, length of history, area of residence, level of economic and social development, differences in spoken and written languages, religious beliefs, folkways and customs, every ethnic group has equal political status”. The second one is “all ethnic groups in China have not only political and legal equality, but also economic, cultural and social equality” and final aspect, “citizens of all ethnic groups are equal before the law, enjoying the same rights and performing the same duties”

Other rights of ethnic groups under the principle of ‘full equality among ethnic groups’ follow as; “freedom and rights of the person are inviolable; all people are equal before the law; all ethnic groups participate in state affairs administration on an equal footing; all ethnic groups enjoy freedom of religious belief on an equal footing; all ethnic groups in China have the right to use and develop their own spoken and written languages; and all ethnic groups have the freedom to preserve or change their own folkways and customs” (Full Equality among Ethnic Groups 2009).

After making point out how ethnic policy of the state has officially determined considering ethno-cultural heterogeneity of the society, indeed, there are long list of national policies for examining that some of them known as campaigns which have directly had an impact on ethnic minority groups. On the other hand, this examination will give a way to detect to what extent or whether given ethnic rights under the ethnic policies have been allowed to be implemented, specifically, in the case of Uyghur people in recent history and as currently in Xinjiang by making point to 2009 Urumqi riot.

2.1.1 Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956)

By 1956, there started a transition to socialism under Mao Zedong, the Chairman of the CCP, and the process “created a separation between state and society which was the exact opposite intention of implementing socialism according to Marx” (Escobar 2009, 27; original source Meisner,1999). Then, he has introduced a new policy with the slogan “let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend” which is called as “Hundred Flowers Campaign” in 1956.

Through this campaign intellectuals had got opportunity to express their opinion for making criticism of the government. Therefore, One of the intention of the campaign was to flourish communication with people (intellectuals) in terms of making decisions according to their criticism to create a better system.

One of the outcome of this campaign was relative deprivation which was class distinctions defined by education between Hans, who had benefits, and Uyghurs who had affected negatively as remaining stagnant or beginning declining (Escobar 2009, 28).

Stars (2015, 92) suggested that “[t]he Hundred Flowers movement (1956), that is, Mao’s call for open criticism of the party revealed a deep and broad current of discontent with Xinjiang’s promised “autonomy” in actual practice. Those who spoke out criticized the bingtuan form amaging the environment; they denounced Han cadres for haughtiness, ignorance, and inactivity toward Uyghur issues; and they demanded more real autonomy and more non-Han holding positions of real authority”.

2.1.2 Anti-Rightists Campaigns

The ‘Anti-Rightist Movement’ was emerged against the ‘Hundred Flowers Campaign’ within the Communist Party of China (CPC) and abroad. It was the Mao’s next campaign which is called as “Anti-Rightists Campaign” (June 1957-58). On the contrary, what intellectuals expressed as their ideology during the previous campaign, Hundred Flowers Campaign, became an evidence to be used against them. A high number of the intellectuals were labelled and sent to labor camps. “A CCP historian write that this campaign labeled 1,62 cadres ‘local nationalists’ and dispatched most to labor camps for thought reform” (Starr 2015, 93). However, the camps were used as a way of punishment for those who do not believe the communist way is best to progress.

Since during this campaign a number of minority nationals who had a position in the government as belonging to CCP were demoted or purged as anti-Party elements (Escobar 2009, 29; original source McMillen, 1979).

Uyghur people in Xinjiang were directly affected by this policy. Starr (2015, 93) stated as “what was the anti-Rightist campaign in China has focused in Xinjiang primarily Islamic figures and ‘local nationalists’ became in effect a de-Sovietizing purge of non-Han political elites”. To put it another way, local people who held a high position of authority were taken away and replaced with Han officials and as well as it was an attack to their rights of freedom of religion.

In the light of this policies (campaigns) it could not be mention about the principle of ‘full equality among ethnic groups’ or other rights which are just mentioned above. Although preventing any potential conflict, it can be said that the policies are contributed or provided a base for probable any conflict between the groups in Xinjiang.

2.1.3 Great Leap Forward

The following Mao’s campaign is called as ‘Great Leap Forward’ (1958-1961) which was a socio-economic intervention. The idea was of being at a level that could allow to compete with the United State’s economy. By this policy Mao’s intention was to have a unified China under one rule that is allowing freely sharing of resources (Escobar 2009, 30).

Uyghur people were at the center of this policy and were not justifiably satisfied with the causes. Because of grain rationing the amount of money the farmers made from the grain was not sufficient for their basic needs. The policy has resulted in “economic chaos and famine or near-famine conditions in nationwide and as elsewhere in Xinjiang from 1959 to 1961” (Starr 2015,93).

Moreover, besides grain rationing Uyghurs had difficulty finding a job outside farming industry, because they were simply denied. However, there were not the same conditions for Hans that only increased Uyghur frustration (Escobar 2009, 31). Forcing culture for making new implementations through the country, in a short period of time, does not take sympathy of any individual instead creates conflict.

2.1.4 Cultural Revolution (1966-1969)

The goal of the Cultural Revolution was to keep Communist ideology and make society purged from cultural elements in the country. What is called as ‘four olds’ in Cultural Revolution are that old ideas, customs, habits, and culture those the official stands against all of them (Altuni 1991). Therefore, it is possible to say that the policy increasingly pointed out the ethnic minorities.

The cultural revolution raised resentment among autonomy in Xinjiang Uyghurs and non-Hans which they considered a ‘political and social assault’ and further an attack on their identities (Bovingdon 2004, 20-21). The policy is clearly described as assimilationist and intolerant toward non-Hans during the Revolution. From another view it was “the most assimilative period in the history of PRC” (Altuni, 1991; original source Mackerras, 1994).

According to Escobar (2009), there can be analysed basic human needs deprivation and relative deprivation during the campaign. What is meant by basic human needs deprivation, is that differentiation of beliefs and religious principles was not recognized and respected by the officials.

The outcome of the Cultural Revolution strengthened the idea of the policy was not in favour of Uyghurs’ interests and minorities that caused to express their discontent more frankly. Instead of construction of peace among minorities, the regional autonomy policy was constructed and caused an unrest among ethnic groups.

2.1.5 Strike Hard Campaigns (1997)

China has shown with the “Strike Hard” anti-crime campaigns in 1983, which is also known as the ‘strike hard and punish policy’ (Shah, 2013). The new campaign is launched in Beijing in April 1997 and is aimed to clamp down on crime and corruption. (IHH 2010, 471). However, the known fact is that “the campaign has been widely used as a tool to curtail social unrest in China” (Shah 2013).

The great impacts of this campaign, especially on Uyghurs, in Xinjiang, is witnessed not just at local level by indigenous people there, but also at the international level. According to Amnesty International report (1999), these campaigns have resulted in 210 capital sentences and 190 executions of Uighur since 1997.

According to human rights organizations and civil society activists Beijing’s ‘Strike Hard’ campaign has put limit, in a great sense, to the enjoyment of their religious, commercial and cultural

rights through increasing crackdowns and detentions, making discrimination between the Han Chinese and Uyghurs, and pressing censorship (Shah 2013). According to the 1999 Amnesty report on Xinjiang, many mosques and schools which are related to Islam have been closed down, religious leaders is considered as “subversive” by the government have been dismissed or arrested (People’s Republic of China: Gross Violations of Human Rights in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region 1999, 10).

2.1.6 The Urumqi Riot (2009)

The July 2009 riot in Urumqi, capital of the XUAR, the clash between the Hans and Uyghurs in the streets of the city, resulted in 184 deaths and over one thousand people being seriously injured(Fatalities May Climb in Urumqi 2009).

Wei and Gang (2009) stated the Urumqi riots as “the deadliest ethnic violence in decades, revealed deep-rooted ethnic tensions intertwined with religious issues in this region of China and called into question the underlying principles of the Party’s “ethnic policies”. The tension between Han and Uyghur workers in late June brought along the large-scale communal conflict resulted in hundreds of people. According to official figures, Han ethnic group made up 137 of the victims, on the other side, 46 of them were Uyghurs, and one man from the Hui Muslim ethnic group. These communal riots by ethnic minorities has given rise to questions about China’s ethnic policies which aims to build a “harmonies society”.

2.2 Ethnic Relations with the Role of Migration and Economy

The most recognizable causes of ethnic diversity can be seen, probably, in ethnic relations in multi-ethnic societies. Since policies of government has always played a key role in managing ethnic relations, as a second, making consideration on ethnic relations for analysis is considered more appropriate to settle an understanding the relations between two.

China is a multi-ethnic political entity with a huge ethnic population and peaceful ethnic relations are highly related to preserving ethnic diversity through the country. By preserving ethnic

diversity, actually, meant that letting of each ethnic group to enjoy with their values and providing equality among them.

From general aspect of economy, it is proved that there are negative impacts of ethnic polarization on economic development because of “reduction of investment increase of government consumption and the probability of a civil conflict” (Montalvo et. al, 2004, 1). Many scholars, in recent years, have shown interest in the economic consequences of ethnic heterogeneity.

The large scale of Han migrants to Xinjiang has become very much effective factor for analysis of ethnic relations much easier that has resulted in ethnic tensions between Uyghurs and the Hans which is described as frequent and in some cases deadly (Howell and et al. 2011, 119). The reason of the tension is known, as based on inequality between two groups, especially after the migrations of Hans to the region. This was, mainly, because of the migration policy of the PRC that “from the 1950s to the 1970s openly encouraged Han migration to Xinjiang and officially resettled millions of Hans to the region” (Phillips 2012, 24).

This migration continued after the “Develop the West” campaign or with other name the “Open up the West” was initiated in 1999 by the PRC, which is mainly aimed to improve less developed western regions of the country in terms of economic and social conditions.

There are population of Uyghurs and other ethnic groups includes Hans according to the Chinese official data;

“1941: Uyghurs make up 80 percent of the population (Kazak 8.7, Han 5.0, Hui 2.5, Other 3.7)
1953: Uyghurs make up 74.7 percent of the population (Kazak 10.1, Han 6.1, Hui 3.1, Other 6)
1964: Uyghurs make up 54 percent of the population (Han 32.9, Kazak 6.7, Hui 3.6, Other 2.7)
1982: Uyghurs make up 45.8 percent of the population (Han 40.4, Kazak 6.9, Hui 4.3, Other 2.6)
1990: Uyghurs make up 47.5 percent of the population (Han 37.6, Kazak 7.3, Hui 4.5, Other 3.1)
2000: Uyghurs make up 45.2 percent of the population (Han 40.6, Kazak 6.7, Hui 4.6, and Other 2.9)” (Uyghur Human Rights Project 2007, 8-9).

From another perspective, by last decade, the increased Han population into Xinjiang due to the migration policies of the government has caused intensified ethnic tensions and Uyghurs have become a minority (Who are the Uighurs?, 2014). Therefore, the identity of Uyghurs has become one of important subject in that respect. The question arises, that has increased population of Hans brought Uyghurs to face the threat of losing their identity?

Finally, although ethnic tensions, as first, has emphasized as based on internal migration and Han-minority inequality the examined ethnic policies in previous section, in combination with inequalities between the Han and Uyghurs have been found out the main devastating factors in ethnic relations, in Xinjiang

2.3 Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is an important factor for societies to reach social achievements as a whole. Social institutions at good quality including educational institutions and well economic standards can be an example of these achievements. However, the achievement of social cohesion is especially crucial in ethnically diverse societies, because of a high risk of emergence of conflict between ethnic groups that is, indeed, evidence of the great impact of ethnic diversity on social cohesion.

Since ethnic relations, in Xinjiang, have been turned to call as ethnic conflicts between indigenous Uyghur people and the Han migrants, thus, it would be hard to mention about social cohesion among those people in the region, in both strong and weak sense.

3. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

First of all, it is found out that emergence of ethnic diversity has required the recognition of ethnic groups in multi-ethnic societies and the necessity of the recognition has been justified and supported by UN, which means that has been accepted at the international level. Moreover, the rights of minorities has been also stated and protected by the United Nations Human Rights.

However, there is not found out common an identifiable concept of ethnic groups by the countries, which has, actually, lead to the existence of complexities of ethnic diversity through the world. China's model of identification is defined based on a Soviet model, fixed-identification, which has narrowed the categories of ethnic groups and at the same time enforced to belong an existence officially recognized ethnic groups.

Then, the impacts of ethnic diversity have shown themselves in the regulations of ethnic policies of the state, which has driven a great importance in ethnic relations and for social cohesion that indeed have played an important role for conflict resolution.

Emergence of ethnic diversity, in China, has not resulted by immigration such as in Western societies. The existence diversity is occurred due to large conquests of different dynasties in the history of China, especially Qing dynasty, and the unification of Inner and East Asia in the period of Qing dynasty.

Therefore, although preserving ethnic diversity in a peaceful way, has been the first task of the state, that is indeed stated in Chinese officials as an ethnic policy, China's attempts to build a nation-state country for keeping the country unified and because of that the enforced policies over minorities, in practice, has put Uyghur people in many difficult situations and have not served the interest of the Uyghur people that is pursuing their values as freely as they want.

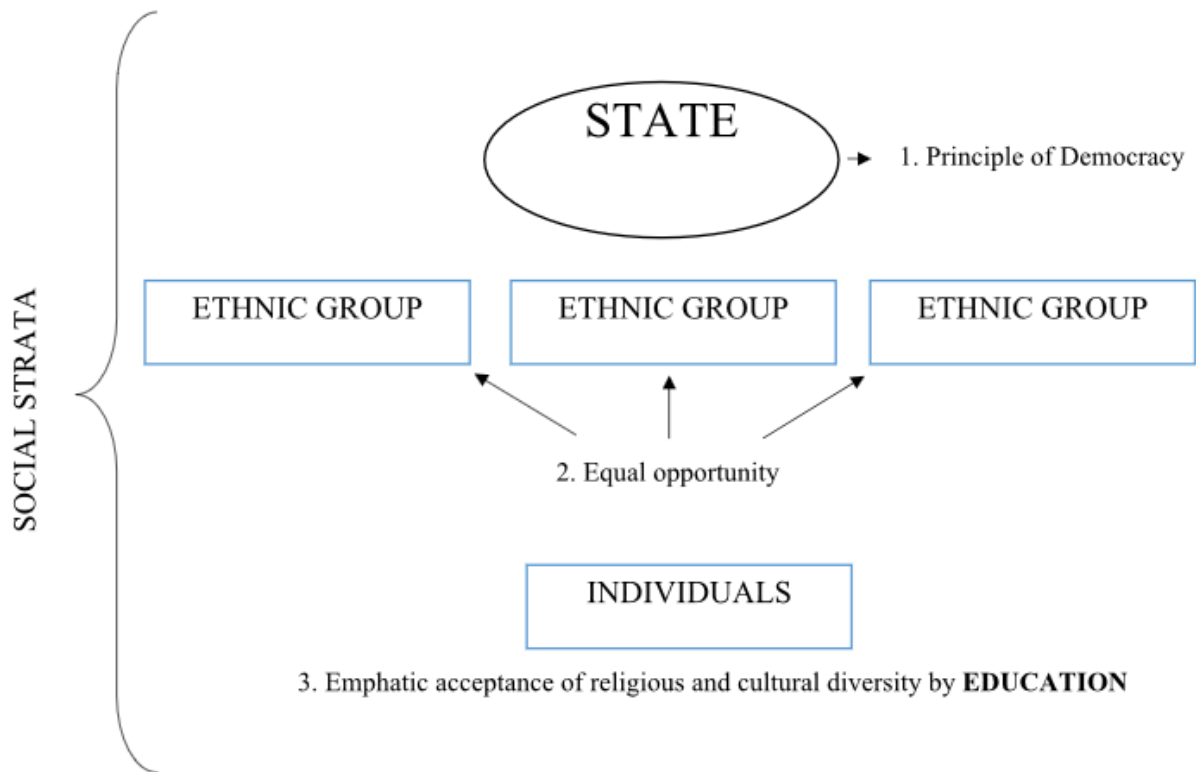
In other words, while examining the China's ethnic policies towards Uyghur people, in Xinjiang, it has come up that what is written as official, is actually often a theory not a practice. The way of ignoring cultural and religious heterogeneity, in practice, do not bring the society at a stage to resolve any conflict which exists or probable any potential conflict. Therefore, ethnic separatism has become a name that is called frequently with Uyghurs, which is stated by many scholars.

As a final point, the identity and recognition is the main principles of the basic human needs theory. Although Uyghurs has been recognized as one of 56 ethnic groups in China, Chinese policies

did not help to strengthen Uyghur identity and has resulted in grievances and resentment among Uyghurs.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF A PROPOSED SOLUTION

The world embraces enormous diversity and the states as an actor in international arena share the diversity in itself as a unique. What it means by unique, is that each country has its own diversity, such as having different ethnic groups or minorities that makes up a cultural mosaic on the state level. The mosaic could be extended on the international level, if it is achieved to keep the peace as first between the ethnic groups in a state, then, that can give a base to an integration of all (peaceful relations). Indeed, ethnic diversity in a society is/should be a rich aspect of culture and value to be cherished and shared instead of causing a conflict. Likewise, according to the UN “when we embrace diversity, we bring extra richness and depth to our societies” (Human Rights Day, 2009).Therefore, it would be important to keep all groups with its values (can be identity) in peace through respecting each other that can be a way to bring them by side by.



Source: Compiled by the author

Figure 1: Theoretical framework of a proposed solution

In the light of this view, the offered theoretical framework of the conflict resolution is based on the three elements follow as 1) principle of democracy, 2) equal opportunity, and 3) emphatic acceptance of religious of cultural diversity. At the state level, it is found out that exercising the principle of democracy would allow all residents to participate equally in the process of political self-determination. Moreover, as long as democratic values such as equal opportunity, rule of law, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion have been kept, these allow to flourish in all dimensions of individual's lives

Secondly, equal opportunity as a principle of democracy holds an importance for each ethnic group through providing equal access to the all institutions of government (social services) such as public education and economic assistances. The principle is also as task of government will be providing to all citizens of country under the implementations of democratic values.

Finally, as a third principle, the emphatic acceptance of religious and cultural diversity by individuals has considered as crucial for the management of ethnic diversity through country. Therefore, this way of understanding will be gained by individuals through equal access to education which is provided by state. However, the equal access to education is a significantly important factor, at first stage, at the individual level. This is because, the success of an individual would mean a success of a community as a whole. Thus, through education this understanding will be set from individual level to other level of social strata.

Through applying the three elements peace and harmony can be provided within the society, so the ethnic conflict will be prevented, with taking into consideration that although inter-ethnic relations have some similarities, they are, actually, unique in itself which all requires a unique understanding to approach and apply for a resolution of a conflict between ethnic groups.

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