

Ethnicity in China

Group selection

Ethnic classifications in China are a facet of policy, but also a subject of intense academic debate with regards to their designation, accuracy, and appropriateness. This is the case among both Chinese scholars (e.g. ¹¹⁵¹; ¹¹⁵²) and foreign scholars (e.g. ¹¹⁵³; ¹¹⁵⁴). Ethnic classifications reflect census data and the three stages of the "minzu shibie:" the government-sponsored ethnic identification campaigns (of 1950-1954, 1954-1978, 1978-1987). There are weaknesses and criticisms of the methods and data that emerged from the six censuses in China (1953, 1964, 1982, 1990, 2000, and 2010), particularly of the early censuses, and of the identification of the ethnic groups, but these are the most wide-reaching and most-used designations and percentages available.

Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the Republic of China, recognized "five peoples of China" at the beginning of the 20th century (the Han, the Manchurians, the Mongolians, the Tibetans, and the Hui) (1155, 14-15). As of the last phase of the "minzu shibie," there are 56 officially recognized nationalities, or ethnic groups, which include the majority **Chinese (Han)** – who make up over 90% of the population of China – and **55 minority groups**. Not all of the recognized groups are included in EPR during the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC), before they were recognized or part of census data. The year of the founding of the PRC (1949) is taken as a starting year, but it must be noted that ethnic designations, understandings, and conflicts are based in the earlier Republican period (1912-49).

The term "Hui" or "Huihui" has been used historically to refer to any Chinese Muslim. Thus, the term "Hui" first works here as an umbrella category that includes other Muslim groups, while **Hui (proper)** refers to the actual Hui ethnic group once other Muslim groups became politically relevant as separate groups according to Chinese official identification standards. (It should also be noted that these Muslim (sub-)groups are linguistically and culturally diverse. The fact that they have been conflated, aggregated and disaggregated does not imply relatedness (see ¹¹⁵⁶)). Groups that make up less than one-tenth of one percent of the population and have no autonomy above the county level are not included here as politically relevant (e.g. among Chinese Muslims: the Bonan,

1151 [Ma, 2004]
 1152 [Zhou, 2013]
 1153 [Gladney, 2004]
 1154 [Mullaney, 2011]

 1155 [Gladney, 2004]

¹¹⁵⁶ [Lipman, 1997]

Tajik, Tatar, Uzbek). If a group previously had more than one-tenth of one percent population and dropped during a period (e.g. the Dongxiang), it remains on the list.

Early population data is taken from the 1953 census, and although there are 41 minorities listed on the census, only minority nationalities with populations of over half a million are included in EPR. The 1953 census puts the total population of the PRC at 582,603,417 people including 1,072,642 unspecified minorities.

1964 population statistics: Excluded from EPR are groups listed on the census with less than one-tenth of one percent population (Blang, Salar, Maonan, Gelo, Xibe, Achang, Tajik, Pumi, Gaoshan, Nu, Uzbek, Russian, Ewenki, Benglong, Bonan, Yugur, Jing, Tatar, Drung, Oroqen, Hezhen, and Monba).

Growth in the minority population according to the 1982 census does not actually reflect dramatic fertility changes, but rather reregistration of individuals, e.g. those previously registered as Han who have re-registered as minority status for the sake of access to so-called "preferential policies." (See e.g. Mackerras's (1157) explanation of the surprisingly rapid growth rate of the Tujia from 525,348 people in 1964 to 2,836,814 people in 1982 - an apparent 439.99% increase.)

The population of Tibet is not assessed in the Chinese census before the territory's annexation in 1950. **Tibetans** present in other Chinese provinces including Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and Yunnan have been considered for this time frame but are too few to be coded as politically relevant (1158). Subsequently, Tibet's total population is assessed in the Chinese census and the group becomes politically relevant.

Power relations

1946-1949

The years of 1946-49 are marked by China's civil war fought between the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China, KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CCP). Ethnicity is coded as irrelevant during these last years of the Republican period when state power was in disarray. (In 1946-1949 Uyghurs were in a state of de facto independence (cf. ¹¹⁵⁹), which is, however, not coded because ethnicity was not politicized at the time.)

1950-1966

The CCP won some decisive victories across mainland China beginning in the latter part of 1948 that led to the establishment of the People's Republic on October 1, 1949. Apart from the majority population (Han), who have held the monopoly on power in the executive ever since, no other ethnic group held political power. The term "politically mobilized" is understood as an idea of a given ethnic (political) interest and consciousness, but no formal organi-

 1157 [Mackerras, 2001]

¹¹⁵⁸ [Guo, 1996]

¹¹⁵⁹ [Minority Rights Group International, 2020b]

zational structure is given for example to represent independently the ethnic group or to claim positions in the government. We focus on the large ethnic groups mainly because very little information / literature is available about the specific situation of the smaller groups. The topic of ethnicity is politically sensitive in China, and thus, research and data collections is difficult if not impossible to obtain. From some groups, such as the Yi, personal interviews revealed that violent conflicts happened in the late 1950s as a reaction against the dominance of the Han and the enforcement of the communist ideology, which suppressed certain forms of ethnic behavior. Overall, the government's policies towards minorities were tolerant and supportive in this period, with some recognition also for the use of their languages (1160). Therefore, the politically relevant minority groups are coded as powerless.

The Tibetans become relevant in this period as China incorporated Tibet in 1950. 1950-51 marks the so-called "liberation" (or reincorporation/invasion) of Tibet by the PLA (People's Liberation Army).

A note about autonomous areas: many policies enacted and enforced in autonomous counties, prefectures, regions and banners are directed by the State and the Chinese understanding of "autonomy" remains a very circumscribed one. Nevertheless, there are some benefits and substate-level decision-making enabled in autonomous areas. Not coded in EPR with regional autonomy are autonomous county-level designations as this is comparable to municipal decision-making, but it has to be noted that the majority of ethnic autonomy designations are at this level and applicable to a majority of ethnic groups in China. Also included are "regional banners," i.e. regionally autonomous land designations in Inner Mongolia. There are some groups not listed at all that may have individual influential cadres at substate levels, but who have no (recognized or de facto) autonomy.

1967-1976

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) was an exceptional time when ethnic struggles were re-interpreted as class struggles. All minority ethnic groups were discriminated. Previously designated regional autonomy were essentially void during this time period, previous concessions were retracted, and the use of other languages in many contexts was not allowed. The goal of the state was to make ethnicity irrelevant, but this resulted in the destruction of religious edifices and the labeling of minority traditions as superstitious, counterrevolutionary, etc. It was a time of great trial for many Chinese as well, but ultimately most minority groups were supposed to be in a lower stage of (Marxist) historical development, e.g. the Han were struggling to move out of feudalism and ultimately into socialism, but many minorities were labeled as being in a stage of "slave" or primitive society. After this period, things moved back towards being more pluralistic.

¹¹⁶⁰ [Minority Rights Group International, 2020a]

During the Cultural Revolution, all ethnic groups were discriminated, even if we focus on the larger groups, it seems plausible, that all 55 ethnic (minority) groups were under the same pressure as one purpose of the Cultural Revolution was the eradication of "culture" and "tradition." Yet, the Cultural Revolution is probably the politically most sensitive period in modern China and further statements on ethnic issues on the basis of the data available are difficult to make.

1977-1982

The starting point of this period is somewhat difficult to define, so that the end of the Cultural Revolution was chosen. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, politics started to change slowly in favour of ethnic minorities.

1983-1990

A next major cut in terms of ethnic policies was the formulation of the constitution 1982 that upgraded the position of ethnic minorities in China. Even more importantly, minorities gained substantial rights – at least in theory – with the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL, revised in 2001) introduced in 1984, that gave rights on economic development, administration, education, and cultural activities to the 55 formally recognized ethnic minorities. However, as the law took preparation and discussion, it would be misleading to focus too much on the year 1984.

1991-2000

Regional autonomy statuses were verified with the help of the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China (1161). Autonomous Regions include Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Regional Autonomy has only been coded down to the prefecture level, and does not include county level. Further ethnic groups with regional autonomy include the Qiang for Aba Tibetan-Qiang Autonomous Prefecture and the Hani for Honghe Hani-Yi Autonomous Prefecture, the prefecture autonomy having been established in 1953 and 1957 respectively, as well as the Daur for Morin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner, which has been established in 1958.

2001-2010

Groups with substate-level influence may simultaneously be subjected to discrimination at the national level. Notable recent cases include the aftermaths of the 2008 protests by Tibetan groups and the 2009 protests by Uyghur groups (which resulted in restrictions on movement to/from autonomous areas, restrictions of passport

¹¹⁶¹ [Information Office of the State Council of the Pe

issuance in connection with ethnic designation, and blocking access in minority areas to the internet or other sources of information). In the 2010-2013 review period, there were ethnicity-based repercussions from Tibetan self-immolation protests (including arbitrary imprisonment, disappearances, restrictions on movements to/from areas, and blocking internet access) and coerced resettlement of no-madic populations across the Tibetan plateau.

2011-2017

The year 2010 was a census year for China, thus population sizes have been adjusted for 2011 and onward.

There have also been ethnicity-based repercussions from conflicts between Han and Uyghurs in Xinjiang in 2013. Uyghur separatist movements have been labeled as terrorist groups. It is difficult to know if groups are actually involved in terrorism or are political dissidents that have been inaccurately labeled so. There have been arbitrary imprisonments, restrictions on movements to/from areas, blocking internet access, limitations on religious association, etc.

Research suggests that ethnic discrimination against Tibetans and Uyghurs has continued, whereas other ethnic minorities in China have not been specifically targeted until 2017, and are thus coded as powerless (1162 ; 1163).

2018-2021

During this review period, the ruling CCP "continued to advocate its authoritarian political system as an alternative to liberal democracy and extended its propaganda apparatus abroad" (¹¹⁶⁴). It stepped up ideological indoctrination and surveillance of citizens and repression of ethnic minorities, especially with regards to the Tibetans and Uyghurs (cf. ¹¹⁶⁵). Additionally to being discriminated, the Tibetans lost their status of regional autonomy in this phase. They did not have any meaningful authority as the CCP oversaw Tibet policies and "Han Chinese CCP members held the overwhelming majority of top party, government, police, and military positions in the TAR and other Tibetan areas" (¹¹⁶⁶).

In Xinjiang, the central government had launched its "Strike Hard" campaign in 2014, ostensibly aiming to contain and eradicate terrorism, but mainly targeting Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslim minorities to prevent ethnic unrest. Under additional "Deradicalization Regulations" implemented in 2017, the second largest Muslim group in Xinjiang, the Kazakhs, became increasingly targeted as well. As the Uyghurs, they were arbitrarily held "in detention centers, designed to instill patriotism and erase their religious and ethnic identities" (1167; for reports of targeted discrimination of Kazakhs also see 1168, 1169). While these reports indicate that other Muslim minorities including ethnic Hui and Kirghiz suffered from the government's discriminatory policies as well, they appear to be targeted less specifically. Therefore, the Kazakhs and Uyghurs are

¹¹⁶² [US Department of State, 2014-2016]
 ¹¹⁶³ [Human Rights Watch, 2015-2017]

¹¹⁶⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2020]

 $^{1165}\left[\mathrm{Human~Rights~Watch,~2020} \right]$

 $^{1166}\,[\mathrm{US}\ \mathrm{Department}\ \mathrm{of}\ \mathrm{State},\,2019]$

 $^{1167}\left[\text{US Department of State, 2019} \right]$

 $^{1168}\left[\mathrm{Human~Rights~Watch},\,2018\right]$

¹¹⁶⁹ [Mamashuly, 2020]

coded as discriminated while other Muslim minorities keep their powerless status. Similar to the Tibetans, the Uyghurs lose their status of regional autonomy as decision-making with regards to Xinjiang was "concentrated in the centrally appointed Party structure and in Beijing, thereby excluding ethnic Uyghurs" (1170).

The case of the third major minority group, the Mongolians, is somewhat unclear. While they are also restricted in their right to self-determination and face repressive treatment by the central government, they are less specifically targeted than the Uyghurs or Tibetans (1171). Thus, they keep their status of powerless with regional autonomy. Finally, while several reports suggest increasing repression of ethnic minorities' rights at the hand of the state, other ethnic minority groups than the ones discussed above do not appear to be targeted specifically (cf. 1172) and continue to be coded as powerless.

¹¹⁷⁰ [Minority Rights Group International, 2020b]

¹¹⁷¹ [Minority Rights Group International, 2020a]

 $^{1172}\left[\text{International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs} \right.$

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Political status of ethnic groups in C

From 1946 until 1949

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	IRRELEVANT

From 1950 until 1950

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0113	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0062	POWERLESS
Hui	0.0061	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0056	POWERLESS
Miao	0.0043	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0042	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0025	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0021	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0019	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0012	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0011	POWERLESS
Bai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kazakh	8.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 1951 until 1964

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0113	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0062	POWERLESS
Hui	0.0061	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0056	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0048	POWERLESS
Miao	0.0043	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0042	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0025	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0021	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0019	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0012	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0011	POWERLESS
Bai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kazakh	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS



Figure 207: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1946-1949.



Figure 208: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1950-1950.

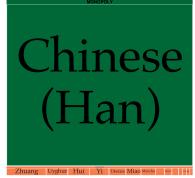


Figure 209: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1951-1964.

From 1965 until 1966

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0121	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0064	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0058	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0049	POWERLESS
Miao	0.004	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0039	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0036	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0028	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.002	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0019	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0012	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0012	POWERLESS
Bai	0.001	POWERLESS
Hani	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tujia	8.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dai	8.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kazakh	7.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Li	6.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS



Figure 210: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1965-1966.

From 1967 until 1976



Figure 211: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1967-1976.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0121	DISCRIMINATED
Hui (proper)	0.0064	DISCRIMINATED
Uyghur	0.0058	DISCRIMINATED
Yi	0.0049	DISCRIMINATED
Miao	0.004	DISCRIMINATED
Manchu	0.0039	DISCRIMINATED
Tibetans	0.0036	DISCRIMINATED
Mongolians	0.0028	DISCRIMINATED
Bouyei	0.002	DISCRIMINATED
Koreans	0.0019	DISCRIMINATED
Yao	0.0012	DISCRIMINATED
Dong	0.0012	DISCRIMINATED
Bai	0.001	DISCRIMINATED
Hani	9.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Tujia	8.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Dai	8.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Kazakh	7.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Li	6.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Lisu	4.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Lahu	3.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
She	3.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Shui	2.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Dongxiang	2.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Mulam	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Tu	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED
Qiang	1.0×10^{-4}	DISCRIMINATED

From 1977 until 1982



Figure 212: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1977-1982.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.94	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0121	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0064	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0058	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0049	POWERLESS
Miao	0.004	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0039	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0036	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0028	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.002	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0019	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0012	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0012	POWERLESS
Bai	0.001	POWERLESS
Hani	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tujia	8.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dai	8.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kazakh	7.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Li	6.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 1983 until 1990



Figure 213: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1983-1990.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.933	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0133	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0072	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0059	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0054	POWERLESS
Miao	0.005	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0043	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0038	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0034	POWERLESS
Tujia	0.003	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0021	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0018	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0014	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0014	POWERLESS
Hani	0.0011	POWERLESS
Bai	0.0011	POWERLESS
Li	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kazakh	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Gelao	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Xibe	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Salar	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 1991 until 2000



Figure 214: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 1991-2000.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.9192	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0138	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0087	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0076	POWERLESS
Miao	0.0065	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0064	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0058	POWERLESS
Tujia	0.0051	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0042	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0041	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0022	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0021	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0019	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0017	POWERLESS
Bai	0.0014	POWERLESS
Hani	0.0011	POWERLESS
Kazakh	0.001	POWERLESS
Li	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	6.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Gelao	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Xibe	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Salar	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Blang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Maonan	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 2001 until 2010



Figure 215: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 2001-2010.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.9153	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0128	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0084	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0078	POWERLESS
Miao	0.0071	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0066	DISCRIMINATED
Tujia	0.0063	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0061	POWERLESS
Mongolians	0.0046	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0043	DISCRIMINATED
Dong	0.0024	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0023	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0021	POWERLESS
Bai	0.0015	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0015	POWERLESS
Hani	0.0012	POWERLESS
Kazakh	0.001	POWERLESS
Li	0.001	POWERLESS
Dai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	6.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Gelao	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Xibe	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Blang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Salar	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Maonan	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 2011 until 2017

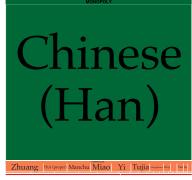


Figure 216: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 2011-2017.

Chinese (Han) 0.916 MONOPOLY Zhuang 0.0127 POWERLESS Hui (proper) 0.0079 POWERLESS Manchu 0.0076 DISCRIMINATED Miao 0.0071 POWERLESS Yi 0.0065 POWERLESS Tujia 0.0063 POWERLESS Tibetans 0.0047 DISCRIMINATED Mongolians 0.0045 POWERLESS Dong 0.0024 POWERLESS Bouyei 0.0022 POWERLESS Yao 0.0012 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0014 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0014 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Li 0.0011 POWERLESS Lisu 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS She 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS She 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Shui 3.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Shui 3.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Naxi <t< th=""><th>Group name</th><th>Proportional size</th><th>Political status</th></t<>	Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hui (proper) 0.0079 POWERLESS Manchu 0.0078 POWERLESS Uyghur 0.0076 DISCRIMINATED Miao 0.0071 POWERLESS Yi 0.0065 POWERLESS Tujia 0.0063 POWERLESS Tibetans 0.0047 DISCRIMINATED Mongolians 0.0024 POWERLESS Dong 0.0024 POWERLESS Bouyei 0.0022 POWERLESS Yao 0.0021 POWERLESS Bai 0.0015 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0012 POWERLESS Hani 0.0012 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Lisu 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS She 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Dongxiang 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Lahu 4.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Shui 3.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Wa	Chinese (Han)	0.916	MONOPOLY
Manchu 0.0078 POWERLESS Uyghur 0.0076 DISCRIMINATED Miao 0.0071 POWERLESS Yi 0.0065 POWERLESS Tujia 0.0063 POWERLESS Tibetans 0.0047 DISCRIMINATED Mongolians 0.0045 POWERLESS Dong 0.0024 POWERLESS Bouyei 0.0022 POWERLESS Yao 0.0021 POWERLESS Bai 0.0015 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0014 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Liu 0.0011 POWERLESS She 5.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS Lisu 5.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS She 5.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS She 5.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS Shui 3.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS Shui 3.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS	Zhuang	0.0127	POWERLESS
Uyghur 0.0076 DISCRIMINATED Miao 0.0071 POWERLESS Yi 0.0065 POWERLESS Tujia 0.0063 POWERLESS Tibetans 0.0047 DISCRIMINATED Mongolians 0.0045 POWERLESS Dong 0.0024 POWERLESS Bouyei 0.0022 POWERLESS Yao 0.0021 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0015 POWERLESS Hani 0.0014 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Li 0.0011 POWERLESS Lisu $0.$	Hui (proper)	0.0079	POWERLESS
Miao 0.0071 POWERLESS Yi 0.0065 POWERLESS Tujia 0.0063 POWERLESS Tibetans 0.0047 DISCRIMINATED Mongolians 0.0045 POWERLESS Dong 0.0024 POWERLESS Bouyei 0.0022 POWERLESS Yao 0.0021 POWERLESS Bai 0.0015 POWERLESS Koreans 0.0014 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Kazakh 0.0011 POWERLESS Li 0.0011 POWERLESS Lisu 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Lisu 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS She 5.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Lahu 4.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Gelao 4.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Shui 3.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Wa 3.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Naxi 2.0 × 10 ⁻⁴ POWERLESS Mulam 2.0	Manchu	0.0078	POWERLESS
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Jingpo 1.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS Daur 1.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS	Kirghiz		POWERLESS
Daur 1.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS	Maonan	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
	Jingpo		POWERLESS
Salar 1.0×10^{-4} POWERLESS	Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
	Salar	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

From 2018 until 2021



Figure 217: Political status of ethnic groups in China during 2018-2021.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Chinese (Han)	0.916	MONOPOLY
Zhuang	0.0127	POWERLESS
Hui (proper)	0.0079	POWERLESS
Manchu	0.0078	POWERLESS
Uyghur	0.0076	DISCRIMINATED
Miao	0.0071	POWERLESS
Yi	0.0065	POWERLESS
Tujia	0.0063	POWERLESS
Tibetans	0.0047	DISCRIMINATED
Mongolians	0.0045	POWERLESS
Dong	0.0024	POWERLESS
Bouyei	0.0022	POWERLESS
Yao	0.0021	POWERLESS
Bai	0.0015	POWERLESS
Koreans	0.0014	POWERLESS
Hani	0.0012	POWERLESS
Kazakh	0.0011	DISCRIMINATED
Li	0.0011	POWERLESS
Dai	9.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lisu	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
She	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Dongxiang	5.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Lahu	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Gelao	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Shui	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Wa	3.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Tu	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Naxi	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Qiang	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Mulam	2.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Blang	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Xibe	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Kirghiz	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Maonan	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Jingpo	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Daur	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS
Salar	1.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in China

From 1950 until 1950

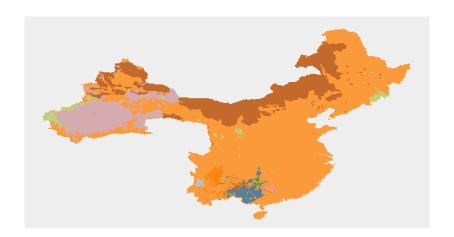


Figure 218: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1950-1950.

Group name	Area in $\rm km^2$	Type
Chinese (Han)	7 557 606	Statewide
Mongolians	982545	Regionally based
Uyghur	818 076	Regionally based
Kazakh	239717	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Hui	118479	Aggregate
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Koreans	33 432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28 183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based

Table 72: List of ethnic groups in China during 1950-1950.

From 1951 until 1964

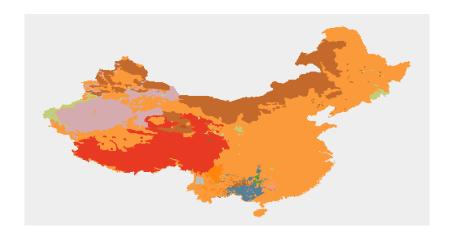


Figure 219: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1951-1964.

Group name	Area in $\rm km^2$	Type
Chinese (Han)	9 369 185	Statewide
Tibetans	1681597	Regionally based
Mongolians	1059217	Regionally based
Uyghur	820217	Regionally based
Kazakh	265038	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Hui	120262	Aggregate
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Koreans	33432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28 183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based

Table 73: List of ethnic groups in China during 1951-1964.

From 1965 until 1966

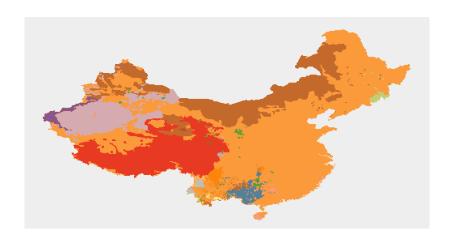


Figure 220: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1965-1966.

Table 74: List of ethnic groups in China during 1965-1966.

 Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Chinese (Han)	9369185	Statewide
Tibetans	1681597	Regionally based
Mongolians	1059217	Regionally based
Uyghur	820217	Regionally based
Kazakh	265038	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Kirghiz	81 857	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Hui (proper)	34957	Regionally based
Koreans	33432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28 183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Hani	20748	Regionally based
Li	13904	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Naxi	12009	Regionally based
Jingpo	11 834	Regionally based
Tujia	11602	Regionally based
Dai	10837	Regionally based
Lisu	9799	Regionally based
She	8076	Regionally based
Qiang	6860	Regionally based
Wa	5879	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based
Lahu	4381	Regionally based
Shui	4217	Regionally based
Tu	3635	Regionally based
Dongxiang	2592	Regionally based
Mulam	931	Regionally based

From 1967 until 1982

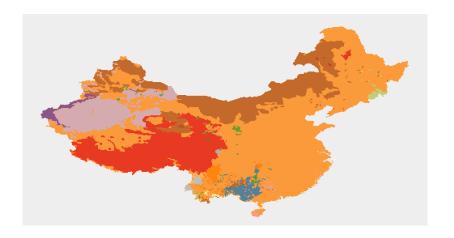


Figure 221: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1967-1982.

Table 75: List of ethnic groups in China during 1967-1982.

Group name	Area in km ²	Туре
Chinese (Han)	9369185	Statewide
Tibetans	1681597	Regionally based
Mongolians	1059217	Regionally based
Uyghur	820217	Regionally based
Kazakh	265038	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Kirghiz	81 857	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Hui (proper)	34957	Regionally based
Koreans	33432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28 183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Hani	20748	Regionally based
Li	13 904	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Naxi	12009	Regionally based
Daur	11 844	Regionally based
Jingpo	11834	Regionally based
Tujia	11602	Regionally based
Dai	10837	Regionally based
Lisu	9799	Regionally based
She	8076	Regionally based
Qiang	6860	Regionally based
Wa	5879	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based
Lahu	4381	Regionally based
Shui	4217	Regionally based
Tu	3635	Regionally based
Dongxiang	2592	Regionally based
Mulam	931	Regionally based

From 1983 until 1990

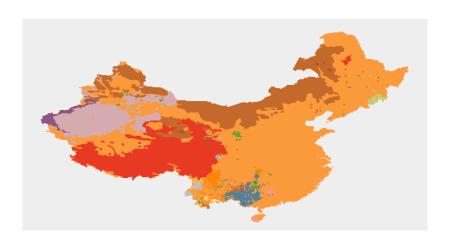


Figure 222: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1983-1990.

Table 76: List of ethnic groups in China during 1983-1990.

Group name	Area in $\rm km^2$	Type
Chinese (Han)	9369185	Statewide
Tibetans	1681597	Regionally based
Mongolians	1059217	Regionally based
Uyghur	820217	Regionally based
Kazakh	265038	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Kirghiz	81 857	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Hui (proper)	34957	Regionally based
Koreans	33432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28 183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Hani	20748	Regionally based
Li	13904	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Naxi	12009	Regionally based
Daur	11 844	Regionally based
Jingpo	11834	Regionally based
Tujia	11602	Regionally based
Dai	10837	Regionally based
Lisu	9799	Regionally based
She	8076	Regionally based
Qiang	6860	Regionally based
Wa	5879	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based
Lahu	4381	Regionally based
Shui	4217	Regionally based
Tu	3635	Regionally based
Gelao	3361	Regionally based
Xibe	3285	Regionally based
Dongxiang	2592	Regionally based
Salar	1479	Regionally based
Mulam	931	Regionally based

From 1991 until 2021

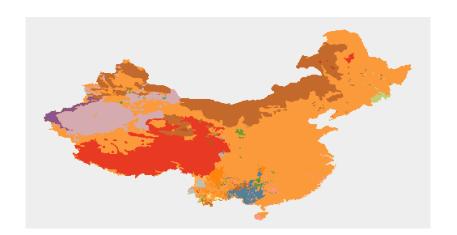


Figure 223: Map of ethnic groups in China during 1991-2021.

Table 77: List of ethnic groups in China during 1991-2021.

 Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Chinese (Han)	9369185	Statewide
Tibetans	1681597	Regionally based
Mongolians	1059217	Regionally based
Uyghur	820217	Regionally based
Kazakh	265038	Regionally based
Zhuang	152530	Regionally based
Yi	112173	Regionally based
Kirghiz	81 857	Regionally based
Miao	40941	Regionally based
Hui (proper)	34957	Regionally based
Koreans	33432	Regionally based
Bouyei	28614	Regionally based
Yao	28183	Regionally based
Bai	21976	Regionally based
Hani	20748	Regionally based
Li	13 904	Regionally based
Dong	13157	Regionally based
Naxi	12009	Regionally based
Daur	11 844	Regionally based
Jingpo	11 834	Regionally based
Tujia	11602	Regionally based
Dai	10837	Regionally based
Lisu	9799	Regionally based
She	8076	Regionally based
Qiang	6860	Regionally based
Wa	5879	Regionally based
Manchu	5463	Regionally based
Lahu	4381	Regionally based
Shui	4217	Regionally based
Tu	3635	Regionally based
Gelao	3361	Regionally based
Xibe	3285	Regionally based
Dongxiang	2592	Regionally based
Blang	2550	Regionally based
Salar	1479	Regionally based
Mulam	931	Regionally based
Maonan	296	Regionally based

$Conflicts\ in\ China$

Starting on 1946-12-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	PLA		1946-12-30			

Starting on 1947-02-27

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Taiwanese insurgents		1947-02-27			

$Starting\ on\ 1949\text{-}10\text{-}30$

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Government of Taiwan		1949-10-30			

$Starting\ on\ 1950\text{-}10\text{-}06$

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Tibet	Tibetans	1950-10-06	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 1959-08-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Government of India		1959-08-30			

Starting on 1969-02-27

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Government of Myanmar (Burma)		1969-02-27			

$Starting\ on\ 1969\hbox{-}03\hbox{-}01$

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Government of Russia (Soviet Union)		1969-03-01			

Starting on 1974-01-18

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	Government of Vietnam (North Vietnam)		1974-01-18			

$Starting\ on\ 1990\text{-}04\text{-}04$

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of China	ETIM	Uyghur	1990-04-04	Explicit	Yes	No