

# **External Review of the project on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System (2003 – 2008)**

External Review

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# 1. Background

The China programme of the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR) stems from a request by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1997. Its purpose was to provide a more systematic grounding for the ongoing human rights dialogue between China and Norway through academic research, training, capacity-building and the establishment of networks. Within the framework of the NCHR China programme, a “Study of China’s Regional Autonomy System” was set up as a component with an initial funding of approximately NOK 6 million from Norad for the 1999-2002 period. Funding for a Phase 2 was granted in 2003, covering the 2003-2006 period and in 2005 additional funding was granted to include cooperation with the Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council (SEAC). Total funding for Phase 2 over the regular budget was thus NOK 9 million, plus an additional NOK 4.3 million for cooperation with SEAC, extending the project into 2007.

The main goal of the project is to study ways and means for protecting and promoting minority interests in the Chinese legal and political system in terms of the prevailing international standards of legal protection for minorities. This goal has remained constant over the entire project period. The appropriation document for the second phase stated that the goals of the project were the “description, explanation and promotion of minority policy and human rights in China”. In order to achieve this goal, “institutional entrenchment of research, capacity-building, networking, building contacts and facilitation of debate” are essential components. Activities include “fieldwork, meetings, conferences, study visits, translations and editing.”

An internal Norad assessment of Phase 1, referred to in the appropriation document, found that research cooperation had created increased legitimacy for research on minority rights and human rights within academic institutions in China. Institutional capacity had been built, particularly among younger researchers, and research collaboration had contributed to a change of perception as to how minority rights should be dealt with. As a result, the autonomy system had shifted from being perceived as a protective device for the state to one for the minorities. However, the assessment found that this shift had not reached the policy level and that activities under Phase 2 should therefore endeavour towards greater policy influence and impact.

The present review is limited to Phase 2 of the project and does not take full account of Phase 1 which was completed at the end of 2002. However, in practice it may be difficult to distinguish clearly between Phases 1 and 2 as there is inevitably a great deal of continuity between the phases. For example, cooperation between the research institutions commenced in Phase 1 and continued into Phase 2. The latter phase also added two partners, not least SEAC which inserted a policy dimension into the predominantly academic cooperation components of Phase 1.

Phase 2 also signaled a thematic reorientation of approach. The project focused on ways and means within the legal and political system for minorities to benefit from the development process and to maintain their cultural identity, expressed in particular through minority languages. The project would gain new insights and strengthen the capabilities of Chinese institutions to carry out research on minority protection through research cooperation, research visits, meetings and publications.

## 2. Method and work plan

According to the Terms of reference (ToR), the purpose of the review is to:

- Assess the extent to which activities and outputs, spelled out in the project document, have been carried out/achieved; and whether these efficiently and effectively are advancing towards the achievements of overall goals and objectives;
- Explain when performances vary significantly from those stated in the project documents;
- Provide recommendations for a possible continuation of similar activities with Norwegian funds.

The overall goal of the China Autonomy Programme (CAP) has been to study ways and means for the protection and promotion of minority rights in the Chinese legal and political system in terms of the international standards of legal protection of minorities. In order to reach the goal, an institutional basis of research, capacity building, networking, building contacts and the facilitation of debate are essential ingredients. Furthermore, as stated in the ToR, the project was also intended to contribute to the knowledge base upon which Norway could draw in designing its strategy for dialogue with China in the area of minority rights. Hence, part of the review has been to assess to which extent it has contributed to the ongoing dialogue. This aspect is also mentioned under the impact rubric with reference to policy influence, both with regard to Chinese policy-making and the Norwegian dialogue on minority rights.

Phase 2 has two distinct components:

- *The Development Project* (carried over from Phase 1), and;
- *The Recommendations Project*, primarily linked to the co-operation agreement with the SEAC and thematically focused on linguistic rights of minority language users. The Recommendations Project may be seen as an attempt to insert a stronger policy dimension into the project, partly by co-operating with an official state organ (SEAC) and partly by framing the sub-project as recommendations. Although the implementation of recommendations is a matter of discretion by the appropriate authorities, recommendations are ultimately expected to be considered seriously and acted upon.

The project has dual goal. On the one hand, research is an activity in its own right and should be evaluated by appropriate standards of quality. On the other hand, research may have policy implications, at least in the long run, whether it addresses policy concerns explicitly, whether it provides thorough analyses of the relevant issues by the use of appropriate methodology and reliable data, and whether its conclusions and findings are amenable to policy follow-up. This review has considered both aspects by means of extensive interviews with all the partners and the perusal of the main publications with brief assessment of each of them. We cannot claim to have undertaken a thorough and detailed academic review, but it is our considered opinion that good quality is also beneficial for policy follow-up, and not only in its own right. This point addresses the effectiveness criterion of the ToR – i.e. the quality and relevance of the project activities to the stated goals.

Apart from examining the main outputs of the project – published and forthcoming publications – the team has also reviewed project documents, applications, progress reports and other administrative documents in order to ascertain whether the project has been able to deliver on its promises or whether there have been delays or departures from originally scheduled activities and whether costs have been commensurate with the results and achievements. This addresses the efficiency criterion of the ToR.

Furthermore, the review team has been able to meet all of the partners in the project: the NCHR project coordinators in Oslo and all four research partners in China during the team's field work. Apart from visiting SEAC and representatives of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences (IMASS) in Beijing, the team also met with the Law Faculty at the Yunnan University in Kunming and with the Liangshan Institute of the Nationalities in Xinchang in Sichuan Province. These meetings, apart from yielding information about the substantive individual contributions from the various researchers, also provided opportunities for raising questions of impact and sustainability, which form two other aspects of the ToR.

Finally, the team met with both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oslo and with embassy personnel in Beijing to enquire about project linkages with the ongoing official dialogue between China and Norway on human rights. The team was provided with documentation from the MFA which, together with the interviews, was sufficient to form an opinion about the project's contribution to the dialogue.

The team did not raise reporting and financial management issues directly with the Chinese partners during field work, assuming that substantive issues would more than fill the available time. Hence, what the team can say about these issues is based exclusively on the written documentation made available.

The team would like to thank all those who spent time with the team in course of this assignment; the CAP coordinators at NCHR, officials in the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norad and the Norwegian Embassy in Beijing; and all four Chinese partners, spending hours answering our many questions and treating us to the best in Chinese cuisine.

### 3. Autonomy law and national minorities – a brief introduction

The China autonomy Programme (CAP) deals with concepts that are complex and multi-faceted, even in the academic literature. The concept of a minority denotes a group that differs in a several respects from the majority population of a country on which territory it resides. These differences may be objective and easily recognized by both majority and minority members, or they may be subjective and relying upon the group's own perception, consciousness and self-identity. Who and what you are depends to a certain extent on what you declare yourself to be, but also on how you are perceived by others. The issue of identification and self-identification of minorities is a vexed topic. Which criteria to use? Who has the power of definition and classification – the authorities or the groups themselves? Are the criteria static or dynamic? Can group belonging change if individual members so decide on their own account? Are the criteria revised or adapted to changing circumstances over time? Is the main purpose of identification to conserve a certain classification at a certain point in time? Does it open for individual decision-making on this issue? In the Chinese case, the official classification dates back to the early 1950s and has remained unchanged since then.

However, minorities can be categorized in a number of ways: by ancient residence or by immigration; by language, religion or other traits; by territorial concentration (or spread); by level of socio-economic development and differentiation or by political hegemony and domination (as the apartheid regime in South Africa). In the Chinese case, we are basically discussing national minorities as the category to which the relevant laws apply.

The territory minorities inhabit may be:

- a) nationality-states that were formed over the course of history through the incorporation of nationalities and characterized by equality between constituent parts;
- b) multi-ethnic states created by arbitrary demarcations by colonial authorities;
- c) multi-ethnic states formed by territorial expansion and conquest of the largest group;
- d) multi-ethnic status whereby the immigrant population has achieved domination at the expense of indigenous groups; and
- e) multi-national states through peaceful immigration.

Of the above types, China may conform to type (c), similar to Russia, in which multi-ethnic states are created by territorial expansion. Large-scale immigration is not an issue in China as it is in other parts of Asia and the world beyond and immigration has not led to subjugation of indigenous people, as in Australia and the United States. The issue is basically the relationship between a numerically dominant indigenous group and a multitude of indigenous minorities sharing the same territory and how that relationship is to be defined in law and practice. The Chinese term for national minorities (*shaoshu minzu*) denotes this numerical relationship to the majority population.

This relationship has been defined as one of autonomy (*zizhi*) of the minorities on the territory. What autonomy means is not at all self-evident and in China it has meant different things at different times. It does not mean the right to secession, but certain special rights over administrative units, however, under “the direction of higher authorities”. These special rights concern the languages and writings of the autonomous nationality, representation in the administration, production plans (within the framework of state planning), economic and cultural development



(within the bounds of the Constitution), local finances (within the framework of state finances) and local security forces.

Some rights of minorities were specified in the 1954 Constitution, though not guaranteed and subjected to considerable roll-back during periods of political radicalism (The Great Leap Forwards, the Cultural Revolution). The 1978 Constitution represented a setback compared to that of 1954. Autonomous administrative units were dismantled and restored, very often at the whim of party leaders and shifting and unpredictable ideological reorientations. The 1982 Constitution restored the rights granted earlier and the 1984 Law of regional autonomy of the nationalities of the People's Republic of China, which is the basic legal instrument for minority affairs, provides for a broader range of rights and defines the functions of autonomous administrative bodies and their relationship to higher authorities and of minority representation on these bodies.

Thomas Heberer summarises the developments as follows: "The autonomy law of 1984 is the most far-reaching legislation to date on the rights of the ethnic minorities. Autonomous units are empowered to enact laws that give legislative guarantees for minorities' customs and traditions, education, language and writing, marriage laws, etc. The law represents an upgrading of minorities, their autonomy, and their self-administrative bodies. However, at its core the law is subject to the power monopoly of the Communist Party (...) Formally, the law grants the autonomous units more rights. But evaluation of the law reveals that the clauses are formulated in such general terms that the law is ineffectual without supplemental and substantial legislation. They may provide guidelines for future legislation, but for now their legislative bark is stronger than their bite" (Heberer 1989: 42f.). Furthermore, the "opening up of the west" and the drive towards modernization on both economic and cultural fronts has generated fear and insecurity among minorities that traditional lifestyles and customs will be sacrificed in the drive towards a market economy and so-called superior, modern and "healthy" values and customs.

Ultimately, Heberer argues that "a detailed separation of powers among party, state and judicial bodies is vital" to guarantee a substantial autonomy for minority areas within the territorial bounds of the PRC. These relationships of separation of powers will require fundamental changes which seem unlikely in the present circumstances, given the hegemony of the CCP. And even if autonomy might be strengthened in this regard, it still leaves open the question of how to deal with dispersed minorities, scattered around the country in mixed or miniscule settlements. With China entering into the global market economy with full force, migration and its implications for minority rights are to date inadequately explored.

To illustrate the ambiguity and ambivalence in CCP attitudes and policies, a speech by the late Zhou Enlai, reportedly held in 1957 but suppressed for more than 20 years as it fell out of favour with the radicalism of the Great Leap Forwards, foretold many of the elements that were later to feature in the 1978 Constitution as regards national flourishing. But it also contains this passage: "Assimilation is a reactionary thing if it means one nation destroying another by force. It is a progressive act if it means the natural merger of nations advancing towards prosperity. Assimilation as such has the significance of promoting progress" (Connor 1984: 428). It should be borne in mind that these thoughts are not unique to the CCP; they represent a mode of thinking typical of European socialist and communist movements earlier on – the belief in material progress and modernization at the expense of tradition.

## 4. Partners

This section is based on the review of documentation, and interviews with each of the five partners in the project, i.e. the CAP coordinators on the Norwegian side as well as all four partners on the Chinese side, conducted during field work in three locations in China. The purpose of the interviews was to solicit the views of all partners. For the field visit an interview guide was drafted and used as a structuring device at the four sessions. The resultant information is accounted for in the sections below, one for each partner.

### 4.1 Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR)

The China Autonomy Programme (CAP) started in 1999 with Maria Lundberg in charge of project activities under what became Phase 1 of the project. Starting in late 2003/early 2004, Zhou Yong took over as project director of Phase 2, a position he has held until its completion. After Maria Lundberg became a full-time staff member of the NCHR at the Faculty of Law, her salary was no longer charged to the project, even though she continued to devote a considerable part of her working time to project activities. Both Lundberg and Yong are jurists by training. Lundberg wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on the status of minorities under international law. Yong has worked within the fields of international law, international commercial law and public and constitutional law at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) after previously having worked at the Institute of Nationality Studies. He is currently attached to the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology and the CASS Law Institute which is focused on studies of the Constitution and the Basic Laws. The Regional National Autonomy Law is one of the basic laws of China. He is also a member of the Ethnic Law Association and is one of the very few Chinese legal scholars who specialize in legal aspects of ethnic minorities in China.

They find that while the Autonomy law is a Basic Law and thus of considerable importance, there is very little jurisprudence to build on in order to determine how the law is being applied. Application is at best “hidden” and the project has assembled multi-disciplinary teams to shed light on this “hidden” application of the law. Central to the research effort is to define what “autonomy” means in the Chinese context, which is highly significant on account of autonomous areas constituting close to two-thirds of the territory, although less than 10 per cent of the population. Moreover, these areas inhabited by minorities tend to be rich in natural resources. According to Yong and Lundberg, autonomy tends to be given as a gift in exchange for services and support or more explicitly based on agreements and negotiations. The autonomous areas are in a different legal position than the “returned” colonies of Hong Kong and Macau.

The project started with research cooperation with the Law Institute at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences and the Law Faculty at Yunnan University in Kunming. Cooperation with the Liangshan Yi Institute of the Nationalities was also commenced in Phase 1, but formalized only in Phase 2. The project adopted a three-pronged strategy for the study of regional autonomy law in Phase 2: first, to study and to document developments; second, to analyze what transpired; and third, to apply and promote the law (implementation and enforcement). At the beginning of Phase 2, the choice was made to hone in on language, on the one hand, and the effect on customs/way of life of processes of economic development, on the other. The “development” and “recommendations” projects became the two main components of Phase 2 of this project, separate, yet interlinked.

The development research was organized in three steps. First, literature reviews were undertaken. Second, the selection was made of case studies of institutional significance related to natural

resources, cultural resources, environmental protection, urbanization (as cities cannot be ethnically autonomous), customary laws and ethnic townships. Third, seminars were organized for the purpose of discussions and exchange of information. The recommendations project resulted in a type of policy menu from which the authorities were given the opportunity to choose between different procedures and courses of action to take. While the NCHR project coordinators preferred the Recommendations to be officially published in China (as they were in Norway), a compromise of sorts was struck to the effect that they were eventually published as an annex to one of the Chinese-language publications from the project. Hence, they were made available in Chinese, though not given an official imprimatur as such.

For the NCHR coordinators, mutual benefit and equal partnership were key components of the research collaboration. China benefited from visiting the Council of Europe and the High Commissioner for National Minorities and the Chinese partners had the opportunity to learn from bilateral experiences in Norway as well as in other European countries. Research collaboration was strengthened through institutional cooperation and long-term relationships, combining central-level institutions and provincial universities and institutes. Equal partnership was enhanced by splitting costs for meetings between the SEAC and the NCHR, each covering expenses for meetings within their respective countries.

Problems and concerns were noted with regard to the considerably time needed to manage all four partners and to ensure that research matched accepted academic standards, and the lack of flexibility inherent in having to work with a given set of partners. All partners are state-financed learning and research institutions. The financial sustainability of the partners is not an issue, even though external funding may be necessary, according to the project coordinators, for further research of this kind. Regarding policy impact, the coordinators found it difficult to pinpoint any specific impact resulting from the project activities. This question was also raised with the Chinese partners, to which we return below.

For the coordinators, academic quality was of the utmost importance, coupled with an awareness of the field of legal research on ethnic minorities representing opportunities for doing innovative work. It could be argued that the project is serving a dual function – one of opening up a new field for academic research and another one of creating awareness and exerting a degree of influence on policies through collaboration with official state organs and their research arms. However, ascertaining the degree of influence is a difficult task.

The coordinators did also involve other NCHR staff in the project, by presenting papers and giving talks at seminars and meetings and by linking the project to other research endeavours at the NCHR, notably the “Accommodating Difference” project, funded by the Research Council of Norway. This project raised similar issues of majority-minority relationships across a much wider range of countries in Europe, Africa and Latin America. The NCHR component also provided opportunities for integration of research projects by Göran Leijonhufvud and Koen Wellens. Both of them have been completed and outputs will be published in a special issue of the *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* in 2009.

The team is of the opinion that the CAP coordinators have done a formidable job in both managing the programme and yet finding room for doing research and field work and publishing papers and editing book volumes. They probably took on more tasks than they could reasonably accomplish within the time and budget constraints. In particular, running two separate projects at the same time was evidently complicated and taxing. Still, all activities have been completed, notwithstanding the publication of outputs having taken longer than planned. We are concerned, however, that so little of what has been produced, particularly on the Chinese side, will be disseminated to an international readership. The special journal issue comprises only the work researchers affiliated to the NCHR

and none from the Chinese side, with the exception of one researcher who has a dual affiliation to the NCHR and Yunnan University.

CAP deserve credit for having opened up a new field of research at the intersection of law and social science, about which little is known and which has potential for innovation. Yet, as the partners have pointed out, there is scope for more comparative research, drawing on a larger sample of countries.

## 4.2 Inner Mongolia Academy of the Social Sciences (IMASS)

The Inner Mongolia Academy of the Social Sciences (IMASS) is a state-owned and state-financed institution, comprising ten institutes in all, three of which specializing in Mongolian language, history and literature. The Academy covers a wide range of academic disciplines: economics, philosophy, law, politics and socio-cultural research on the Inner Mongolian plains. The main focus is on ethnographic research and the IMASS is the main institution for research on Inner Mongolia. The IMASS contribution to the Autonomy project has concentrated on law, ethnic relations and animal husbandry.

The IMASS has been part of the Autonomy project from its inception. In fact, initial contacts were made as far back as in 1996 at a conference in Beijing, resulting in participation in a NCHR comparative research project on tolerance. During the first phase of the Autonomy project, research was mainly focused on regional autonomy issues. Seminars were organized in Inner Mongolia with participation from Yunnan University and the SEAC and in Kunming, Yunnan, with added participation from the Liangshan Yi Institute.

For the second phase under review in this report, research was organized around five themes and concerted attempts were made to explore the limits and constraints of regulation and development in autonomous areas. The research projects gave attention to empirical investigations.

The first theme concerned a small group of hunters in the north-eastern part of Inner Mongolia (totaling only 8,000) and the conflicting pressures from a nomadic lifestyle of hunting towards sedentary cultivation and permanent settlement. The language of this group is on the verge of extinction and has no written standard. One member of the group participated in the research team. A second theme addressed the conflict between animal husbandry and underground mining in the Edsior area and the pressures towards urbanization, industrialization and linguistic standardization. A third theme dealt with demands for more industrialized and productive forms of animal husbandry and examined the extent to which that would conflict with minority protection, the assumption being that urbanization would reduce the area of the grass plains and that minorities would move to town owing to the reduced capacity of the grass plains to support larger numbers of people. A fourth theme drew attention to the contradiction between collective ownership and individual land use rights and responsibilities regarding the grass plains. With increasing urbanization, there will be fewer people to maintain and manage the natural resource base. The legislation regulating the forms of ownership appears inadequate or contradictory and needs to be reconciled. A fifth theme dealt with legislation and owing to delayed completion, the results were published separately. The output from the first three themes projects were published jointly (in Chinese only) in an edited volume: *Minorities, Autonomy and Development: Studies on Regional National Autonomy in China*, edited by Zhou Yong and Maria Lundberg.,

In Phase 2 research shifted from interpretation of texts to empirical field work and individual understandings of reality, although the accent was more on qualitative than quantitative research. Research teams comprised senior and junior researchers with the intention of the younger learning

from their more experienced seniors. For several of the projects, the IMASS researchers linked up with local minority leaders as well as with government and party officials. Jianwei Pan, who undertook coordination and management functions during Phase 2, published her study of agro-industry in the above-mentioned book. She also supervised four MA students and engaged in academic exchange nationally with 20 project members and six training courses, as well as maintained contacts internationally.

While the first two phases were characterized by getting to know the reality and producing case studies on economy and culture, the IMASS interlocutors would like to see a potential third phase more oriented towards comparative research on affirmative action policies as this would provide an incentive for minorities to assert their identity. Comparisons could be made with regions with large minorities, as for instance Asia and Latin-America. Moreover, the consequences of economic processes in terms of minority rights should be explored carefully, particularly the consequences of urbanization and migration. Education is also an issue to be scrutinized, particularly for women as this will affect their children. Poverty and the widening economic gap is also a concern. With regard to the legal framework, private law, contract law and legislation regulating foreign business enterprises are priorities as well as a move from collective law to individual law as far as minorities are concerned. Environment and health care are other issues of concern.

The IMASS representatives saw a clear virtue in a frank, earnest, long-term relationship with stable and reliable coordinators. Both sides should invest in activities and the IMASS has also invested resources for field work. The organization of research around five themes was easily understood by the team members, and the diversity of composition was an asset. Activities were varied, covering research, training and seminars. Some research output was published apart from the two “official” publications from the project. The IMASS would like to see more Norwegian scholars involved with different disciplinary backgrounds and more variety of collaboration (think tanks, brainstorming), and saw it important to maintain the network created by the project.

The review team fully agrees with a concentration of research around a limited set of themes that appear to be inter-linked. The research carried out matched established quality standards as most of it has been published. The suggestions for topics for a potential Phase 3 are sensible and the suggestion for more comparative research should be considered seriously. For research purposes, a multi-disciplinary approach is sound and expertise on public administration, bearing in mind the importance of laws and policy implementation, should be considered for inclusion.

### 4.3 Law Faculty, Yunnan University

Yunnan University has been involved in both phases of the project. The basic components have been field work and seminars with professors and students in attendance. A number of MA and Ph.D. students have worked on topics under the CAP, and upon completion most of them have left the university to seek employment elsewhere. Professors shared administrative duties on a one-year rotational basis.

Research under the CAP covered a range of topics. One topic concerned change in the legal status of administrative entities in the process of urbanization. The autonomy legislation applies to provinces, areas/counties and so-called nationality townships. With urbanization, areas/villages are evolving into cities and as autonomy legislation does not apply to cities, problems are bound to arise with implications for language and culture protection and for natural resource management. The city of Lijiang was selected for scrutiny. Another topic addressed the legal protection of the terraced rice fields of the Hani People in Honghe prefecture. Based on a review of documentation and field interviews, an application for World Heritage status was submitted to UNESCO. No reply has yet



been received, but the prospect of success is reportedly good. Closely related and also in Honghe prefecture, a project looked into the application of the Ethnicity and National Culture Protection regulations in two towns, specifically songs and dances and cultural heritage. In one instance, two siblings participated in a singing contest, but did not win as their style was not in accordance with the set standard. However, they did win the second time around due to a revision of the standard. Another topic concerned biological/environmental protection in autonomous regions with a case study of the Dai minority. The study sought to investigate how environmental protection could be integrated into autonomous areas and what barriers existed to such integration. The study included anthropological field work as well as social statistics analysis. Yet another topic concerned studying the political participation of minorities in the government of autonomous areas within the spheres of language, education, religion and the environment, which allowed for closer contacts with local law and administrative offices. A further subject dealt with the world heritage protection of the Three Parallel Rivers and its conflict with the locally initiated hydropower development of the Nu River. Other subjects included land rights and village rules and regulations.

All in all, a multitude of topics were covered and the project portfolio does not appear to be explicitly centred on a given set of themes as was the case of the IMASS portfolio. Nonetheless, issues of environmental protection and cultural preservation do cut across a number of the projects. The projects did contribute to individual capacity-building and to the gathering of experience from international cooperation and to the establishment of contacts with local government as well as party schools for government officials. Thereby the project managed to create awareness of the relevant issues, according to the staff interviewed. For many of the researchers, it was one of their first international projects, but this type of inter-university collaboration is continuing with three other universities in Western China on a project coordinated by the Raoul Wallenberg Institute in Sweden.

Another beneficial effect was the project's contribution to the contextualization of minority research. While research has been principally focused on minorities and their customs, looking at the issues through the lenses of autonomy law served to broaden the perspective and to cover a wider range of topics. It facilitated academic exchange with the law faculty at the Central Nationalities University. A study on land rights for the Dai people found that local informal practices of land dispute settlement are only marginally reflected in central legislation and recommended that economic development policies should pay more attention to local, traditional practices. Similarly, wildlife protection (studied in Phase 1) disclosed a conflict of interest between government implementation of international regulations, on the one hand, and compensation for damages combined with the prohibition of hunting, on the other. The autonomy law does not provide for mechanisms to resolve problems. While legislation may seem good on paper, it is less good in practice. Staff found that exposure to different research methods, perspectives and attitudes enabled them to better comprehend how changes are made and to ensure local participation in carrying out the research.

The Yunnan team found that cooperation had been generally amicable and fruitful with the NCHR, keeping in mind, though, that professional opinion is bound to diverge on substantive issues. While there was some lack of clarity about NHCR objectives in Phase 1, these became clearer in the course of Phase 2. There is a process of getting to know each other in any research project, and the Yunnan team stressed the point of equal partnership.

With regard to the impact of activities, the interviewees found it difficult to assess impact at the policy level and thought the SEAC might have had greater impact on law-making. Yunnan University may have a role to play, but this role will be purely academic, not that of a think tank undertaking commissioned studies. Still, being able to engage foreigners in field research represents a huge change for the better and would have been inconceivable ten years ago. One likely impact is

the inclusion of minority rights in the new Human Rights Plan of the government; this was also raised as a point by one of the interviewees at SEAC. When asked whether they did engage in commissioned work, some researchers responded that they were consulted about local legislation relevant to their professional expertise, for example on culture and language protection and hydropower legislation. They were consulted as experts by, among others, the local branch of the SEAC.

The joint research on the regional national autonomy system may also have yielded financial benefits for Yunnan University as funding has been received from the national research council for a so-called 21<sup>st</sup> century project, amounting to 10,000 yuan per year for a two-year period, purely for research expenses, excluding salaries which are in any case paid by the Yunnan University.

The Yunnan team was as the other teams we interviewed interested in learning about international practices and experiences. As autonomy is a large and complex issue, there remain many topics to explore further. While Phase I was focused on legal research, Phase 2 brought in economic and social development research combined with studies of law and practice on the public use of minority languages. The Yunnan team would like a potential Phase 3 to be organized around the themes of development, ethnicity and autonomy. Potential ideas suggested were the following: the connection between law, society and culture, comparative studies of legislation on minority languages; changes in the regional national autonomy system over time; the relationship of minority parties to the communist party, analogously to the relationship between autonomy areas and the central state; individual rights among the minorities (since much of the focus to date has been on collective rights); and natural resource management, extraction and benefit distribution, with reference to patent law and natural inheritance law.

The Yunnan team has the benefit of being attached to a university and of engaging students to do their theses within the scope of the programme. Even though the project portfolio is less focused than that of the IMASS, the Yunnan team has the breadth of academic expertise and the capacity to tackle a broad range of subjects, as borne out by the interviews regarding ideas and suggestions for follow-up. Capacity-building is ensured through student supervision and guidance. But as students leave the university upon completion of their studies, capacity has to be rebuilt anew through the recruitment of new students at Master and PhD levels alike. Our recommendation is to continue cooperation with Yunnan University should a Phase 3 materialise.

#### 4.4 Liangshan Institute of the Nationalities

The Liangshan Institute comprises altogether nine professional staff, eight of whom belong to the Yi people and one to the Hui people, all minorities. The Institute formally became a project partner in 2004 and the engagement started with review of literature and secondary documents for the purpose of selecting sub-themes, which eventually turned out to be eight in all. The sub-themes were as follows: hydropower development and the distribution of benefits; natural forest protection in relation to economic development; tourism; customary traditions and their recognition as public holidays and festivals; local minority language usage in relation to economic development processes; migration of minorities from the rural highlands to urban areas in the lowlands; and two projects on autonomy legislation and its impact on minority self-regulation and customary law.

The project on urban, lowland migration raises some vital, topical issues. It is not concerned with labour migration as such which mostly involves younger people seeking urban employment or employment in large infrastructure projects, but movement of families to lowland areas for permanent resettlement. This is a government initiative to reduce poverty, coupled with a concern about deforestation and ensuring better access to public services. It involves land contracts for

resettled families. While many migrant families were reportedly positive to the move, a sizeable minority was not, principally the elderly with an attachment to the land and habitats. With the influx of newcomers to urban centres, tension is bound to arise in the areas of resettlement. Cultivation patterns have changed. The in-migrants were requested to switch to tobacco farming while potatoes and tartary buckwheat were grown in the highlands, combined with animal husbandry. The new crop, however, requires more careful follow-up. Still, many prefer to return, even though access to water and services is poorer in the remote mountains.

An overriding concern, as we also noted in the Yunnan case, is the limited scope for internal self-regulation according to local law and practice, and the widespread perception that the minorities are ruled according to the laws of the majority Han people. While there were some initial reservations about “human rights” research as such, in particular the designation of the Norwegian partner as a human rights institute, these reservations have proved to be shallow and unfounded. The Institute sees research opportunities from the government and was also in contact with a French NGO at the time of our visit.

For the Institute, the project was, according to the interviewees, a way out of isolation and a platform for communicating with other Chinese institutions as well as expanding the horizons through international trips. Contact with local government has been improved, evidenced by the fact that the Institute was invited to draft legislation on non-material culture heritage. The restricted public use of the Yi language is a concern, given that it is spoken by altogether 9 million people, of which 2.6 reside in Sichuan and 2.1 in Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture. A measure of Yi influence is the setting up of a Yi-language TV channel and bilingual education in schools, though some concern was expressed that public speeches given in Mandarin are often not translated. One emerging issue is the privatization of natural forests which will mean the option of selling or inheriting and whether such privatization will imply better or worse protection.

The Institute has had previous collaboration with German and American NGOs regarding poverty reduction so it is not new to international contacts. Cooperation with the NCHR was amicable, yet demanding in terms of academic standards. The initial hesitation about collaborating with a human rights institute was overcome and any differences encountered with regard to project implementation were largely of an academic nature. Trips to Norway and elsewhere in Europe were highly appreciated. The Institute plans to examine civil and criminal cases in order to compare pre-Communist and Communist jurisprudence, possibly in cooperation with Beijing University, although it is fair to say that this subject appears to be outside the scope of the cooperation with NCHR.

This institute has the advantage among the partners of being the only institution exclusively devoted to minority affairs and with a professional staff entirely drawn from the minorities. Its academic track record may not be as strong as the two above, but deep local knowledge of and a focus on a limited area is definitely a comparative advantage. Its continued participation depends on how important its profile will be in a potential Phase 3.

#### 4.5 Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council (SEAC)

This state organ was the latest institution to join the project in 2004, but initial contacts had been made in 2002. More specifically, the Policy Research Centre at the SEAC was the main coordinator on the Chinese side. It has a number of sub-departments including minority languages, ethnic relations and border areas research. Research is partly organized around documentation and partly around field work for the purpose of building a collection of reference materials. The project was the first activity of this kind for the SEAC, and while the initial idea was about autonomy,



accumulated experiences, in Europe as well as in China, it led the way towards minority languages. The European Charter on Minority Languages was a guideline and previous international meetings on minority languages had also resulted in guidelines for legislation and policy-making. The selection of languages as a topic entailed looking for suitable expertise on both sides.

The *Recommendations* project was able to draw upon expertise from academic and political circles alike. Apart from SEAC personnel, the team met with Prof. Hongkai Sun from the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, CASS, who has studied minority languages since the 1950s and participated at international conferences, and with Prof. Junde Ao, former director at the Ethnic Law Department of the National People's Congress and now a professor at the Central University of Nationalities. As manager for legislation, Prof. Ao has dealt with 260 laws and 60 policy issues. Both professors took part in the *Recommendations* drafting process. Two international conferences were organized and provided inputs to the draft, drawing on previous international work on law drafting, particularly European experiences beyond those of China and Norway. They found that the recommendations were able to combine principles with flexibility as alternative options were given, for example Art 87 on the media. Mr. Xulian Lee of the Language Office of the SEAC, also a member of the drafting group, pointed out that the ideal model may not be practicable. As a result, several values were given in the recommendations. Practical problems remained such as the treatment of minority patients by doctors in hospitals. Other difficult issues included cross-border languages, religious documents, ID cards, promotion, and order forms. State entities such as the MFA border and ocean affairs (CHECK) and State Bureau of Religious Management were involved within their respective area of competence. Altogether 16 different agencies and 77 individuals were involved to variable degrees.

The interviewees regarded the main results of the project to be improvement in human rights protection, innovation, practical values, wide recognition by professionals, gradual influence on government policies (as seen in the National Human Rights Plan section on ethnic minorities), the exchange of ideas from different parts of the country, the recognition of the equality of cultures and reciprocal learning as reflected in representation in the National People's Congress (whereby each minority shall be represented by at least one member) and in the drafting committee comprising five members with international background, five Han Chinese and five from minorities. The *Recommendations* were more detailed than previous efforts towards this end and forward-looking with regard to endangered languages.

The respondents thought that the ideas and philosophies may have an influence on future legislation. The *Recommendations* were published in both Chinese and English in one of the major publications from the project, though not yet as a separate publication in Chinese which might have made them even more visible and authoritative. Furthermore, the *Recommendations* should be brought to the attention of the international community, for which the University of Oslo may be a suitable dissemination platform.

The SEAC interviewees found cooperation to be generally smooth, stressing the equality of partnership (including financially) and the equality of experience. They saw it as a vehicle and channel for expressing their own background rather than adopting an imported foreign model.

In future cooperation, they saw an opportunity for studying affirmative action in favour of minorities and would like to see comparative studies of such policies implemented elsewhere in the world. International experience with autonomy legislation could be another subject for consideration. Comparisons with India would be particularly pertinent as the two countries find themselves at similar developmental levels. Generally, more cultural autonomy for the regions should be promoted, combined with the preservation of the cultural heritage.

Given the highly centralized nature of Chinese policy-making, the SEAC might be said to exert a strong influence on project activities and hence to bring about a degree of politicization (as raised as an issue in an assessment of Phase 2 by an external consultant), but as far as the review team could make out, this has not happened (at least not overtly). If the *Recommendations* project has had any negative implications for the *Development* project, it is rather due to capacity constraints from running two projects at one than to political interference.

Collaboration with the SEAC was not planned at the beginning of Phase 2. But the initiative to that effect was really taken by the SEAC when getting in contact with the NCHR, which, in turn, necessitated some quick financial and administrative adjustments on the Norwegian side. The contact with the SEAC fitted with the MFA/Norad requests for more policy influence. Consequently, bringing the SEAC into the project as a partner was an opportunity not to be missed even if it led to more administrative work for the coordinators and an expanded Phase 2. Once collaboration has been initiated with a state organ, it probably will mean a continuation of that collaborative relationship, assuming that the programme as such will be extended. Some suggestions for topics have been given above which interestingly conform to suggestions from other partners. One suggestion we heard during our field visit might be to move even higher in the political hierarchy by trying to establish contacts with the United Front Work Department, in order to access the CCP machinery.

## 5. The Sino-Norwegian dialogue on human rights

The Sino-Norwegian dialogue on human rights started in 1997 and the China programme at the NCHR (initially the “China and the rule of law” programme) commenced in the same year as an academic complement to the dialogue with a view to providing inputs. The dialogue is organized as a series of annual roundtable meetings and has continued up to the present date. The basic structure of the dialogue is three-fold. The roundtable opens and closes with plenary meetings of delegates at the political level from both countries in attendance, usually headed by the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from both sides. The intervening plenary sessions are split into two, one for bilateral political consultations and the other for a number of working groups, organized by thematic specialization. In the first couple of years, the roundtable basically consisted of plenary sessions, but as from 1999, working groups on specific topics were added. The closing plenary session offers opportunity for the working groups to present their reports for comment and discussion.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Sino-Norwegian Dialogue on the Rule of Law and Human Rights in 2006, held in Beijing on 7–10 June 2006, may give an idea of the present structure of the roundtable. After the opening session, four working groups convened to discuss their respective topics while political consultations were held separately and simultaneously. The final plenary session is then devoted to the summaries of discussion from the working groups as well as to closing statements by the delegation leaders. While the working groups initially covered a wide range of subjects, the agenda in recent years seems to have centred on a limited number of subjects, notably labour/workers’ rights, prisoners’ rights, and detainees’ rights. In 2006, the issue of minority rights was added as a subject for a fourth working group. The political consultations normally have a wider frame of reference, and are organized on the basis of issues of topical interest, whether they are bilateral or involve international issues, peace, development and humanitarian action or deal with obligations arising from the ratification of international instruments or touch upon the UN human rights organs, procedures and mechanisms. A fourth feature of the dialogue, which warrant mention, is that working group meetings and discussions may (or should) give rise to cooperation projects so as to deepen and broaden the area of engagement.

As mentioned above, the topic of minority rights was added as a fourth working group of the dialogue in 2006. This might be seen as an official recognition of the work of the Regional National Autonomy project in the sense that the project has been integrated into the dialogue working group structure rather than the other way around, as envisaged by the model of creating project spin-offs of working group meetings. Another feature of the working group structure is that most delegates on the Norwegian side come from civil society organizations and academic and research institutions, but usually headed by a government civil servant. On the Chinese side government officials appear to predominate. At the 2008 meeting, the Norwegian delegation comprised the leader from the Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion, FAFO, the Oslo Coalition, the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights and the Sami Trade and Development Centre.

There have been three meetings so far of the working groups, the latest one in October 2008. The deliberations at the 2007 and 2008 meetings were focused on select topics in order to better structure the work. The 2007 topic selection was as follows:

- Positive measures to protect the linguistic, cultural and religious rights of minorities; and
- Mechanisms and procedures for effective participation and consultation in policy-making of relevance to ethnic minorities.

The discussion paper for the meeting lists a series of applicable international human rights instruments, but does not go far in narrowing the subject matter further. With respect to both topics, both delegations are requested to prepare a paper on progress made in implementing the rights in the legal and political-administrative domains alike. On the latter topic, procedures for consultation between the Norwegian government and the Sami Parliament are noted as a response to requirements under international law. Unfortunately, the team does not have access to the report of the working group, and we are, therefore, not in a position to say what came out of the meeting.

The discussion paper for the 2008 working group meeting lists the following topics for group deliberation:

- Affirmative action and special measures for the protection and promotion of the rights of minorities and their members; and
- Natural resource exploitation and the rights of ethnic minorities and their members.

The introduction of natural resource management and exploitation as a topic adds a sharper focus of the proceedings as both sides have laws and policies that speak directly to the issues at hand: in China the Policy of the Development of the West as well as the Regional National Autonomy Law and in Norway the Sami Act and the Finnmark Act.

The report of the 2008 meeting of the working group revealed that most of the discussion under the first point addressed minority languages. The Norwegian side raised the issue of whether small household, cottage-based industries would be threatened by large-scale commercial development in Tibetan areas. Under the second point, the Chinese side raised questions about the Sami reindeer industry, the relationship of Sami keeping reindeer and Sami without reindeer herds, and the practical utility of Sami vocational training. The Norwegian side put questions about the religious and compulsory schools in areas of the Buddhist and Islamic faiths. As far as project collaboration is concerned, one specific output was research collaboration between Chinese and Norwegian research institutions on the reindeer industry and nomadic animal husbandry, involving the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences and the Oslo Coalition.

While a lot was no doubt accomplished during the working group sessions, the participants felt that some topics needed further deliberation, possibly during the next phase of collaboration. A wish was expressed for a global comparative study. The comparative dimension, drawing upon a wider range of experiences, seems to have been little explored so far in the working group. The structure has been based on bilateral consultations about the experiences of two countries as judged against applicable international standards, tacitly assuming that the Chinese and Norwegian experiences are in some ways comparable. A case study approach may benefit from more careful and systematic comparison, drawing upon a larger sample of countries and laws and policies.

The ethnic minority question in Norway has in terms of the dialogue largely been framed as one of the Sami in the context of Norwegian society as a whole, thereby implicitly forgetting that contemporary Norwegian society is infinitely more complex owing to the large groups of minorities that have entered the country through labour migration or refugee and asylum procedures. Norway's membership of the Schengen Agreement has made intra-European migration much easier than before, with implications for minority policies across languages, religions and cultures. Policies of accommodation are facing a more complex and multi-faceted ethnic mix than ever before. While it is understandable that the focus on the Sami is highly relevant in terms of natural resource exploitation and control and benefits thereof, minority rights as such should be framed more widely to acknowledge the changes in population composition over the past 4-5 decades. These rights

appear to be more politically contentious than the better regulated current state of affairs concerning the economic and political position of the Sami, although the implications of recent legislation probably remain to be studied and evaluated.

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the Autonomy project has contributed to strengthening the knowledge base of the Sino-Norwegian dialogue, manifested explicitly in the establishment of a separate working group on minority rights.

## 6. Project outputs – books and reports

It has not been the primary purpose of this review to assess the quality of outputs from the project, but as it does involve academic cooperation between Norwegian and Chinese institutions, we have nonetheless tried to summarize the research undertaken as far as it is available in printed form. As of today, three main Chinese-language publications have resulted from the project and a fourth is forthcoming later in 2009. Further outputs from the respective participating universities and institutes include either work published in edited books or journal articles. A special issue of the *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* will be published in 2009, incorporating some of the articles from the programme.

One of the main outputs from the project is *Minorities, Autonomy and Development: Studies on Regional National Autonomy in China* (ed. by Zhou Yong and Maria Lundberg, Beijing, Law Press China, 2008). This book is the main publication from the “development” part of Phase 2 of the China Autonomy Program (CAP). The book is divided into five sections: the exploitation of natural and cultural resources in national autonomous areas; environmental protection and minorities’ way of life; autonomy and minority cultures in the process of urbanization and industrialization; customary law in minority communities; and the system of nationality townships. There are altogether 19 chapters, with the NCHR contributing three, Yunnan University six, the IMASS five, and the Liangshan Yi Institute five chapters. This would seem a fair distribution among the four partners. It should be borne in mind, however, that these studies result from long-standing cooperation between the four institutions, possibly dating back to the first phase of the programme.

Our impression from quickly reading through the chapters is that the quality is generally quite good. As noted above, a fairly wide range of topics is covered but a core concern is the processes of economic development and their implications, as well as the adequacy of the legal instruments and administrative arrangements for minority protection. Most studies are empirical in nature, usually case studies to illustrate the wider issues at hand. Very little has been done in terms of comparison between different areas to document similarities or differences. Different research methods have been employed: perusal of historical and current documents, field visits with interviews, summaries of existing research, and statistical analysis. Some studies conclude with policy recommendations; others offer critiques of present laws and policies.

The main research output from the “recommendations” part of the programme, apart from the recommendations themselves, is the publication *Minority Language Use and Cultural Development: International Comparison of Policy and Law* (ed. by Lie Hongji and Maria Lundberg, Beijing, Central University of Nationalities Press, 2008). This book collection comprises papers from two conferences in 2005 and 2006 and shares the strengths and weaknesses of conference proceedings in that the contributions are very uneven. They range from proper research papers to lectures (and lecture notes) to what are more or less official policy statements or descriptive statements of facts with little regard for analysis. Nonetheless, we do find the contributions by *bona fide* researchers to be good, either in providing systematic overviews of issues, doing case studies, comparing different autonomous areas inside China, or drawing upon international comparisons and standards. The book may lack empirical research results *per se*, but it is rich in information, experiences and perspectives, which is very useful for future research and for educational purposes. It may thus serve a purpose as a reference work for further studies. It should be added that the last part of the book contains in both Chinese and English the Beijing–Oslo Recommendations in both Chinese and English on the Protection of the Rights of Linguistic Minorities. This is the only publication in China of the Recommendations; they have been published separately in Norway by the NCHR.



A third, earlier publication on the same topic of language is the *Review of Policy and Law on Linguistic Minorities* (ed. by Maria Lundberg, Sun Hongkai, Li Xunlian, Zhou Yong & Dai Quingxia, Beijing, The Ethnic Publishing House, 2007). As indicated, this is a review exercise from the perspective of law and should probably be seen as an introduction and a state-of-the-art exercise for the work on language undertaken in Phase 2 of the programme. Contributions are on average good and some even venture a step further to engage in critical analysis.

A fourth publication, *Studies on the Implementation of Minority Language Policy and Law in China* (ed. by Zhou Yong, Mu Shihua and Maria Lundberg, Beijing, Central University of Nationalities Press, 2009) was not yet published at the time of this review. As a result, we have not had the opportunity to assess individual contributions. It is regrettable, of course, that key project outputs such as these are not yet available due to delays, even though the project is otherwise completed.

All of the above are Chinese-only publications and thus of limited accessibility to the non-Chinese speaking world, academically or otherwise. A small subset of research under the CAP will be published as a special issue of the *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights*. The issue contains six studies plus the Beijing–Oslo Recommendations, thus providing an international platform for dissemination. All of the contributors are affiliated with the CAP at the NCHR and some of the articles were also included in the above Chinese-language publications and were presented at a seminar on Autonomy and Minority Rights in China at the NCHR in February 2008. In general, the quality of the contributions is very good with an extra plus for the long and thorough study of the Oroqen people of Inner Mongolia. The contributions by Wellens and Xisheng Zhang did not appear in any of the Chinese-language publications. It is not clear why these were not included or why Xisheng Zhang is the only contributor represented from the Chinese side. One possible explanation might be that all contributors to the journal are affiliated to the NHCR and that the special journal issue represents the breadth of work undertaken by the NHCR. But if that is the reason, it does not explain why none of the contributions on the Chinese side has been translated and thus given wider international exposure.

Finally, the *Beijing-Oslo Recommendations on the Protection of the Rights of Linguistic Minorities* is an important output from the CAP and may in the longer run turn out to be the most significant one in terms of policy influence. The Recommendations may exert such influence in China, although it is difficult, judging from our interviews in China, to pinpoint what and how much influence they are likely to have. The academic influence is likely to be stronger in the short run, but through this type of dissemination, indirect influence on policy may very well occur as well. However, the Recommendations may also have an influence at the international level in the on-going legal refinement of minority rights and possibly serve as a reference point for drafting similar types of recommendation in other countries.

## 7. Project Implementation: Reporting and financial management

The ToR include one item on reporting and financial management. The review team has had access to the work plans and budgets and the annual reports and accounts of the project and to Norad's comments on the progress reports and expenditure at annual intervals during Phase 2. There have been no serious problems as the reports and accounts have been accepted and disbursements have been made, even when the budgets were considerably expanded in order to accommodate new activities and a considerable extension for the same reason. What can be said concerns items which have not impacted significantly on project implementation and overall progress. When adjustments have been made, they have been justified (and accepted) as integral parts of the project towards reaching the main goals and objectives of the overall programme.

The initial application for Phase 2, submitted in April 2003, was for the three-year period 2003–2005, comprising the main cooperation partners from Phase 1, i.e. the IMASS, Yunnan Law Faculty and the INS, the latter formally integrated in the cooperation framework as from Phase 2. However, project activities only commenced by the end of 2003 and the first part of the project, covering the reporting period up to March 2004, basically concerned concluding contracts with the partners. The cover letter to the initial application mentioned a book manuscript to be concluded in the first year of Phase 2. A few collections were published by the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House and the Yunnan University Press in the course of Phase 1 and soon thereafter. It was also said that the NHCR was ineligible for funding from Norad under the institutional cooperation arrangement, although no reasons were given. This may have contributed to delays in the project start-up. To compensate for lost time, the revised application submitted in October 2003 extended the project for a year with activities expected to be completed by 2006.

With the entry of the SEAC into the project, the budget was again revised and the project extended for yet another year, now expected to be completed in 2007. A third round of revision occurred in 2007 when the project was further extended to mid-2008. With the SEAC as a new partner in addition to the three research institutions, the budget had to be considerably expanded and close to NOK 4.3 million was added on top of the NOK 9 million already allocated for work with the other partners for the 2003–2006 period. There was some concern in Norad that the new activities might disturb the ongoing relationships with the other partners and possibly lead to delays and postponements of other activities because rearrangements had to be made to make room for the new cooperation project. To some degree this concern seemed justified as one conference among the old partners was postponed and field work on culture protection and economic development was also postponed. Budget increases were basically due to SEAC participation, including one high-level trip to Europe.

While progress initially appeared to be on schedule, things soon started to slip. The 2004 accounts showed a surplus of NOK 738,785 which were transferred to the 2005 budget. The 2005 activities manage to reduce the surplus somewhat, but there remained NOK 480,000 unspent by the end of the year, approximately 10 per cent of the total budget. Low spending was particularly related to field work in China planned under the project. The 2006 accounts showed that the surplus had risen again to NOK 747,479 owing considerable unspent expenditure on research, field work and publications, adding up to 14 per cent of the budget. At this point, it was clear that the project was running seriously behind schedule, a fact remarked on by Norad in its approval of the 2006 accounts and the 2007 budget. The 2007 accounts yet again showed that given the time constraints, activities could not be accelerated and at year end the surplus had risen further to NOK 849,601. And at that



point, another extension had to be sought to bring project activities to a close by the middle of 2008. Yet, as we have become aware of, not all project outputs have in fact been completed by mid-2009 as there are still at least two publications announced for publication later this year.

It seems a fair conclusion that the project administration may have taken on more work than it could realistically deliver. The project has either been too ambitious or the project staff too small to handle all the planned activities. This difficulty is compounded by running two projects simultaneously (the development and recommendations parts) and by combining administration and research. The director of Phase 2 had a dual duty of administration and research, more or less in equal parts. This is not an optimal situation because either half of the job may eat into the other, leaving a feeling of dissatisfaction on both counts. One solution might have been to hire a full-time administrator to free up time for substantive research work. Another solution might have been to complete one project before proceeding into the next. It is our impression that the development project has suffered due to the rearrangement of work and activities for the recommendations project and that it would have been completed earlier had it been allowed to run its course as originally planned.

We have no access to information on expenditure on the Chinese side and how much the SEAC and the other partners have invested of their own resources in the project. The SEAC has covered expenses incurred on Chinese ground, but we have no records to consult to determine their magnitude. The material available to us deals with Norad funding only. It would be interesting to see how the equality of partnership manifested itself financially.

Even if delays were incurred, we do think that the CAP has achieved its main objective of studying minority protection and autonomy law, but we are a little concerned about the international dissemination of the results. For the *recommendations* project, there is an English translation which no doubt will be consulted by scholars and officials internationally, but very little of the *development* project appears to be translated (apart from some articles in the *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights*) and hence made accessible internationally to academics and others. Few of the Chinese researchers appear to have had international exposure, apart from study visits to Norway. One aspect of capacity-building could be to promote Chinese academic exposure abroad within the competences and fields covered by the programme. Judging from the reports, most international participation in conferences has involved the coordinators and the Norwegian side in general. In addition to international translations, translations into the minority languages would enhance the impact of the language recommendations.

We note from the reports that there are still some loose ends in the project. Several annual reports mention research activities on affirmative action policies in favour of minorities in China. Activities appear to have started on this sub-project, yet the results so far are left hanging in mid-air, apparently too complicated to reach a general conclusion and put on the back burner until further notice. We do think that if proper research methodology is brought to bear on this subject, results will materialize. However, running the projects simultaneously allowed for discussion and exchange between central and local institutions for local inputs to the recommendations project.

In conclusion, we would warn against running two projects in parallel, at least with such a small CAP staff. While the project coordinators may have hoped for synergy effects, we see little evidence thereof in the actual project outputs. There has not been a conscious effort towards synthesizing findings in a joint publication. Instead, publication patterns show that the development and recommendations parts are two discrete, separate topics.

For a potential Phase 3, inputs and ambitions should be closely tailored to the available resources and capacity constraints at hand in order to avoid an overload as has clearly happened in Phase 2. It

would be advantageous to negotiate with the Chinese partners the selection of a theme and stick to it for the entire project period. While Phase 2 has concentrated on case studies, a potential Phase 3 could be more oriented towards comparison, within and across countries with similar or comparable experiences. In that way, it might build on the case studies done, albeit putting them into a more systematic comparative framework.

## 8. Conclusion and findings

We shall conclude by referring our main findings to the main items of the ToR: efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability. As for the final point, reporting and financial management, we are not competent to do an audit of the accounts, but we assume that a university unit follows the procedures laid down by the University of Oslo which in the final instance is responsible to the Auditor General. We have not been made aware of any irregularities in that respect.

### *Efficiency*

- Since the review is focused on Phase 2 of the project, we have not looked into Phase 1. Apparently, there were no publications coming out of that phase, which might mean that the outputs of Phase 2 also incorporate work done during Phase 1;
- There were considerable delays in the implementation of Phase 2 which may be an indication of the project staff taking on more work and responsibilities than they could realistically be expected to deliver;
- Running two projects simultaneously appears to have had a negative impact on project progress, in particular the development project component of Phase 2. Hence efficiency might have been enhanced by completing one project before starting the next, although we do understand the reasons why the project managers decided as they did;
- We do not think that expenditure has not been justified in terms of project goals. The problem has rather been one of spending within agreed time lines;
- We are of the opinion that combining administrative duties with considerable research tasks on the part of the Project Director may have hampered efficiency and that more administrative backup should have been provided and budgeted for so as to free up time for research;
- We are not in a position to say how efficient work has been on the Chinese side, but we have noted that work that was not completed within the project framework was continued and published separately by the partners themselves. This is an indication of commitment and dedication.

### *Effectiveness*

- We find that the main goals of the CAP have been achieved regarding the study of ways and means of promoting minority rights in the Chinese legal and political system. The studies have provided insights into both development and language issues, covering a wide range of topics within both fields;
- The studies have opened up a field of study which by and large has been neglected, and successfully combined legal and social science perspectives;
- The project has overcome the difference between Chinese and European research traditions by emphasizing empirical investigation throughout all the sub-themes which is not usual in the Chinese academic research tradition within the social sciences where philosophical discussion is often the norm;
- Publications in Chinese have good academic quality and serve as reference works in the field. They have set a minimum international research standard for the Chinese researchers involved;
- The project has trained successfully a substantial group of young researchers, whose current involvement in research and teaching goes beyond the goal of capacity building;
- The project has also raised awareness about minority issues beyond the people directly involved in the project, i.e. researchers elsewhere and policy-makers in China;

- The project has contributed knowledge and insights for the benefit of the ongoing Sino-Norwegian human rights dialogue.

#### *Impact*

- At the central government level, the project has involved the SEAC which is the highest state administrative organ for minority affairs and has a central role to play in China's law making at the top level. It is claimed by SEAC officers that the project has made an imprint on the new Human Rights Plan, albeit without any clear evidence to this effect. Any impact so far on policy at the top level is likely to have been limited and indirect;
- At the local government level, the project has involved relevant local government officers and legislators who claim to have consulted with project participants on issues of legislation and regulation;
- At the very local minority villages, minority groups who were contacted and visited by the researchers of the project have learned about their rights and have used the knowledge gained from interaction with project researchers to negotiate larger shares of benefit for economic development;
- The work on the Recommendations project is liable to have an influence on future international standard-setting on minority languages;
- The project has contributed to raising the subject of minority rights as part of the Sino-Norwegian dialogue on human rights.

#### *Sustainability*

- In the short term our interviews suggest that researchers are still in the process of publishing some of the project results and on closely related subjects. The networking between the four partner institutes in the project is still functioning, but no real research cooperation is planned or took place during our visit;
- In the long run the researchers involved will carry with them some of the capacities acquired from the project, such as knowledge of research methodology. But it is unlikely that the activities of the project will continue without some extra funding or external stimulation of new ideas.

#### *Reporting and financial management*

- Reporting and accounts appear to be fully in accordance with contract requirements. Some minor details were noted in Norad's comments to the annual accounts (such as splitting the financial reporting for each Norad allocation), but nothing of a serious nature;
- We are not competent to audit the accounts and trust they are in conformity with established University procedures;
- We have no information on Chinese expenses funded by the SEAC and other Chinese partners.

## 9. Recommendations

- We recommend that cooperation continue in some form. This is accordance with Norwegian foreign policy towards China, one objective of which being the building of competence among Norwegian researchers and to strengthen the knowledge base of the dialogue process;
- We recommend that a Phase 3 be focused possibly on one overriding theme to ensure that project activities do not overstretch management capacities;
- We have no specific suggestion as to thematic focus, but suggestions made by partners could be followed up;
- Adequate administrative support should be provided and budgeted for so as to free up time for the main project personnel to do more substantive research work;
- While Phase 1 was oriented towards legal studies and Phase 2 towards case studies, we suggest that a Phase 3 be comparative with a view to examining the experience of other countries, beyond the narrow China–Norway focus of Phase 2;
- As we have witnessed some limited policy impact of the project at the local level, it is wise to continue the project with a more explicit policy orientation – policy research (including comparative research on minority policies) – if any real policy impact or policy change is to be achieved;
- We would like to see the results disseminated internationally far more widely than what has been the case so far and to provide opportunities for Chinese researchers to enjoy more international exposure;
- The Chinese government, researchers and people in general need time and durable and functioning relationships in order to build trust, to adopt new ideas and make changes. The momentum created by the project should therefore be maintained;
- Policy changes are likely to take time and may to some degree be unpredictable. But a long-term engagement is liable to yield results, as suggested, for instance, by World Bank’s good experience with Chinese government regarding higher education reform, in which case policy reforms took place ten years after the recommendations were made.

## Annex 1: Terms of reference

### **ToR for the External Review of the Project on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System (2003-2008)**

#### **Background**

##### *Description*

Since 1999 the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR) has received funds from Norad to carry out research to further understanding of the degree to which, in modern China, rulemaking in autonomous areas functions as a mechanism to protect minority rights and ensure their effective participation as measured against Chinese and international law.

The study was initiated acknowledging that little had been written about the development and implementation of law-making in Chinese autonomous regions from the socio-legal perspective.

A socio-legal case study of autonomy in China would be of important theoretical interest to scholars working to further develop and elaborate international standards of minority rights protection.

From a Norwegian perspective the research is also seen as a contribution to the knowledge base upon which Norway could draw in furthering its strategy for dialogue engagement in the area of minority rights. To which degree the project has contributed to the wider Sino-Norwegian cooperation in the field of minority rights is also of interest.

In the second phase, 2003-2006, the project has focused on ways and means, in the legal and political system for Chinese minorities, to benefit from the development process and to maintain their cultural identity.

The project should gain new insight and strengthen the Chinese institution's possibility of carrying out research on minority protection through research cooperation, research visits, meetings and publications.

In the first phase NCHR established cooperation with Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences (IMASS) and Law School of Yunnan University (LSYU). In the second phase the cooperation also included the Nationalities Institute of Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan (Liangshan Institute).

From 2005, with support from Norad, NCHR extended the scope of the project by establishing cooperation with the Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council (SEAC), aiming at policy/law recommendation on Chinese autonomy system for ethnic minorities.

##### *The review*

The review should concentrate on the research cooperation from 2003 to 2008, comprising the following three agreements:

- Contract between Norad and NCHR regarding Study of China's Regionale National Autonomy System, signed December 17 2003.

- Addendum no. 1 to contract between Norad and NCHR regarding Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System, cooperation with Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council, signed June 28 2005.
- Addendum no. 2 to contract between Norad and NCHR regarding Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System, cooperation with Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council, signed April 11 2008.

The review is initiated with reference to paragraph 3.3. on the contract, and in accordance with recommendations in Norad's Development Cooperation Manual.

## **Purpose**

The purpose of the review is to:

- assess the extent to which activities and outputs, spelled out in the project documents (applications/work plans & budgets/contracts), have been carried out/achieved, and whether these efficiently and effectively are advancing towards the achievements of overall goals and objectives (articulated in annex to contract).
- explain when performances vary significantly from those stated in the project documents.
- provide recommendations for a possible continuation of similar activities with Norwegian funds.

## **Scope of work**

The review should give particular attention to the following:

### Efficiency:

The review should assess the efficiency of the work, and analyse possible deviations between activities planned for and activities actually carried out. Further, it should look into financial statements and analyse the level of expenses in light of achievements.

### Effectiveness:

An assessment should be made of the effectiveness of the project in terms of quality and relevance to the stated goals.

### Impact:

If possible, the review should assess how the project has influenced on policy level; both in regard to Chinese policy making and the Norwegian dialogue on minority rights.

### Sustainability

The review should seek to assess whether achievement in regards to capacity building, forming of academic networks and promotion of discussions and awareness on issues related to the protection of minorities, are likely to sustain.

### Reporting and financial management

The review should assess the extent to which the project is executed in line with requirements stated in the contract regarding reporting and financial management.

## **Implementation**

Key documents include:

- Contract
- Addendums to contract

- Applications
- Work plans and budgets
- Annual reports and final reports.
- Financial statements and audit reports
- Various operational and review reports
- Assessment of application
- Relevant publications

Interviews and discussions should be held with relevant stakeholders, researchers, research institutions, research users, policy makers and development partners.

The review will take place over a period of 24 days, and is estimated to consume 150 working hours.

### **Reporting**

A draft report shall be completed and submitted to Norad by 10 June 2009.

The draft report will be discussed with stakeholders – among them the NCHR

A final report should be presented to Norad by 15 July 2009.

The report in English should have an introduction summarising major findings, conclusions and recommendations.

The report should not exceed 30 pages.

The final report shall appear both in electronic format and in paper version.



## Annex 2: List of people met

### **SEAC (Ethnic Affairs Research Centre)**

Mr. Hongjie Li, Vice Director of Research Center for Ethnic Issues, SEAC

Mr. Yong Liu, Administrative staff member, SEAC

Mr. Junde Ao, former Director at Ethnic Legislation Office, National People's Congress of China; Professor, Central University of the Nationalities and Vice Chair of Chinese Law Study Association)

Mr. Xulian Li, Vice Director at Minority Language Work Office, SEAC)

Mr. Shihua Mu, Associate Professor, Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, China Academy of Social Sciences

Mr. Hongkai Sun, Professor, Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, China Academy of Social Sciences and President of Minority Language Research Association

Mr. Qingxia Dai, Professor, Central University of the Nationalities, Vice President of Minority Language Research Association

### **Yunnan University (Law Faculty)**

Mr. Yundong Chen, Dean at Law Faculty

Mr. Qiliang Wang, Vice Dean, PhD student during the project

Mr. Xiaohui Zhang, Vice Dean, forthcoming PhD at Yunnan University

Mr. Zhang Xisheng, Professor, PhD candidate at NHRC

Ms. Hui Fang, Professor

Ms. Jinling Yang, Professor

Mr. Yunpeng Yang, Professor

### **Liangshan Institute (incomplete)**

Mr. Ma Erzi, Director

Mr. Luohongzige, former Director

Ms. Hua Kang, Researcher

Ms. Zhi Wu, Researcher

Mr. Baqie Rihuo, Researcher

Ms. Luobuheji, Researcher

Ms. Shengmei Yang, Researcher

**Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences**

Ms. Jianwei Pan, Professor

Mr. Jinghai Liu, Professor and former President of IMASS; Director of Inner Mongolia Daily

**Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Kamilla H. Kolshus, Senior Adviser, MFA

Jo Inge Bekkevold, Counsellor for Economic Affairs, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Beijing

**Norwegian Centre for Human Rights**

Zhou Yong, Researcher and Programme Director, CAP; Associate Professor, Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, Chinese academy of Social Sciences

Maria Lundberg, Associate Professor, NCHR, Faculty of Law, University of Oslo and former CAP Director; Guest Professor, Central University of the Nationalities, Beijing

**Norad**

Reidun Sandvold, Senior Adviser, Education and Research Department

### Annex 3: List of documents

*A Survey of China's Policy regarding the National Minorities*. Ed. by Wu Shimin. N.d.

*Beijing – Oslo Recommendations on the Protection of the Rights of Linguistic Minorities*. Oslo, China Autonomy Programme, Norwegian Centre for Human Rights, 2008

*Chinese Nationalities. Introduction to the State Ethnic Affairs Commission*. Edited and published by Nationality Pictorial Publishing House, China. N.d.

Connor, Walker. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1984

Council of Europe. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Strasbourg, 5.11. 1992

Council of Europe. *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. Strasbourg, 1.11.1995

Heberer, Thomas. *Nationalitätenpolitik und Ethnologie in der Volksrepublik China*. Bremen, Übersee-Museum, 1982

Heberer, Thomas, *China and its National Minorities. Autonomy or Assimilation?* Armonk, New York, 1989

Heberer, Thomas. *Doing Business in Rural China. Liangshan's New Ethnic Entrepreneurs*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2007

*Introduction to the State Ethnic Affairs Commission*. Beijing, SEAC. N.d.

Liu Jinghai & Shi Wenzheng (eds.), *On Improving Regional National Autonomy*, Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, p.235, Huhehot, 2001. ISBN 7-204-06020-2

Mackerras, Colin, *China's Minorities. Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century*. Honk Kong, Oxford University Press, 1994

Mackerras, Colin. *China's Minority Cultures: Identities and Integration since 1912*. Melbourne, Longman, 1995

*Minorities, Autonomy and Development: Studies on Regional National Autonomy in China*, ed. by Zhou Yong and Maria Lundberg. Beijing, Law Press China, 2008

*Minority Language Use and Cultural Development: International Comparison of Policy and Law*, ed. by Lie Hongji and Maria Lundberg. Beijing, Central University of Nationalities Press, 2008

*National Minorities Policy and Its Practice in China*. Beijing, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 1999

NCHR. *Program on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Annual Report* (March 2005 – February 2006). Dated March 2006

NCHR. *Program on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Work Plan & Budget* (January – December 2006). Dated 15 March 2006

NCHR. *Program on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Annual Report* (March 2006 – March 2007). Dated 15 March 2007

NCHR. *Program on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Work Plan & Budget* (January – December 2007). Dated 15 March 2007

NCHR. Project CHN-2029. *Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System: Plans and revised project budget for establishing new cooperation with Chinese Ethnic Affairs Commission of State Council*. Dated 19 January 2005

NCHR. *Project on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Application for new project period 2003-2005*. April 7, 2003

NCHR. *Project on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Application for new project period 2003-2006. Revised application*. 15 October 2003

NCHR. *Report of the Project on The Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System at the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights November 2003-February 2004*. Dated 1 March 2004

NCHR. *Report to Norad summarizing the 2<sup>nd</sup> period. Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System (CAP) (2003-2008)*. Dated August 2008

NHCR. *Program on the Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System. Work Plan & Budget* (January – June 2008). Dated February 2008

Norad. *Appropriation Document. Study of China's Regional National Autonomy System*. Dated 12 December 2003

Norad. *Assessment of plans to establish a new cooperation between NCHR and the Chinese State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) of the State Council on Policy and Law Recommendations on the Chinese Autonomous System for Ethnic Minorities. External assessment*. Dated 16 March 2005

*Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities in China*. Beijing, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2005

*Review of Policy and Law on Linguistic Minorities*, ed. by Maria Lundberg, Sun Hongkai, Li Xunlian, Zhou Yong & Dai Quingxia. Beijing, The Ethnic Publishing House, 2007

*Seminar on Minority Language Use and Cultural Development: Chinese Theories and Practices. 19-25 August, Lhasa, China*. Beijing, Ethnic Issue Research Center of State Ethnic Affairs Commission of PRC

Shi Wenzheng (ed.), *A Collection of Selected Translation of the Legal Regulations in Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region*, Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, p. 550, Huhehot, 2000. ISBN 7-204-05451-2

*Sino-Norwegian Human Rights Dialogue 1997-2007*. Edited by Camilla Wedul for the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008

*Sino-Norwegian Human Rights Dialogue. Working Group on the Rights of Ethnic Majorities*. Discussion Papers/Reports 2007-2008

Sino-Norwegian Project Group (eds.), *Selected Research on the Law of Regional National Autonomy In China*, Yunnan University Press, p.426, Kunming, 2003. ISBN 7-81068-660-7

Special issue of *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* (forthcoming 2009)

*Studies on the Implementation of Minority Language Policy and Law in China*, ed. by Zhou Yong, Mu Shihua and Maria Lundberg (forthcoming), Beijing, Central University of Nationalities Press, 2009

*The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities & Explanatory Note*. The Hague, The Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1996

*The Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life & Explanatory Note*. The Hague, Project Unit, Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, 1999

*The Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities & Explanatory Note*. The Hague, The Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1998

## Annex 4: Interview guides

### *Questions for Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

1. What are the main objectives of Norway's human rights dialogue with China?
2. What are the main components of the dialogue?
3. What have been the main results/achievements so far? What remains to be done?
4. What role do minority rights have in the dialogue?
5. What minorities are been included in the human rights dialogue with China?
6. What are the main issues being raised with regard to minority rights?
7. Has the project been relevant to UD dialogue objectives?
8. What is the UD opinion of project achievements?
9. Would UD like the project to be extended?
10. If yes, what should be the future priorities?
11. Anything else UD would like to add that might be useful for the review?

### *Questions for the Chinese partners:*

1. Background information on institution, staff, research, organization
2. How did you become involved in the project?
3. What has been your contribution to the project?
4. What do you see as the most important results from your participation in the project?
5. Has the project generated new knowledge about minorities/autonomy and made you study the subjects in different way? If so, what/how?
6. What lessons have you learnt from your project activities/contribution?
  - Positive experiences?
  - Things that could have been done differently?
7. How do you view the partnership with NCHR?
  - Research
  - Administration
  - Lessons learned from the co-operation?
8. What effects have your research had on the situation of minorities?
  - Awareness/capacity building?
  - Government policy?
9. Do you plan to carry on the activities that were started by the project?
10. What do you see as future priorities for research on minorities/autonomy?
11. More generally speaking, what are the most pressing future concerns for minorities/autonomy?
  - What issues and why?
12. What can China learn from other countries and what can other countries learn from China concerning minority issues?
13. Any additional points and comments?
14. Any recommendations to NORAD/UD?

## Annex 5 – Summaries of main Chinese publications

### (1) *Minorities, Autonomy and Development: Studies on Regional National Autonomy in China*, ed.by Zhou Yong and Maria Lundberg. Beijing, Law Press China, 2008

No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
1	Preface: minorities, autonomy and development: Perspectives of studies on the regional national autonomy in China (Zhou Yong and Maria)	Top-down perspective on the state's purpose of autonomy system versus bottom-up perspective as minority rights protection	Theoretical framework and positioning of each of the following studies	Overview of empirical research projects	Future research shall focus on issues like the rule of law, decentralisation and autonomy, system representatives of minorities, participation, protection of material foundation of culture, cultural freedom	A good and proper preface with a theoretical framework to link the collection together
Part I: Exploitation of natural and cultural resources in national autonomous areas						
2.	Decision-making mechanism in hydropower exploitation of the Nu River (Prof.Yang, Yunnan University)	Two different groups of people involved, the group influencing policy making, the group influenced by policy	Case study	Documents, historical records	Government policy shall be more transparent, local autonomy over relevant policy, local people shall be involved in decision making and benefit from sharing negotiation	A good account of case process and good critical analysis
3.	Literature review on social issues in hydropower exploitation in China (same professor as above)	Yunnan province is the core base of 'Sending electricity from the west to the east' current strategy of China, problems and lessons can be learned from history and others	Literature review	Documents, previous research, historical records	Hydropower development is important for local economic development, but local people do not necessarily benefit from the development, relating to migration, environment and culture protection.	A good review with empirical case illustrations
4.	Issues on the fair distribution of economic benefits in hydropower exploitation: a case study on Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture (Yi researcher from Liangshan Institute)	Several historical cases show that local communities do not get their share of benefit from hydropower development projects	Historical review	Documents, literature and historical records	From the negative cases, lessons learnt from others, the author gives recommendations for the future practices of hydropower development projects to take care of local community and people's benefit	A quite complete policy-oriented research paper
5.	Development of tourism in Luoji township and its influence on the Yi villagers (Yi researcher from Liangshan Institute)	The tourism development does not bring benefit for local people as expected and promised, instead, bring problems to local social, cultural and environmental wellbeing	An empirical study with interviews of people involved	Documents, media records and interviews	Some practical recommendations for balancing tourism development and local economic development and local people's benefit	A good empirical case study with practical values for policy



No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
6.	The terraced fields of the Hani people in Honghe: Legal rights and sustainable development? (Yunnan University researchers)	In 2004 'Hani terraced fields' was listed among UNESCO's world cultural heritage candidates.2005 field investigation on 'field' protection	An empirical study with field visits, and individual cases	Documents, literature, records, interviews	Protection policies and regulations are in place but problems are in implementation and economic support. Real protection is related to local economic conditions, and outside economic and cultural impact	A good empirical case study with policy recommendations
7.	Conflicts of interest in the development of tourism: the case of the Genghis Khan mausoleum in Erdos (Monggo researchers from IMASS)	A thorough historical account of the Genghis Khan mausoleum up to today. All Chinese governments throughout the centuries have invested in building and maintaining	A historical analysis with field visits	Documents, field observation and interviews	In fact, conflict is rarely mentioned and no concrete evidence of conflicts of interest in the study is given, only a little warning about potential conflicts in the era of market economy	A good and thorough historical account of the history of the mausoleum, but the content does not fit with the title of the article
Part II: Environmental protection and minorities' ways of life						
1.	Hunting Ban and the implementation of the law on regional national autonomy in the Oroqen autonomous banner (Yong & Maria)	Hunting Ban relates to 1) autonomous rights with local resource exploration, 2) autonomous authority 3) the change of life style	An empirical case study in an international perspective	Documents, literature, field visits	National, local and social other groups' interests are not in harmony, in fact, are in conflict. Innovation is needed in thinking and implementing the national law to make it work for local conditions	A good piece of research
2.	Alternatives in development: Economy and cultural survival of the Oroqen people (Oroqen researcher from IMASS)	Throughout the history of Oroqen autonomous area, local economic and cultural survival depends on Chinese government's preferential treatment	An empirical case study in a historical perspective	Document, records, literature, field visits and observation	Over half a century, Oroqen people have lived between the tensions of modernisation and backwardness, development and destruction	A good case study
3.	Literature review of issues of economic transformation and cultural protection of the Oroqen people (Oroqen researcher from IMASS)	A lot research has been done regarding Oroqen people' livelihood change from hunting to agriculture and foresting, problems and progress	A literature review of research	Previous research publications	Economic transformation and cultural protection have been the focus of research and policy oriented research	A good review and summary of previous research findings
4.	Environment protection and minorities in Xishuang Banna Dai autonomous prefecture (researchers from Yunnan University)	Forests in the area have experienced different modes of exploitation and protection which reflects the political history of the country	An empirical case study	Local statistics, historical records, policy documents, laws	The Law of minority national autonomous regions is of little use in solving the conflict between economic development and environment protect	A good research



No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
5.	Virgin forest in Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture: historical memories of the Yi villagers (Yi research at Liangshan Institute)	Trees are worshipped (thus protected) by Yi people throughout the history until communist regime brought large-scale destruction from 1950s to 1970s.	A historical review	Verbal history, and documents	The Autonomy law brings in reflections on local rights in forest protection	An interesting perspective in historical reflection on understanding and practice of regional autonomy
6.	Environmental protection, migration and Mongolian herdsmen's way of life (researchers from IMASS)	Focus on economic values of grass plain protection by moving herds and herdsmen from traditional practice. There is a lack of attention to cultural protection and local people's interests.	An empirical study with family cases	Research literature, policy document, statistical and historical records, field work with observation of cases	Change of traditional herds practice has negative impact on herdsmen's economic, social and cultural well-being, which needs attention and long-term support from governments at all levels.	A good research
Part III: Autonomy and minority cultures in the process of urbanization and industrialization						
1.	Urbanization and the alternative of administrative division in Lijiang Naxi autonomous county (researchers from Yunnan University)	The change of Lijiang Naxi autonomous county to Lijiang city has accelerated urbanization process which splits and threatens local people's social and cultural unity	An empirical case study of legislation	Documents, laws, statistics, historical records, literature, field visits, interviews	The Lijiang case reflects the conflict between the constitution and national autonomy law, where the autonomous rights of local community and local people were not reflected in the practice.	A good research with critical attitude
2.	Industrialization and Mongolian herding culture (researchers from IMASS)	The industrialization process has drawn herdsmen's participation all along. It is positive for local people's economic wellbeing and for local language use, but it has negative impact on local culture preservation	An empirical and critical case study	Documents, records, field visits and observation	Cultural destruction during the industrialization process is mainly due to policy makers ignoring cultural issues	A good research
Part IV: Customary law versus state law in minority communities						
1.	Evolution of the legal system in Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture (Yi researcher from Liangshan Institute)	The Yi customary law has been suppressed by modern laws since communist takeover. They should not be necessarily in conflict.	Historical analysis	Legal cases archive, historical records, and verbal history, survey data	Legal system shall benefit from diversity, Yi says 'use the nature light in day time, use the torch during nights'	A rather detailed case of comparisons and historical accounts.
2.	Customary law versus state law in dispute resolution in Yi communities (Yi researcher from Liangshan Institute)	Customary law is still practiced after several decades of state law. The article searches for reasons behind and possible future union of the two type of laws	Legal cases analysis, compare similar cases during the old and new time	Legal cases archive, historical record, law documents	In reality, customary law has been interacting with state law, and is flexible for innovative conflict solution	An interesting and good research
3.	Folk law and land rights of ethnic minorities in China (researchers from Yunnan university)	Taking the perspectives of anthropology and sociology of law studies, law shall not be state monopoly, local people and culture shall be accounted for, too.	Empirical research with minority village cases	Documents, literature, case records	In solving conflicts over land rights issues in reality, it's seldom referred to documented laws, in fact, folk law is more effective and economical in solving the cases.	A good research

No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
Part V: The system of nationality townships						
1.	Nationality townships: an endangered species? (Göran Leijonhufvud)	Nationality township is a system specified for minority preferential treatment but it is at the lowest rank of China's administrative system and has fewer autonomous rights compared with autonomous areas	Literature review, a meta analysis of previous research, with an empirical case study	Literature, documents, laws, field visits, and interviews	Nationality township is an outdated system in the market economy, and has fallen between chairs, does not have autonomy, nor development from less and less preferential treatment	A good research

**(2) *Minority Language Use and Cultural Development: International Comparison of Policy and Law*, ed. by Lie Hongji and Maria Lundberg.  
Beijing, Central University of Nationalities Press, 2008**

Page	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
1	Protection and development of minority culture in the process of China's modernization (SEAC)	Modernization process has both a positive and negative impact on culture	Brief official records review, Tibet as example		China has done a lot work but more need to be done	Like a preface
7	Persisting regional national autonomy and developing traditional Tibetan culture (TIBETAN, government)	State efforts and public use of language show that protection of Tibetan culture has been a huge development and achievement	Statements	Official statistics, documents and statements	A positive development	Like an official statement of Tibetan culture status
11	Evolution of the protection of Saami rights: the Norwegian experience (UIO professor)	Introduction of Norwegian policy and law regarding Saami, and the forthcoming relevant convention between Norway, Sweden and Finland.	A brief review		The effort of protecting Saami rights is still ongoing	Like a brief review
16	Competition and harmony among languages (CNU, Central Nationality University, professor)	Strong and weak languages can a) compete, complement and coexist b) compete, weaken and disappear	Illustrating cases under the thesis	Empirical cases of minority languages	Although competition between languages is inevitable, it can be regulated by proper policy and law	A real research
25	Language and education as core instrumentalities in minority protection: A comparison of international conventions and declarations (UIO)	Introduction of European experience	Explaining the regulations and terms used	Documents	International laws are implemented within country specific conditions which depends on decision of individual states	A proper lecture
31	Protection of minorities: the international legal framework (UIO)	Introduction of UN Human Rights Declaration and such	Explaining the terms used	Documents	Protection of minority language does not mean conflict with official language	A proper lecture

Page	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
36	The implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (EU expert)	Introduction of Charter and illustration of some countries' implementation practices and findings from the supervision of Charter implementation	Brief records	Documents	Treatment of minority language seems often to depend on the majority's knowledge and acknowledgement	A proper lecture
41	Protection of minorities and indigenous peoples in international law: a comparative approach (UIO professor)	Use international law to solve minority problems in the modern societies, Europe. UN Development Rights Convention is very important	Comparing different international relevant legislations	Documents	State legislation is central but minorities have rights to participate in, if possible, autonomy.	Comparative, a lecture
48	The concept of language equality: the Chinese practice and experience (SEAC)	Summarize Chinese good experiences, vague and non-specific problems mentioned	Summary	Documents, laws	Official statement of language status	An official statement
53	The main tasks of the Chinese government's work on minority languages	China's bilingual strategy in public language and education is good, but lack of research in this area	Review and summary	Official documents and statements	Lack research, efficiency, call for more state effort in research and international comparison	An official statement
63	Regional national autonomy and minority language rights in China (UIO, Maria)	Put China case in the international perspective	Critical analysis	National and international laws	There is distance between legislation and implementation	A research paper
85	The legal protection of minority language in China (SEAC)	Summarize the legal system and legislation process regarding minority languages in China	A good overview	Documents	Protection of minority languages is an ongoing process, both in legislation and government policies	A good systematic overview
94	Historical background and process of the minority language planning in China (CN social science academy)	Call for historical perspectives into legislation regarding language issues	A good historical review with secondary data analysis	Statistics, documents	China is different from other countries, understanding CN needs considerations of culture, history	A proper research paper
109	Protection of China's minority languages on the edge of extinction (CN social science academy)	Put China into international environment on in-danger minority language issues	A good review	Documents	Point out the passive approach China takes regarding minority languages	A critical review
116	Issues of protection of minority language rights in the south and north of China (CN social science academy)	Diverse languages and diverse cultures are tightly linked throughout China's history, and keeping this diversity is equally important as keeping the country united	A analytical overview	History documents and legislation	A united country with diverse languages and cultures needs open minds, tolerance, mutual respect, equal language attitudes	A serious research paper
138	Treasuring the linguistic resources in China (CN government language expert)	Problems with language resource overview, protection, and losses in China need to be addressed	A self-critical review		Call for better work	A statement

Page	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
143	The use and development of Mongolian language in China (Inner Mongolian ethnic affairs officer)	A historical review of language use in school, media and legislation process since 1953.	A good historical review	Documents, official statistical records	Only progress, no problems mentioned	A positive history, has educational value
155	The significance of the National Common Use Language Law in minority areas (SEAC)	Legislation of expanding the use and standardization of Mandarin has also implications for minority languages	A status overview	The law and local laws in minority areas	A politically correct discussion of the laws and cautions to be taken. Call for research and bilingual teachers	More an official guideline for implementation of the law
164	The analysis of Tibetan language education in Tibet (Tibet University Tibetan professor)	Current status of Tibetan language education in basic education and teacher training in higher education	A status overview, but with official statistics	Secondary data		Plain statement of current status without critical analysis
168	The practice of regional national autonomy and language policy in Tibet (Tibetan officer on language issues)	Huge development in Tibetan language use, protection and legislation throughout the years since 1956	A historical review	Documents	Current problems like Tibetan language standardization, research, reform, information technology	Very informative but more like standard official statement
183	Promoting the development of Tibetan language through law (Tibetan law maker)	Reflections of a law maker on the process and content of Tibetan autonomous regional regulations regarding learning, using and developing Tibetan language	A critical review	Documents and self reflection	The legislation on minority language is based on Marxist-Leninist theories.	A good lecturer
192	Language policy and Tibetan language education (Dr. linguist, Tibetan researcher)	The development of Tibetan language education reflects the development of Tibetan language policy	A historical review of the parallel process of education and policy	Documents and records	Foundation, establishment, development and perfection all follow the same principle	A proper analytical paper
207	The government's work on minority language in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Uyghur professor in Central Nationalities University)	There is progress, but still problems, especially the bilingual practice in which minority languages suffer	A self reflection		Learned something from the international exchanges	A seminar presentation
212	Language standardization and management in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Uyghur officer in language work)	Great achievements, especially during the legislation period 1993 to present	Like a policy document		Today more work needs to be done on legislation, mutual language learning, standardization	A government working document
221	Reviewing the Zhuang language work for the future (Minority language officer)	Zhuang language without written form to Zhuang language use in computer, progress with problems	A historical review	Documents, records	The government has determination for Zhuang language entering prosperity	Good review, and practical for government work



Page	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
236	Standardization of the Korea language in China	Korea language development in China has always been influenced by forces from outside China	A historical review	Documents, records	Concluding from the experiences, Korea language in China has to have its own standards in order to survive and develop	A good review and summary of experience
243	Review of the protection and development of the Daur language (Inner Mongolian social sciences academy research leader)	Overview, history and future of Daur language protection as a case to inspire future work on minority language issues	An analytical review	Documents, records	Language is important part of ethnic equality, language development needs written records, standardization and legislation are needed	A case review
249	The language planning in a Yi community (China Social Sciences Academy researcher)	Yi language is used by Yi minority groups living in three provinces and the Zhuang autonomous region, development differs	A good overview and analytical comparative cases	Documents, records	Development differs and problems also differ, un-unified standardization practices, lack bilingual teachers, and books	A good research
270	Reflection on promoting Tu language use in Huzhu county of Qinghai province	A language without written form, 1952 started creation of written language, 1979 completed and started spreading	An overview	Documents, records and previous research	The language use is in recession due to government passive policy, lack human and economic resources	A good case study, with recommendations for policy
280	Difficulties on exercising autonomy on language affairs in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture (director of Liangshan institute)	A minority language could survive during the time of isolation, but will not survive during the time of fast economic development	A critical overview	Documents, records and previous literature	As part of the cultural resources of the country, a minority language needs protection in the fast modernization process	A good historical and critical analysis
288	Diversity of language policies: the development and protection of minority languages in Yunnan (provincial minority language officer)	Yunnan is a special case with 25 minority groups with 26 languages, protection of minority languages started in 1950s and has achieved a lot	A overview	Documents, records	But development is very slow, lack of unified recognition in the government system, legislation, lack teachers, and standardization left behind	An informative presentation of experiences
300	Experiences and inspirations from European practice for the drafting of a law on minority languages in China (Zhou Yong)	Introduce European experiences and human rights perspective,s analyzing relevant laws in China, make recommendations	Reviewing and analyzing laws and literature	Laws and relevant literature	Even within the Chinese legislation framework, the state still needs to establish a protecting system for language rights	A proper research paper
324	Comparison of language legislation in Tibet and Xinjiang (China social science academy researcher)	Compared the background, the process, the content and implementation system of language legislation	Comparative analysis	History records, laws, relevant literature	Differences between the two regional legislations are mainly due to regional situation and social cultural differences	A proper comparative research paper

Page	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
341	Saami language rights in Norwegian law and practice (Broderstad)	Government supporting minority language can only attract minority's support in return	A case overview	Laws and records	There is law, there is a government supporting system, there shall be also people's own effort in using the language	An informative lecture
349	Legal protection on indigenous people and minorities: Norwegian experiences (Ulfstein)	Problems and legislations concerning indigenous people and minorities	A power point note			A lecture outline
355	National minorities in Norway – state policy, focusing on coordination and dialogue (Skotved)	A status overview of minority policies and practices in Norway	A public official speech from the conference			An informative lecture
362	UNESCO perspective on linguistic diversity: the Spanish model (Martí)	Autonomous law in Spain helped the achievement of language peace in Spain, one advanced example of the world	A brief case study			An informative UNESCO research paper
368	Language policy and planning in Catalonia: from bilingualism to multilingualism (Cru Talaveron)	The policy for languages coexisting in harmony is a powerful tool in preventing ethnic conflict.	A brief case study			An informative UNESCO country case paper
374	One (small) country, four different regimes of linguistic rights (Finland law professor)	Finland, as one of the member states of EU, has restrictions as well as freedom in language legislation	An informative case			A country information

**(3) Review of Policy and Law on Linguistic Minorities, ed. by Maria Lundberg, Sun Hongkai, Li Xunlian, Zhou Yong & Dai Quingxia. Beijing, The Ethnic Publishing House, 2007**

No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
1.	(Preface) Historical developments in policy and law on minority languages (professor from Central Nationality University)	It is stated in the constitution that every ethnic group has the freedom in using and developing their own language. Throughout the PRC history, the principle has been followed and still shall be followed in the new era.	Historical review	Documents, previous research literature	At the time of modernization and market economy, problems and conflicts regarding minority language use and education emerge to demand policy attention	A preface lay down the historical background for the collection
2.	Review of the work on creating and reforming written minority languages (researcher from China social science academy)	Since the founding of PRC, China's minority languages have experienced periods of 'from none to been' and prosperity. The process of creating and reforming 15 written forms of minority languages is from field investigation, seminars, research, Russian expert, creating, survey, reforming	Historical review	Documents, records, literature	Due to lack of experiences at the beginning, some languages had several reforms, which caused loss of confidence from minority peoples concerned.	A good and thorough and detailed review

No	Theme	Thesis/argument   Method		Data	Finding	Assessment
3.	Identification of minority groups and their languages (the same researcher as above)	Minority languages were not acknowledged by Chinese state until the time of PRC. A diversity of languages is officially recognised as one of the basic characteristics of China.	A review of both history and academic views	Documents, literature, records	The decision, process and results of identifying minority languages have contributed enormously to China's ethnic diversity and unity.	A good review
4.	Policy and practice in reforming Uyghur and Kazak languages (researcher from China social science academy)	It is a failed language reform during 1960-1982 due to the new language was used only by government and cadre and de-coupled from common people and children's education	A historical and linguistic scientific review	Documents, literature, records	Lessons learned that language reform shall have the background of stable and prosperous society, involving common people, work with all societal sectors	A historical and academic review
5.	Comments on the Report on Minority Language Work in 1958 (researcher at China social science academy)	The Report has the authoritarian style over reforming minority languages to be close to Han Chinese language	A critical content analysis with historical background	Documents, research literature	In economic fast development era, minority language is again facing oppression, protection is urgently needed.	A critical content analysis
6.	The 3 <sup>rd</sup> national minority language work conference in 1980 (researcher at China social science academy)	1955-1991 four national minority language work conferences, 1980 is important as it ends the wrong approaches from the old era and sets new approaches to the new era.	A historical review	Documents, records, literature	1980 conference laid foundation for minority legislation	A history
7.	The establishment and practice of bilingual education (professor who wrote the preface)	An informative introduction to China's bilingual education history, principle, system, and pedagogy with some empirical examples of minority languages	A review	Documents, records, research literature	It is still very much a need for creating useful, practical bilingual pedagogy that suits different minorities	A serious academic discussion
8.	Language policy and legislation in Tibet from 1987 to 2001 (director of China Tibet research centre)	A presentation of historical background and contents of language policy and legislation in Tibet.	A document review and some content analysis	Documents	All policy and legislation has put Tibet language in central position as commonly used language in autonomous region	A government statement
9.	Language regulations in Yanbian Korea autonomous prefecture (Korea professor from Central nationality university)	1945 start using directly Korea language, 1954-1976 reform and standardization, 1977-1990s mature and progress, 1995-present, challenge of domination in the new era from neighbour country	A historical review and content review	Documents, records, literature	Legislation helps the language development in prefecture area and harmony among ethnic groups in Northeast China	A historical review



No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
10.	Commentary on the No.32 Document of the State Council (researcher from China social science academy)	A 1991 published document, which summarised the achievement and problems of the past 40 years of minority language work, laid down the rules and regulations for the new era, put forward strategies.	A content and a historical review	Documents, research literature	The implementation of the document has impressive effect on language work in arenas of politics, legislation, media, education, standardisation and such. Recommend six principles in language work	A serious research
11.	Review of the 1992 language regulation in Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture (Yi professor from Southwest Nationality University)	The regulation has its historical background and important implication for the Yi language use and development, and Yi culture protection. It completes Yi prefecture' autonomy and improves harmony between ethnic groups	A historical review and a content review	Documents, records and literature	It is the legislation link between Law of regional autonomy and autonomy practice	A good review
12.	Commentary on the language regulations in inner Mongolian autonomous region (Mongol researcher)	Passed in 2004 and in effect 2005. commentary gives a historical background of the starting point, the process, the content remedy of the regulation, and its effect on language use, education and development	A historical review and content review	Documents, records, and literature	The regulation making was a serious political and scientific process, therefore its implementation has had great effect and positive achievement	A good review
13.	Commentary on the 2000 national commonly used language law (Zhuang researcher and SEAC officer)	The 2000 law is the first language law which has its historical background and practical meaning but it also leaves plenty of room for minority language legislation which take place in local areas following 2000.	A historical review	Documents, records, laws, and research literature	The law is about Han language, but its implementation should collaborate with local legislation on minority languages	A good review
14.	Constitutional amendments and new challenges to legal protection of linguistic minorities in China (Zhou Yong)	From the late 1990s, China determined to establish the system of 'rule of law', thus minority language legislation shifted from mode of 'state-management' to 'rights protection'	A critical analysis	Laws, documents, research literature	The shift to 'rule of law' challenges language legislation to balance different interest conflicts, respect minority language rights, protect cultural diversity	A serious critical analysis

#### (4) International Journal of Minority and Group Rights (special issue) 2009

No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
1	Legal Rights of Oroqen People (Lundberg/Yong)	Tension between the strategy of development and the implementation of autonomy in relation to the rights of minorities	Legal analysis and field work	Legal documents, international law, interviews	Development can endanger the survival of the group, domestic law should be improved to provide better protection	A very good piece of research

No	Theme	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
2	Group rights perspective on autonomy in China (Yong)	Group rights can be combined with autonomy law by proper institutional design	Theoretical and legal analysis	Documents, academic literature	Institutional design fails to ensure minorities' management of internal affairs	A good piece of research with theoretical ambitions
3	Ethnic minorities and the right to freedom of religion (Wellens)	Public discourse must be accounted for in addition to laws and policies	Textual analysis	Academic literature, government documents, news sources	Space exists for religious revival unless it is considered as a threat to national unity	Good piece of research
4	Language reform and regional autonomy of Dai Nationality (Xisheng)	No thesis/argument	Document analysis	Public documents	Summing up of changes over the last decades	A competent review of relevant documentation
5	Autonomy and minority language rights in China (Lundberg)	No particular thesis/argument: A review of the Chinese legal and institutional framework in light of international law	Legal analysis	International and domestic law, academic literature	Autonomy law must be supplemented by other legal guarantees and administrative rules and regulations	A good review of applicable legislation
6	Nationality townships (Leijonhufvud)	The suitability of nationality townships as a form of preferential treatment for minorities	Document analysis, field work	Public documents, interviews	Nationality townships have not improved the political/ economic situation of minorities	A good piece of research

**(5) Research on autonomous regional economic legislation in China: examples of economic legislation from autonomous regions. Monograph authored by researchers from Law School of Yunnan University, published 2007 in Beijing: China Social Science Publisher**

No	Thesis/argument	Method	Data	Finding	Assessment
1	The Law of regional autonomy provides the legal framework and space for regional economic legislation. The book provides an overview and commentary on existing research results in the field, not only from scientific perspective but also to find experiences and problems in research of the field and the practice of regional economic legislation.	Literature review, content analysis, meta analysis	Documents, laws, research literature,		Has education and future research value

**(6) Journal of Liangshan Ethnic Research (annual 2005), 21 articles in total, 7 of them are related to the project, 4 out of the 7 have already published in either the blue book or the law press book, the rest 3 related articles that were not selected for the books, one is empirical study about the Yi holidays, the other two are short essays discuss language as resource and language use in economic development.**

