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Racialisation and China

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Introduction

The concept of race, ethnic minorities and racial discrimination has come to the forefront of contemporary global discussion, particularly in the latter half of the 20th century. The processes of racialisation are evident worldwide, yet they are unique to the individual country or region. The term 'racialisation', Murji and Solomos argue, "has become a core concept in the analysis of racial phenomena" (2005:1), and differs in its definitions. But essentially:

"racialisation always occurs in a particular historical and structural context, one in which the social relations of reproduction provide the necessary and initial framework within which racism has its effects" (Solomos 1986:100).

Racialisation incorporates interconnections, influences, interactions, and a fluidity of discourses surrounding 'race' and ethnic identity. As a key sociological issue, it involves investigation into historical, cultural, and political factors. Racialisation has been considered empirically and theoretically on a vast scale of scholarly texts. However there is scope for a more critical approach and analysis as to why these processes of human inequality exist in the hope of achieving a post-racial and post-ethnic world. A deeper understanding of the social structures that produce racial hierarchies and of the detachment between cultures would aid the prevention of such entrenched boundaries. Links between nationalism and identity are crucial in understanding the racial processes that can become manifested in cultures. Racism is a global problem and therefore requires a united front in the fight against discrimination, along with its secondary effects of violence and exclusion. However, as Dikotter accentuates, it is "neither uniform nor universal" (2008:1478) thus it requires policies and initiatives to be fluid enough to apply to the individual needs of a nation. A relational analysis would consider contemporary factors and how the reproduction of detrimental historical patterns has been allowed to persist over time (Goldberg 2009).

Race can be categorized as groups of a population with boundaries present, distinguished by biological characteristics. Once classified, the socially constructed differences are established and the boundaries are maintained (Dikotter 2008). This leads to racial stereotyping and ethnic conflicts as the groups become 'strangers' to one another and a fear of the unknown develops. A racial identity develops as a means of identifying a common lineage and sense of community. Scientific theories of racial difference have developed with the concepts of craniometry and anthropology, further entrenching boundaries and racial superiority. China is an excellent case of a nation that believes they are a biologically superior race. They conform to the ideology of Confucianism, whereby they believe all humans are teachable and can be subjected to improvement.

China is deeply affiliated with lineage discourse and it takes great pride in its cultural heritage, making it a nation widely considered to be a "powerful community linked by blood" (Dikotter 2008:1489). Its profound principles on nationality and supremacy provide an opportunity for deep analysis into the origins of its racialisation. The historical aspect and evolutionary processes that can be observed offer a starting point for an explanation as to why China's national hierarchy is so embedded into their modern society. We can also use it to pose the question of whether or not racism is a product of western modernity. Investigation into government policies both

past and present highlight the extent to which racial discrimination is being concealed from the world. This is demonstrated by the example of Tibet. Racial practices have been regionalised within China resulting in ethnic conflict. Critical analysis of Tibet and its relationship with China shows the devastating impact racial difference has on everyday lives and highlights the necessity for change. This essay will examine the political, economic and cultural processes throughout China's history that have led to ethnic divisions and racial hierarchy. Present day policies will be discussed along with the violations of international laws attempting to promote equality.

The origins of racial discourse in China can be traced back to before the 13th century when emperors held the dominant power. To this day the emphasis has remained on lineage and dynasty as opposed to physical geographical boundaries (Sleeboom: 2008). Ruled by a number of ethnic groups throughout history, China's internal boundaries have always been present, thus entrenching racial hierarchies and dominant ethnicities. Their quest for achieving Confucianism has been core to the understanding of Chinese society. Confucianism ideology involves the advancement of the human race, and the belief that assimilation of minorities into the dominant culture is necessary in order to 'civilize' them (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). This ethnocentric view enforced China's status as the cultural centre of the world at the time, and is still assumed today by its patriots. This "symbolic system" integrated the belief of China as a superior race and that others, as "barbarians", could be culturally absorbed (Dikotter 1992:2). Those that were not Chinese or did not conform to their ideas were seen as a threat to the race and should either be eliminated or assimilated (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). Fear of the dilution of race and even extending to a possible fear of extinction fuels this defence mechanism of imposing a dominant hierarchy over minorities. An idealized vision of "cultural universalism" (Dikotter 1992:3) was presented in the Age of Great Peace, and China believed it possible that the 'barbarians' could be transformed. This suggests racial discrimination was already evident even in such early times. Taken from the *Zuozhuan* (fourth century BC), a feudal chronicle, it illustrates racial differentiation- "If he is not from our race, he is sure to have a different mind" (Legge, J. 1860-72).

These ideas of China's global centrality derived from their differentiation from other races as the 'yellow race'- one of the 5 'pure colours' and therefore valued above others (Dikotter 1997). As a symbolic measure of distinguishing foreigners, the biological characteristic of skin colour has always been a topic of discourse for race and ethnicity. Originally it was viewed that yellow skin pigmentation was superior, followed by white (the barbarians). Beneath these was the association of 'blacks' with slaves, or 'beasts' (Dikotter 1992). The significance of the colour yellow refers to the 'Yellow Emperor' and thus a connection to nobility and wealth, enforcing the belief of supremacy over other ethnic groups. It is still symbolized today in its flag as a representation of national pride; the gold stars relate to the yellow race, while the red represents the political power - communism (a colour often associated to it). The symbolic nature of the flag further emphasizes China's sense of value of its history and legacy. However, it is suggested that the largest star represents the Communist Party and that the four smaller stars signify the ethnic groups making up the nation (Tsavo media) suggesting that they are minorities with inferior power subjected to entrenched political rule.

Originally China was united under the Yuan dynasty during the period of 1279-1368, and it was then that the nation was divided up into ethnic categories- the Mongols, *Semu*, *Hanren* ('Han people'), and *Nanren*. Thus, boundaries were formed and subjection to hierarchy took place (Dikotter 1997). There was rebellion during the Qing rule (1644-1911) where racial genocide took place; thousands were massacred

in the hope of resisting foreign rule resulting in a clear separation between the Chinese and those they considered 'barbarians' (Southerners). These boundaries were kept in place by the emperor, ingraining the partition between the ethnic populations. An elitist standpoint was taken up with a conflict of attitudes. China wished to remain the global core and could therefore either enforce racial sinicization - the "double movement of inclusion and inferiorisation where racial groups are locked into systems and positions of inferiority inside the nation" (Law 2012:) or segregate itself from the world in the aim to remain a superior race, away from the dilution of 'barbarians' (Dikotter 1992). These notions of cultural superiority continued into the 19th century as a social evolution took place and Westerners gained substantial influence on the world, economically and socially.

Lineage feuds during the Qing era were often violent in nature. There were strict rules in interethnic marriage in order to sustain a race of pure blood, descendent from the Yellow Emperor. Outsiders were seen as a direct threat to the "group homogeneity" (Dikotter 1992:118). This fear was enhanced towards the end of the 19th century with the influx of the Europeans. Economically advanced cultures, with ideas of industrialisation and with military support, unsettled China's belief in its ethnocentric status resulting in racial stereotyping by the elite. This could be an explanation as to why the Chinese became so absorbed with its own ethnic populations within the nation state - a defence mechanism to maintain dynasty. These boundaries bound groups together and established identities. Within China the Han race reigned supreme as instigators of civilization across Asia and ruled over the minorities. The "superiority and paternalism" demonstrated by this elite ethnic group is termed 'Han Chauvinism' (Law 2012:3). They were powerful both territorially and politically, and the Manchu Emperors defended their boundaries vigorously. Coerced assimilation and prejudicial attitudes were evident, particularly with regard to Tibet. When independence was declared in 1913, tensions rose as territorial boundaries were blurred with the migration of Chinese into the fertile valleys of Tibet (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). This caused animosity; firstly because as a now independent state Tibet wished to be separate from China, and secondly due to Chinese migrants settling in Tibet nomadic villages while they were moving between seasons. The border regions of Tibet are the most productive farmland areas and therefore hostility arose when foreigners decided to colonize there and the Tibetans returned. This early movement may have been the catalyst for government policy to encourage mass migration over the Tibetan borders, as it illustrated the potential for assimilation and coercion into communism, thus enhancing Chinese power over ethnic minority. The emergence of nationalism in the 19th century resulted in the formation of kinship between lineages, and thus friction developed due to the divide. Militarisation was a means to gaining social control and possession of economically productive market towns and natural resources. Further continuation of racialisation was evident due to the industrialisation of the global economy. Thus it could be thought that these Western ideas aided the process of establishing racial boundaries, due to economic factors yet, as discussed, there is historical evidence to suggest that racial differentiation has been present in China long before the Europeans gained a more global influence.

China provides an excellent case against the belief that racism is the product of western modernity. However China strongly upholds that "racism is a Western phenomenon" and that "racism does not exist in China" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:5). Laws and policies have been drawn up prohibiting racial discrimination and emphasizing the importance of equality and human rights. Nonetheless, violations of such laws have been reported along with government corruption and favouritism by the ethnically 'pure' Han minority and greater China. The breaking up of the Qing empire in 1911 allowed a new social system to develop, with power

belonging to the elites. This allowed greater participation in the global economy, furthering China's ethnocentric beliefs. A focus on education and self-improvement through ensuring high literacy rates became an objective, and public influence was exerted by the privatisation of printing houses (Dikotter 1997). This meant that those in power could manipulate the type of literature published, planting seeds of racial differentiation whilst benefiting from the profits gained by an increase in demand for books. Evidence of competition between the yellow and white races can be found in early stages of Chinese national curriculum.

Strong connections to culture and shared lineage were engrained at a young age, giving a sense of loyalty and belonging to an ethnic group. Accessible books and pamphlets were distributed promoting the discourse of eugenics and promoting marriage between elite members of society to ensure that 'superior' qualities would be inherited, thus maintaining racial supremacy. Schools of racial thought accumulated amongst university students and displays of discrimination towards those of different skin colour, Africans in particular, was evidence of racialisation. A law was created for the compulsory testing of sexually transmitted diseases on all foreign students, so as to avoid any risk of contamination from foreigners (Dikotter 1997), thus planting racial attitudes of "primitive societies" and a "lack of moral fibre" (Dikotter 1997:26-27) of Africans and other foreign populations. These eugenic ideas were extended to The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of Gansu Province who created the law "prohibiting 'mentally retarded people' from having children" in 1988 (Dikotter 1997:27). This shows the extent to which the Chinese fear dilution or weakening of their race and racial identity. This notion was furthered in 1995 whereby people were forced to be celibate, have abortions or be subjected to sterilization if it was found that they suffered a reproductive or hereditary condition, had a history of mental illness or an infectious disease (Dikotter 1997). Such an extreme ruling demonstrates the lengths China will go in order to achieve the 'perfect' race and the political power it possesses over society. Furthermore it differentiates China from Western or American racism in as much as such inhumane eugenic ideas are not carried out there. 'Westernisation' therefore cannot be seen as the root cause of processes of racialisation but may contribute to an already existing problem.

The People's Republic of China was formed in 1949, powered by a communist ideology led by the Marxist political philosopher Mao Zedong. His rise to power led the movement towards a society of equality; leaving no place for Han Chauvinism. His vision was of a politically and socially cohesive society made up of 'Chinese' population groups (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). With focus on the term 'Chinese', this caused conflict with the ethnic groups who wished to retain their identity and link to historical dynasty. Known for being a proud race, this is unsurprising. The political party saw this opposition from ethnic groups as a barrier to development and progress towards modernization. Fear of losing superior status in the global economy fuelled the need for the impression of complete cohesion, and prompted the government to impose equality laws and legislation. This aim of achieving complete equality throughout the nation in itself produced barriers as racial groups clung to their cultural identities. Thus discrimination and hostility became prevalent whilst the government attempted to conceal it from the rest of the world. The People's Republic of China, composing of fifty-six minorities, is assumed to be equal. However, Chiang Kai-Shek (president of Nationalist China 1928-1949) stated that the "racial stocks (minority nationalities) emerge as, at best, contributors to China's rich cultural heritage" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:33). Even though the political ideology has changed since this status, the racialized thought processes still exist to the present day. This communist ideology runs parallel with Lenin's vision and Marxist class relations, and is likely to have been the inspiration

for the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP). The concept being that the proletariat class (industrial workers) would choose to become part of the nation state rather than face severance from a growing and prosperous economy. With the aim of providing incentives for the 'barbarians' to integrate into the 'civilised' Chinese society through education and liberation policies, the government hoped coercion would not be a necessary force (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). However this stance in itself demonstrated the hierarchy and ruling over minority groups in wanting them to abandon their cultural traditions and surrender their valuable natural resources to a Chinese government. As Mao's power diminished so did the current communist ideology (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:57). This left a divide between the classes, emphasizing barriers between the elite wealthy and the industrial proletariat classes. It was viewed that the 'primitive' populations, located particularly around the border regions, should be homogenised within the culturally superior Chinese state in order to enhance the race and establish a cohesive society, all under the ruling political party.

Tibet, although not unique in this respect, is subjected to racial discrimination and seen by the dominant ethnic group of China as inferior. Terms such as "backward", "primitive", "uncivilized" and "superstitious" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:25) are, and have historically been, associated with the region. Once considered a key component of the central 'yellow race', it was part of the united front with a common lineage, superior to the 'white race'. Yet within the nation itself it is a minority belief that it is evident that it should conform to assimilation and the communist political ideologies. China saw the Tibetan region as an opportunity to gain valuable natural resources (Society for Threatened People 2009) to use as a tool for retaining its self-viewed ethnocentric position in the world. Tibet, however, resisted this movement and the process of racialisation is evident as Tibetans were marginalized - both as individuals and as an ethnic group. Day to day discrimination is experienced despite violating China's equality policies and the CERD legislation acts.

The state-encouraged process of mass migration over the borders into Tibet was developed with the aim of swamping Tibetan culture, forcing the population into becoming a minority. The hope was that this would produce widespread feelings of inferiority and create a need for the population to become cohesive with China and to be absorbed into their culture and way of life. This mass migration forced Tibetans to "live in concentrated communities" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:76) thus increasing segregation between ethnic groups and creating racist attitudes and hostility. The secondary effect of this was the loss of cultural identity and equality for the Tibetans. The government provided incentives, particularly in the employment sector, for migration into Tibet and thus the Chinese migrants took over the powerful positions which created further hierarchy divisions within the state. Accompanying the rising immigration levels was a strong focus on the development of urban areas. To the outside world this was perceived as aiding Tibet in their economic progress but, conversely, it enforced the inferiority of Tibetans as development was concentrated in the urban areas (largely populated with migrants), thus benefitting the newly colonized Chinese. 80% of the Tibetan population live in rural areas (Society for Threatened People 2009:2) so the aim of aiding the native population and advancing the region economically was ineffective in this respect. The large scale development projects involved expansion of infrastructure, including a new railway to improve access into and within Tibet. The 10th Five Year plan, put in place by the Central Government and the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), invested 31.2 billion Yuan in 117 independent infrastructure projects (Society for Threatened People:2009). This was included in the 'Tenth-Thirteenth Periodic Report' in which China describes its motives and plans for equality across China. Poverty alleviation

through industrializing the region and the introduction of employment training and labour force transfer were but a few of the policies (Society for Threatened People 2000). These have negative repercussions for the indigenous groups as a dependency develops on the Chinese migrants for skilled labour and foreign administration. Education levels also suffer as the need is less severe for highly educated professions due to the imported 'superior' labour. A demand is then created for continuous population transfer resulting in a vicious cycle of dependency and further dilution of the national identity.

This government strategy was not limited to the Tibetan region; "China has moved 14 million Chinese into Inner Mongolia and 13 million into East Turkestan (Xinjiang), drastically changing the demographic composition of those two non-Chinese regions" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:76). This suggests that China is reaching for domination on a broader scale than just within its national boundaries. This undermines the ethnic culture and autonomy of the regions as it gives "privileges and a special status to the alien transferees at the expense of the indigenous Tibetan population, which is never asked to give its consent" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:76-77). The notions behind these schemes is population improvement, yet accompanying this move towards national cohesion is racialisation with "racist undertones" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:77) which will inevitably cause segregation and resentment towards the government.

The development programmes for the production of new infrastructure were part of an ulterior government motive to "strengthen military control, and expand influence and consolidate control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)" (Society for Threatened People 2009:3). The construction of the railway line to Lhasa under Chinese supervision allows easier access within and into Tibet, aiding population transfer and giving China a powerful influence as to who can travel. Restrictions travelling within Tibet and across its borders is now highly monitored and confined; permits from the Chinese Government are required to even travel to neighbouring villages and towns. This involves a high level of bureaucracy and time lags. These regulations apply across the entire nation state of China yet due to the high degree of government corruption Chinese violators are often overlooked (International Campaign for Tibet 2000). This further emphasizes the degree of discrimination and racial prejudice experienced in Tibet. China established military control over Tibet following the invasion in Kham by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in 1950 (Kolas 1996) further exerting their ethnic hierarchy. It soon escalated into violence and approximately 80,000 Tibetan refugees escaped into India, following the Dalai Lama.

The People's Republic of China's (PRC) saw an opportunity to dissolve Tibet's political system by attacking its religious beliefs and structure (Kolas 1996). If this could be achieved, they believed greater social cohesion would be possible as racialisation would force the culture to absolve to the communist atheist religion, thus becoming wholly assimilated into 'Chinese' culture. Monasteries were targeted, and their leaders portrayed as "enemies of the state" and persecuted, along with members of the aristocracy, government officials and resistance leaders" (Kolas 1996:55). In 1959 the Dalai Lama fled Tibet to escape religious persecution. His picture is banned from households, which were subjected to random searches, and prayers for his health were prohibited (Platt and Ni Ghairbhith 2002). For Tibetans Buddhism is a way of life; a significant part of their cultural identity, and therefore trying to assimilate them into atheist beliefs will result in inevitable hostility. Religious discrimination is a considerable component of the racial prejudice experienced by the Tibetan race. Pronounced, religious Tibetans are rejected from government or political party representation, even within Tibet, as this is viewed as a "threat to national unity of the PRC and harmful to socialist progress" (International Campaign

for Tibet 2000:78). This contradicts China's conformity to the Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and violates the requirements under its constitution. The CERD emphasizes the cultural importance of religious identity and its significance in achieving equality. China on the other hand widely considers deeply religious practices to be a "hindrance to economic growth and a manifestation of old and backward lifestyles" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:79).

The Dalai Lama, as the symbolic leader of Buddhist beliefs, attempted to reason with the leader of the People's Republic of China Mao in 1954 in the hope of releasing approximately 1 million serfs and slaves. He was informed that "democratic reform wouldn't be carried out for at least six more years" (China Tibet News 2009). Riots developed in Lhasa on the 10th March 1959 and continued for two days, forcing the Dalai Lama to flee to India. On the 49th anniversary of this date, protests began due to the pressure of continuous marginalization and suppression by Chinese rule and restriction of Tibetan's freedom of religious and cultural expression. Protests took place across the entire geographical region, showing the extent of the racial discrimination felt. The majority of protests were peaceful, but despite this China reacted with force. It was reported that police beat protesters and detained thousands. Unarmed participants of the riots were shot or beaten to death by the Chinese military and buildings burned (Society for Threatened People 2009:3-4). Intense military presence in Tibetan urban areas was enforced and all foreigners, including tourists and journalists, were compelled to evacuate Tibet. Many Tibetans are still missing and unaccounted for. Monks in particular were targeted in an attempt to dispel the Buddhist faith and ensure integration to atheist ideologies. Since 14th March 2008 Tibet has been "virtually sealed off" (Society for Threatened People 2009:4) thus the full extent to which Tibetans have suffered under the military force of China is unknown. This is evidence of such an engrained racial hierarchy in that no consideration was given to such inhumane treatment of the 'inferior' ethnic minority. Such extreme measures are still exhibited today in contemporary society. "In the past year, some 30 Tibetans, men and women, religious figures and lay people, have set themselves on fire" (Hilton 2012) as an exhibition of protest against current political rule in China. 4,000 students in Qinghai protested against the repression and against the teaching in Chinese in Tibetan schools, resulting in the authorities searching monasteries for loyalty to the Dalai Lama. The Chinese government have used these protests as further fuel against the religious figure, blaming the hostility and self-immolations on the Dalai Lama, for projecting a negative image to the rest of the world. However, it is the PRC's own policies that are creating such divides and extreme measures (Hilton 2009).

Racial discrimination can manifest itself within a society so that even those most innocent are subjected to it. The CERD advocated that the "State party urgently ensure that children in all minority areas have the right to develop knowledge about their own language and culture as well as the Chinese, and that they are guaranteed equal opportunities, with particular regard to access to higher education" (Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: China (2001 paragraph 245) cited in Society for Threatened People 2009:8). China has not upheld its agreement to these recommendations. The situation has improved but widespread discrimination is still present in the education system. "Only half the population in Tibet can read and write as opposed to 97% of those living in Beijing, Shanghai, or Tianjin" reported the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2005 (Society for Threatened People 2009:11). There is a lack of government funding for Tibetan schools, particularly in rural areas and there is a movement towards all curriculum levels being taught in Chinese, with the underlying hope that cultural identity will be lost. This has consequentially developed a fear amongst Tibetans sending their children to school, where they face racist behaviour for

speaking their native tongue and are teased for expressing religious beliefs. This all adds to the risk of losing their ethnic identity.

It is engrained at an early age by teachers that fluency and knowledge of Chinese culture is essential to obtain employment later on. This is resulting in the dying out of the Tibetan language as Tibetan schools run by monks are either closed due to their popularity or replaced with the Chinese curriculum (Society for Threatened People 2009). Violations of children's rights have also been reported as those who cannot afford the tuition, (Tibetans often have to pay despite the education laws prohibiting fee paying schools) are forced to perform physical labour. China has also adopted the strategy of selecting the brightest Tibetan children from schools and transferring them to China whereby they are fully absorbed into the culture and ways of life, often not returning to their families for years. These subjects are then placed in positions of political power within Tibet with a communist perspective firmly embodied into their political views. Removing the brightest children from Tibet will also only add to the foreign opinion of Tibet as a 'backward', 'primitive' race whilst China takes much needed valuable economic resources and uses them as a tool for assimilation of the Tibetan race into Chinese culture. This constitutes an example of the way in which "racism can so permeate a society that members of an oppressed minority can internalize stereotypes and unleash them on each other" (International Campaign for Tibet 2000:73). The disadvantages faced by Tibetan children in schools and their limited access to higher education also have repercussions when looking for work after school. Entrance exams are in Chinese and therefore those who are not fluent cannot achieve a degree, giving them an instant disadvantage in the employment sector. There are reports of Tibetans turning to alcohol and resorting to prostitution in order to earn a living as they have had an inferior education and are not fluent in Chinese (Society for Threatened People 2009). This adds to the negative stereotyping and prejudice against Tibetans resulting in a vicious cycle in inferiority and racial hierarchy.

Racial discrimination and racialisation processes are prevalent across the world, varying in degrees of intensity and risk of losing ethnic identity. A historical evaluation of the social problems and the political policies that accompany them can enable movements towards more cohesive societies. It provides valuable information to international governing bodies such as the United Nations, Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and human rights groups. Even with the knowledge of racially discriminative behaviour, as illustrated with the case study of Tibet and China, it is a lengthy process towards achieving a post-racial world. 'Race' is socially constructed and has no biological basis, thus an emphasis in breaking down entrenched and manifested social boundaries between ethnic groups is essential. Recommendations are made to governments on attacking racist practices but full cooperation is required in order to implement them. China is an example of a nation that has agreed to such conditions of equality as specified by institutions like the Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), yet widespread racial discrimination is still apparent throughout Tibet. Policies that appear to enable economic progress, as a means towards promoting equality, have been used as a shield to hide the PRC's ulterior political motives of achieving key global status. Tibet has little influence in politics, domestic and foreign, and those who do represent them are Chinese or conform to their communist ideological views.

For centuries China has claimed that racism does not exist in their nation and regard it as a western phenomenon derived from colonialism, exempting them from such categorization. Therefore the moves towards promoting equal status to all, regardless of ethnicity ties, have been problematic to initiate. In 2009, however, the Durban Review Conference was assured that "China is ready to work with all

governments and the civil society to create a world free of discrimination, hatred, fear and prejudice” (Society for Threatened People 2009:6). This is a positive movement towards the prevention of further racial discrimination and racialisation, yet it has been recognised by international institutions that the “PRC government should be more aggressive and systematic in prevention and prosecution of racism” (Society for Threatened People 2009:91). These objectives should be more closely monitored with a focus towards ensuring human rights and the retention of ethnic identities. The recognition of the presence of racism has been a significant leap forward, in China and on a global scale. However, internal obstructions of widespread government corruption and deep-seated political and religious ideologies are likely to cause processes of racialisation to continue across the world, preventing a post-racial environment in the near future.

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