

## The Migration Landscape of Kazakhstan's Uyghur: A Historical Perspective

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**KEYWORDS** China. East Turkestan. Russia. Semirechye. Xinjiang

**ABSTRACT** The research article focuses on the population of Uyghurs, one of the groups whose historical struggle for identification and establishment of their own nationalism intersected with the history of Kazakhstan, especially at the end of the XIX century. Through the analysis of migratory activity of Uyghurs, the authors proceed from the fact that there were migratory stages involved in the resettlement of the Uyghurs. An opinion survey among the Uyghurs of the Kazakhstan-Chinese border-zone is presented in the article. The aim was to determine the number of the Uyghurs and features of its settlement in the Kazakhstan-Chinese border zone. The article specifically attempts to present an account of the history of resettlement of the Uyghur from western China to the territory of Semirechye in Kazakhstan.

### INTRODUCTION

Uyghurs are considered to be from the nation of East Turkestan (nowadays a part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) of the People's Republic of China), also inhabiting neighboring countries of Central Asia and Middle East. They are considered to be one of the most ancient Turkic nationalities of Central Asia and find mention in the written records of the region since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The Uyghur state was founded in 8<sup>th</sup> century AD on Orkhon River. In 840 this state was defeated by Yenisei Kyrgyzs. A part of Uyghurs moved to East Turkestan and the western part of Gansu. A long-term domination of conquerors and factionalism led to the almost annihilation of the Uyghurs. Uyghurs began to be recognized based upon their place of residence kashgarlyk (kashgarets), turfanlyk (turfanets), or by their activities of a taranchi (farmer). The Ili Uyghurs were called taranchi. This name was assigned to the part of Uyghurs who moved to the valley of Ili river mainly from Kashgaria. This was a forcible resettlement on behest of the Manchur-Chinese administration soon after conquering East Turkestan by the Tsin empire in 1759. It served a dual purpose, that is, to weaken anti-Tsin moods and to create new Uyghur settlements, inhabitants of which were obliged to provide for the Man-

churian troops. The Uyghur state, which existed in East Turkestan, was conquered by Manchurian governors of China by 1760. Later, these lands received the Chinese name of "Xinjiang" or "The New Territory".

Xinjiang in PRC has the highest population of the Uyghurs (8 million). More than 240 thousand Uyghurs are living in Kazakhstan. Over a period of time they have settled in the border areas of Almaty region in Kazakhstan. In spite of the history and present day struggle of the Uyghurs for autonomy, the Uyghur's diaspora has not been studied sufficiently yet. Among the most well known works on the Uyghurs is that of Chvyr L.A., "Rites and Beliefs of Uyghurs" published in Russian. This research is devoted to ethnographic study of the traditional Uyghur society. The foreign historiography of the Uyghur problem is also represented in D. Gladney's book, "Ethnic Identity in China." "The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality" by Harcourt Brace and Sean R. Robert's "The Uyghurs of the Kazakhstan Borderlands: Migration and the Nation."

Within the context of Kazakhstan, some problems of the Uyghur diaspora have been deliberated upon in K. Syroyezhkin's work on "Myths and Reality of Ethnic Separatism in China and Safety in Central Asia" and "Xinjiang: A Big Issue for China and Kazakhstan." There is a lack of proper contextualized study of modern condi-

tions of the Uyghurs in Kazakhstan. This article is an attempt to address this lacuna regarding the Uyghurs in the academia. The purpose of this article is to document the patterns of migratory ties among the Uyghurs of Kazakhstan and China during certain historical periods, distinguishing main stages of resettlement of Uyghurs in the territory of Kazakhstan, and considering the current condition of the Uyghurs in border areas of Kazakhstan and China.

### Objectives

The objective of the present research article deals with the migratory movements of the Uyghurs, which defined the settlement patterns of this ethnic group at the Kazakhstan-Chinese border-zone. This research gains significant relevance in the present times owing to many problems relating to the origin of Uyghurs and the problem of creation and loss of their statehood, which still have not been resolved.

### METHODOLOGY

General scientific and special methods have been applied in various combinations depending upon the specific objectives for this study. The article is based upon general historical and sociological methodologies and the primary data has been collected through fieldwork among the Uyghurs in Kazakhstan. Fieldwork methodology has been primarily followed to give an ethnological account of the Uyghur situation documenting their feelings, motives and attitudes, intentions, which are reflected through their everyday life. Besides the studying of subjective conditions, by using the method of inquiry it is also possible to receive information on objective phenomena of life of groups, which are not recorded in documentary sources. The article was written based upon data of an opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Institute jointly with the authors of this article among the Uyghurs of the Kazakhstan-Chinese border-zone focusing on certain issues like interethnic conflicts, change of ethnic borders, problems of ethnic identity and interethnic relations.

### OBSERVATION AND DISCUSSION

Having become a part of the Chinese empire, Uyghurs repeatedly revolted against the Han

dynasty. The first 'wave' of migrations of Uyghurs to Central Asia began at the end of the XIX century and it is connected with suppression of a revolt of Dzhakhangir-Kodzha in Kashgar (1826-1828) by the Tsin government, when groups of Uyghurs-Kashgarets fled to Fergana and Semirechye areas in Central Asia. According to some sources, 85 to 160 thousand Kashgarets moved to the territory of Kokandsky Khanate during the specified period (Valikhanov 1985). However, there are some other sources, which also refer to earlier settlements of Uyghurs in the territory of Central Asia, in particular Kazakhstan. A.N. Bernshtam notes the existence of Uyghur settlements in Semirechye in the XV century. There is also a mention of the settlement of captured Kashgarets near Osh river in the XV century (Iskakov et al. 1980). There are historical facts in the literature testifying that Uyghurs lived among the population of Fergana Valley dating as far back as the XVI century, that is, long before mass resettlement of Uyghurs in the XVIII-XIX centuries (Geyer 1908).

The second wave of migration is connected with punitive operations of the Chinese authorities during the revolt of 1864-1873. During the time, state of Yttishar led by Yaqub-bek was destroyed. Many people who participated actively in the revolt fled to semirechye. The Tsin government deported the surviving relatives and families of revolutionaries who had fled to the territory of Russia from Kashgar to Vernensky and Issykkul.

As a result of conclusion of the St. Petersburg contract on February 12, 1881, 45,373 representatives of Uyghur population migrated Kazakhstan from the Kuldzhinsky region (Xinjiang) (Baranova 1959). In the summer of 1881, Russian authorities declared conditions of the St. Petersburg contract to residents of the Ili region. Special commissions carried out a survey and census from August to December 1881 for the purpose of clarification of the number of persons interested to receive the citizenship of Russia and to move to its territory. It turned out that the number of persons interested in moving were about 100 thousand people and maximum of them where Uyghurs (11,365 families), Dungans (1,308 families) and all Kazakhs of that area. The amnesty declared by representatives of Tsin administration to residents of the Ili region slightly reduced the number of those migrants. As of February 1882, the lists of migrants included 11,068 Uyghur families. They

were mainly Uyghurs-Taranchi. However, settlements of Uyghurs-Kashgarlyks with the population of more than 6 thousand people in Semirechye in the territory of Vernenskiy, Dzharkentskiy and Pishpekkiy districts took place at the same time (CSARK).

After migration of Uyghurs to Semirechye, five "Taranchi" volosts were formed, which incorporated all Uyghur population of Southeast Kazakhstan including Dzharkentsko-Taranchinskaya, Aksu-Charynskaya, Malybayskaya, Karamskaya and Karasuyskaya volosts. In addition, Uyghurs also settled in the territory of Ketmenskaya volost, which was passed under the St. Petersburg contract. Dzharkentsko-Taranchinskaya, Aksu-Charynskaya and Ketmenskaya volosts became part of Dzharkentskiy and Malybayevskaya, Karamskaya and Karasuyskaya volosts became a part of Vernenskiy.

Uyghur settlements appeared at places such as Chon Chigan, Kichik Chigan, Akkent, Chulukai, Pyandzhim, Nadyak, Korgas, Sokur Khatun (subsequently renamed into Sadyr village), Khonikhay and Altyoy. Another group of Uyghur migrants formed settlements along the foot of Ketmen range at Bayan-Kazak, Dolaty, Sakiz-On, Big and Small Aksu. A hundred families from Big Aksu settlement migrated to Karaturuk River, where they established a settlement of the same name (20 km to the west of Chilik village). The third group of Uyghurs settled on the east coast of Chilik river, where they created the settlements of Malybay, Bayseit, Masak, Kaynuk and Onyaylak, united to Malybayevskaya volost. The fourth part of migrants settled on the west coast of Chilik river and found the settlements of Asy, Zhigirmya-Oy, On-Oy, Gozhikul, Kuram, Lavar, Karayuta, Kizilzhigda, Karaturuk and Kiykbay. They became a part of Karamskaya volost. The fifth group of Uyghurs settled in the east from Verniy city, where they found the settlements of Dzhanashar, Tashtikara, Bayandai, Zharlikap, Manap, Baltabay and Karasu, which became a part of Karasuyskaya volost. The sixth group of Uyghurs settled in Verniy city and its suburbs, namely in Sultan-Kurgan village (Kabiroy 1951).

Initially, 42 settlements were established in "taranchi" volosts. Subsequently, the number of settlements constantly increased and there existed 99 settlements as of the beginning of the XX century. For the purpose of administration, "the settled foreign population is divided to vo-

losts headed by Volost governors, and volosts are subdivided into rural communes headed by rural foremen. With very few exceptions, each rural commune of Taranchi forms a separate settlement" (Baratova 1988).

The Uyghur population settled in rural areas in small community groups and formed a dense network of settlements. The sources testify that they moved by whole villages and each groups of migrants, who formed a rural community, was usually formed either entirely by fellow villagers or, if there was too less in numbers, by residents of several neighboring settlements. However, even in the latter case they kept communicating with residents of different villages, which entered into one commune in the new place usually formed separate "five-tens" and "tens". At the same time, they retained the names of their former settlements.

In archival materials it is noted, "As a result of this resettlement, a sort of divisions of Taranchi settlements of China was formed in the Russian territory. We find almost all names of Russian Taranchi settlements on the map of the Chinese part of Ili region". The principle of settlement of the Uyghur population in the territory of Southeast Kazakhstan was defined by the traditional system of economic management (irrigational agricultural economy), which conditioned the geography of their settlement and the organizational structure of the Uyghur society. Having moved by dense and compact mass, Uyghurs occupied a zone at foothill of river valleys, which was almost identical to the zone of their former settlement in East Turkestan and Kuldzhinskiy region (Nedzevetskiy 1913).

The dynamics of the number of Uyghur population is presented by the following figures: by 1885 the number of Uyghurs of Semirechye increased up to 47.911 people, in 1888 it reached 49.202 people, and in 1892 it was 51.097 people (First general population census of the Russian Empire 1905). According to the general population census of the Russian Empire of 1897, there were 55.999 Uyghurs in Semirechye (Materials on inspection of households and land use of native and Russian old residents in Semirechye oblast 1914). During this census in Semirechye region, the Chinese language was considered as the native language by 7.398 males and 6.732 females, that is, only 14.130 people in total. Of this number, 3.016 males (40.8%) and 2.811 females (41.8%), 5.827 people or 42.2 percent in

total, lived in cities and the others lived in rural areas (Iskakov et al. 1995).

The third 'wave' of migration of Uyghurs to Central Asia at the beginning of the XX century includes the so-called seasonal workers, who came from Kashgaria in search of a job during harvest time. The numerical strength of this group of migrants cannot be exactly counted. However, one can say that it was quite significant even based on selective statistics and the fact that this type of migration was not prohibited and was highly encouraged by local administration. 14.689 people migrated in 1906 from East Turkestan to Fergana, in 1907 - 24.107 people had migrated, in 1908 - 28.000 people, and in 1914 - 40.000 people migrated (Zarubin 1925).

According to the information from the agricultural census, there were 100,516 Uyghurs in Russia in 1917, including 60,988 Taranchi and 39,528 Kashgarlyks (Population and displacement of world nations 1962). Areas of compact settlement of Uyghurs emerged by the beginning of the XX century in the territory of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

The name "Uyghurs" was accepted as the general name for all Taranchi, Kashgarlyks and others related groups in May 1921 at the congress of representatives of Uyghurs in Tashkent. This historical name belongs to one of the most ancient Turkic nations of Central Asia that existed until the XVI century and was lost after disappearance of the Uyghur state during a long internal strife. In 1930s, the ethnonym Uyghurs was also widely extended to Xinjiang in China.

The Xinjiang province was transformed to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) of the People's Republic of China in 1955. From that time, the political leadership of China began to pursue a rigid anti-religious course that led to an increase of anti-Chinese moods and promoted emergence of separatist tendencies in the region. One of the first serious confrontations between Uyghurs and Chinese occurred in 1956. During this period, mass reprisals were carried out in the course of the 'cultural revolution', and the Muslim clergy and local national intellectuals suffered increased persecutions. A campaign of 'fight against local nationalism' was launched in XUAR in 1957-1958. Fearing persecution, active participants of the revolutionary events of 1930-1940s in Xinjiang had to leave for the Soviet Union for asy-

lum. According to the census of 1959, 95.2 thousand Uyghurs lived in the USSR (Outcomes of the All-Soviet Union population census in 1970). In 1970 the number of the Uyghur population reached 173,276 people in the USSR (Borisov 1979). 59,840 Uyghurs lived in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in 1959, and in 1970 their number amounted to 120,881 people. The increase in number of Uyghurs occurred both as a result of a natural increase and in connection with resettlement of many groups of Uyghurs from Xinjiang to the territory of the USSR.

The most mass flow of migrants occurred in 1962. This stream of migration was provoked by rumors about the fact that the Soviet authorities decided to close the Soviet-Chinese border, seeking to limit migration of refugees trying to escape hunger. A huge crowd of people interested in leaving for the Soviet Union gathered in Kuldzha in front of the building of the Soviet consulate. However, the Chinese authorities forbade such departure and used regular military units to dispel the crowd. As a result of this opposition, about 60-80 thousand Uyghurs, Kazakhs and representatives of other ethnic groups fled to the Soviet Union through the Khorgos part of the Soviet-Chinese border opened by the Soviet authorities. The new part of migrants consisted of cattle-farmers and agricultural workers who settled in Taldy-Kurgan, Alma-Ata, Semipalatinsk, South Kazakhstan and Dzhambul regions of the Kazakh SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic), Tashkent and Andizhan regions of the Uzbek SSR, Osh and Issykkul regions of the Kyrgyz SSR, and Maryysk region of the Turkmen SSR. 67 thousand people illegally moved into the Soviet Union starting from April 22 to the beginning of June 1962. 13,757 Uyghurs in 1959 and in 1970, 24,872 Uyghurs lived in the Kyrgyz SSR. In the Uzbek SSR, 19,400 Uyghurs lived in 1959 and in 1970, 23,942 Uyghurs, 0.8 thousand Uyghurs lived in the Turkmen SSR in 1959 and in 1970, 1.2 thousand Uyghurs lived there (Kozhirova 2016).

The Chinese party tried to accuse the Soviet authorities of receiving violators of the border. In this regard, the Soviet government sent an official note to the government of the People's Republic of China on April 29, 1962. In this note, the unreasonable accusations against the USSR were rejected and it was specified that the crossing of the border was made from the Chinese side within sight of the Chinese authorities and hence timely and appropriate measures for controlling to mass crossing of the border should

have been taken by the Chinese authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China appealed to the Soviet government in September 1962 to allow persons wishing to depart to the USSR using a simplified procedure. Considering this request, the Soviet authorities temporarily introduced a visa-free procedure of entry to the USSR from China for Soviet citizens and members of their families. More than 46 thousand people left Xinjiang for USSR from October 15, 1962 to May 1, 1963. There is no official data about the number of Uyghurs who arrived to the territory of Kazakhstan during those years. However, according to witnesses of participants of these processes, about 200 thousand people arrived to the USSR for residence during 1953-1963 (Roberts 1998).

Last 'wave' of Uyghur migration to Kazakhstan is represented by people of Uyghur nationality coming to Central Asian states with commercial purposes. Formation of this stream already started in the late eighties, when the agony of the former Soviet Union began. Migration was fueled by 'the Chinese trade boom' that was felt in Kazakhstan since 1987 but intensified in 1991-1993. The main part of sales agents and intermediaries from the Chinese party was represented by Uyghurs who had family ties in Kazakhstan and quickly adapted to the local conditions.

Although there are official figures of the arrival of 'trade' migrants, there are no definite figures about the people who permanently settled in Central Asian states. Nonetheless, there is no doubt in existence of this category. It is confirmed by the results of a very interesting research conducted by a former trainee of the Institute of Uyghur studies of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Sean Roberts, who offered an original technique of research of relationship in the setting of the Uyghur diaspora of Kazakhstan.

Hence, all the Uyghur migrants could be categorized into three categories corresponding to the oral tradition of modern Uyghur language, namely, *yerliklar* or 'locals' are those Uyghurs who were born in Kazakhstan and whose families have lived here at least since 1900, *kelganlar* or 'arrived' are those Uyghurs whose parents or they themselves arrived in Kazakhstan in 1950s and 1960s, and *kh-itailiklar* or 'from China' are those Uyghurs who arrived in Kazakhstan from China to work or trade on a temporary basis. Sh. Roberts notes that there are conflicts and disagreements between Uyghurs of various 'waves'. He draws a conclusion that

descendants of Uyghurs of first migratory 'waves' rather identified themselves with Kazakhstan than with Xinjiang. At the same time, migrants of the 1960s and their descendants were committed to the ideas of independence of Xinjiang and creation of the Uyghur state in its territory.

Sh. Roberts also notes that one of the most complex problems is still the issue of definition of Uyghurs as a diaspora or a border nation. In his opinion, Uyghurs are not a diaspora, saying that a nation, which does not have a historical homeland, cannot be called a diaspora. He considers Uyghurs as a border nation (Roberts 1998).

In Kazakhstan, the Uyghurs are the 5<sup>th</sup> largest population, conceding to Kazakhs, Russians, Uzbeks and Ukrainians. As of the beginning of 2010, the number of Uyghurs in the Republic of Kazakhstan was 241,946 people.

According to the data on the ethnographic map of Kazakhstan by the Center for Research of Interethnic Relations, Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 231,4 thousand Uyghurs live in the territory of the republic, that is they account for 1.5 percent of the population of Kazakhstan. 42 doctors of science, four academicians, more than 200 candidates of science, five people's artists of the Republic of Kazakhstan, more than 20 'honored workers of the Republic of Kazakhstan' are of Uyghur origin and are successfully working in the country. 393 representatives of the ethnic group are working in the field of public service, 13 of them are political employees. The group is represented in Mazhilis of Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in Maslikhats at regional, municipal and district levels.

The Kazakhstani Uyghur diaspora is concentrated in Uyghur (56.13% of all the population of the district), Panfilov, Enbekshikazakh, and Taldar districts of Almaty region and in Almaty city. 213 144 people, 95.58 percent, of Uyghur ethnicity live in Almaty city and Almaty region, this accounts for 67,082 people or a third (30.08%) of all Uyghurs of Kazakhstan who live in Almaty (Chvyr 2006). A characteristic feature of the Uyghur diaspora is its compact settlement and large extent of ethnic consolidation.

In Almaty region, representatives of the Uyghurs are concentrated in only three administrative regions out of 19, namely, Enbekshikazakh, Panfilov and Uyghur districts.

The Uyghurs are young (people under the age of 40 make 65.8%), dynamic and mobile. Its

representatives are engaged in agriculture (in private enterprises belonging to them) or in the services sector (cafes). In cities and regional centers, they are engaged in private small and medium business.

*Makhalla* (a block of settlement where inhabitants exercise local governance) has been a traditional element of ethnic consolidation of Uyghurs for a long time. *Zhigit-beshi* (the head of mashrap, 'the head of zhigits') and *mashrap* (men's friendly meetings) are traditional institutes of self-government of a community that still remain. The fact of existence of multipurpose closed internal structures functioning as institutes of preservation of ethnic identity confirms conclusions of researchers about closed nature of the Uyghur society.

A sociological research of Uyghurs of border zones (Panfilov district) was conducted in 2013 with 600 respondents of Uyghur ethnicity. The following insignificant details were observed from the research in response to the question about what traditions have been lost, only 0.6 percent of respondents marked *makhalla*.

Research made by modern ethnographers confirms the fact that these institutes are authoritative and are still actively functioning (Syroezhkin 2003; Syroezhkin 2016). Similar to many eastern societies, Uyghurs are trying to keep their ceremonial elements, wedding and culinary traditions intact.

As already noted, the population of border zones has developed as a result of ethnic interaction and cultural influence in the course of common historical development and as a result of difficult public and migratory processes. The first Uyghur settlements were formed in the territory of Kazakhstan in the 1880s. A part of Uyghur migrants settled in the area located between small rivers of Khorgos and Usek. Zharkent city was founded in this area in 1882. In the course of meetings and polls, the conclusion of researchers that descendants of Uyghurs of first migratory 'waves' (*yerliklar*) rather identify themselves with Kazakhstan than with Xinjiang, was confirmed. They are involved in the movement for creation of the sovereign Uyghur state in Xinjiang to a lesser extent and are more anxious about the effect of national and personnel policy in Kazakhstan. Interethnic marriages are widespread in this environment.

For inhabitants of the border zone, the priority of nation-state identity is a critical factor. 93.6 percent of respondents consider themselves Kazakhstani. However, residents of border zones consider ethnic, territorial and religious aspects as the most important components of national identification. Ethnic identity took intermediate positions between nation-state and territorial identification.

Thus, territorial and nation-state identities compete among themselves. In the present case, all respondents considered themselves as citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan and as inhabitants of Zharkent. High rate affirmation of religious identity (41.3%) gives evidence of an increased observance of Islamic traditions among the Uyghurs. Respondents consider that the religious factor is one of the uniting elements of this ethnic group. When religion and nationality are the key identification features, the attitude of conflict behavior among representatives of such groups is most probable.

Zones of direct socio-cultural influence of neighboring countries, expressed in close family ties and friendly relations and intensity of cross-border contacts, were observed along the border. Almaty region and Zharkent city in particular, are populated by Uyghurs called *kelganlar* (aliens). Unlike descendants of local Uyghurs residing here since 1900, those are Uyghurs whose parents or they themselves arrived in Kazakhstan in 1950-1960s, and *khitailiklar*, literally 'from China', are Uyghurs who arrived to Kazakhstan from China on a temporary basis for work or trade purposes.

It is observed that 33.7 percent of respondents consider that the standard of living will increase, and the economic situation of the ethnic group will improve.

It is rather difficult to draw conclusions on aspects concerning the national idea owing to the fact that many people found it difficult to answer these questions. However, the above discussion in entirety gives a positive picture of the current perception of the Uyghurs.

## CONCLUSION

Reliable knowledge about ethnic societies residing in Kazakhstan promotes development of mechanisms of harmonization in the sphere of

interethnic relations. This knowledge helps overcome xenophobia and negative ethnic stereotypes, forms the attitude of international consent and cooperation, and cultivates personal contacts and cultural interaction. To understand the peculiarities of the modern condition of the nation of Kazakhstan it is necessary to be familiar with their origin and ethnic history. It is also necessary to remember that distorted data about ethno-genesis was used for negative and nationalist purposes quite often. In this regard, it is important to note that the nation of Kazakhstan has developed as a result of ethnic interaction and inter-cultural influence in the course of common historical development and as a result of complex social and migratory processes.

Uyghurs are one of sub-nations whose history most actively intersected with the history of Kazakhstan at the end of the XIX century. From the scientific point of view, this problem remains a reality, as many problems of origin of Uyghurs and the problem of creation and loss of their statehood still have not been resolved.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The research community is facing the task of concrete analysis of the community of Kazakhstani Uyghurs. To what extent they are a community, whether they are ethnically consolidated, how is the reality if a border dividing this ethnic group influencing its identity. It is necessary to remember that the Uyghur population of Kazakhstan is non-uniform. They are descendants of migrants of several waves. They also include urban Uyghurs who settled and adapted long ago in large cities (Almaty, Shymkent) and adopted urban culture, and the majority of them do not speak the Uyghur language. For them, communications on an ethnic basis are of minor importance. They prefer individualist strategy of behavior rather than communal ethnic strategy.

Non-uniformity of the Uyghur community (rural and city dwellers, indigenous inhabitants and migrants, living compactly and dispersed, organized on an ethnic basis and distancing themselves from the national idea, living in border zones and large cities) creates different models of behavior, interaction with the state and the indigenous ethnicities.

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