

#### Securing China's Northwest Frontier

In the first study to incorporate majority Han and minority Uyghur perspectives on ethnic relations in Xinjiang following mass violence during July 2009, David Tobin analyses how official policy shapes identity and security dynamics on China's northwest frontier. He explores how the 2009 violence unfolded and how the party-state responded to ask how official identity narratives and security policies shape practices on the ground. Combining ethnographic methodology with discourse analysis and participant-observation with in-depth interviews, Tobin examines how Han and Uyghurs interpret and reinterpret Chinese nation-building. He concludes that by treating Chinese identity as a security matter, the party-state exacerbates cycles of violence between Han and Uyghurs who increasingly understand each other as threats.

DR DAVID TOBIN is Hallsworth Research Fellow at the University of Manchester.



# Securing China's Northwest Frontier

Identity and Insecurity in Xinjiang

David Tobin

University of Manchester





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108726313

DOI: 10.1017/9781108770408

© David Tobin 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Names: Tobin, David, 1979- author.

Title: Securing China's northwest frontier: identity and insecurity in Xinjiang / David Tobin, University of Manchester.

Other titles: Identity and insecurity in Xinjiang

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020009135 (print) | LCCN 2020009136 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108488402 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108726313 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108770408 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Internal security—China—Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu. | Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu (China)—Ethnic relations. | Uighur (Turkic people)—Ethnic identity. | Uighur (Turkic people)—Cultural assimilation—China—Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu. | Uighur (Turkic people)—Government policy—China—Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu. | Uighur (Turkic people)—Violence against—China—Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu. | Ethnic conflict—China—Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu. | Nationalism—China. | Nation-building—China.

Classification: LCC DS793.S62 T58 2020 (print) | LCC DS793.S62 (ebook) | DDC 951/.60611-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020009135

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020009136

ISBN 978-1-108-48840-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-72631-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



This book is for my friends of all ethnicities in Xinjiang whose lives can help us understand China.



#### Contents

List of Figures	
List of Abbreviations	X
Introduction	1
1 Securing China on the Multi-Ethnic Frontier	27
2 Mass Education as an Identity-Security Practice	59
3 'East Turkestan' in China's Identity and Security Narrative	es 87
4 Identity and Insecurity after '7-5'	114
5 Performing Inclusion of the Uyghur Other	139
6 Han and Uyghur Narratives on Ethnic and National Identity	y 166
7 Han and Uyghur Narratives on Identity and Insecurity	192
Conclusion: Identity and Insecurity in Xinjiang	222
Appendix 1 Cast of Characters	244
Appendix 2 Lyrics to 'One Family' (Yi Jiaren) Song - Origina	
Mandarin and English Translation	246
Bibliography	
Index	

vii



### Figures

2.1	Photograph of image, (a) 'Bilingual Education Hastens Buds	
	(Shuangyu Cuibeilei)', from exhibition celebrating 60th anniversary	
	of the People's Republic of China (PRC), organised by XUAR	
	government. Photograph of image, (b) 'Rain and dew moisten	
	seedlings', from XUAR government's 60th anniversary	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	e 81
4.1	Photograph of unofficial slogan pasted around residential	
	areas: 'Xinjiang has been an indivisible part of the motherland	
	since ancient times', taken in Ürümchi.	130
4.2	Photograph of vandalised People's Armed Police public	
	display on '7-5' outside Children's Park in Ürümchi: 'Regional Party	7
	Secretary Wang Lequan makes his important speech	
	regarding the "7-5" incident'.	135
5.1	Photograph of MG car dealership advertisement with government	
	slogan ('The Han can never leave ethnic minorities, ethnic	
	minorities can never leave the Han, and all ethnic minorities	
	can never leave each other'), taken in gent's urinal of an Ürümchi	
	coffee shop.	144
5.2	Photograph of image, 'Alika Kedehan, "Loving Mother",	
	from official exhibition celebrating 60th anniversary of the People's	
	Republic of China.	145
5.3	Photograph of public political slogan and art: 'I look to the party	
	as I look to my mother'.	147
5.4	Photograph of exhibit from PRC 60th anniversary exhibition	
	celebration: 'The mighty army – the troops of Xinjiang's People's	
	Armed Police'.	150
5.5	Photograph of image from PRC 60th anniversary exhibition	4.50
	celebration: 'Ürümchi People's Square'.	150
5.6	Photograph of public political slogan: 'Strengthen <i>Minzu Tuanjie</i> ,	
	Strike Hard against "The Three Evils".	151

viii



	List of Figures	ix
5.7	Photograph of public political slogan: 'Ethnic Unity is prosperity, ethnic separatism is disaster'.	151
5.8	Photograph of two public banners. Top slogan: 'Joyfully celebrate National Day, happily welcome Mid-Autumn Festival'.	
	Bottom slogan: 'Strengthen ethnic unity, protect social stability'.	155
5.9	Photograph of patriotic stickers distributed across Ürümchi: 'Love China ( <i>Zhonghua</i> ), Love Xinjiang'. All photographs	
	taken by the author.	155



#### Abbreviations

**CCP** Communist Party of China **ETIC** East Turkestan Information Center **ETIM** East Turkestan Islamic Movement IR International Relations theory PAP People's Armed Police **PLA** People's Liberation Army **PRC** People's Republic of China **SCO** Shanghai Co-operation Organisation WDP Western Development Project WUC World Uyghur Congress **XUAR** Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region