

Index

- Abdurehim, Heyit, 146, 176, 184, 186, 188, 190, 237
 Ai, Weiwei, 108
 Aksu, 103
 Albania, 102
 Alim, Seytoff, 15, 128
 Anderson, Benedict, 28–29, 163
 assimilation, 1, 37, 44, 69, 75, 140, 148, 158, 174, 187, 194, 220, 229–230, 234, 236, 238, 242
 ‘ethnic extinction’ (*minzu xiaowang*), 60, 62, 74–75, 77–78, 83–84, 141, 143, 146, 226, 231–232, 234
 ‘fusion’ (*jiaorong*), 2, 44, 63–64, 72, 75–77, 79, 191, 205–206, 223, 234–238
 ‘teaching without discrimination’ (*jiaohua*), 4, 78, 188, 194, 220, 234–235, 238
 Sinicisation, 185–186, 210–211, 214, 216–217, 220, 229
 autonomy, 41, 106
 federalism, 45, 143
 independence, 41, 44, 92, 99, 107, 180–181, 204, 226
 regional, 8, 44–45, 54, 61, 79, 94, 105, 226, 234
 sub-autonomies, 44–45
 Barth, Frederick, 29, 182
 Beijing, 40, 66, 96, 108, 123, 147
 attitudes towards Uyghurs, 200
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 182–183, 197
 military parade, 209
 Olympics, 1, 114, 160
 time, 55
 Bekri, Nur, 67, 74, 82, 99–101, 103–104, 120, 124, 205
 Belarus, 128
 Bermuda, 102
 Bhabha, Homi, 11, 18, 29, 107, 163, 167–168, 172
 Bo, Xilai, 59
 Brubaker, Rogers, 28, 86, 140, 163, 182
 Butler, Judith, 11, 13, 61, 68, 105, 121
 Callahan, William A., 4, 10, 12, 28, 32, 46, 51, 84, 98, 114–115, 153, 161, 212, 239
 Cambodia, 102, 128
 Campbell, David, 12–13, 28, 88, 115–116, 193
 Central Asia, 6, 17, 27, 39, 67, 91, 96, 110, 112
 Central Asian Studies, 48, 193
 Soviet, 53
 terrorism, 102
 Uyghurs as Central Asian, 4, 14, 28, 41, 46–47, 54, 63, 94, 104, 106–107, 182, 185, 223
 Chan, Kuanchong, 108
 Chen, Quanguo, 2, 235–237
 China
 enemies of, 6, 14, 47, 88, 96–97, 104, 109, 113, 122, 129, 131, 137, 142, 152, 166, 192, 196, 232, 236
 guojia (nation), 3, 6, 126, 129
 new China, 4, 37, 44, 70, 73, 91, 156, 192
 PRC, 2, 6–7, 17, 24, 28, 32–33, 46, 85, 91, 106, 130, 140, 156, 161, 235, 239
 constitution, 50–51, 78, 232
 Yellow Emperor, 36, 161, 164, 224
 Zhongguo (China), 3, 114, 156, 170, 205
 Zhonghua Minzu, 2, 4–5, 26–27, 31–32, 36–37, 44, 47–50, 58–59, 61, 66–67, 69, 71–72, 75, 77–78, 80, 92–96, 98, 100, 107, 110–111, 122, 139–143, 145, 152, 158, 160–163, 173, 177, 179, 185–188, 197, 199, 201–202, 208, 214, 230–234, 237–238, 241
 zuguo (motherland), 59, 61, 130, 143, 156, 159
 China’s rise, 3, 6, 9–10, 75, 78, 87, 224, 235
 China Dream, 1, 4, 114, 166
 China threat, 9
 development model, 242
 Great Revival, 1–2, 114–115, 139, 166, 232, 235–236, 239, 242

Index

279

- in Chinese debates, 79, 114, 140
- in IR theory, 10, 243
- in official narratives, 2, 6, 8, 93, 104, 114–115, 136, 141, 240
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
 - 18th National Congress, 84, 240
 - 19th National Congress, 240
- Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCPCC), 1, 43, 60, 94
- Chinese Studies, 3, 7, 16, 32, 45, 48, 107, 224, 231
 - Eurocentrism in, 241
 - nationalism literature, 240
 - Sinocentrism in, 32, 223, 231
 - Sinology, 6–7, 193
 - Xinjiang's absence in, 7, 48
- Civilisation, 88, 92, *See also* Confucianism
 - 5,000 years of, 4, 27–29, 44, 61, 68–69, 74, 87, 98, 106, 143, 166, 187, 241
 - barbarians, 5, 23, 31–34, 36–38, 46, 51, 57, 63–64, 67, 69, 72, 78–79, 85, 112, 182, 191, 193–194, 224, 230, 238–241
 - barbarism, 48, 51, 63, 66, 70–71, 143, 152, 177, 233
 - civilisation-state, 4, 9, 223, 241
 - exceptionalism, 3, 6, 37, 78, 84–85, 142, 178
 - hua*, 8, 106, 141, 168, 188
 - hua / yi* binary, 65–66, 78–79, 144, 156, 177–178, 230–231
 - timeless, 47, 51, 61–63, 69, 86, 96, 111, 141, 143, 146–148, 184–186, 200, 225, 230, 243
 - Turkic, 40, 46, 106–107, 111, 113, 186, 188, 211
 - unbroken, 6, 28, 35, 38, 69, 72–73, 76, 83, 86, 96, 144, 166, 239, 241
- Colonialism, 7–8, 15, 35–36, 49–50, 70–71, 78, 93–94, 211, 225, 234, 238–240, 242, *See also* Imperialism, Orientalism
- communications technology, 116
 - internet closure, 18, 117
 - official SMS texts, 17, 121, 131–132, 153, 159
 - Uyghur blogs, 121, 161–164
 - video-hosting sites, 123, 146
- Communist era, 7, 66–67, 73, 129, 233, 241
- community, 32, 35–36, 141, 146, 156, 177, 191, 198
 - Han, 170, 172, 190
 - imagined, 33, 55, 140, 208, 215–216, 224
 - international, 128
 - of destiny, 239
 - Uyghur, 52, 55, 91, 110, 146, 174, 185, 187, 208, 216, 218
 - visceral, 55, 167–168, 182, 186–188, 198, 208, 210, 215–216
- Confucianism, 85, 140, 161, 224, 230, *See also* Civilisation
 - culturalism, 35, 37, 77, 140, 166, 168, 171, 178, 180, 189, 196, 218, 222–223, 230, 232, 239–240
 - scholars, 7, 223, 230
- Confucius, 148, 233, 247
 - in Uyghur identity narratives, 214
- contradictions
 - ethnic, 173, 199–200, 232
 - national, 67
 - policy, 206, 234–235
- Cultural Revolution, 170
 - in Xinjiang, 43, 77, 98
 - influence on current policy, 60, 77, 143, 235
 - post-Cultural Revolution 'liberalisation', 99, 152
- daily practices, 11, 15, 17, 48, 55, 96, 154, 173, 175, 185, 193, 195, 198–199, 208, 217–218, 220
- danger, *See also* Security
 - discourses of, 12, 26, 88, 97, 100, 104, 136–137, 194, 196, 200, 207–208, 210, 219, 240, 242
- existential threats, 2, 5, 9, 11–12, 14, 29, 31, 40, 42, 48, 56, 77, 83, 87, 93–94, 100, 108–109, 115, 117, 120–121, 125, 136, 139, 161, 193, 196, 198, 207, 212, 214, 218, 220, 222, 233, 242
- reactionaries, 4, 87, 92, 96, 125, 192
- Uyghur identity, 8, 25, 61–62, 68, 82–83, 89–90, 94, 103, 113, 121, 127, 131, 160, 180, 197–198, 206
- Xinjiang, 47, 68, 82, 104, 119
- Daoguang Emperor, 39
- Deng, Xiaoping, 4, 28, 37, 42–43, 45, 60, 68, 87, 96, 99, 105–106
- development, *See also* modernisation
 - agricultural, 63, 69, 178
 - capitalism, 51, 65, 93, 96, 233
 - cultural, 37, 60, 63, 67, 72, 75, 144
 - economic, 2, 5, 7, 18, 27, 43, 63, 68, 77, 79, 84–86, 111, 120, 141, 149, 230, 240
 - employment discrimination, 199
 - ethnic, 77
 - labour
 - camps, 109
 - employment discrimination, 19, 43, 232
 - forced, 233
 - migration, 22, 45, 99, 119, 190, 233
 - transfers, 119–120, 122

280 Index

- development (cont.)
 model, 233
 natural resources, 232
- East Turkestan, 91, *See also* Turks
 East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM),
 93, 101–102
 in Chinese narratives, 90–105, 112, 120,
 125, 132, 211, 229, 238
 in Han identity narratives, 128, 197, 202
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 105–108
 Republics of, 41, 65,
 91, 105
- East, the, 223
 in Chinese narratives, 11, 84, 114,
 239
 in IR theory, 223
- empathy, 224–225, 242
- Engels, Friedrich, 51, 65–66, 71, 85
- ethnic boundaries, 3, 8, 23, 26, 29, 48, 50,
 54–55, 58, 83, 88–89, 103, 112, 121,
 140, 156, 163, 169, 173, 175, 181–182,
 189–190, 193–194, 199–200, 208, 212,
 220, 225, 230–231, 242
- ethnic relations, 2–3, 16, 21, 25, 30, 32, 36, 42,
 46, 55, 75, 78, 80, 123, 138, 143, 155,
 170, 181, 201, 215, 225
- ethnic unity (*minzu tuanjie*), 126, 139–165
 education, 19–20, 24, 59, 75, 77, 80, 103,
 123, 143, 149, 159, 209, 240
 ‘fragrant concubine’, 47
 Han and Uyghur attitudes to, 166–191, 200,
 242
 ‘three cannot leaves’ (*sange libukai*),
 143–144
- ethnicity, 30, 34, 50–52, 58, 115, 142, 225,
 228, 239, *See also* Minzu (ethnicity)
 in Han identity narratives, 170, 179,
 195–196, 205
 in official narratives, 65, 74, 77–79, 87, 108,
 118, 124, 139–140, 146, 153, 160, 162,
 164, 234
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 188, 208, 214
- ethnocentrism, 34, 37, 44, 51, 60, 63, 71, 86,
 140, 149, 169, 172–174, 188–189, 206,
 219, 232
 objectivisation of Han-ness, 8, 76, 142,
 152–154, 156, 159–160, 162, 164, 170,
 174, 189, 192, 198, 201, 228, 232
- Eurocentrism, 10–11, 32, 34, 71, 85, 115,
 223–225, 241
- Europe, 4, 9–10, 34
 colonialism, 8, 35, 49, 70, 78, 91, 94, 234,
 238, 240
 genocide, 237
 imperialism, 35–36, 38, 40, 57, 68, 161, 239
 nationalism, 86
 ‘one-nation, one-state’ model, 6
 settlers, 86, 242
 state-making, 33–34
- Fairbank, John King, 4, 33
- Fan, Wenlan, 51, 63, 65
- Fei, Xiaotong, 3, 31, 37, 49–51, 63, 65, 68–69,
 140, 142–143, 178, 230
- festivals, 25, 142, 164, 228
 Han chauvinism, 163–165
 in official narratives, 142, 152–154, 160
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 157, 160–161,
 165
 Mid-Autumn, 154, 162
 National Day, 126, 152, 155, 157
 Qurban, 157
 Roza, 157–158
 Spring, 147, 158
- Foucault, Michel, 13, 17, 29, 88, 141
- Frontier, 33, 64, 72, 129, 169, 179, 189
 exotic, 31, 41, 47, 49, 57, 92, 129
- Gellner, Ernest, 28–29
- gender
 in Han identity narratives, 204
 in official narratives, 71, 118–119, 145–147,
 212
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 110, 146, 194,
 207, 211, 215, 220, 230
 of interviewees, 21
- Group of 8 (G8), 123
- Guomindang (GMD), 41, 43, 60, 65, 75, 87,
 105
 nationalists, 44
- Hami rebellion, 39
- Han, *See also* China
 attitudes
 class, 171–172, 180
 pork, 198–201, 232
 religion, 196–202, 206, 208, 231
 Uyghur food, 199
 Uyghurs as foreign, 201–203
getihu entrepreneurs, 22, 25–26, 133–134,
 138, 169–175, 178–181, 196, 202–206,
 219, 229, 232
 identity
 hometown (*laojia*), 172, 178–179,
 190
 land (*tudi*), 178–179, 198
 lineage, 35–36, 50, 61, 65, 129, 190, 200,
 229
 local (*bendi ren*), 172–173, 179–180, 199

Index

281

- insecurities, 127, 132, 136, 195–206, 218
- intellectuals, 26, 168–173, 178–179, 190, 194, 201–202, 219, 229, 232
- migration, 27, 76, 96, 119, 233
- protestors, 129–136, 228
- working-class, 17, 135, 173, 179, 202–203, 219, 232
- Han dynasty, 32, 67, 106
- in official historiography, 64–66, 69, 72, 76, 94
- in Uyghur identity narratives, 106, 111
- harmony, 145–146, 148
- ethnic relations, 80, 148, 159
- harmonious society, 160
- in Han identity narratives, 200, 204
- in Uyghur identity narratives, 162
- Henan, 180
- Han from, 179
- history, *See also* modernisation
- ‘distortions’, 66, 227
- ‘mission’, 74, 80, 84, 92, 103, 125, 239
- ‘overall direction’, 63, 65, 74, 76, 84, 92, 98, 141, 164
- historiography, 46, 62–65, 72, 92, 226, 241
- national, 6, 24, 32, 34, 61, 63, 68
- ‘separatist’, 44, 70, 94
- Hu, Angang, 78–79, 84, 140, 235, 239
- Hu, Jintao, 4, 44, 67, 84, 87, 98, 123, 127, 139, 143, 149, 166, 235, 240–241
- Hubei
- Han from, 202, 204
- Hui, 41, 198–199
- in Han identity narratives, 199
- in official narratives, 145
- Muslim category, 182
- humiliation
- century of, 114, 143, 161, 166, 223, 225
- of minorities, 42, 161, 211, 220, 225
- identity, *See also* Han, Uyghurs
- ambivalence, 5, 29, 32, 34, 36, 42, 46, 48–50, 62, 70, 112–113, 129, 149, 152, 159, 183, 226, 231, 238, 241
- ethnic, 16, 58, 68–69, 75, 85, 128, 139, 174, 218–219
- ethno-linguistic, 174, 187, 214
- national, 2, 7, 13, 28, 30, 34–37, 52–53, 57–58, 60, 62, 68, 75, 114, 137, 146, 162, 166–188, 230
- religion, 22, 95–96, 101, 108, 159, 167, 201, 243
- self-identification (*rentong*), 64, 79
- status (*shenfēn*), 95
- trans-ethnic, 76, 78, 82, 142, 153, 159, 164, 177, 225, 228
- Ilham, Tohti, 231–234
- Imperialism, 5, 27, 34–40, 42–43, 53, 57, 62, 68, 87–93, 105, 161, 192, 239, *See also* Colonialism, Orientalism
- ‘hegemonism’, 42, 87, 93
- empire, 6, 28, 33, 35–36, 42, 46–48, 53, 92, 182
- India, 4, 6, 33, 201
- intercultural translation, 34, 57
- semantic hybridity, 35, 53, 141, 182, 238
- international relations, 10, 12
- ethnic relations and, 36, 139, 202, 225, 236
- China’s foreign policy, 4, 98, 102, 112, 139
- IR theory, 3, 9, 21, 243
- Chinese, 1, 79
- critical, 10
- eurocentric, 115, 223
- feminist, 10
- global, 223
- liberal, 10
- postcolonial, 10
- post-structuralism, 10
- realist, 10
- Iraq, 114
- Japan, 5, 11, 34, 42
- imperialism, 5, 34, 36, 40
- in ‘patriotic education’, 5, 60, 240
- Jiang, Zemin, 4, 99–101, 108, 143, 152, 166
- journalists, 108, 122, 133
- Karamay, 171, 199
- Kashgar, 41, 47, 53, 91–92, 138, 157
- in official narratives, 102–103
- in Uyghur identity narratives, 183–185, 188
- Literature Journal*, 109
- officials, 102
- Uyghurs from, 107, 210
- Kazakhs, 43, 182
- in official narratives, 77
- Kazakhstan, 102, 209
- Khotan, 41, 102–103, 134, 138, 158
- in official narratives, 103
- Korla, 23, 231
- Kucha
- in official narratives, 103
- Kyrgyz, 147, 182
- in official narratives, 77
- Kyrgyzstan, 91
- Laos, 128
- Li, Hongzhang, 39–40

282 Index

- Liang, Qichao, 36, 79
 Liberalisation, 7, 99, 152
 Liu, Shaoqi, 37, 42–43, 60
- Ma, Dazheng, 73, 96
 Ma, Rong, 5, 78–79, 82, 140, 156, 194, 230, 234–235
 Malaysia, 102
 Manchu, *See also* Qing Dynasty
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 188
 Mao, Zedong, 4, 27, 37, 41–42, 44, 55, 60, 72, 87, 97, 105, 143, 161, 166, 198, 226
 Marx, Karl, 66, 77, 85, 233
 Marxism, 51, 67
 dialectics, 43, 51
 feudalism, 62, 68, 97
 historical materialism, 43, 54, 67, 71, 77, 84–85, 171, 188, 230
 mode of production, 71
 socialism, 4, 38, 44, 53, 63, 77, 79, 93, 97, 143, 190
 Meng, Jianzhu, 135
 methodology, 15–23
 discourse analysis, 15
 exhibitions, 17
 interviews, 8, 23
 newspapers, 17, 117
 participant-observation, 8, 15, 20, 24–25
 political slogans (*kouhao*), 17
 textbooks, 17, 19–20
 texts, 16–20
 Minzu (ethnicity), *See also* Assimilation, Race
 ‘ethnic minority work’ (*minzu gongzuo*), 67, 77
 56 *minzu*, 3, 8–9, 29, 31–32, 34, 50, 77–78, 115, 142, 160, 177
 alienation, 72, 148
 backwardness, 8, 36, 45, 50, 56, 63, 66–67, 69–70, 79, 92, 103–104, 115, 119, 170, 176, 180, 198, 217, 232, 239
 category, 52, 61, 78–79
 ‘core *minzu*’ (*zhuti minzu*), 42, 55
 equality, 84, 227, 232
 ethnic minorities (*shaoshu minzu*), 3, 65–66, 76, 85, 140, 234–235
 ‘simple’, 71, 76, 112, 145
 backwardness, 72–74
 ethno-taxonomy (*minzu shibie*), 50–52, 65, 182
 Han category (*Hanzu*), 24, 34, 68–69, 74, 76, 140, 143, 177, 179, 201, 219
 ‘socialist *minzu*’, 65
 centripetal force, 3, 104, 144
 frontier-building culture (*tunken wenhua*), 70–72, 130
 nucleus, 37, 69, 140, 142, 160, 230, 232
 superiority, 63, 144, 231
 trans-ethnic, 76, 159
 Xinjiang person, 171, 173, 177–180, 190, 203
 hatred, 119–120, 124, 127, 242
 love, 47, 129, 145, 148, 154–157
 problem, 43, 50, 66–68, 77, 96, 120, 124, 139, 173, 191, 197, 205, 220, 223, 242
 Uyghur category (*Weiwuertz*), 4, 66–67, 71, 182, 185
 modernisation, 32, 72–74, 78, 80, 82, 103, 119, 122, 148, 159, 174, 185–186, 214, 233–234, 240, 243, *See also*
 Development
 ‘scientific development’, 43, 59, 67, 103
 complementary economy, 69–70, 110
 cultural evolution, 71–72, 75, 77, 91–92, 103, 145, 180, 223, 231
 progress, 29, 64, 70, 74, 77, 81, 92, 144, 241
 prosperity, 63, 81, 123, 148–151, 200
 ‘tall buildings’, 45, 73
 teleology, 10, 43, 61, 64–65, 67, 76–77, 79, 85, 188, 192, 241
 Mongolians, 4, 6, 33, 80, 103, 159
 Daur, 50
 in Chinese narratives, 36–37, 44, 147, 154, 228
 in Han identity narratives, 179
 in relation to Uyghur category, 66
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 188
 interviewees, 62
 Qing expansion, 33, 39–40
 multiculturalism, 65, 76, 78, 93, 98, 139, 190
 ‘plurality and unity’ (*duoyuan yiti*), 3, 31, 37, 69
 nationalism, *See also* Ethnicity
 banal, 141, 156–157, 163
 civic, 34, 82, 86, 140, 157
 ethnic, 34, 37, 75, 86, 139, 168, 177, 180, 189, 191, 195, 230, 232, 240
 Han chauvinism, 37, 41–43, 46, 54, 59–60, 72, 75, 84, 105, 135, 140, 143, 163, 166, 193, 198, 200–206, 231
 legitimacy, 5, 16, 60, 63, 182
 ‘local nationalism’, 43, 60
 nation-building, 3, 8–9, 11, 23, 26, 28–30, 38–56, 64, 66, 71, 78, 86, 88, 90, 94–95, 105–107, 110, 120, 140–141, 144, 169, 171, 174, 179, 182, 184, 186, 190, 194, 206, 214, 217, 220, 222, 225, 229, 231
 integration, 31–32, 35, 37–40, 47–48, 52–53, 56, 59, 106, 111, 175, 194, 233

Index

283

- state-making, 33–35, 38–39, 41
 tensions, 26, 28–29, 37, 44, 47, 50, 61, 63, 75, 79, 82, 86, 88, 162, 166, 169, 177, 189–190, 218, 223, 231, 238–242
 nomads, 34, 176
 in Chinese narratives, 34, 71, 103, 198
 in relation to Uyghur category, 40–41, 106, 182
 Nurmehemmet, Yasin, 89, 105, 109–111
 Opening and Reform era, 7, 43, 45, 52, 54–55, 67, 84, 107–108, 140, 143, 153, 166, 192, 210, 223, 230, 233, 239, 241
 Opium War, 39, 142
 Orientalism, 32, 35, 49–50, 118, *See also* Colonialism, Imperialism
 Pakistan, 102, 202
 Palau, 102
 Pan, Zhiping, 96, 101
 Patriotic Education, 5, 96
 ethnic unity education, 59
 in Xinjiang, 43, 60
 literature on, 60, 240
 post-Cultural Revolution, 43
 performance, 11–14, 29–32, 51, 111–113, 125, 141, 147–149, 154–156, 160, 168, 184, 186, 188, 191, 204, 207, 230
 re-performance, 11, 106, 157, 166–221
 Perride, Mamut, 184–185, 190
 policy. *See also* Development, Modernisation, *Minzu* (ethnicity)
 ‘de-extremification’ (*qu jiduanhua*), 2, 119, 158, 184, 201, 205, 232, 236
 ‘strike hard’ (*yanda*), 15, 100–101, 108, 149, 151, 160–161
 abnormal behaviour law, 132
 ethnic
 ‘great wall of iron’, 138
 ‘preferential policies’ (*youhui zhengce*), 73, 199, 232, 240
 ethnic dispersion (*minzu fensan*), 119
 internment camps, 2, 138, 184, 192, 205–206, 223, 235–238, 241, 243
 stability work, 138
 foreign, 4, 98, 102, 113, 139, 236
 language, 80, 185, 187
 ‘bilingual education’, 74, 79–84, 185–186, 188, 213–214, 234–235
 experimental bilingual classes, 80, 213
 national language and script law, 80
 martial law, 46, 126, 129, 133, 149, 152
 surveillance, 125–127, 137–138, 152, 162, 228
 Western Development Project, 73
 political stability, 2, 18, 28, 43, 73, 97
 awards, 96
 critical stability period, 236
 development and, 103–104, 232, 234
 ethnic relations and, 143, 147, 155, 192, 225
 Han as source of, 73, 96
 identity transformation and, 28, 44–45, 76
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 174
 nationalism, 60
 stability work, 138, 218, 223
 Uyghurs as threat to, 138
 power
 global, 8, 113, 115, 142, 235–237
 ‘national strength’, 139, 181
 omnipresence, 13, 17, 46, 141, 143
 relations, 11–12, 18, 32, 71, 142, 172, 196
 soft, 139
 to identify, 18, 167, 193
 propaganda slogans (*kouhao*), 1, 17, 45, 60, 77, 108, 114, 124, 126, 129–130, 143, 146, 149, 151, 154, 162, 166, 170, 173, 175, 177–178, 200, 235
 protest, 97
 1980s & 90s, 98–100
 2009, 121–123, 128, 132–137, 204–205, 228
 conflation with violence, 89, 97, 123–126
 Public Health
 biopolitics, 130–131, 236
 China’s Academy of Military Medical Sciences’, 130
 HIV / AIDS, 131
 Ministry of Health, 131
 public intellectuals, 1, 16, 84, 93, 239
 Pye, Lucian, 4, 231, 241
 Qianlong Emperor, 39–40
 Qing Dynasty, 32, 35, 41, 133, 182, *See also* Manchu
 anti-Manchu sentiment, 34–36, 87, 238
 expansion, 6, 27, 33, 37, 47
 frontier, 32–33, 38, 44
 in official historiography, 46, 65, 73, 76, 94, 97
 policy, 35–36, 39–41
 rule by custom, 39
 race, 36, 79, 129, 177, 240–241, *See also* *Minzu* (ethnicity)
 Chinese, 79, 235
 ‘five races’, 36, 79
 race-state (*guozu*), 6, 36, 79, 140, 234, 236
 racial capitalism, 233
 racism, 36, 42, 75, 93, 206, 212, 240
 Rahile, Dawut, 237
 Rebiya, Qadir, 134, 202

284 Index

- religion
 - fasting, 158
 - freedom of, 42, 94–96
 - local leaders (*begs*), 39
 - mosques, 22, 96, 99, 126, 158, 162, 183
 - pork taboo, 54, 183, 198–201
 - prayers, 95, 158, 199, 238
 - Ramadan, 157–158
- Republican era, 36, 41, 65, 79, 182, 200
- resistance, 7, 13, 16–18, 23, 29, 88, 237
 - conflation of armed and vernacular, 8–9, 240
 - everyday, 54, 111, 167, 195
 - Han, 134–135, 204
 - in China, 108, 184
 - in official narratives, 74, 84, 104, 211
 - in Xinjiang, 39, 56, 212, 242
 - nationalism, 5
 - Uyghur, 6, 40, 90, 99, 107, 109, 111, 122, 158, 160, 163, 185, 242
- Russia, 6, 91, 96
 - imperialism, 27, 48, 53, 92
 - Turkestan, 53, 91, 181
- Said, Edward, 17, 49, 88, 90, 101
- Sanubar, Tursun, 184, 237
- security. *See also* Danger
 - de-securitisation, 120, 227
 - dilemma, 56, 111–113, 191, 220
 - identity, 12–13, 18, 26, 31, 46, 54, 56, 62, 74, 82, 89, 93, 97–98, 102, 105, 110, 113, 116, 119, 124, 127–129, 132–135, 137, 157, 160, 175, 193, 196–197, 201, 206, 208, 210, 213, 220
 - insecurity, 3, 8–9, 13, 54, 127–129, 132, 137–138, 192–223, 225, 243
 - national, 1, 13–14, 46, 67, 73, 75, 92, 96, 108, 117, 121, 131, 137, 203
 - ontological, 9, 11–12
 - physical, 12, 196, 200, 209–210, 212, 220
 - re-securitisation, 194–212
 - securitisation, 11–15, 29, 38, 44, 48, 55, 84, 93, 97–113, 116, 118, 129, 133, 135–138, 148, 158, 192–221, 223, 225, 229–231, 233–234, 236, 241
 - vernacular, 8, 116, 240
- security services
 - cadre patrols, 138, 218
 - military patrols, 126–127, 147, 149, 154, 228
 - military roadblocks, 133, 151
 - neighbourhood patrols, 126–127
 - paramilitary patrols, 162
 - People's Liberation Army (PLA), 70, 72, 126, 132–133, 143, 149, 196
 - People's Armed Police (PAP), 126, 128, 133–134, 138, 148–149, 196
 - Public Security Bureau (PSB), 18, 121, 131–132, 135, 210
 - SWAT police, 159
 - volunteers, 127, 208
- Shandong, 180
 - attitudes towards Uyghurs, 200
 - Han from, 179–180
- Shanghai
 - Han from, 170, 178
 - in Uyghur identity narratives, 183
- Shanghai Co-operation Organisation (SCO), 102
- Sheng, Shicai, 65, 200
- Sichuan, 180
 - Han from, 172, 180, 199
- Sinocentrism, 36, 66, 223
- SINOPEC, 199, 232
- social anthropology, 11, 48, 55
 - in China, 71
- sovereignty, 4, 28, 30, 35–36, 80, 88, 99, 239, 241
 - cultural integrity, 130–131, 146
 - territorial integrity, 28, 46, 48, 56, 58, 76, 143
- Soviet Union, 7
 - as a threat to the West, 13, 101
 - federalism, 143
 - 'hegemonism', 42
 - influence in Xinjiang, 42, 53, 181
- Stalin, Josef, 66
 - four principles of nationhood, 51, 65
- State Council, 8, 45
 - Foreign Ministry, 101–102
 - Ministry of Information, 18–19, 43, 65, 67, 69, 73
 - State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC), 18, 40, 61, 65–66, 69, 71–73, 76, 78
 - white papers, 51, 63, 69–70, 80, 85, 92, 101–102, 159, 236
- struggle, 129, 151, 164
 - against separatism, 99–100, 183
 - against terrorism, 101–103, 119, 124
 - against bourgeois liberalism, 143
 - anti-imperialist, 4, 27, 36, 42
 - century of, 143, 166, 225
 - class, 43
 - for ethnic unity, 130–131, 142, 145, 148
 - 'life or death', 2, 14, 47, 104, 115, 138, 149, 175, 236
 - 'persistence', 73
- Sun, Yat-Sen, 5, 36–37, 58, 87

- Tajikistan, 91
Tajiks, 147
Tang dynasty, 46, 64
 in official historiography, 64, 69, 72, 76
Tarim Basin, 33, 72, 102
tensions, nation-building
 tensions, 35, 37
terrorism. *See also* Three Evils
 9/11, 14–15, 89, 93, 100–101, 224
 Al-Qaeda, 102
 Bin Laden, 101
 frontline, 103, 132, 183, 211
 Guantanamo Bay, 101
 war on terror, 15, 101–102, 104, 113
Thailand, 102, 128, 209
Three Evils (separatism, terrorism, and
 extremism), 14, 24, 47, 75, 77, 87–101,
 103–104, 115, 120–121, 123–125, 127,
 133, 136, 147, 149–152, 161, 164,
 227–228
 in Han identity narratives, 197–198, 202, 220
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 175
Tibet, 6, 32–33, 37, 44, 179
 2008 violence, 1, 114
 in official narratives, 98
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 188
 religious leaders, 39
 Tibetans, 4, 33, 36, 201
Tohti, Tunyaz, 108
Tu, Wei-ming, 7, 224, 239
Turghun, Almas, 106
Turkey, 67, 96, 201
Turks, 53, 91, 107, 202
 Chagatai, 184
 in official narratives, 66–67, 77, 88, 92–96, 149
 Khanate, 67
 Pan-Turkism, 7, 91
Turpan, 66
 Qocho Kingdom, 52
 Uyghurs from, 107, 183

United Nations (UN), 102, 128
Universalism, 34, 50, 84–86, 139, 223
Ürümchi
 beimen (north-gate), 132, 154
 erdaoqiao / dōngkōwriik, 41, 123, 126, 128,
 134, 159, 197, 200, 210
 hongshan, 154
 nanhu, 132, 154
 nanmen (south-gate), 121, 128, 133, 196
 People's Square, 121, 123, 132, 149, 154,
 162, 205
 saimachang, 123, 134
 Xinjiang University, 99, 123, 126, 154–155

USA, 86, 101–102, 114, 140
 colonialism, 71
 frontier, 72
 identity, 13, 121
Uyghurs. *See also* religion, Turks
 attitudes
 alcohol, 100, 217
 dress, 54, 217
 food, 183, 198
 hospitality, 159, 171, 176, 185, 213
 mother-figure, 146
 mother-tongue, 110, 146, 186–187, 216
 desettlement, 177
 ethnonym, 51–54, 66–67, 105, 181–182
 getihu entrepreneurs, 107
 identity
 chthonic, 106, 110–111, 176–177, 207
 ethno-national, 52, 117, 174, 208
 homeland, 41, 111, 176, 183, 213
 in-between-ness, 6, 33, 58, 88, 97, 175,
 209, 223–225, 239, 242
 linguistic, 91, 110, 185, 187, 213–216, 230
 local / oasis, 40, 53, 177, 181, 214
 insecurities, 117, 120–121, 124, 128, 153,
 158, 172, 207–218, 227, 232, 235, 243
 intellectuals, 53, 107, 157, 181
 Minkaohan / minkaomin categories, 26, 110,
 195, 212–218, 230
 music
 dance, 159–160
 folk, 146, 184
 muqam (classical), 95, 187, 215
 nationalism, 53, 57, 181
 neighbourhoods (*māhällä*), 157, 216
 passports, 209–210, 237
 protestors, 100

violence
 1990s, 2, 54–55, 89, 98–101, 122–123,
 138
 Bachu, 138
 Baren, 1990, 98–100, 122, 143
 casualty figures, 119, 124, 128, 132, 208
 epistemic, 17, 105, 175, 220, 242
 Ghulja, 1997, 100–101, 122
 July 2009, 1, 14–16, 18, 46, 93, 96, 102,
 114–139, 146, 149, 160, 196, 199–200,
 202, 205, 207, 209, 228, 234–235,
 242–243
 Pishan, 138
 Shanshan, 138
 Shaoguan incident, 117, 119–121, 127, 205,
 227
 syringe attacks, 129–136
 Yecheng, 2012, 119, 138

286 Index

- Wang, Lequan, 103, 120, 124, 134–135
 Wang, Yang, 1, 234
 West, the, 5, 9–11, 49, 223–224, 240
 in Chinese narratives, 6, 14, 16, 27, 58, 60, 97, 141, 212, 220, 236, 238, 241
 in Chinese Studies, 32
 in ethnic policy, 42, 75, 79, 139, 238
 in Han identity narratives, 197
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 175
 in Xinjiang policy, 14, 40, 47, 93, 96–97, 104, 126, 227
 World Order, 1, 11, 223
 Chinese, 33
 in Chinese debates, 6, 84, 239
 in IR theory, 10, 223
 World Uyghur Congress (WUC), 15, 91, 106, 128

 Xi, Jinping, 1, 44, 87, 103, 105, 138, 146, 166, 222, 234–235, 237–238, 240–241
 Xi, Zhongxun, 105–106
 Xi'an
 Han from, 170
 syringe assaults, 131
 Xibe
 in Uyghur identity narratives, 188
Xinhua
 books, 19, 96
 news, 81, 130, 132

 Xinjiang
 'peaceful liberation' of, 37–38, 45, 69–70, 73, 94, 200, 219
 ambivalent position of, 7, 23, 27, 45, 57, 179, 182, 190, 225
 'barren wasteland', 40, 71
 demographic transformation of, 26–27, 54, 63, 73, 76, 171, 182, 194, 229
 establishment of province, 6, 27, 40–41
 geopolitical buffer, 27, 38, 40, 42
 'new frontier', 6, 27, 40, 105, 185, 206, 241
 'problem', 99
 Western Regions, 6, 27, 38, 41, 72, 94
 Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (*Bingtuan*), 22, 43, 54, 76

 Yuan dynasty, 64
 in official historiography, 65
 Yunnan
 in official narratives, 71
 Yi people, 52

 Zhang, Binglin, 36
 Zhang, Chunxian, 119, 138
 Zhang, Weiwei, 4, 84, 93, 239, 241
 Zhang, Zhizhong, 41, 65
 Zuo, Zongtang, 40