

China's Islam in Xinjiang: from functionalization to elimination Spiessens, E.

Citation

Spiessens, E. (2023, April 6). *China's Islam in Xinjiang: from functionalization to elimination*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3590432

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3590432

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Bibliography

Abashin, Sergei. "Nation-construction in Post-Soviet Central Asia." In *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, edited by Mark Bassin and Catriona Kelly, 150-168. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Abdurehim, Mamutjan. "Transnational Migration and Religious Practice: Uyghur Students in Malaysia." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 4 (2015): 556-569.

Abramson, Kara. "Gender, Uyghur Identity, and the Story of Nuzugum." *Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 4 (2012): 1069-1091.

Akahori, Masayuki. "Islamic Saints and the Islam of Saints: A Study of Popular Religion." *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 31 (2013): 3-16.

Akasoy, Anna, Charles Burnett and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, eds. *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2011.

Allès, Élisabeth. "À propos de l'islam en Chine: Provocations antireligieuses et attitudes anticléricales du XIXe siècle à nos jours." Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident 24 (2002): 65-75.

- ——. L'Islam de Chine: Un islam en situation minoritaire. Paris: Karthalla/IISMM, 2013.
- ——. "Muslim Religious Education in China," *China Perspectives* 45 (2003). http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/230.

Alpermann, Björn. *Xinjiang: China und die Uiguren*. Würzburg University Press, 2021. https://opus.bibliothek.uni-wuerzburg.de/opus4-wuerzburg/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/24412/file/978-3-95826-163-1_Bjoern_Alpermann_OPUS_24412.pdf

Al-Sudairi, Mohammed. "Changing State-Religion Dynamics in Xi Jinping's China: And its Consequences for Sino-Saudi Relations." *Dirasat* 19 (2017): 1-39.

Anderson, Amy and Darren Byler. "Eating Hanness": Uyghur Musical Tradition in a Time of Re-Education." *China Perspectives* 2019, no. 3 (2019): 17-26. https://www.cefc.com.hk/issue/china-perspectives-20193/

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. London: Verso, (1983) 2006.

Anderson, Elise. "The Construction of Āmānissā Khan as a Uyghur Musical Hero." *Asian Music* 43, no. 1 (2012): 64-90.

Anderson, Jon W. "New Media, New Publics: Reconfiguring the Public Sphere of Islam." *Social Research* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2003), 887-906.

Asad, Talal. *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1996.

Aree, Srawut. "Santichon Islamic School: A Model for Islamic Private Schools in Thailand." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 135-153. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Ashiwa, Yoshiko and David L. Wank, eds. *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Aubin, Francoise. "La Chine." In Les Voies d'Allah: Les ordres mystiques dans l'islam dès origins à aujourd'hui, edited by Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, 261-267. Paris: Fayard, 1996.

Azra, Azyumardi. "Reforms in Islamic Education: A Global Perspective Seen from the Indonesian Case." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 59-75. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Bagley, Christopher and Nader Al-Refai. "Citizenship Education: A Study of Muslim Students in Ten Islamic and State Secondary Schools in Britain." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 195-209. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Baiza, Yahia. "Madrasa Education Reform in Afghanistan, 2002-2013: A Critique." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 77-95. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Batke, Jessica. "Central and Regional Leadership for Xinjiang Policy in Xi's Second Term." *ChinaFile*, May 11, 2018. https://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/features/central-and-regional-leadership-xinjiang-policy-xis-second-term.

- ——. "PRC Religious Policy: Serving the Gods of the CCP." *China Leadership Monitor* 52 (2017). http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/clm52jb.pdf
- ——. "The National People's Congress in 2017: Security, Ideology, and Experimentation." *China Leadership Monitor* 53 (2017).

https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/clm53jb.pdf

BBC News. "Timeline: Xinjiang Unrest." Last updated July 10, 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8138866.stm.

Becquelin, Nicolas. "Staged Development in Xinjiang." China Quarterly 178 (2004): 358-378.

——. "Xinjiang in the Nineties." The China Journal 44 (2000): 65-90.

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. Community Matters in Xinjiang, 1880-1949: Towards a Historical Anthropology of the Uyghur. *China studies* 17. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- ———. "Feudal Villains or Just Rulers? The Contestation of Historical Narratives in Eastern Xinjiang." *Central Asian Survey* 31, no. 3 (2012): 311–25.
- ———. "Narratives and Values: Source Materials for the Study of Popular Culture in Xinjiang." *Inner Asia. Occasional Papers* 1, no. 1 (1996): 89-100.
- ———. "Script Changes in Xinjiang." In *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, edited by Shirin Akiner, 71-83. London: Kegan Paul International, 1991.
- ———. "Situating Uyghur Life Cycle Rituals between China and Central Asia." In *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 131-147. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- ———. "The Bulldozer State: Chinese Socialist Development in Xinjiang." In *Ethnographies of the State in Central Asia: Performing Politics*, edited by Madeleine Reeves, Johan Rasanayagam and Judith Beyer, 173–197. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2014.
- ———. "The Burden of the Past: Uyghur Peasants Remember Collectivisation in Southern Xinjiang." In *Inside Xinjiang: Space, Place and Power in China's Muslim Far Northwest*, edited by Anna Hayes and Michael Clarke, 15-31. London: Routledge, 2016.

———. The Written and the Spoken: Literacy and Oral Transmission among the Uyghur. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000.

———, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, eds. *Situating the Uyghurs Between China and Central Asia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Ben-Adam, Justin. "China." In *Islam Outside the Arab World*, edited by David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg, 190-211. Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999.

Benite, Zvi Ben-Dor. *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Benson, Linda. "Education and Social Mobility among Minority Populations." in *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, edited by Frederick S. Starr, 190-215. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

——. *The Ili Rebellion: The Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang 1944-1949.* London: M.E. Sharpe, 1990.

Berglund, Jenny. "Singing and Music: A Multifaceted and Controversial Aspect of Islamic Religious Education in Sweden." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 211-230. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Berkey, Jonathan P. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo. A Social History of Islamic Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Biran, Michal. *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." Sociological Theory 7, no. 1 (1989): 14-25.

——. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood, 1986.

Bovingdon, Gardner. "The History of the History of Xinjiang." *Twentieth-Century China* 26, no. 2 (2001): 95-139.

——. The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Bowen, John R. "Beyond Migration: Islam as a Transnational Public Space." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 5 (2004): 882-883.

Bowie, Fiona. The Anthropology of Religion. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Brady, Anne-Marie. "'We Are All Part of the Same Family': China's Ethnic Propaganda." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41, no. 4 (2012): 159-181.

Branigan, Tania. "China locks down western province after ethnic riots kill 140." *The Guardian*, July 6, 2009. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jul/06/china-uighur-urumqi-riots

Brook, Timothy. "The Politics of Religion: Late-Imperial Origins of the Regulatory State." In *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, edited by Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank, 22-42. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Brophy, David. "Five Races, One Parliament? Xinhai in Xinjiang and the Problem of Minority Representation in the Chinese Republic." *Inner Asia* 14 (2012): 343-364.

——. "The Kings of Xinjiang: Muslim Elites and the Qing Empire." Études orientales 25 (2008): 69-90.

- ——. *Uyghur Nation: Reform and Revolution on the Russia-China Frontier*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- ——. "New Methods on the New Frontier: Islamic Reformism in Xinjiang, 1898-1917." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 1-2 (2016): 303-332.

Brown, Tristan G. "Muslim Networks, Religious Economy, and Community Survival: The Financial Upkeep of Mosques in Late Imperial China." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 33, no. 2 (2013): 241-266.

Bunt, Gary. R. *Islam in the Digital Age : E-Jihad, Online Fatwas and Cyber Islamic Environments*. London: Pluto Press, 2003.

Byler, Darren. "Convenience 方便 fangbian." *China Made*, August 2, 2019. https://chinamadeproject.net/%E6%96%B9%E4%BE%B, F-fangbian/

——. "Uyghur Migrant Life in the City During the 'People's War'." *Youth Circulations*, October 30, 2017. http://www.youthcirculations.com/blog/2017/10/22/uyghur-migrant-life-in-the-city-during-the-peoples-war

Carlson, Eric C. "China's New Regulations on Religion: A Small Step, Not a Great Leap, Forward." BYU Law Review 2005, no. 3 (2005): 747-798.

Castets, Rémi. "The Modern Chinese State and Strategies of Control over Uyghur Islam." *Central Asian Affairs* 2015, no. 2 (2015): 221-245.

——. "Uyghur Islam: Caught between Foreign Influences and Domestic Constraints." In *China and India in Central Asia: A New "Great Game"?*, edited by Marlène Laruelle, Jean-François Huchet, Sébastien Peyrouse and Bayram Balci, 215-233. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Ceng Wenjing 曾文经. "Xuanchuan wushenlun he zongjiaoxinyang ziyou shi chongtu de ma" 宣传无神论和宗教信仰自由是冲突的吗 [Are atheism propagation and freedom of religious belief in conflict?]. *People's Daily*, February 29, 1956. Database accessed December 7, 2017. http://pdul.egreenapple.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/index2.html

Central Committee for Discipline Inspection 中共中央纪律检查委员会. "Zhongyang dishi xunshizu xiang guojia zhongjiao shiwuju dangzu fankui zhuanxiang xunshi qingkuang" 中央第十巡视组向国家宗教事务局党组反馈专项巡视情况 [The 10th central inspection team feedbacks the special inspections to the Party Group of the State Administration of Religious Affairs]. June 8, 2016. https://archive.fo/tuDj3.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's General Office. "Document 9: Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere. A Notice from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's General Office." Original publication April 22, 2013. ChinaFile translation November 8, 2013. http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation.

Cesàro, Cristina. "Polo, Läghmän, So Säy: Situating Uyghur Food Between Central Asia and China." In *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 185-202. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Chan, Kim-Kwong and Eric R. Carlson. *Religious Freedom in China: Policy, Administration, and Regulation: A Research Handbook*. Santa Barbara: Institute for the Study of American Religion, 2005.

Chen Xi 陈 希. "Peiyang xuanba ganbu bixu tuchu zhengzhi biaozhun (renzhen xuexi xuanchuan guanche dang de shijiu da jingshen)" 培养选拔干部必须突出政治标准(认真学习宣传贯彻党的十九大精神) [In the Training and Selection of Party Cadres we Need to Highlight Political Standards (Consciously Study, Propagandize and Implement the Spirit of the 19th Party Congress)]. *People's Daily*, November 16, 2017. http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2017-11/16/nw.D110000renmrb_20171116_1-06.htm.

Chen Xiaolong 沈小龙. *Minzu zongjiao zhishi ganbu duben* 民族宗教知识干部读本 [Cadre Handbook on Ethnicity and Religion]. Guangzhou: Guangzhou Renmin Chubanshe, (2011) 2012.

Chen, Yu-Wen. *The Uyghur Lobby: Global Networks, Coalitions, and Strategies of the World Uyghur Congress*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Chérif-Chebbi, Leila. "Brothers and Comrades: Muslim Fundamentalists and Communists Allied for the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in China." In *Devout Societies vs. Impious States? Transmitting Islamic Learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stéphane A. Dudoignon, 61-90. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004.

———. "Between 'Abd al-Wahhab and Liu Zhi: Chinese Muslim Intellectuals at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century." In *Islamic Thought in China: Sino-Muslim Intellectual Evolution from the 17th to the 21st Century*, edited by Jonathan Lipman, 197-232. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

China Daily. "A Day in the Life of Muslims during Ramadan in NW China." July 14, 2015. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/60thxjannivesary/2015-07/14/content_21271913.htm.

China Digital Times. "State Council Expands State Security Agents' Powers." December 8, 2017. https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2017/12/state-council-expands-state-security-agents-powers/

ChinaFile, trans. "Document 9: Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere. A Notice from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's General Office." *ChinaFile*, April 22, 2013. http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation.

China Islamic Association. "Cong qingzhensi hanwen bianlian kan zhongguo yisilan wenhua tese" 从 清真寺汉文區联看中国伊斯兰文化特色 [Viewing the Characteristics of Chinese Islamic Culture from Mosque's Chinese Tablet]. July 18, 2017. Accessed February 2, 2018 via United Front Work Department website, originally published on the website of the China Islamic Association. http://www.zytzb.gov.cn/tzb2010/s1340/201707/129b82ab964842968bf74b7bbf385e47.shtml.

- ———. Musilin aiguozhuyi jiaocheng (shiyongben) 穆斯林爱国主义教程(试用本)[Handbook for Muslim Patriotism (Trial Edition)]. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua chubanshe, 2006.
- ———. "Xiehui jianjie" 协会简介 [Short Introduction to the Association]. China Islamic Association website, accessed January 5, 2013. http://chinaislam.net.cn/about/xhgk/about132.html.
- ———. "Xinjiang ge minzu shi zhonghua minzu xuemai xianglian de jiatong chengyuan" 新疆各民族 是中华民族血脉相连的家庭成员 [Each ethnic group in Xinjiang is a family member of the Chinese nation]. China Islamic Association website, April 29, 2019. http://www.chinaislam.net.cn/cms/news/jujiaoredian/201904/29-13165.html.
- ———. "Xinjiang yisilanjiao jingxueyuan jianjie" 新疆伊斯兰教经学院简介 [Xinjiang Islamic Institute Introduction]. China Islamic Association website, July 27, 2012. http://www.chinaislam.net.cn/cms/zjjy/xylist/3/jianjie/201207/27-2734.html.

China Islamic Educational Administration Guidance Committee 中国伊斯兰教教务指导委员会. *Xinbian wo'erzi yanbian jiangji (1-4 heji)* 新编卧尔兹演讲集 (1-4 合辑) [Collections of Newly Edited Wa'z Sermons (Vol. 1-4)]. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, (2011) 2013.

China Law Translate. "Religious Affairs Regulations 2017." *China Law Translate*, September 7, 2017. http://www.chinalawtranslate.com/宗教事务条例-2017/?lang=en.

ChinaPower CSIS. "China Provincial Internet Penetration Rate." Accessed July 2017, https://chinapower.csis.org/data/internet-penetration-statistics-province/.

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. "Zhongyang tongzhanbu zai tian xin bumen qunian ba ju gang chengli" 中央统战部再添新部门 去年八局刚成立 [The Central United Front Department added another new department, after adding the eighth one last year]. May 5, 2017. http://cppcc.china.com.cn/2017-05/05/content_40751637.htm.

Clarke, Michael. "Xinjiang from the 'Outside-In' and the 'Inside-Out': Exploring the Imagined Geopolitics of a Contested Region." In *Inside Xinjiang: Space, Place and Power in China's Muslim Far Northwest*, edited by Anna Hayes and Michael Clarke, 225-259. London: Routledge, 2016.

Cliff, Tom. Oil and Water: Being Han in Xinjiang. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Cliff, Thomas Matthew James. "Neo Oasis: The Xinjiang Bingtuan in the Twenty-first Century." *Asian Studies Review* 33, no. 1 (2009): 83-106.

CNNIC, China Internet Network Information Center. "39th Statistical Report on Internet Development in China." CNICC website, January 2017. https://cnnic.com.cn/IDR/ReportDownloads/.

Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC). "Central Leaders Hold Forum on Xinjiang, Stress Development and Stability as Dual Goals." July 8, 2010.

https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/central-leaders-hold-forum-on-xinjiang-stress-development-and.

Coté, Isabelle. "Political Mobilization of a Regional Minority: Han Chinese Settlers in Xinjiang." *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 11 (2011): 1-19.

CPC News. "Jia Qinglin yu quanguoxing zongjiao tuanti zerenren juxing yingchun zuotan" 贾庆林与全国性宗教团体负责人举行迎春座谈[Jia Qinglin and the heads of the national religious groups held a spring discussion]. February 3, 2008. http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64093/64094/6859707.html.

——. "Zongjiao yu mixin de qubie" 宗教与迷信的区别 [The difference between religion and supersition]. N.d., accessed October 29, 2017. http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64107/65708/66067/66082/4468773.html.

Crevel, Maghiel van. "Walk on the Wild Side: Snapshots of the Chinese Poetry Scene." *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture Resource Center* 2017. http://u.osu.edu/mclc/online-series/walk-on-the-wild-side.

Cui Jia and Gao Bo. "Islamic institute steps up training to fight extremism." *China Daily*, March 30, 2015. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2015-03/30/content_19947499.htm.

Cunningham, Christopher P. "Counterterrorism in Xinjiang: The ETIM, China, and the Uyghurs." *International Journal on World Peace* 29, no. 3 (2012): 7-50.

Dautcher, Jay. *Down a Narrow Road: Identity and Masculinity in a Uyghur Community in Xinjiang China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Dawut, Rahilä. "Shrine Pilgrimage and Sustainable Tourism among the Uyghurs: Central Asian Ritual Traditions in the Context of China's Development Policies." In *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 149-163. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Debata, Mahesh Ranjan. *China's Minorities: Ethnic-Religious Separatism in Xinjiang*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2007.

De Jong, Frederick. *Uyghur Texts in Context: Life in Shinjang Documented from Public Places*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平. "Huijian yingguo zhiming renshi daibiaotuanshi de tanhua" 会见英国知名人士代表团时的谈话 [Speech at the Meeting with a Delegation of British Dignitaries]. October 15, 1979. Published in *Deng Xiaoping sixiang nianpu* 邓小平思想年谱 (1975-1997) [Deng Xiaoping Thought Chronology (1975-1997)], Central Literature Press (November 1998), 134. Republished on CPC News "Religious Work," accessed October 29, 2017.

http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/65717/65720/4461147.html

———. "Huijian yidali tianzhujiao minzhudang fushuji kelongbo shi de tanhua" 会见意大利天主教民主党副书记科隆博时的谈话 [Speech at the Meeting with Italian Christian Democratic Party Deputy Secretary Colombo]. December 12, 1981. Published in *Deng Xiaoping sixiang nianpu* 邓小平思想年谱(1975-1997) [Deng Xiaoping Thought Chronology (1975-1997)], Central Literature Press (November 1998), 134. Republished on CPC News "Religious Work," accessed October 29, 2017. http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/65717/65720/4461147.html.

Dikøtter, Frank, ed. *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.* London: Hurst&Co., 1997.

——. The Discourse of Race in Modern China. London: Hurst&Co., 1992.

Dillon, Michael. *China's Muslim Hui Community: Migration, Settlement and Sects*. London: Curzon Press, 1999.

——. Xinjiang: China's Muslim Far Northwest. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

Doumato, Eleanor A., and Gregory Starrett, eds. *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Doyon, Jérôme. "The Local Islamic Associations and the Party-State: Consanguinity and Opportunities." *China Perspectives* 4 (2014): 45-52.

Drewes, Frauke. *Orientalisiert - Kriminalisiert - Propagiert? Die Position von Muslimen in Geselschaft und Politik der Volksrepublik China heute*. PhD. diss., Münster University. Würzburg: Ergon, 2016.

Duan Dezhi 段德智. Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi 新中国宗教工作史 (A History of Religion Work in New China). Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2013.

Duara, Prasenjit. "De-Constructing the Chinese Nation." In *Chinese Nationalism*, edited by Jonathan Unger, 31-55. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.

Dudoignon, Stéphane A., ed. *Devout Societies vs. Impious States? Transmitting Islamic Learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the Twentieth Century.* Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004.

Dwyer, Arienne M. *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse*. Policy Studies 15. Washington: East-West Washington Center, 2005.

Editorial Committee for the China Islamic Association National Institutes' Uniform Teaching Materials 中国伊斯兰教协会全国经学院统编教材编审委员会, ed. *Ahong jiaowu zhidao jianming jiaocheng (shiyongben)* 阿訇教务指导简明教程(试用本)[Concise Handbook for Imam Educational Administration and Guidance (Trial Edition)]. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, 2013.

Editorial Committee for the China Islamic Association National Institutes' Uniform Teaching Materials 中国伊斯兰教协会全国经学院统编教材编审委员会, ed. *Yisilanjiaofa jianming jiaocheng (shiyongben)* 伊斯兰教教法简明教程(试用本) [Concise Handbook on Islamic Doctrine (Trial Edition)]. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, (2008) 2013.

Eickelman, Dale F. *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

———. "Mass Higher Education and the Religious Imagination in Contemporary Arab Societies." *American Ethnologist* 19 (1992): 643–55.

———. "The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and its Social Reproduction." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20, no. 4 (1978): 485-516.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. "Multiple Modernities." Daedalus 129, no. 1 (2000): 1-29.

Eller, Jack David. From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Ercilasun, Güljanat K. and Konuralp Ercilasun, eds. *The Uyghur Community: Diaspora, Identity and Geopolitics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Erie, Matthew S. *China and Islam: The Prophet, the Party, and Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

———. "Defining Shari'a in China: State, Ahong, and the Post-Secular Turn." In *Special Issue of Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review "Islam in China/China in Islam"* 12 (2014): 88-117.

———. "Introduction to 'Islam in China/China in Islam.'" In *Special Issue of Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review "Islam in China/China in Islam,"* Primary author. Co-editor with Allen Carlson. 12 (2014): 1-12.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press, (1994) 2010.

———. *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology (2nd edition).* London: Pluto Press, (1995) 2001.

Erkin, Adil. "Locally Modern, Globally Uyghur: Geography, Identity and Consumer Culture in Contemporary Xinjiang." *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 4 (2009): 417-428.

Forbes, Andres D.W. Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinking 1911-1949. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Fortna, Benjamin C. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Frank, Allen J. "A Month among the Qazaqs in the Emirate of Bukhara." In *Explorations in the Social History of Modern Central Asia* (19th – early 20th Century), edited by Paolo Sartori, 247-266. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Frankel, James D. "Benevolence for Obedience: Policies on Muslims in Late Imperial and Modern China." *ASIANetwork Exchange* 16, no. 2 (2009): 25-42.

———. Rectifying God's Name: Liu Zhi's Confucian Translation of Monotheism and Islamic Law. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Fuller, Graham E. and Jonathan N. Lipman. "Islam in Xinjiang." In Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland, edited by Frederick S. Starr, 320-352. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

Gao Zhanfu 高占福. "Yisilanjiao jingxueyuan tongbian jiaocai diyi jieduan renwu yuanman wancheng" 伊斯兰教经学院统编教材第一阶段任务圆满完成 [The successful completion of the first phase of Islamic textbooks]. November 26, 2013.

http://wap.cnki.net/touch/web/Newspaper/Article/CMZB201311260073.html.

Gellner, Ernest. Nations and Nationalism. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, (1983) 2006.

Gesink, Indira F. *Islamic Reform and Conservatism: Al-Azhar and the Evolution of Modern Sunni Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, (2009) 2014.

Gillette, Maris Boyd. *Between Mecca and Beijing: Modernization and Consumption among Urban Chinese Muslims*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Gladney, Dru. C. *Ethnic Identity in China: The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality*. Stamford: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2003.

- ———. "Internal Colonialism and the Uyghur Identity: Chinese Nationalism and its Subaltern Subjects." CEMOTI 25 (1998): 47-63.
- ———. "Islam in China: State Policing and Identity Politics." In *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, edited by Yoshika Ashiwa and David L. Wank, 151-178. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- ———. "Making Muslims in China: Education, Islamicization and Representation." In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, edited by Gerard A. Postiglione, 55-93. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.
- ———. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (1991) 1996.

Goossaert, Vincent. "State and Religion in Modern China: Religious Policies and Scholarly Paradigms." Communication au colloque du cinquantenaire de l'Institut d'Histoire Moderne de l'Academia Sinica. 2006. <halshs-00106187>

Goossaert, Vincent and David A. Palmer. *The Religious Question in Modern China*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Grose, Timothy. "Protested Homecomings: Xinjiang Class Graduates and Reacclimating to Life in Xinjiang." In *Inside Xinjiang: Space, Place and Power in China's Muslim Far Northwest,* edited by Anna Hayes and Michael Clarke, 206-224. London: Routledge, 2016.

Hamut, Bahargül. Silsilat az-Zahab: Kommentierung einer čaġatai-uigurischen Handschrift zu den Aqtaġliq Ḥoğilar, einer mystischen Gruppierung in Xinjiang im 16.-18. Jahrhundert. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2011.

Handelman, Don. "The Organization of Society". Ethnic Groups 1 (1977): 187-200.

Hansen, Mette Halskov. *Lessons in Being Chinese: Minority Education and Ethnic Identity in Southwest China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Harrell, Stevan, ed. *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.

Harris, Rachel. "Harmonizing Islam in Xinjiang: Sound and Meaning in Rural Uyghur Religious Practice." In *On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society*, edited by Trine Brox and Ildikó Bellér-Hann, 293-317. Copenhagen: NIAS, 2014.

Harris, Rachel and Aziz Isa. "Islam by Smartphone: The Changing Sounds of Uyghur Religiosity." *Sounding Islam in China*. Last updated May 9, 2020. www.soundislamchina.org/?p=1277.

Harris, Rachel and Rahilä Dawut. "Mazar Festivals of the Uyghurs: Music, Islam and the Chinese State." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11, no. 1 (2002): 101–118.

Harrison, Simon. "Identity as a Scarce Resource." Social Anthropology 7, no. 3 (1999): 239-251.

Hayes, Anna. "Space, Place and Ethnic Identity in the Xinjiang Regional Museum." In *Inside Xinjiang:* Space, Place and Power in China's Muslim Far Northwest, edited by Anna Hayes and Michael Clarke, 52-72. London: Routledge, 2016.

Hayes, Anna and Michael Clarke, eds. *Inside Xinjiang: Space, Place and Power in China's Muslim Far Northwest*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Hefner, Robert W. "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia." In *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 1-54. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Hefner, Robert W. and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Hernández, Javier C. "The Propaganda I See on My Morning Commute." *New York Times*, January 28, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/28/world/asia/beijing-propaganda-xi-jinping.html.

Hess, Stephen E. "Islam, Local Elites, and China's Missteps in Integrating the Uyghur Nation." *Usak-Yearbook* 3 (2010): 407-428.

Hirschkind, Charles. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Ho, Wai-Yip. "Islam, China and the Internet: Negotiating Residual Cyberspace between Hegemonic Patriotism and Connectivity to the Ummah." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2010): 63-79.

Hughes, Christopher R. Chinese Nationalism in the Global Era. London: Routledge, 2006.

Hu Jintao. "Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China." November 8, 2012. http://www.china.org.cn/china/18th_cpc_congress/2012-11/16/content_27137540.htm

Human Rights Watch. "China: New Controls on Tibetan Monastery. Religious, Education Authority Shifts to Party Cadres." January 24, 2018. https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/24/china-new-controls-tibetan-monastery.

Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. "China's Ethnic Policy and Common Prosperity and Development of all Ethnic Groups." September 27, 2009. http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node_7078073.htm

Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China." October 1997. Translated by M.E. Sharpe. *Chinese Law and Government* 36, no. 3 (2003): 7-20.

Israeli, Raphael, ed. *Islam in China: Religion, Ethnicity, Culture, and Politics*. Oxford: Lexington Books, 2002.

——. Muslims in China: A Study in Cultural Confrontation. London: Curzon Press, 1980.

Jacobs, Justin M. *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016.

Jiang Jianshui 蒋坚水. "Zai zhongguo yisilanjiao jiaowu zhidao weiyuanhui di er jie huiyi kaimuhui shang de jianghua" 在中国伊斯兰教教务指导委员会第二届会议开幕会的讲话 [The opening speech of the second conference of the China Islamic Educational Administration Guidance Committee]. Zhongguo Musilin 6 (2005): 13-16.

Jiang Zemin 江泽民. "Baochi dang de zongjiao zhengce he wendingxing he lianxuxing" 保持党的宗教政策的稳定性和连续性 [To maintain the stability and continuity of the Party's religious policy] January 30, 1991. Published in *Xinshiqi zongjiao gongzuo wenxian xuanbian* 新时期宗教工作文献选编 [Selected Works of Religious Work in the New Period], Religious Culture Press (August 1995), 210. Republished on CPC News "Religious Work," accessed October 29, 2017. http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/65717/65721/4461297.html.

———. "Yiding yao zuohao zongjiao gongzuo" 一定要做好宗教工作 [Must do a good job of religious work]. December 7, 1990. Published in *Xin shiqi tongyi zhanxian wenxian xuanbian (xubian)* 新时期 统一战线文献选编(续编)[Selection of Literature of New Era United Front Documents (sequel)], CPC Central Party School Press (July 1997), 287. Republished on CPC News "Religious Work," accessed October 29, 2017.

http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/65717/65721/4461297.html.

———. "Zai quanguo tongzhan gongzuo huiyishang de jianghua" 在全国统战工作会议上的讲话 [Speech at the National United Front Work Conference]. November 7, 1993. Published in "Overview of National United Front Work Conference and Literature (1988-1998)," China Press (September 1998), 163-164. Republished on CPC News "Religious Work," accessed October 29, 2017. http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/65717/65721/4461297.html.

Jin Rubin 金汝彬. "'Jiejing' yu 'wo'erzi' jingyan jiaoliuhui zai Wulumuqi zhaokai" "解经" 与讲新"卧尔兹" 经验交流会在乌鲁木齐召开 [The conference on jiejing and new wa'z sermons convenes in Urumqi], *Zhongguo Musilin* 5 (2003): 5-6. DOI: 10:16293/j.cnki.cn11-1345/b.2003.05.001.

Joske, Alex. "Reorganizing the United Front Work Department: New Structures for a New Era of Diaspora and Religious Affairs Work." *China Brief* 19, no. 9 (2019).

https://jamestown.org/program/reorganizing-the-united-front-work-department-new-structures-for-a-new-era-of-diaspora-and-religious-affairs-work/.

Kang Ding 康定. *Minzu tuanjie jiaoyu: 30 jiang* 民族团结教育: 30 讲 [Nationality Solidarity Education: 30 Essays], Shanghai Jiading Nr. 1 High School Training Material. Shanghai: Shanghai Sociology Department Press, 2014.

Keith, Ronald C. and Zhiqiu Lin. "The 'Falun Gong Problem': Politics and the Struggle for the Rule of Law in China." *The China Quarterly* 175 (2003): 623-642.

Kellner, Thierry. L'Occident de la Chine: Pékin et la nouvelle Asie centrale (1991-2001). Geneva: Graduate Institute Publications, 2008.

Kemper, Michael, Raoul Motika, and Stefan Reichmuth, eds. *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and its Successor States*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Khalid, Adeeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, (2007) 2014.

——. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Kimanen, Anuleena. "Measuring Confessionality by the Outcomes? Islamic Religious Education in the Finnish School System." *British Journal of Religious Education* 38, no. 2 (2016): 264-278.

Kinzley, Judd Creighton. "Staking Claims to China's Borderland: Oil, Ores and Statebuilding in Xinjiang Province, 1893-1964." PhD. diss., University of California, 2012.

Koetse, Manya. "100 Terms the Communist Party Wants You to Know for the 19th National Congress 100 "must-know" terms for the 19th National Congress, propagated by People's Daily." What's on Weibo, October 18, 2017. https://www.whatsonweibo.com/100-terms-communist-party-wants-know-19th-cpc-national-congress/.

Kowalski, Bartosz. "Vatican's Rapprochement with China, Three Years On." December 29, 2021. https://chinaobservers.eu/vaticans-rapprochement-with-china-three-years-on/.

Kuo Cheng-tian. "Chinese Religious Reform: The Christian Patriotic Education Campaign." *Asian Survey* 51, no. 6 (2011): 1042-1064.

Kupfer, Kristin. "'Häretische Lehren bekämpfen': Der Umgang der chinesischen Regierung mit spirituell-religiösen Gruppierungen seit 1978." In *Religion und Politik in der Volkrepublik China*, edited by Wiebke Koenig and Karl-Fritz Daiber, 251-288. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2008.

Kurban, Nurahmet. "Çağdaş Uygur İslam Düşüncesinin Önderi Abdulkadir Damolla." bilig no. 53 (2010): 167-182.

Le Gall, Dina. "Recent Thinking on Sufis and Saints in the Lives of Muslim Societies, Past and Present." Int. Journal of Middle East Studies 42 (2010): 673-687.

Leibold, James. "Creeping Islamophobia: China's Hui Muslims in the Firing Line." *China Brief* 16, no. 10 (2016). https://jamestown.org/program/creeping-islamophobia-chinas-hui-muslims-in-the-firing-line/.

——. "Xinjiang Work Forum Marks New Policy of 'Ethnic Mingling'." *China Brief* 14, no. 12 (2014). https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiang-work-forum-marks-new-policy-of-ethnic-mingling/.

Leibold, James and Timothy Grose. "Islamic Veiling in Xinjiang: The Political and Societal Struggle to Define Uyghur Female Adornment." *The China Journal* 76 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1086/683283.

Lemon, Jason. "Egypt is Deporting Chinese Muslims... Even Though They May Face Torture." *Step Feed*, July 7, 2017. http://stepfeed.com/egypt-is-deporting-chinese-muslims-even-though-they-may-face-torture-1963.

Leslie, Donald Daniel. *Islamic Literature in Chinese, Late Ming and Early Qing: Books, Authors and Associates*. Belconnen: Canberra College of Advanced Education, 1981.

Li Dekuan 李德宽. *Minzu zongjiao falü zhengce duben* 民族宗教法律政策读本 [Handbook on Minority Religion Legislation and Policy]. Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 2013.

Light, Nathan. "Imagining the Uyghur Literary Tradition." March 29, 2014. http://eastturkistaninfo.com/2014/03/29/imagining-the-uyghur-literary-tradition/.

——. "Xinjiang: An Annotated Bibliography." *Silk Road Foundation Newsletter* 3, no. 1 (2005): 28-49. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol3num1/6_turkistan.php.

Lipman, Jonathan N. *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

———, ed. *Islamic Thought in China: Sino-Muslim Intellectual Evolution from the 17th to the 21st Century.* Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

———, "Reviewed works: Islam in the People's Republic of China. by Clyde Ahmad Winters; Muslims in China: A Study in Cultural Confrontation. by Raphael Israeli." The *Journal of Asian Studies* 43, no. 1 (1983): 152-155. https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/10.2307/2054635.

Liu Dengzhong 劉燈鐘 and Liu Zhifeng 劉志峰. "Xinjiang yisilanjiao jingxueyuan banxue ji qi chengxiao xitan" 新疆伊斯蘭教經學院辦學及其成效析探 [A Study of Functions and Achievements of the Xinjiang Islamic Institute]. *Prospect and Exploration* 10, no. 5 (2012): 58-75.

Loimeier, Roman. *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th century Zanzibar*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Lukens-Bull, Ronald A. *Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Continuity and Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Ma Wenyang 马文祥. "Lun yisilan wenhuazhong hexie sixiang de qianti goucheng" 论伊斯兰文化中和谐思想的潜体系构成 [On the formation of the potential system of harmonious thought in Islamic culture]. *Zhongguo Musilin* 2 (2012): 10-14. DOI:10.16293/j.cnki.cn11-1345/b.2012.02.004.

MacInnis, Donald E., trans. "Document 19: The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during our Country's Socialist Period." In *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, 8-26. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989. Translation reprinted on Religlaw.org, accessed June 25, 2015. https://www.religilaw.org/content/religlaw/documents/doc19relig1982.htm.

———. *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History.* New York: The MacMillan Company/Collier-Macmillan, 1972.

MacKerras, Colin. "Religion and the Education of China's Minorities." In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, edited by Gerard A. Postiglione, 23-54. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.

——. "Religion and the Uyghurs: A Contemporary Overview." In *The Uyghur Community: Diaspora, Identity and Geopolitics*, edited by Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun and Konuralp Ercilasun, 59-84. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

- ——. "Religion in Contemporary Xinjiang." Silk Road Studies 12 (2008), 199–220.
- ——. "Some Issues of Ethnic and Religious Identity among China's Islamic Peoples." *Asian Ethnicity* 6, no. 1 (2005): 3-18.
- ——. "Xinjiang in 2013: Problems and Prospects." Asian Ethnicity 15, no. 2 (2014): 247-250.

MacKerras, Colin and Michael Clarke, eds. *China, Xinjiang and Central Asia: History, Transition and Crossborder Interaction into the 21st Century*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Madsen, Richard P. *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Mahmut, Dilmurat. "Controlling Religious Knowledge and Education for Countering Religious Extremism: Case Study of the Uyghur Muslims in China." FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education 5, no. 1 (2019): 22-44.

Makdisi, George. *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981.

Martina, Michael. "China's Hui Muslims fearful Chinese New Year education ban a sign of curbs to come." *Reuters*, February 17, 2018. https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-china-islam/chinas-hui-muslims-fearful-chinese-new-year-education-ban-a-sign-of-curbs-to-come-idUKKCN1G1044.

Masumi, Matsumoto. "Islamic Education in China: Triple Discrimination and the Challenge of Hui Women's Madrasas." In *The Moral Economy of the Madrasa*, edited by Keiko Sakurai and Fariba Adelkhah, 85-102. London: Routledge, 2011.

Maybury-Lewis, David. *Indigenous Peoples, Ethnic Groups, and the State*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997.

Meijer, Wilna A.J. *Tradition and Future of Islamic Education*. Religious Diversity and Education 10. Münster: Waxmann, 2009.

Meissner, Mirjam and Jost Wübbeke. "IT-backed Authoritarianism: Information Technology Enhances Central Authority and Control Capacity under Xi Jinping." In *China's Core Executive: Leadership styles, structures and processed under Xi Jinping*, edited by Sebastian Heilmann and Matthias Stepan, 52-56. MERICS Papers on China 1 (June 2016).

http://www.merics.org/fileadmin/user_upload/downloads/MPOC/MPOC_ChinasCoreExecutive.pdf.

Messick, Brinkley. *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Meyer, Patrik. "China's De-Extremisaton of Uyghurs in Xinjiang." *New America: International Security*. June 2016. https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/policy-papers/china-de-extremization-uyghurs-xinjiang/.

Mi Guanghong 米广弘. "'Yidai yilu' shang de zongjiao jiaowang zhi lu" 一带一路" 上的宗教交往之路 [The Way of Religious Contact on the "Belt and Road"]. *United Front Work Department*, April 26, 2017.

http://www.zytzb.gov.cn/tzb2010/s1340/201704/9948113244bc43b49fad8d48928c0ad7.shtml.

Middle East Eye. "Egypt Rounds Up Uyghur Muslims at Behest of China." July 6, 2017. http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-cracks-down-muslim-chinese-community-816905577.

Miller, Alice. "More Already on the Central Committee's Leading Small Groups." *China Leadership Monitor* 44 (2014). https://www.hoover.org/research/more-already-central-committees-leading-small-groups.

——. "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups." *China Leadership Monitor* 26 (2008). https://www.hoover.org/research/ccp-central-committees-leading-small-groups.

Millward, James. "'Coming onto the Map': 'Western Regions' Geography and Cartographic Nomenclature in the Making of Chinese Empire in Xinjiang." *Late Imperial China* 20, no. 2 (1999): 61-98.

——. Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Ming Xia. "The Communist Party of China and the "Party- State'." *New York Times*, n.d., accessed January 26, 2018. http://www.nytimes.com/ref/college/coll-china-politics-002.html.

Ministry of Education and State Ethnic Affairs Commission. "Xuexiao minzu tuanjie jiaoyu zhidao gangyao (shixing)" 学校民族团结教育指导纲要(试行)[Guiding Program on Ethnic Unity Education in Schools (Trial)]. November 27, 2008. Chinese original text published on Congressional-Executive Committee on China website. https://www.cecc.gov/resources/legal-provisions/guiding-program-on-ethnic-unity-education-in-schools-trial-chinese-text.

Moerman, Michael. "Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?" *American Anthropologist* 67 5, no.1 (1965): 1215-1230.

Mullaney, Thomas S. *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Murata, Sachiko. *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light: Wang Tai-yü's Great Learning of the Pure and Real and Liu Chih's Displaying the Concealment of the Real Realm*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Naumkin, Vitaly V. *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

Nedostup, Rebecca. *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

——. "The Transformation of the Concept of Religion in Chinese Modernity." In *Religious Diversity in Chinese Thought*, edited by Perry Schmidt-Leukel and Joachim Gentz, 157-170. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Newby, Laura J. "The Chinese Literary Conquest of Xinjiang." Modern China 25, no. 4 (1999): 451-474.

——. "'Us' and 'Them' in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Xinjiang." In *Situating the Uyghurs Between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 15-29. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Nimmegeers, Dirk. "Commissies van toezicht voor een effectieve en legale corruptiebestrijding" [Supervisory Commissions for Effective and Legal Fight against Corruption]. *Chinasquare*, November 16, 2017. http://www.chinasquare.be/actueel-nieuws/wet-recht-actueel/commissies-toezicht-effectieve-en-legale-corruptiebestrijding/.

Papas, Alexandre. Soufisme et Politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan: Etude sur les Khwajas Nagshbandis du Turkestan Oriental. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 2005.

People's Daily Online. "10 yue 21 ri 'dang de tongyi zhanxian gongzuo he dang de duiwai jiaowang' jizhe zhaodaihui" 10 月 21 日 "党的统一战线工作和党的对外交往"记者招待会 [October 21 Press Conference on the Work of the United Front and the Party's International Exchanges]. October 21, 2017.

http://live01.people.com.cn/zhibo/Myapp/Html/Member/html/201710/9_103964_59e9a30d58bdc_quan.html.

Petersen, Kristian. "Reconstructing Islam: Muslim Education and Literature in Ming-Qing China." *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 23, no. 3 (2006): 24-53.

——. "Usurping the Nation: The Role of Cyber-leadership in the Uighur Nationalist Movement." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2006): 63-73.

Postiglione, Gerard A., ed. *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.

———. "Introduction: State Schooling and Ethnicity in China." In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, edited by Gerard A. Postiglione, 3-19. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.

Potter, Pitman B. "Belief in Control: Regulation of Religion in China." *The China Quarterly* (2003): 317-337.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge, 1992.

Qiu Yuanyuan 邱媛媛. "Jinjin weirao zong mubiao zuohao 'qu jiduanhua' jiaoyu zhuanhua gongzuo" 紧紧围绕总目标做好"去极端化"教育转化工作 [Do a good job of "de-extremification" transformation through education work]. *Xin Silu* 2017, no. 12 (2017). http://www.zjdata.net/literature/detail/657545.html.

Radio Free Asia. "Detained Uyghur Students Held by Egypt's Intelligence Service." July 19, 2017. http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/students-07192017124354.html

- ———. "Xinjiang Authorities Convert Uyghur Mosques Into Propaganda Centers." August 3, 2017. https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/mosques-08032017153002.html?searchterm:utf8:ustring=+uyghur+imam.
- ———. "Xinjiang Authorities Jail Uyghur Imam Who Took Son to Unsanctioned Religious School." May 10, 2018. https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/imam-05102018155405.html?searchterm:utf8:ustring=+uyghur+imam.

Ren Hong 任红, "Xinjiang yisilanjiao jiaoyu xianzhuang yanjiu" 新疆伊斯兰教教育现状研究 [Research into Contemporary Islamic Education in Xinjiang]. *Zhongguo Musilin* 2 (2009): 48-52.

——. "Xinjiang weiwuerzu yisilanjiao jingtangjiaoyu de lishi ji qi yingxiang" 新疆维吾尔族伊斯兰教经堂教育的历史及其影响 [The history and influence of Uyghur mosque education in Xinjiang]. *Zhongquo Musilin* 5 (2009): 36-39.

Rippa, Alessandro. "From Uyghurs to Kashgari: A Pakistani community finds itself caught between two worlds." *The Diplomat*, December 20, 2013. http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/from-uyghurs-to-kashgari/?allpages=yes.

Rizwangul, Nur-Muhammad, Giles Dodson, Evangelina Papoutsaki, Heather Horst. "Identity, Responsibility, then Politics: The Uyghur Diaspora, Facebook and the Construction of Identity Online." Paper presented at The Asian Conference on Media and Mass Communication 2013, Osaka. Obtained October 10, 2016 via http://iafor.org/archives/offprints/mediasia2013-offprints/MediAsia2013_0080.pdf.

Roberts, Sean R. "A 'Land of Borderlands': Implications of Xinjiang's Trans-border Interactions." In *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, edited by Frederick S. Starr, 216-237. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

Rosenthal, F. *Knowledge Triumphant. The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

Ross, Lisa. *Living Shrines of Uyghur China: Photographs by Lisa Ross*. With the assistance of Alexandre Papas and Rahilä Dawut. New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013.

Rudelson, Justin Jon. *Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism Along China's Silk Road*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Saldon, Tenzin. "Tibet, the 19th Party Congress and China's United Front work." *Central Tibetan Administration*, November 1, 2017. http://tibet.net/2017/11/tibet-the-19th-party-congress-and-chinas-united-front-work/.

Schein, Louisa. *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

Scheper, Karin and Arnoud Vrolijk, "Made in China: Physical Aspects of Islamic Manuscripts form Xinjiang in Leiden University Library," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011): 50-69.

Schielke, Samuli. "Hegemonic Encounters: Criticism of Saintsday Festivals and the Formation of Modern Islam in the Late 19th and Early 20th-Century Egypt." *Die Welt des Islams* 47, no. 3-4 (2007): 319–55.

Schluessel, Eric T. "Language and the State in Late Qing Xinjiang." In *Historiography and Nation-Building Among Turkic Populations*, edited by Birgit N. Schlyter. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2014.

- ———. "'Bilingual' Education and Discontent in Xinjiang." Central Asian Survey 26, no. 2 (2007): 1-27.
- ———. "Thinking beyond Harmony: The 'Nation' and Language in Uyghur Social Thought." In *On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society: Tibetans and Uyghurs in Socialist China*, edited by Trine Brox and Ildikó Bellér-Hann, 318-345. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2014.

Schrode, Paula. *Die Totengeister der Uiguren: Beobachtungen zu Islam und Gesellschaft in Ostturkestan*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2007.

——. "The Dynamics of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Uyghur Religious Practice." *Die Welt des Islams* 48, no. 3-4 (2008): 394-433.

Shichor, Yitzhak. "Virtual Transnationalism: Uyghur Communities in Europe and the Quest for Eastern Turkestan Independence." *In Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities in and across Europe*, edited by Stefano Allievi and Jørgen Nielsen, 281-311. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Shi-Kupfer, Kristin, Mareike Ohlberg, Simon Lang, and Bertram Lang. "Ideas and Ideologies Competing for China's Future: How Online Pluralism Challenges Official Orthodoxy." *MERICS Paper*

on China no. 5. October 5, 2017. https://www.merics.org/en/papers-on-china/ideas-and-ideologies-competing-chinas-political-future.

Shinmen, Yasushi, Minoru Sawada, and Edmund Waite, eds. *Muslim Saints and Mausoleums in Central Asia and Xinjiang*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 2013.

Smith Finley, Joanne. "Chinese Oppression in Xinjiang, Middle Eastern Conflicts and Global Islamic Solidarities among the Uyghurs." *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 53 (2007): 627-654.

- ———. "'Ethnic Anomaly' or Modern Uyghur Survivor? A Case Study of the Minkaohan Hybrid Identity in Xinjiang." In *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 219-241. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- ———. "Now We Don't Talk Anymore: Inside the 'Cleansing' of Xinjiang." *ChinaFile*, December 28, 2018. https://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/viewpoint/now-we-dont-talk-anymore.
- ———. "Securitization, insecurity and conflict in contemporary Xinjiang: Has PRC-counterterrorism evolved into state terror?" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 1 (2019): 1-26.
- ———. The Art of Symbolic Resistance: Uyghur Identities and Uyghur-Han Relations in Contemporary Xinjiang. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Smith Finley, Joanne and Xiaowei Zang. "Language, education and Uyghur identity: an introductory essay," in *Language, Education and Uyghur Identity in Urban Xinjiang*, eds. Joanne Smith Finley and Xiaowei Zang, 1-33. London/New York: Routledge, 2015.

Smith Finley, Joanne and Xiaowei Zang, eds. *Language, Education and Uyghur Identity in Urban Xinjiang*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Smith, Joanne. "Four Generations of Uyghurs: The Shift towards Ethno-political Ideologies among Xinjiang's Youth." *Inner Asia* 2, no. 2 (2000), 195-224

Sørensen, Mads P. and Allan Christiansen. *Ulrich Beck: An Introduction to the Theory of Second Modernity and the Risk Society*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Spiessens, Elke. "Diasporic Lives of Uyghur Mollas." In *Ethnographies of Islam in China*, edited by Rachel Harris, Guangtian Ha and Maria Jaschok, 245-265. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021.

Starr, Frederick S., ed. Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

Starrett, Gregory. *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt.*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

State Administration for Religious Affairs. "Jidujiao" 基督教 [Protestantism]. Last modified on October 23, 2017. http://www.sara.gov.cn/zjbk/zjzs/575179.htm.

————. "Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism." July 18, 2007. Translated by International Campaign for Tibet for Congressional-Executive Committee on China website. https://www.cecc.gov/resources/legal-provisions/measures-on-the-management-of-the-reincarnation-of-living-buddhas-in-0.

————. "Renmin ribao touban ganwen: zongjiao gongzuo fazhihua maishang xin taijie" 人民日报 头版刊文: 宗教工作法治化迈上新台阶 [People's Daily front page: Religious Work to a New Level of Rule of Law]. September 8, 2017. http://www.sara.gov.cn/xwzx/szyw/570845.htm. ————. "Renmin ribao — Wang Zuoan: Zuohao xin xingshixia zongjiao gongzuo de xingdong zhinan" 《人民日报》一王作安:做好新形势下宗教工作的行动指南 [People's Daily Front Page - Wang Zuoan: Do a Good Job Guiding Religious Work under the New Conditions]. August 17, 2016. http://www.sara.gov.cn/ztzz/xxgchyjs/xxgc/376557.htm.
————. "Tianzhujiao" 天主教 [Catholicism]. Last modified on October 23, 2017. http://www.sara.gov.cn/zjbk/zjzs/575178.htm.

————. "Xuexi Shibao - Wang Zuoan: Zongjiao gongzuo guanjian zai 'dao'" 《学习时报》—王作安: 宗教工作关键在"导" [Study Times – Wang Zuoan: Religious Work is Decisive in "Guiding"]. August 17, 2016. http://www.sara.gov.cn/ztzz/xxgchyjs/xxgc/376556.htm.

————. "Zongjiao gongzuo bumen wangzhan" 宗教工作部门网站 [Religious Work Department Websites]. Accessed February 2, 2018.

http://www.sara.gov.cn/yqlj/zjgzbmwz20170831180717029765/index.htm.

State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. "White Paper Freedom of Religious Belief in Xinjiang." June 2, 2016.

http://english.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2016/06/02/content_281475363031504.htm

State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. "Cultural Protection and Development in Xinjiang." November 15, 2018.

http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2018/11/15/content_281476391524846.htm

State Ethnic Affairs Commission. "Zhongguo shaoshu minzu dianying gongcheng ruxuan zuopin pingxuan banfa" 中国少数民族电影工程入选作品评选办法 [Selection Method for Selected Works of the Chinese Ethnic Minority Film Project]. June 22, 2016.

http://www.seac.gov.cn/art/2016/6/22/art_9551_259221.html

Steenberg, Rune & Alessandro Rippa. "Development for all? State schemes, security, and marginalization in Kashgar, Xinjiang." *Critical Asian Studies* 51, no. 2 (2019): 274-295.

Stepan, Matthias and Jessica Batke. "Policy-making and Political Leadership in China: Party and State Leading Small Groups in the PRC (May 2017)." *Mercator Institute for China Studies*, accessed October 27, 2017. https://www.merics.org/fileadmin/user_upload/pic/China-Mapping/170608_LSG_full_list.pdf.

Stites, Regie. "Writing Cultural Boundaries: National Minority Language Policy, Literacy Planning, and Bilingual Education." In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, edited by Gerard A. Postiglione, 95-130. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.

Stoecker-Parnian, Barbara. *Jingtang jiaoyu: Die Buecherhallen Erziehung: Enstehung und Entwicklung der islamischen Erziehung in den chinesischen Hui-Gemeinden vom 17.-19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003.

Suleymanova, Dilyara. "Islam as Moral education: Madrasa Courses and Contestation of the Secular in the Republic of Tatarstan, Russia." *Religion, State & Society* 43, no. 2 (2015): 150-67.

Summers, Josh. "Living Without Internet for a Year (the REAL Story)." Far West China, April 21, 2014. https://www.farwestchina.com/blog/living-without-internet-in-xinjiang/.

Tan, Charlene, ed. *Reforms in Islamic Education: International Perspectives*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Tan, Charlene and Hairon Salleh. "Reforming Madrasa Curriculum in an Era of Globalization: The Singapore Case." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 157–175. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Third Bureau of National Religious Affairs 国家宗教事务局三. *Xinjiang zongjiao gongzuo jichu zhishi ganbu duben* 新疆宗教工作基础知识干部读本 [Basic Knowledge Cadre Textbook on Religion Work in Xinjiang]. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, (2013) 2014.

Thum, Rian. "Beyond Resistance and Nationalism: Local History and the Case of Afaq Khoja." *Central Asian Survey* 31, no. 3 (2012): 293-310. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2012.722366.

- ——. "Modular History: Identity Maintenance before Uyghur Nationalism." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 3 (2012): 627-653.
- ——. The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Tobin, David. *Nation-Building and Ethnic Boundaries in China's Northwest*. PhD diss., The University of Manchester, 2013. https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:206253&datastreamId=FULL-TEXT.PDF.

Tomohiko, Uyama. "'Devotion to the People' and Paternalistic Authoritarianism among Qazaq Intellectuals, from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1917." In *Devout Societies vs. Impious States? Transmitting Islamic Learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stéphane A. Dudoignon, 19-27. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004.

Tong, James W. Revenge of the Forbidden City: The Suppression of the Falungong in China. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Tontini, Roberta. *Muslim Sanzijing: Shifts and Continuities in the Definition of Islam in China (1710-2010)*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Townsend, James. "Chinese Nationalism." In *Chinese Nationalism, edited by Jonathan Unger*, 1-30. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.

Vatican News. "Holy See and China renew Provisional Agreement for 2 years." October 22, 2020. https://www.vaticannews.va/en/vatican-city/news/2020-10/holy-see-china-provisional-agreement-renew-appointment-bishops.html.

Vergani, Matteo and Dennis Zuev. "Neojihadist Visual Politics: Comparing YouTube Videos of North Caucasus and Uyghur Militants." *Asian Studies Review* 39, no. 1 (2015): 1-22.

Veselič, Maja. "Managing Religion in Contemporary China: The Case of Islam." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 65 (2011): 114-137.

Wainscott, Ann M. "Monarchical Autonomy and Societal Transformation: Twentieth-Century Reforms to Islamic Education in Morocco." In *Reforms in Islamic Education*, edited by Charlene Tan, 35-55. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

———. "Defending Islamic Education: War on Terror Discourse and Religious Education in Twenty-first-century Morocco." *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 4 (2015): 635-653.

Waite, Edmund. "From Holy Man to National Villain: Popular Historical Narratives About Apaq Khoja amongst Uyghurs in Contemporary Xinjiang." *Inner Asia* 8, no. 1 (January 2006): 5-28. DOI: 10.1163/146481706793646837.

- ——. "The Emergence of Muslim Reformism in Contemporary Xinjiang: Implications for the Uyghurs' Positioning Between a Central Asian and Chinese Context." In *Situating the Uyghurs Between China and Central Asia*, edited by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, M. Cristina Cesàro, Rachel Harris and Joanne Smith Finley, 166-181. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- ——. The Impact of Socialist Rule on a Muslim Minority in China: Islam amongst the Uyghurs of Kashgar. PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2002.
- ——. "The Impact of the State on Islam amongst the Uyghurs: Religious Knowledge and Authority in the Kashgar Oasis." *Central Asian Survey* 25, no. 3 (2006): 251-265.

Wang Fuping 王伏平. Musilin aiguo aijiao duben 穆斯林爱国爱教读本 [Handbook for Muslim Love Your Country Love Your Religion]. Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 2011.

Wang, Jianxin. *Uyghur Education and Social Order: The Role of Islamic Leadership in the Turpan Basin*. Studia culturae islamicae 76. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2004.

Warikoo, K., ed. Xinjiang: China's Northwest Frontier. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Wei Cuiyi and Karl W. Luckert. *Uighur Stories from along the Silk Road*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1998.

World Uyghur Congress. "Dolkun Isa." Accessed June 2, 2022. https://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/staff/dolkun-isa/.

Xinhua News. "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era." Speech by Xi Jinping, delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. October 18, 2017.

 $http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/download/Xi_Jinping's_report_at_19th_CPC_National_Congress.\\ pdf$

- ——. "Quanguo zongjiao gongzuo huiyi zai jing zhaokai: Xi Jinping jianghua, Li Keqiang zhu" 全国宗教 工作会议在京召开 习近平讲话 李克强主 [National Religious Work Conference Convened in Beijing: Xi Jinping spoke and Li Keqiang presided]. April 23, 2016. http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-04/23/c_1118716540.htm.
- ——. "Zuo chuanbo zhonghua wenhua de zhongzi zhongyang sheyuan diyiqi Xinjiang zhongqingnian aiguo zongjiao renshi peixunban xuanyuan zuotan ceji" 做传播中华文化的种子——中央社院第一期新疆中青年爱国宗教人士培训班学员座谈侧记 [Spreading the Seed of Chinese Culture A Discussion with the Students of the First Phase of Xinjiang Middle-aged Patriotic Religious People in the Central Academy of Social Sciences]. December 7, 2017. http://www.xinhuanet.com//politics/2017-12/04/c 1122056897.htm.

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Central Committee Propaganda Department 中共新疆维吾尔自治区委员会宣传部. *Xinjiang "san shi": jiaoyu jianming duben* 新疆"三史": 教育简明读本 [Xinjiang "Three Histories": Basic Educational Textbook]. Urumqi: Xinjiang Qingshaonian Chubanshe, 2010.

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Islamic Association. *Quran Kerim - Uyghurche terjimisi* – قۇرئان كەرىم ئۇيغۇرچە تەرخىمىسى [The Qur'an – Uyghur translation]. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2012. Xu Qin. "The legend of Afanti lives on in exhibition." *Shanghai Daily*, August 21, 2017. https://archive.shine.cn/feature/The-legend-of-Afanti-lives-on-in-exhibition/shdaily.shtml.

Yang Zhanwu 杨占武. *Minzu tuanjie jinbu duben* 民族团结进步读本 [Handbook on the Promotion of Nationality Solidarity]. Handbooks on Muslims in the New Era. Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 2012.

Yili News Online. "Xinjiang Yili juban diyu 'Wahabi' yisilanjiao yuanjiaozhizhuyi sixiang shentou peixun" 新疆伊犁举办抵御"瓦哈比"伊斯兰原教旨主义思想渗透培训 [Xinjiang Yili Holds Training Course to Resist "Wahhabi" Islamic Fundamentalism Infiltration]. April 21, 2013. http://www.guancha.cn/local/2013_04_21_140136.shtml.

Zaman, Muhammad Q. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Zang, Xiaowei. Ethnicity in China: A Critical Introduction. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015.

Zarcone, Thierry. "La Naqshbandiyya." In *Les Voies d'Allah: Les ordres mystiques dans l'islam des origines à aujourd'hui*, edited by Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, 451-460. Paris: Fayard, 1996.

- ——. "Le culte des saints au Xinjiang de 1949 à nos jours." In *Saints and Heroes on the Silk Road*, edited by Thierry Zarcone, Ekrem Işin and Arthur Buehler, 133-172. Paris: Maisonneuve, 2002.
- ——. "Les tombeaux de saints musulmans au Xinjiang." *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 142 (2008): 47-62.
- ——. "Le Turkestan chinois." In *Les Voies d'Allah: Les ordres mystiques dans l'islam des origines à aujourd'hui*, edited by Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, 268-273. Paris: Fayard, 1996.
- ——. "Quand le saint légitime le politique: Le mausolée de Afaq Khwaja à Kashgar." *Central Asian Survey* 18, no. 2 (1999): 225-241.

Zarcone, Thierry, Ekrem Işin and Arthur Buehler, ed. *Saints and Heroes on the Silk Road*. Journal of the History of Sufism 3. Paris: Maisonneuve, 2002.

Zenz, Adrian. "The Xinjiang Papers: An Analysis of Key Findings and Implications for the Uyghur Tribunal in London." December 9, 2021. https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/The-Xinjiang-Papers-An-Analysis-for-the-Uyghur-Tribunal.pdf.

- ——. "The Xinjiang Papers Document No. 2." November 27, 2021. https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Transcript-Introduction-02.pdf.
- ——. "'Thoroughly Reforming Them Towards a Healthy Heart Attitude': China's Political Re-education Campaign in Xinjiang." *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 1 (2019): 102-128.

Zenz, Adrian and James Leibold. "Chen Quanguo: The Strongman behind Beijing's Securitization Strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang." *Jamestown Foundation China Brief* 17, no. 12 (2017). https://jamestown.org/program/chen-quanguo-the-strongman-behind-beijings-securitization-strategy-in-tibet-and-xinjiang/.

	"Securitizing Xinjiang: Polic	e Recruitment,	Informal Policing	and Ethnic	Minority Co-
optation."	China Quarterly 242, no. 6	(2020): 324-34	8.		

———. "Xinjiang's Rapidly Evolving Security State." *China Brief* 17, no. 4 (2017). https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiangs-rapidly-evolving-security-state/.

Zhang Qianfang and Zhu Yingping. "Religious Freedom and its Legal Restrictions in China." *Brigham Young University Law Review* 2011, no. 3 (2011): 783-818.

Zhang Yubo 张玉波, Dai Yaxiong 戴亚雄, Lan Zedong 兰泽东. *Zongjiao jiduan haisi ren* 宗教极端害死人 [Religious Extremism Harms People]. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2014.

Curriculum Vitae

Elke Spiessens was born September 30, 1987 in Leuven, Belgium. She attended the Sint-Theresiacollege in Kapelle-op-den-Bos, graduating in 2005. From 2005 until 2008 she studied Sinology at the Catholic University of Leuven, with an exchange year at Leiden University, and graduated cum laude in 2008. She received her Master in Sinology in 2009 at the Catholic University of Leuven cum laude. After her studies in Leuven, she studied Middle Eastern Studies at Leiden University, finishing her Bachelor degree in 2013. After graduating, she worked as a study coordinator for the MA Chinese Studies at Leiden University. In 2014, she started a cotutelle project with the University of Münster and Leiden University, researching Chinese policy towards Uyghur Islam at the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" in Münster.