

NASREDDIN EFENDI (AFANTI) IN THE CHINESE MEDIA:
A STATE INSTRUMENT FOR COPING WITH THE UYGHUR ISSUE



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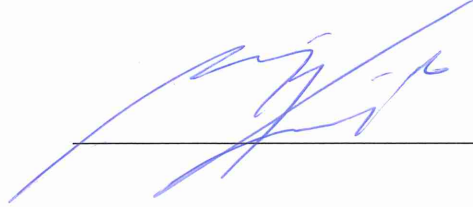
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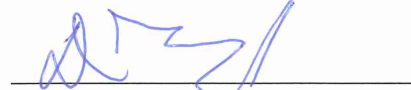
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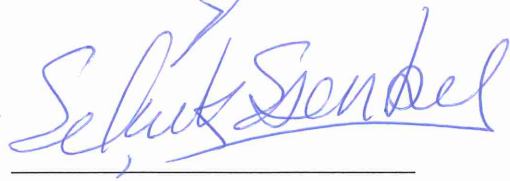
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ABSTRACT

Nasreddin Efendi (Afanti) in the Chinese Media:

A State Instrument for Coping With the Uyghur Issue

This thesis looks into the question of how Nasreddin Hodja is used in the Chinese media under the Chinese name “Afanti” as a state instrument for coping with the Uyghur issue. In answering this question, Afanti animated films that have been produced and broadcasted in China since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China are taken into consideration. These animated films are *Afanti de Gushi* 阿凡提的故事 (The Story of Afanti), *Shaonian Afanti* 少年阿凡提 (The Young Afanti), *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (The Old and the Little Afanti), *Afanti Xinzhuan* 阿凡提新传 (Legend of Afanti), and *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 (The Adventure of Afanti). Through an analysis of the Chinese state’s minority policies and a comparison with the related animated films, it is seen that Afanti figure has been constructed as a state tool to handle the Xinjiang issue, to rebuild a state-sanctioned Xinjiang image, to integrate Xinjiang into China, and to position Xinjiang under Chinese hegemony with an oriental approach. This repositioning is intended both for the Uyghur and the Han audience. Through this usage, the state-constructed Afanti image is also promoted as a state-approved Uyghur ethnic role model for the Uyghurs. Through these animated films, a shared modernity, secularity, and Han-Uyghur integration is also aimed.

ÖZET

Çin Medyasında Nasreddin Efendi (Afanti):

Uygur Meselesi ile Mücadele Etmek için bir Devlet Aracı

Bu tez, Nasreddin Hoca'nın Çin mediasında “Afanti” adı altında Uygur sorunu ile mücadelede bir devlet aracı olarak nasıl kullanıldığı sorusunu ele almaktadır. Bu soruyu yanıtlarken, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan bu yana Çin'de üretilen ve yayınlanan Afanti animasyon filmleri göz önüne alınmaktadır. Bu animasyon filmleri; *Afanti de Gushi* 阿凡提的故事 (Afanti'nin Hikayesi), *Shaonian Afanti* 少年阿凡提 (Genç Afanti), *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (Büyük ve Küçük Afanti), *Afanti Xinzhuo* 阿凡提新传 (Afanti Efsanesi), ve *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian'dır* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 (Afanti'nin Macerası). Çin devletinin azınlık politikalarının analizi ve ilgili animasyon filmleri ile karşılaştırması yapılarak, Afanti figürünün Xinjiang meselesini ele almak, devlet tarafından onaylanan bir Xinjiang imajını yeniden kurmak, Xinjiang'ı Çin'e entegre etmek ve Xinjiang'ı Çin egemenliği altında şarkiyatçı bir yaklaşım ile konumlandırmak için bir devlet aracı olarak inşa edildiği görülmektedir. Bu yeniden konumlandırma, hem Uygur hem de Han izleyicisine yöneliktir. Bu kullanım ile, devlet tarafından inşa edilen Afanti imajı Uygurlar için devlet tarafından onaylanan bir Uygur etnik rol modeli olarak da öne çıkarılmaktadır. Bu animasyon filmler ile ortak modernlik, laiklik ve Han-Uygur entegrasyonu da amaçlanmaktadır.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCTV	China Central Television
CPC	Communist Party of China
ICBC	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
PRC	The People's Republic of China
SARFT	State Administration of Radio, Film and Television



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyzes the usage of Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese Media, particularly in animated films, and argues that these media products are part of a Chinese government project to build a modern and unified nation with an integrated Xinjiang under PRC (the People's Republic of China) by handling the Uyghur Issue through construction of a perception of Xinjiang as a romantic, exotic, colourful, and attractive region which is part of the greater China. By a modern and unified nation, an integrated and harmonious society composed of all the 56 nationalities is implied, including the minority Uyghurs who have become involved with the Uyghur issue for many years. In order to achieve this integration, Chinese government has been trying to cope with this Uyghur issue with different methods. Therefore, I propose that Nasreddin Hodja animated films have been one of these methods.

The key idea of this thesis is that the Chinese government has been systematically and repeatedly adopting the usage of Nasreddin Hodja as an exotic-heroic Uyghur role model figure, who is a well known character in Xinjiang folk tales, with the aim of restructuring the position of Xinjiang within China. The desired new structure of Xinjiang is based on a dominant China with Xinjiang under control. The construction of “Afanti”, the Chinese name under which Nasreddin Hodja is known in China,¹ as the state sanctioned Uyghur role model serves to this form of internal colonialism of the Chinese state with the aim of controlling Xinjiang. The

¹*Afanti* 阿凡提 is the transliterated form from the Uyghur name for “Ependi”. For “ependi”, see İnayet, “Nasreddin Hoca ve Uygur Toplumu” [Nasreddin Hodja and the Uyghur Society], 149. The word “efendi” is originally from the Greek language and it is used as a polite form of address with meanings like “sir”, “respected”, “gentlemen”, or “master”. In the Uyghur language, it is also used with similar meanings. See Öztürk, “Efendi Kelimesinden Hareketle Nasreddin Hoca'nın Kimliği Hakkında Görüşler” [Opinions About the Identity of Nasreddin Hodja Based on the Word Efendi], 411-420.

power of China over Xinjiang is constructed through repeated exposure of a built Afanti image. This constructed Afanti figure becomes a state approved ethnic role model for the Uyghurs by demonstrating collaborative manners with the state. Moreover, Afanti's image exists within a colonial and oriental environment which are factors highlighted by PRC. In this way, the majority of the Chinese population, which is constituted by the Han², are put into a superior position than the local Xinjiang people. In addition, through these animated films, it is also aimed at increasing the Han populations' acceptance of the Uyghurs. However, Afanti animated films in China also have the aim of rewriting the history of the Uyghurs for the Uyghurs as well through this modelling of the state-idealized Uyghur figure. Moreover, the animated films provide a platform where the Uyghurs can experience a shared modernity and secularism, which ultimately contributes to their unification with the Han. Thus, both the Uyghur and the Han population are the target audience for in these animated films.

In order to solve the Uyghur issue with the help of all these elements, Afanti animated films have been produced and broadcasted by the Chinese state. This is part of the PRC's soft power agenda for dealing with the Uyghur issue.

Since the late 1970s, CCTV (China Central Television) has been repeatedly producing and broadcasting animated films of Afanti. It is surprising to see that a figure with a connection to Sufism in Turkey³ appears as an animated film figure in a communist country with strong media surveillance and a majority non-Muslim

² The name *Han* originally derives from the Han River that flows from modern Shaanxi through to Hubei. Later on, it becomes the name of the state with the Han dynasty. The first historical references to the Han people are found at this period with the meaning the "people of Han". See Elliott, "Hushuo 胡說: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese [*Hushuo* Nonsense: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese]," 11. Today, being Han in China can be defined as not belonging to the minorities in China. See Joniak-Lüthi, "Narrating 'The Han' ", 20.

³ Kiaei, "Sufi Novels and Parables: A Significant Change in Doris Lessing's Writing," 43; Vişan, "Two Years without Doris Lessing," 441.

population. This hints at the possibility that these animated films are not the result of a randomly chosen media production but are part of a project of the central government.

In this study, I look at the animated films of Afanti in China, which are the primary sources of this thesis, that have been broadcasted since the late 1970s in a chronological order. The first of these is the 14-episode *Afanti de Gushi* 阿凡提的故事 (The Story of Afanti), produced by Shanghai Animation Film Studios and broadcasted in China between the years 1979 and 1989.⁴ The second Afanti animated film series is 104-episode *Shaonian Afanti* 少年阿凡提 (The Young Afanti) produced by Ningbo Minhe Film and Television Animation Co., Ltd. and broadcasted first in the years 2012 and 2013.⁵ The third is the 6-episode *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (The Old and the Little Afanti), produced by Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd and broadcasted in 2014⁶. The fourth is *Afanti Xinzhuo* 阿凡提新传 (Legend of Afanti), co-produced by Shanghai Film Group Corporation and Shanghai Animation Film Studios and broadcasted in 2017.⁷ And the last one is *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 (The Adventure of

⁴Shanghai Film Group Corporation, “Afanti qi xiao maolu huigui yinmu 3D donghua da dianying guoqing dang shangying” 阿凡提骑小毛驴回归银幕 3D 动画大电影国庆档上映 [Afanti rides a small donkey to return to the screen, 3D animation movie will be released on the national day].

⁵“104 ji sanwei donghua pian ‘Shaonian Afanti’ jiangyu niandi bochu” 104 集三维动画片《少年阿凡提》将于年底播出 [104-episode cartoon “The Young Afanti” will be broadcasted at the end of the year]; “Ningbo Xinjiang hepai donghua pian ‘Shaonian Afanti’ yangshi bochu” 宁波新疆合拍动画片‘少年阿凡提’ 央视播出 [Ningbo-Xinjiang co-produced cartoon “The Young Afanti” broadcasted on CCTV].

⁶Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd, “‘Laoxiao Afanti’ huode 2014 niandu shaoer jiemu jingpin ji guochan donghua sandeng jiang” 《老小阿凡提》获得 2014 年度少儿节目精品及国产动画三等奖 [“The Old and the Little Afanti” won the third rank prize of 2014 children’s program products of domestic cartoons].

⁷“Dianying ‘Afanti Xinzhuo’ jiangyu shiyi guoqing dang zhengshi shangying” 电影《阿凡提新传》将于十一国庆档正式上映 [The movie “Legend of Afanti” will be officially released on the national day].

Afanti), another co-production by Shanghai Film Group Corporation and Shanghai Animation Film Studios, which is broadcasted in 2018.⁸

I briefly would like to mention that the production teams of these animated films mainly consist of Han Chinese with a few Uyghurs. For example, in the opening credits of *Shaonian Afanti*, one of the designers' name is seen as Aikebaier Wulamu 艾克拜尔吾拉木 (Ekber Ulam in Uyghur language).⁹ Similarly, one of the designers in *Laoxiao Afanti* series is Uyghur, as it is seen in the opening credits that his name is Abula 阿布拉 (Abdullah in Uyghur language).¹⁰ However, as it is understood from the opening credits of these animated films, the majority of the team members do not have Uyghur names. This is important to understand the producers.

This introduction offers background information on the ethnic minorities and the Uyghurs in China, Xinjiang conflict which is also called the Uyghur issue, film studies in PRC, history of animation in China, and Nasreddin Hodja. Chapter 2 is about Nasreddin Hodja as “Afanti” in China before and after these media products. This chapter proves that an Afanti culture exists today in China, not only in Xinjiang but the whole China, due to the results of the state's Afanti promotion efforts. The aim of this chapter is to emphasize that Afanti is a state-constructed figure in China while it was a figure known only among the Uyghurs before this construction. Chapter 2 also points out that PRC's Xinjiang image building process contains hegemonic and oriental aims. Apart from that, this image promotion is also targeted to create a Han-Uyghur integration. Chapter 3 is about the government policies of

⁸Shanghai Film Group Corporation, “‘Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian’ teji lai xi shi yue yi ri quanguo shanying” 《阿凡提之奇缘历险》特辑来袭十月一日全国上映 [Special edition “The Adventure of Afanti” will be on the screen nationwide on October 1].

⁹See the opening credits; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1].

¹⁰See the opening credits; Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti].

China on the Xinjiang conflict, how these policies change over time, and what triggers the first production of Afanti animated films in China in 1979. Through this chapter, it is shown that the production process of Afanti animated films are aligned with the government's Xinjiang policies. Chapter 4 analyzes the primary sources, which are animated films of Afanti in China. In this analysis, the storylines as well as the visual representations are taken into consideration under the themes of religion, language, social harmony and political integration, cultural differences, ethnicity, and Afanti as an ethnic role-model. The purpose of this chapter is to solidify and embody the conclusions of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. And lastly, a conclusion summarizes all these topics.

The media field is rapidly changing and there may be new media productions in the future which may refute this research. I also acknowledge that I may not have accessed all the media sources broadcasted and published in China due to location constraints and other limits such as technical restrictions. I mainly used several online software tools that enabled me to have access to online videos in China based websites by unblocking the location access limitations. However, I have not been able to get access to all the Afanti animated films. Therefore, further investigation may be needed on this topic to cover all media sources in China. However, I believe this thesis brings a new interpretation on “Afanti” in the Chinese media. I also acknowledge that I have not been able to find the original Uyghur stories of Afanti; therefore, it is not possible to compare and contrast the original Uyghur version of Afanti stories to the Afanti animated films. Further detailed research should be done on the Afanti literature for a broader understanding of Afanti usage in China. I acknowledge that Afanti literature, especially oral literature, precedes the animated films in timeline. However, I only focus on the animated films in this thesis.

Another limitation of the thesis is the lack of data about these animated films, such as the popularity of these products, the number of the audience, the ratings, and the broadcasting hours. Therefore, I have not been able to make an assessment about the success rate of these animated films in terms of their contribution to the solution of the Xinjiang conflict. Further research can be done on this.

Before going further into the next chapters, it is beneficial to give some background information on the ethnic minorities and the Uyghurs in China, Xinjiang conflict, film studies in PRC, history of animation China, and Nasreddin Hodja.

1.1 Minority religions and Muslims in China

Since this thesis examines the usage of Nasreddin Hodja as for coping with the Uyghur issue, it is important to comprehend the Uyghurs in China. Therefore, some of the distinct characteristics of this minority group will be stated here. The purpose of this section of Chapter 1 is to briefly show that there is a culture gap between the Uyghurs and the Hans which makes the Uyghur issue complex and hard to solve.

China is a multi-national country with 56 nationalities with the majority being the Han, accounting for 91.51 percent according to the 2010 census. According to the same data, the remaining 55 minority nationalities make up 8.49% of the population.¹¹ The minorities mainly live in the border areas of China and intermingle with the majority Han population and with each other.¹²

Actually, even the notion of minority is a complex and constructed issue in China. During the surveys carried out in late 1953 and early 1954, the Chinese

¹¹ National Bureau of Statistics of China, "Communiqué of the National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China on Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census [1] (No. 1)."

¹² Xingwu and Alatan, "China's Policy towards Her Minority Nationalities," 136.

officials charted over 400 ethnicities. However, only 55 minority identities were recognized in the later years.¹³

Almost all of these 55 minorities speak their own languages with few exceptions.¹⁴ It should also be noted that Han language is the official Mandarin Chinese in China.¹⁵

The Uyghur minority, which is one of the key elements to be examined in this thesis, is a Muslim group with a majority of population living in Xinjiang and speaking the Uyghur language.¹⁶ This language belongs to the eastern or Altay branch of the Turkic language family and the Uyghurs cannot communicate in Chinese unless they acquire it as a second language.¹⁷ It is noteworthy that the difference between the Uyghur and the Chinese language creates a communication gap between the Uyghurs and the Chinese.

Elena Caprioni, based on her research observations in Urumqi, tells that the Uyghurs and the Hans usually live in separate districts in the city and there is an “invisible dividing line” between these areas, and moreover, in these separate districts within the same city, the Uyghurs use the Uyghur language while the Hans use Mandarin.¹⁸ However, according to the 1982 PRC Constitution, Mandarin and Uyghur are both official languages in Xinjiang and both languages can be seen in various places like the road signs.¹⁹ As Caprioni mentions, most of the young Uyghurs study Mandarin at school. However, the social contact between the two groups is limited in daily life and each group feels uncomfortable interacting with the

¹³ Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*, 2-3.

¹⁴ Xingwu and Alatan, “China’s Policy towards Her Minority Nationalities,” 137.

¹⁵ Wang and Phillion, “Minority Language Policy and Practice in China: The Need for Multicultural Education,” 1-14.

¹⁶ Dillon, “Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam after the Cultural Revolution,” 95.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Caprioni, “Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?,” 276.

¹⁹ Ibid., 277.

other one and they do not have very intimate relations.²⁰ Therefore, there is both a separation and unity in Xinjiang. It can be said that although the Uyghurs and the Hans live in the same city, they do not actually share a common life and they live in their own separate zones.

Caprioni highlights that this separation is reflected even in the time zone of Xinjiang. The CPC (Communist Party of China) decided to adopt a unified time zone in all China. As a result, official clocks in Xinjiang are set on the same time as in Beijing. However, generally the Uyghur population in Xinjiang follows its own Xinjiang time zone, which is two hours behind the official time. For example, when the official hour for banks to open in Xinjiang is 10:00 a.m., the local Uyghurs consider it as 8:00 a.m.²¹

Another important issue that separates the Uyghurs from the Han majority and most of the other ethnic minorities is their religion. There are a number of religious belief systems in China, followed by different groups. According to Dru Gladney, the Uyghurs, who are mostly Sunni Muslims, may be the least unified Muslim community with the Chinese society.²²

The factor of religion has added to the turning of Xinjiang into a complex region, mainly through state intervention. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, approximately from 1966 to 1976, many mosques in China were destroyed, while others lost much of their land and building. However, during the Deng Xiaoping period, the mosques were rebuilt or reopened.²³ Although it was a temporary period when the mosques were destroyed, it was a problematic issue for

²⁰ Caprioni, "Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?," 277-285.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

²² Gladney, "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separation," 454.

²³ Dillon, "Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam after the Cultural Revolution," 85.

the Muslim communities and the Uyghurs. What should be noted here is the Chinese state's controlling force and efforts of domination over Xinjiang through the usage of religion, sometimes by erasing and sometimes by rebuilding it according to the political needs of the era.

Under certain circumstances, Islam causes an identity conflict for the Uyghurs in China. For example, public sector employees are not allowed to wear Islamic head scarves or coverings, and they are not allowed to fast during the month of Ramadan. None of the Communist Party members and employees who get paid by the state can attend religious prayers, and this applies to the Uyghurs as well. Moreover, the study of the Koran is only allowed in specific government schools. Besides, imams cannot teach the Koran in private.²⁴ Although these regulations are not applied only for the Uyghurs but the whole population, including the other Muslim minorities, they contribute to the feeling of detachment for the Uyghurs as they may feel restricted and dominated by the majority of the Han population.

The effects of Islam can also be seen in the Uyghur cuisine in the form of halal food. Millward cites John Voll in his article which states that "we must not forget that although Uyghur theory and practice *halal* and *haram* are being refigured in opposition to Han-ness, it is also part of a global discourse. Simultaneous local-ness and universality are a central feature of Islam."²⁵ Thus, it can be said that Islamic element in Uyghur identity combines the Uyghurs with the greater part of Islam across the other parts of the world, while distinguishing them from the Hans. Millward's article also states that:

²⁴ Hasmath, "Managing China's Muslim Minorities: Migration, Labor and the Rise of Ethnoreligious Consciousness among Uyghurs in Urban Xinjiang," 122.

²⁵ John Voll, "Muslim Glocalism in the Indian Ocean World," (paper presented at Georgetown University History Department Faculty Seminar, May 11, 2000), quoted in Millward, "Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Xinjiang," 132.

Food, too, is a site of ethnic resistance In Uyghur food and terms relating to food, we can discover many historical connections with Central Asia and India. ... One could point to *nan* (flat bread), *samsa* (cf. north Indian *samosa*), *kawap* (kabab) and many others. This lexical and cultural substratum is evidence of how Uyghur cuisine is linked not just to lands across the Pamirs but with the broader Islamic world where Persian was the lingua franca²⁶

These entire food related lexicon are indications of the Uyghurs' connection and cultural ties to the western part of the world rather than the Han population. While this culinary culture is binding them to the west, the daily eating habits in modern China may be dividing the Uyghurs from the Han and other non-Muslim minorities. As most of the restaurants in China are considered to be non-halal unless they have a specific halal part, the Muslim Uyghurs may feel uncomfortable to eat there due to pork usage. This results in putting a social border between them, limiting their interaction in daily life, unless the non-Muslims accept to eat in a Muslim restaurant, which are operated mainly by the Uyghurs.²⁷

Including but not limited to all the factors mentioned, this remoteness between the Uyghurs and the Hans makes Afanti a perfect figure for the state as it can use him both for the Hans and the Uyghurs with two different aims. For the Hans, Afanti is used as a figure from a distant, exotic Xinjiang which is very different from their culture. For the Uyghurs, he is used as an Uyghur role model who strives hard for the benefit of the whole society and whose actions are in compliance with the Chinese government.

²⁶ John Voll, "Muslim Glocalism in the Indian Ocean World," (paper presented at Georgetown University History Department Faculty Seminar, May 11, 2000), quoted in Millward, "Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Xinjiang," 131-132.

²⁷ Based on my personal observation during my stay in Beijing and my trips to several cities, including the major ones like Shanghai, Guangzhou, Tianjing, Shenzhen and several others, from 2008 to 2014.

1.2 The Uyghur issue

The Uyghur issue repeatedly holds place in the news titles as an important social, ethnical, and political topic and raises many debates. As the topic of this thesis is the usage of Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese media as for coping with the Uyghur issue, it is important to give a brief background on it.

During the years between 1270 and 1368, the Xinjiang region was under the Mongolian dominance during the Yuan dynasty and was not considered to be a part of China.²⁸ It was not until the 1750s that the modern Xinjiang province was acquired by the Qing dynasty.²⁹

The Qianlong emperor adopted the idea that the control of Xinjiang was helping the Chinese empire in the defence of the northern China. However, for the empire, it was actually a financial burden to keep the region under control and some even suggested giving up Xinjiang completely or partially.³⁰ Thus, it is seen that Xinjiang region constituted a problematic issue from the beginning which started conflicts even within the empire.

Apart from the financial problems, there were also other serious issues. Millward states that according to the supporters of the Uyghur independence, the Uyghurs were resisting against the invasion of their “ancestral land” by the Chinese empire. Between 1759 and 1862, there were forty major revolts against the Chinese dominance.³¹ There was even an independent khanate created on Kashgar under the leadership of Yakub Beg uprising, which lasted till 1878.³² It was in 1884 that Xinjiang was formally incorporated into the Chinese empire as a province. After

²⁸ Harris, “Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China’s Policy in the Islamic World,” 113.

²⁹ Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, 227.

³⁰ Millward, “Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Xinjiang,” 125.

³¹ ‘Who are the Uyghurs?’ *Uyghur Human Rights Coalition 2000*, accessed May 30, 2000, www.uyghurs.org/who.htm, quoted in Millward, “Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Xinjiang,” 130.

³² Kim, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864-1877*, 73-178.

1911, when the Qing dynasty fell, Xinjiang became stage to civil wars and armed uprising involving Turkic-speaking Muslims, the Huis, and the Han Chinese people. In 1933 and 1937, the Turkic Muslims rose against the warlord Sheng Shicai who ruled Xinjiang from 1933 to 1944 with support from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. From 1944 to 1946, an independent Kazakh and Uyghur East Turkestan Republic controlled the Ili region in the north-western part. It was in 1949 that the CPC's People's Liberation Army took control of Xinjiang, and in 1950, a Han immigration scheme to the region was announced.³³

There was a constant clash of power and resistance, control and revolt, dominance and independence efforts in the region since the Qianlong emperor. Moreover, the issue continues even today.

After the trials of establishing the Republic of East Turkestan in 1933, 1944, and 1949 with no fruitful outcome, the province has been given the autonomous region status by China in 1955. In 1962, after mass riots in the region, perhaps as many as 80,000 Uyghurs and other nationalities fled the region and sought refuge in the Soviet Union.³⁴ The 1966 Cultural Revolution caused chaos in the region until the direct military control by China in 1971.³⁵

Unrests in the region intensified in the 1980s, and since 1989, security has deteriorated. As an example, in April 1990, during an incident in Baren township near Aksu, around 30 Uyghur and Kirghiz rioters, who were supporters of independence, were killed by the police, according to the official Chinese statistics.³⁶

³³ Dillon, "Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam after the Cultural Revolution," 81-82.

³⁴ Harris, "Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China's Policy in the Islamic World," 114-115.

³⁵ Dillon, "Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam after the Cultural Revolution," 83.

³⁶ Harris, "Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China's Policy in the Islamic World," 117-118.

The rebellious efforts in the region disturbed the Chinese authorities more and more. In March 1996, the Xinjiang authorities received a confidential document from the Party Central Committee which clearly illustrated the seriousness of the situation:

The separatist organizations abroad have reinforced their collaboration, reinforcing day after day their efforts to infiltrate and carry out sabotage in Xinjiang. Within Xinjiang, illegal religious movements are rampant. Groups are fomenting trouble, assaulting Party and government structures, bombing and committing terrorist attacks. Some organizations have already turned from underground to semi-public, to the point of openly confronting the government... There is also a possibility that this as yet limited chaos and turmoil may influence Xinjiang's and eventually the whole country's stability.³⁷

This record of confidential document clearly states the anxiety level of the Chinese government about the possible results and risks of such riots, which are claimed to be jeopardizing not only the Xinjiang region itself, but also the whole country's unity.

Yet, it seems that the central government's efforts to stabilize the region did not prove effective, as one of the biggest incidents of riots have taken place in 2009. Colin Mackerras mentions about this occurrence as "by far the most serious of these [incidents] were violent incidents that occurred on 5 July 2009, with official Chinese estimates putting the number of dead at 197."³⁸ Furthermore, it is reported that there were 1721 injured people.³⁹

Other examples of such incidents may be given from more recent dates. For instance, in April 2014, a suicide attack occurred at a railway station in Urumqi which killed three people and wounded a number of people. Next month, bombs in

³⁷ "Guanyu weihu Xinjiang wending de huiyi jiyao, zhongyang zhengzhiju weiyuan hui" 关于维护新疆稳定的会议纪要, 中央政治局委员会 [Records of the meeting of the standing committee of the political bureau of the CCP: Regarding the protection of Xinjiang's stability], in *Zhongguo zhongyang (1996) 7 hao wenjian* 中国中央 (1996) 7 号文件 [Party Central Committee (1996) Document No. 7], March 19, 1996 (confidential document), quoted in Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," 87-88.

³⁸ Mackerras, "Xinjiang in China's Foreign Relations: Part of a New Silk Road or Central Asian Zone of Conflict?" 27-28.

³⁹ Hao, Yan, Geng Ruibin and Yuan Ye., "Xinjiang Riot Hits Regional Anti-Terror Nerve," *Xinhua*, July 18, 2009, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/18/content_11727782.htm, quoted in Hasmath, "Managing China's Muslim Minorities: Migration, Labor and the Rise of Ethnoreligious Consciousness among Uyghurs in Urban Xinjiang," 122.

Urumqi killed 43 people and wounded nearly 100. In July 2014, clashes between the police and Uyghurs in southern Xinjiang caused nearly 100 people to die.⁴⁰ These are some examples to the incidents that occurred as part of this “Xinjiang Conflict” or the “Uyghur Issue”.

It is out of the scope of this thesis to examine the details of these incidents, such as the ethnic, political, or other factors that motivate and drive these riots, or to justify any one group’s actions over the other. However, whatever these details may be, it is important to know that such a problem with a long history exists in modern China that disrupts the peaceful living conditions of today’s society.

Xinjiang is a strategically important region for the Chinese state, as it was important for the Chinese Empire as well. Its geographical position and resources unfolds many hints about it being a strategically important region.

First of all, it has been historically used as a buffer zone in the Chinese empire against the invasions of China from inner Asia.⁴¹ Moreover, the region where Xinjiang stands with areas of low population is important for military movements and nuclear testing. Besides, Xinjiang has vast natural resources and large agricultural potential. Furthermore, China’s most important petroleum reserves are in Xinjiang’s Tarim Basin. The area is rich in mineral resources and also includes large reserves of gas, iron, and coal.⁴² Large scale uranium deposits have also been discovered in Xinjiang.⁴³ The reasons that make Xinjiang crucially important for

⁴⁰ Mackerras, “Xinjiang in China’s Foreign Relations: Part of a New Silk Road or Central Asian Zone of Conflict?” 28.

⁴¹ Becquelin, “Xinjiang in the Nineties,” 67.

⁴² Harris, “Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China’s Policy in the Islamic World,” 115-116.

⁴³ Fang et al., “Estimating Peak Uranium Production in China – Based on a Stella Model,” 251.

China are not even limited with these. Xinjiang provide Beijing authorities with a unique potential to have influence in Central Asia and the Middle East.⁴⁴

All these factors make it important for China to hold the region under its control. In order to maintain the status of power on Xinjiang and keep “rebellious” groups under control, China has been trying different methods. These methods are mainly divided into two groups as “hard” and “soft”. Reza Hasmath exemplifies the hard approach as the method of “re-educating” and “reforming” religious leaders and clamping down on “illegal” mosque construction when the state sees them as a security threat. He claims that the aim of the re-education is to ensure that religious leaders will not support Islamic “fundamentalism” or “radicalism” or construct ties between Muslims in China and elsewhere. The soft approach, on the other hand, is a method of assenting the Muslim Uyghur population and tolerating it in various ways like building mosques.⁴⁵ It can be said that while the first hard method is oriented more towards dictated results, the latter soft method is aimed at more self-motivated results. To make it clearer, the hard method is based on forceful directives while the soft one leads the society into a more harmonious way of living by accepting the differences of groups within the society.

The “strike hard” campaigns were used to fight crime and threats to the public by police forces in the late 1990s. The heavy police presence in Xinjiang is part of these campaigns, according to Elizabeth Van Wie Davis.⁴⁶ This might be put under the “hard” policies category.

⁴⁴ Harris, “Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China’s Policy in the Islamic World,” 115-116.

⁴⁵ Michael Clarke, “Widening the Net: China’s Anti-Terror Laws and Human Rights in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region,” *International Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 4 (2010): 542-558, quoted in Hasmath, “Managing China’s Muslim Minorities: Migration, Labor and the Rise of Ethnoreligious Consciousness among Uyghurs in Urban Xinjiang,” 123.

⁴⁶ Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China,” 16.

On the other hand, the Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup's performances in major Chinese cities like Nanjing and Shanghai in late 1940s and the excitement they caused among the Han population can be classified under the "soft" policy approach. The dance group became so popular in all China that the female troupe member Qambarkhan became known throughout China for the rest of her life with titles such as "Flower of the Uyghurs", "Flower of the Gobi", and "Queen of Dance".⁴⁷ The popularity of this a Xinjiang performance reflects the government's method of tolerating the Xinjiang minorities in order to handle the Uyghur issue.

This "hard" and "soft" approaches of China towards the Xinjiang minorities has an important place in this thesis in the sense that the representations of the Muslim figure Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese media, or Afanti, is categorized under the soft method policy of the Chinese state's way of solving the Uyghur Issue.

1.3 Chinese film studies in PRC

The narrative of Chinese film studies in PRC divide films mainly into two categories as socialist and artistic, the Mao-era and the post-Mao era, respectively. However, what I do in this study provides a different approach by pointing out to the fact that Afanti animated movies in the post-Mao era have socialist characteristics and are state-promoted, instead of being individualistic artistic works.

After the establishment of the PRC, Mao Zedong started to use film industry as a tool of propaganda for his political, economic, and social goals in the construction of the new China.⁴⁸ During the 1950s, film industry became a tool of

⁴⁷ Jacobs, "How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong's "Tianshan Pictorial" and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup," 571-573.

⁴⁸ Meyer-Clement, "The Evolution of Chinese Film Policy: How to Adapt an Instrument for Hegemonic Rule to Commercialisation", 417.

mass propaganda.⁴⁹ During this period, all the film studios were nationalised and cinema was under the surveillance of the Central Film Bureau, while all film making was densely checked by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department.⁵⁰

In the era of socialism in China between 1949 and 1978, Chinese films reflected socialist ideologies.⁵¹ Particularly during the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976, film industry was at the hands of Mao Zedong's wife Jiang Qing, whose purpose was to emphasize the good versus the bad and CPC versus the bourgeois, through cinema.⁵² Therefore, film during this period was highly socialist and worked for the benefit of the communist party.

However, with Deng Xiaoping's coming to power, a large "rehabilitation program" was started in Chinese film industry, which included the intellectuals and artists that have been oppressed during the Cultural Revolution, as well as the film facilities that have been closed for a time.⁵³

Nick Browne frames this "new period" of Chinese film as "roughly from 1979 to 1987" and describes the Chinese film of the 1980s as "marked by the cultural deconstruction of Mao's socialism."⁵⁴

What I want to underline is this categorization and over-generalization of this post-Mao period Chinese films as artistic and individual films.

These post-Mao films, which are often called as the "Fifth Generation", referring to the 1982 graduates of the Beijing Film Academy who later turned to be recognized directors, are usually described as innovative, individualistic in terms of

⁴⁹ Paul Clark, *Chinese Cinema. Culture and Politics Since 1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 20, quoted in Elena Meyer-Clement, "The Evolution of Chinese Film Policy: How to Adapt an Instrument for Hegemonic Rule to Commercialisation", 417.

⁵⁰ Meyer-Clement, "The Evolution of Chinese Film Policy: How to Adapt an Instrument for Hegemonic Rule to Commercialisation", 417.

⁵¹ Ying, "Visionary Realities: Documentary Cinema in Socialist China," 5.

⁵² Wicks, "Cinema in China: A Brief History", 400.

⁵³ Meyer-Clement, "The Evolution of Chinese Film Policy: How to Adapt an Instrument for Hegemonic Rule to Commercialisation", 418.

⁵⁴ Browne, "Introduction," 2-8.

style, modernist, challenging the official ideology and official narrative, realist as opposed to the idealism of the Mao-era.⁵⁵ Films of this “Fifth Generation” were fruitful in terms of well known and respected film awards. For example, *Farewell My Concubine*, directed by Chan Kaige, which is Palme d’or winner in Cannes, is an example of this. *Red Sorghum*, directed by Zhang Yimou, 1987 winner of Golden Bear in Berlin is just another example. *Raise the Red Lantern*, again directed by Zhang Yimou, has been the Academy Best Foreign Film nominee. Another Zhang Yimou film, *The Story of Qiuju*, has won the Golden Lion in Venice. *Blue Kite*, directed by Tian Zhuangzhuang, was a Tokyo Award winner. *Evening Bell* by Wu Ziniu was a Silver Bear winner in Berlin. All these Fifth Generation directors and films have received widespread attention.⁵⁶ Apart from the Fifth Generation, the Sixth Generation in the 1990s, and the independent films in the 2000s have received much scholarly attention in terms of their artistic nature and technique.⁵⁷ For example, James Wicks focuses on the Fifth and the Sixth Generation.⁵⁸ In a similar fashion, Nick Browne focuses on the Chinese film of this post-socialist period and describes the film of this era as below:

Rather, the aesthetic and ethical project of the new, post-Cultural Revolution cinema in the People’s Republic is the depoliticization of the rhetoric and modes of signification of socialist cinema by contesting film’s relation to official socialist historiography and by renegotiating the relation of film form to this official history by innovations in both modes of narration and style.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ See Xudong, *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms: Cultural Fever, Avant-Garde Fiction, and the New Chinese Cinema*, 215-231.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁵⁷ Ying, “Visionary Realities: Documentary Cinema in Socialist China,” 1-27. See Wicks, “Cinema in China: A Brief History,” 403.

⁵⁸ Wicks, “Cinema in China: A Brief History,” 396-403.

⁵⁹ Browne, “Introduction,” 3.

Similarly, Paul G. Pickowicz also highlights that one of the most important aspects of post-Mao Chinese cinema is the emergence of individualism with new cultural arrivals after the Cultural Revolution.⁶⁰

Moreover, post-Mao Chinese film period is described as a period free from state intervention:

By the standards of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese state retreated substantially from the world of filmmaking after the death of Mao ... The state apologized to film professionals, almost all of whom had been brutalized in one fashion or another by the profoundly anti-intellectual policies of the Cultural Revolution decade. ... The retreat of the state also brought some welcome changes in the structure of the film industry, all analogous to changes made in the Soviet bloc much earlier. China's film studios, which grew in number from ten in 1979 to nearly thirty in 1983, were given almost complete authority to determine which films they wanted to make. Film professionals, after all, were tired of making militant class struggle sagas.⁶¹

What I want to underline in this part of Chapter 1 is that film studies on the post-Mao period in China tend to focus on films that fit into the characteristics of these Fifth and Sixth Generation categorizations. These characteristics are often highlighted as free from the state intervention, independent, and artistic. However, as Chris Berry emphasizes, there are also films in the post-Mao era that still work for the advantage of CPC, but, due to their “dull and predictable” nature, they are often not known out of China.⁶²

I specifically want to underline here that the first Afanti animated films in China appear at the same period as the artistically flourishing new films of the Fifth Generation. Moreover, the later produced Afanti animated films extend into our current day with the most recent one produced in 2018. The idea I put forward is that Afanti animated films were produced in the widely studied and valued new post-Mao films era, however, these Afanti animated films have still been produced as part of a

⁶⁰ Pickowicz, *China on Film: A Century of Exploration, Confrontation, and Controversy*, 301-309.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 303-304.

⁶² Berry, “Neither One Thing nor Another: Toward a Study of the Viewing Subject and Chinese Cinema in the 1980s,” 91.

government project. Therefore, I aim to draw attention to the state intervention in film and media, particularly in animation industry, in China in the post-Mao period, which has not been a topic that is usually focused in the Chinese film historiography. By doing this, I hope to contribute to the Chinese film historiography by enlarging its viewpoint through focusing on state promoted animated films in the post-Mao era. This study, therefore, offers an alternative approach to the Chinese film studies by focusing on the minority films instead of the dominant Fifth and Sixth Generation films.

Moreover, I also wish to fill a gap in the animated film studies on Afanti by making a political and contextual examination on the Afanti animated films. During my research on Afanti animated films in China, the information I was able to find was highly limited. Moreover, most of the works that I was able to find focus on the series' technical aspects. For example, Sean Macdonald in his study focuses on *Afanti de Gushi* series' importance as a puppet animation shoot with the technique of pre-recorded soundtrack, which is considered to be a new technique in the late 1970s.⁶³ In a similar way, *CCTV International* calls Afanti series as a "landmark" in animation history and focuses on its development as a puppet animation in the Chinese animation history.⁶⁴ Moreover, there is no research that I was able to find on Afanti animated films in China which focuses on their political side as a government sponsored and promoted project. Stephanie Hemelryk Donald notes that CCTV documentaries on children in the western part of China between the years 1999 and 2000 and some short films contributed to the Open Up to the West campaign of that time.⁶⁵ The Open Up to the West campaign and its relation to Afanti animated films is focused in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis. However, what is important here is the

⁶³ Macdonald, "Jin Xi: Master of Puppet Animation," 165.

⁶⁴ Ting, "80 Years of Chinese Animation."

⁶⁵ Donald, *Little Friends: Children's Film and Media Culture in China*, 8.

relation between children's documentaries and a political campaign. Donald also notes that the Chinese strategy of putting the minorities under the Han "leadership", which is an issue of "domestic colonisation" and "region building"⁶⁶ has been partly done through this kind of children's documentaries, which have been part of an education policy and practice.⁶⁷ This brings the pedagogic educational, and maybe imperialistic, nature of children's films, as well as their potential to be used by the state as a tool of mass propaganda. This strengthens the idea of this thesis that animated films of Afanti in China have been part of a state goal to overcome the Xinjiang issue by shaping how this issue is perceived, and to achieve national unity with the usage of Afanti as an ethnic role model figure. Similarly, documentary cinema has also been used as a method of writing historical information in socialism.⁶⁸

Actually, I believe that my research will unearth the Chinese Afanti animated films to the Western academia, as I realize that even their existence is unknown to many. This becomes interesting when we think that Nasreddin Hodja is a very popular figure, either historically or fictionally, in many countries, but yet his existence as an animated film character in China is almost undiscovered by the Western scholars. Therefore, in the appendix, I have included the summarized stories of all the episodes of these animated films that I have watched in Mandarin Chinese, which I think will be very beneficial and helpful for those interested in them but who have no language skills necessary to watch and understand them. I have also included some images that I have taken captured directly from the animated films.

⁶⁶ David Goodman, *The Campaign to "Open Up the West": National, Provincial and Local Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), quoted in Donald, *Little Friends: Children's Film and Media Culture in China*, 8-9.

⁶⁷ Mette Halskov Hansen, *Lessons in Being Chinese: Minority Education and Ethnic Identity in Southwest China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), quoted in Donald, *Little Friends: Children's Film and Media Culture in China*, 9.

⁶⁸ Ying, "Visionary realities: Documentary cinema in socialist China," 3-4.

All these aspects help to broaden the vision of Chinese film studies, particularly the animated film studies.

1.4 The history of animation in China

It is important to have some background information on the historical development of animation in China in order to understand its usage as an instrument for coping with the Uyghur Issue. This section provides a perspective into the conditions of animation industry in China when the Afanti animated films were produced.

The history of animation in China dates back to early 1920s. In 1922, an advertisement film called *Shuzhengdong Huawen Daziji* 舒振东华文打字机 (Shuzhengdong Chinese Typewriter) was made, which was considered to be one of the earliest Chinese animations.⁶⁹

1930s can be summarized as the era of anti-Japanese propaganda films in animation format created by the Wan Brothers. Some examples are *Tongbao Suxing* 同胞苏醒 (Citizens, Wake Up!) in 1932, *Hangkong Jiuguo* 航空救国 (Aviation Saves China) in 1934, and *Tieshan Gongzhu* 铁扇公主 (Princess Iron Fan) in 1942. These works reflect the ideological function of animation and the leftist artists' political tool.⁷⁰

In 1940s, there were several animated works which were deployed by artists for socio-political mobilization under the Communist Party's wartime ideologies. These include the puppet animation *Huangdi Meng* 皇帝梦 (The Emperor's Dream)

⁶⁹ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 29.

⁷⁰ Li and Jinying, "Animating Chinese Cinemas: A Preface," 117.

in 1947, and a black and white animation named *Wengzhong Zhuobie* 瓮中捉鳖 (Catch the Turtle in a Jar) in 1948.⁷¹

The period from 1950 to 1966 is considered to be the first golden age of Chinese animation in history. During this period, Shanghai Animation Film Studio departed from the Soviet traditions of animation and emphasized on creating China's own national spirit in the form of traditional ink and wash painting, cut-paper, origami, landscape painting, and puppet theatre in film making.⁷² In 1956, the reorganization of Shanghai Film Studio was put on the agenda of the reform program, and under Shanghai Film Studio, Shanghai Animation Film Studio, Shanghai Film Dubbing Factory, and Shanghai Film Equipment Factory were set up. It was a state studio and getting state support.⁷³ It is also important to note that Shanghai Animation Film Studio remained as a monopoly in the Chinese animation industry till the 1990s.⁷⁴

The first golden age of Chinese animation history ends with the Cultural Revolution period.⁷⁵ According to Justin Sevakis, quoted by Giesen, artists were forced to do farm work in the countryside, accept re-education, or even be thrown in jail during the Cultural Revolution. Thus, the country lost all its talent.⁷⁶

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese animation recommenced after 1976 during which time the artists resumed their careers. It is during this period that the puppet animated film series *Afanti de Gushi* are produced and broadcasted by the

⁷¹ Li and Jinying, "Animating Chinese Cinemas: A Preface," 117.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 45-46.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 133-162. Shanghai Film Group Corporation is still one of the biggest and oldest state owned studios in China, and Shanghai Animation Film Studios is part of it. See "Studios Trying to Dominate the Big Screen in an Increasingly Competitive Market."; Ren, "Words from the President."

⁷⁵ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 59.

⁷⁶ Justin Sevakis, "Buried Garbage-Chinamation," October 25, 2007, *Anime News Network*, online, quoted in Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 97.

state-controlled Shanghai Animation Film Studio, in 1979-1989.⁷⁷ It is understood that the time was ripe for the first Afanti animated films to be produced only in the late 1970s. In the Chinese animation industry, 1930s was occupied with anti-Japanese propaganda films. In 1940s, artists were creating animated films for the Communist Party's wartime ideologies. In 1950s, till the Cultural Revolution, animation producers were trying to find their own style, including the puppet animation which is the technique used for *Afanti de Gushi*, instead of using the Soviet tradition of animation. And it was only after the end of the Cultural Revolution that Afanti series could be produced with the return of the artists back to the studios. This answers the question why Afanti animated films were not produced earlier. The remaining part of section "The History of Animation in China" of this chapter explains the motivation of the Chinese state to produce Afanti-themed animated films.

After the end of the Cultural Revolution, imported animations started to flow into China from Japan and the United States.⁷⁸ The imported animated films and the increasing competition in the animation industry stimulated the Chinese government to encourage animation industry more, especially in the 1990s, as the monopoly of the Shanghai Animation Film Studio ended.⁷⁹

This period seems to stand out as the real stage where the government is putting efforts to develop the industry. But, these efforts were more than just economic. It was also a cultural endeavour. Giesen states that the Chinese

⁷⁷ See Shanghai Film Group Corporation, "Afanti qi xiao maolü huigui yinmu 3D donghua da dianying guoqing dang shangying." 阿凡提骑小毛驴回归银幕 3D动画大电影国庆档上映 [Afanti rides a small donkey to return to the screen, 3D animation movie will be released on the national day].

⁷⁸ Liu, "When Chinese Animations Meet Globalization," 8-9, 29-30; Anthony Fung Y.-H., and Vicky Ho, "Animation Industry in China: Managed Creativity of State Discourse?" in *Handbook of Cultural and Creative Industries in China*, edited by Michael Keane (Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2016), 276-293, quoted in Li and Jinying, *Animating Chinese Cinemas: A Preface*, 117.

⁷⁹ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 133-162.

government, afraid that foreign shows might have negative impacts on children's values and morals and "on the creation of a national identity", limited the amount of foreign cartoons on television to 40 percent and eliminated foreign cartoons from the 5-8 p.m. prime time slot. In 2008, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) added one more hour to the "foreign cartoon-free zone" and extended the zone from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. According to the new regulations, seven out of ten shows on Chinese television must be produced in China.⁸⁰

All these efforts by the central government and SARFT give us an idea about the role of animation in building cultural values, morals, and a national identity. The government clearly sees the animation industry not only as an economic asset, but also as a tool of cultural education that can be used in shaping the current and future generations. A statement by SARFT in 2004 also shows this:

The development of the cartoon industry already has become an important symbol to deduce the current state of our education system and the comprehensive national strength. Therefore it is necessary for the government to conduct a policy that protects and supports the development of the national cartoon industry.⁸¹

During a visit to the South Chinese Jiantong Animation Studio, Wen Jiabao, the sixth Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, advised to the assembled animators: "Your work is meaningful. You should play a leading role in bringing Chinese culture to the world.... Let Chinese children watch more of their own history and their own country's animation."⁸² The role commissioned to the animation industry in China is clearly seen. The central state wants the Chinese children to be educated through these productions.

⁸⁰ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 162.

⁸¹ State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, ed., "Several Suggestions for the Development of the Chinese Cartoon, Film, and TV Industry," SARFT Beijing, April 20, 2014, quoted in Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 10.

⁸² *The Wall Street Journal*, February 17, 2012, quoted in Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 10.

What I claim is that *Afanti de Gushi* puppet animated series were also commissioned the role of educating and shaping the children's ideas. Moreover, this education and shaping was intended to solve the Uyghur issue by broadcasting an Uyghur figure nationwide with are-education mission. While Afanti stands forward as the first puppet animated films in China,⁸³ he also carries a state-goal of solving the Uyghur issue by representing an Uyghur image, both for the Hans and the Uyghurs.

1.5 Nasreddin Hodja

Since the topic of this thesis is the usage of Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese media for coping with the Uyghur issue, it is important to briefly mention who Nasreddin Hodja is.

Information about Nasreddin Hodja as a historical figure is limited and the opinions about him show differences since there are only limited data on his historical side as an individual which can provide no more than mere hints. Debates vary about whether Nasreddin Hodja actually lived or not; and if he lived, where and when he lived, although satirical anecdotes about him are widely known in many different nations. On this part of the thesis, brief information will be given on Nasreddin Hodja as a historical figure, the places where his anecdotes are well known and localized, and some of his characteristics in these anecdotes.

Boratav notes that the earliest information about Nasreddin Hodja can be found in the 15th century work *Saltukname*⁸⁴ and there is no doubt that Nasreddin

⁸³ Macdonald, "Jin Xi: Master of Puppet Animation," 160-165.

⁸⁴ Boratav, "Nasreddin Hoca'nın Kişiliğini ve Fıkralarını Yorumlama Denemeleri Üzerine" [On the Studies of Interpreting the Personality and Anecdotes of Nasreddin Hodja], 36. *Saltukname* depicts the life of Sarı Saltuk, who is a heroic historical figure with Turkish origins who has attended battles in Anatolia and the Balkans. See Akalın, "Balkanlarda İslam'ın ve Türklüğün Yayılmasında Bir Öncü: Sarı Saltuk" [A Leader in the Expansion of Islam and Turkishness in the Balkans: Sarı Saltuk], 55.

Hodja had actually lived as a historical figure although his real biography and the relation among anecdotes about him and his real life can never be known definitely.⁸⁵ He is a folk sage whose fame exceeds the borders of today's Turkey and anecdotes attributed to him are widespread not only in places where Turkish language is spoken, but also in many countries which have had distant or close relations with the Turks.⁸⁶

Boratav explains that according to the tradition, Nasreddin Hodja was born in a village of Sivrihisar Town in the southeast of the Eskişehir City in Turkey; he spent a long period of his life in Akşehir Province of Konya City and died there. Also, his tomb is in Konya as well. His date of death is written as 386 in this tombstone.

However, considering that in some of Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes his living period is during the age of the Seljuks, there have been attempts to correct the date of his life period by reading the date on his tombstone backwards, which leads up to the date of 683 (which equals to 1284/1285 in the Gregorian calendar). In this method, he seems to have lived in the 13th century. Although there are also some anecdotes in which Nasreddin Hodja is of the same age with Timur the Lame who has invaded Anatolia in the early 15th century, some various clues make one to conclude that Nasreddin Hodja should have lived in the 13th century.⁸⁷

Bayraktareviç also notes that there are different opinions, claims and rumours about the historical life of Nasreddin Hodja, some supporting the idea that he should have lived in the late 14th and early 15th century, and some other holding the claim that the correct period should be the 13th century.⁸⁸ No matter what the real date is, it

⁸⁵ Boratav, *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* [Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions], 87.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

⁸⁸ Bayraktareviç, "Nasreddin Hoca" [Nasreddin Hodja], 17-18.

should be noted that Bayraktareviç calls all the ideas about the historical identity of Nasreddin Hodja as “rumours and personal opinions”.⁸⁹

It is seen that there are no proved facts about where and when Nasreddin Hodja might have lived. Tecer mentions this by saying that although one can have an approximate idea about when Nasreddin Hodja lived, we do not know where he is from, and we have no information about his identity.⁹⁰

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to prove if Nasreddin Hodja had actually lived, or where and when he might have lived. However, the interesting thing is the claim about his having lived and died in Anatolia. Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes are very well known by the public in Turkey.⁹¹ Therefore, it is interesting to see Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese animations under the Chinese name “Afanti”. It raises one’s wonder about why such an Anatolia related figure’s usage is adopted in the Chinese media. To understand this relation between China and Nasreddin Hodja, it is necessary to look at the regions where this figure’s anecdotes are well known by the public.

Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes are widely known in a wide range of countries. These anecdotes have showed an immense power of expansion at a wide distance from Xinjiang to Hungary, from South Siberia to North Africa.⁹² Mostly, in Arab nations, Nasreddin Hodja’s name has been confused with another anecdote figure called “Cuha”, and there have been occurrences where one’s anecdote has been attributed to the other. There is even an anecdote book in Arabic language called

⁸⁹ Bayraktareviç, “Nasreddin Hoca” [Nasreddin Hodja], 19.

⁹⁰ Tecer, “Nasreddin Hoca” [Nasreddin Hodja], 40.

⁹¹ Based on personal observances in Turkey.

⁹² Boratav, *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* [Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions], 90-91; Bayraktareviç, “Nasreddin Hoca” [Nasreddin Hodja], 21.

“Jokes of Master Nasreddin Hodja Cuha”, in which Nasreddin Hodja and Cuha are represented as the same person.⁹³

Nasreddin Hodja is truly transnational as a literary figure. Boratav underlines that he has been recognized as the original person of the places in which his stories spread. His name has been called as “Avanti” or “Nasrdin Avanti” in Xinjiang, “Afandi”, “Apandi” or “Nasrdin Apandi” in Uzbekistan, “Koja Nasr” in Kazakhstan, and “Molla Nasreddin” in Azerbaijan. Among countries where Turkish language is not spoken, such as Serbia, Croatia, and Greece, his stories have turned to be an important part of the folk tale tradition.⁹⁴

Marzolph also underlines the journey of the fame of Nasreddin Hodja and his anecdotes in different parts of the world. For example, in the regions under the Iranian dominance, Nasreddin Hodja is known as “Molla Nasreddin”. And in Bulgaria and Macedonia, he is seen to be the rival of the national hero Hitar Petar. In Central Asia, Nasreddin Hodja has won fame as “Ependi”, “Apandi”, or “Efendi”⁹⁵, deriving from the polite Turkish form of addressee for “Master”. And what is the most important information for this thesis is that, this name has turned to “Afanti” in the modern Chinese language through some Uyghur adaptations.⁹⁶ Thus, the fame of Nasreddin Hodja exists in many different regions including Xinjiang, which makes it understandable for the Chinese media to choose Nasreddin Hodja as a theme of animated films.

Nasreddin Hodja has a great fame in the Central Asia and he is a very welcomed hero there, even to the extent that in Uzbekistan, they call Nasreddin

⁹³ Boratav, *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* [Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions], 90-91.

⁹⁴ Boratav, *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* [Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions], 91.

⁹⁵ Marzolph, “Nasreddin,” 691.

⁹⁶ Marzolph, “Nasreddin Hoca” [Nasreddin Hodja], 27.

Hodja as “our effendi” (our master).⁹⁷ So, it is seen that Nasreddin Hodja is a publicly accepted figure in Central Asia, which makes it normal for the Uyghurs to have him as a cultural element as well.

It is noteworthy that the fame of Nasreddin Hodja spreads roughly from the Balkans to the east of China, where modern Xinjiang is. It is important to note that Nasreddin Hodja is truly part of the Uyghur folk culture, not of the Hans. Then why the Chinese state may be trying to promote Nasreddin Hodja as “Afanti” through animated films? In order to being answering this question, the characteristics of Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes should be understood.

According to Oğuz, in the development stage of Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes, the people of each region choose the events and the anecdote characters from their own neighbourhood. In the anecdotes which are told in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, or Xinjiang, Nasreddin Hodja is seen as an original inhabitant of these lands and he meets with the well known personages of the surroundings, and the events represented in the anecdotes are localized. The same condition applies to the neighbour cultures as well.⁹⁸

Therefore, in all these different regions where Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes are seen, the characteristics of the anecdotes change. Togan notes that Nasreddin Hodja stories reflect the public memory in a way. In Turkey, Nasreddin Hodja usually deals with the problems related to his neighbours or his wife, and sometimes he is in the role of kadi. However, in Central Asia, Nasreddin Hodja copes with kadıs, who are seen as related to tyranny. Specifically in the Uyghur stories and in China, Nasreddin Hodja tries to cope with the landlords. In short, Nasreddin Hodja copes with those

⁹⁷ Alembekov, “Halkın Beğendiği Kahramanı (Merkezi Asya’da Nasreddin Efendi Üzerinde)” [The Hero that the Public Likes (On Nasreddin Effendi in Central Asia)], 95-99.

⁹⁸ Oğuz, “Nasreddin Hoca: İki Yaklaşım, Bir Problem” [Nasreddin Hodja: Two Approaches, One Problem], 73.

who cause problems in the society and who cannot be overcome because of their power. As a result of this, the local people also achieve to cope with those tyrannical people as a reflection of Nasreddin Hodja's achievements.⁹⁹

İbrayev also mentions that Nasreddin Hodja is a “funny hero” who can fool “the stingy riches, cruel rulers, greedy mullahs, corrupted kadis, murderers and thieves”.¹⁰⁰

Kadeşeva emphasizes that in the Kazakh folklore, Nasreddin Hodja mocks the society in which he lives.¹⁰¹ In some anecdotes, Nasreddin Hodja is seen as mocking and confronting rulers, such as Timur the Lame.¹⁰²

At this point, it is noteworthy to mention that this satirical characteristic of Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes paved the way for them to be used by political ideologies, and the Soviet Union was one of those bodies which wanted to use the Nasreddin Hodja figure for its political needs.¹⁰³ In many Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes in the Soviet Union period, for example in Uzbekistan, Nasreddin Hodja is depicted without any religion, of which purpose is making the public forget about their religion and nation so that the people could be managed with more ease.¹⁰⁴ However, it is known that in anecdotes that are seen in Turkey, Nasreddin Hodja believes in

⁹⁹Togan, “Nasreddin Hoca Zorbayı Zorda Bırakır” [Nasreddin Hodja Puts the Tyrant into Trouble], 106. For an example to an Uyghur version of Nasreddin Hodja anecdote in which he copes with a corrupted kadi, see Soner Yalçın and Erkin Emet, *Nasrettin Hoca* [Nasreddin Hodja] (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995), 58, quoted in İnyet, “Nasreddin Hoca ve Uyghur Toplumu” [Nasreddin Hodja and the Uyghur Society], 150. For an example to an Uyghur version of anecdotes where Nasreddin Hodja copes with the sultan, see Şincang Helk Neşriyatı, *Uyghur Helk Letipiliri*, 12, quoted in İnyet, “Nasreddin Hoca ve Uyghur Toplumu” [Nasreddin Hodja and the Uyghur Society], 152.

¹⁰⁰ İbrayev, “Türk Dünyasında Nasreddin Hoca gibi Dilli Tiplerin Çıkış Tarihleri” [The Dates that Witty Characters like Nasreddin Hodja Has Started to Exist in the Turkish World], 54.

¹⁰¹ Kadeşeva, “Kazak Folklorunda Hoca Nasreddin Gibi Başka Dilli Tipler” [Other Witty Characters like Nasreddin Hodja in the Kazakh Folklore], 101-102.

¹⁰² See Erdoğan Tokmakçioğlu, *Bütün Yönleriyle Nasrettin Hoca* [Nasreddin Hodja with All His Aspects] (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981), 193, quoted in Köksal, “Nasreddin Hoca Fıkralarının Mahalli Fıkralardan Ayırdedici Nitelikleri Üzerine” [On the Features of Nasreddin Hodja Anecdotes That Distinguish Them from the Local Anecdotes], 128.

¹⁰³ Bayraktar, “Nasreddin Hoca Fıkralarında İdeolojik Yaklaşımlar Sonucunda Meydana Gelen Değişimler” [Alterations on Nasreddin Hodja Anecdotes due to Ideological Approaches], 233-234.

¹⁰⁴ Kahhar, “Nasreddin Hoca Fıkralarının Toplumsal İşlevi ve Özbek Basımının Üç Farklı Dönemindeki Yansıma Özellikleri” [The Social Function of Nasreddin Hodja Anecdotes and Their Characteristics Reflected in the Three Different Periods of the Uzbek Media], 394.

Islam and in some of his anecdotes he obviously prays to God.¹⁰⁵ The reason for this difference about the characteristics of Nasreddin Hodja can be attributed to the usage of the figure for political needs. It is known that Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes under the Soviet Union regime were shaped in such a way that they would serve the state goals.¹⁰⁶ In a similar way, in Turkmenistan during the Soviet regime, Nasreddin Hodja represented the public's standing against the feudal power, and similar anecdote themes can be seen among the Azeris and the Tatars under the Soviet influence.¹⁰⁷

The important thing is that Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes were used by the Soviet Union as a way of combining people from various origins, various backgrounds and beliefs under one nation, and in this process, Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes were changed to fit into state ideologies.¹⁰⁸ Nasreddin Hodja also appears in several Soviet films. One example to the Nasreddin Hodja films under the Soviet regime is *Pokhozhdeniia Nasreddina* (The Adventures of Nasreddin), directed by the Uzbek director Nabi Ganiev and released in 1947.¹⁰⁹ Another such film is *Nasreddin v Bukhara* (Nasreddin in Bukhara), which has been produced under the Ukrainian cinematographer Danylo Demutskii and released in 1943.¹¹⁰ Nasreddin Hodja has appeared in ten films in the Soviet Union cinema.¹¹¹ However, as far as I can find in

¹⁰⁵ Boratav, "Nasreddin Hoca'nın Kişiliğini ve Fıkralarını Yorumlama Denemeleri Üzerine" [On Trials of Interpreting the Personality and Anecdotes of Nasreddin Hodja], 40.

¹⁰⁶ Kahhar, "Nasreddin Hoca Fıkralarının Toplumsal İşlevi ve Özbek Basımının Üç Farklı Dönemindeki Yansıma Özellikleri" [The Social Function of Nasreddin Hodja Anecdotes and Their Characteristics Reflected in the Three Different Periods of the Uzbek Media], 397.

¹⁰⁷ Şahin, "Türkmenistan'da Nasreddin Hoca'nın Timur ile İlgili Fıkraları" [Nasreddin Hodja's Anecdotes about Timur in Turkmenistan], 741.

¹⁰⁸ Bayraktar, "Nasreddin Hoca Fıkralarında İdeolojik Yaklaşımlar Sonucunda Meydana Gelen Değişimler" [Alterations on Nasreddin Hodja Anecdotes due to Ideological Approaches], 233-234.

¹⁰⁹ Kuhn and Westwell, *A Dictionary of Film Studies*, 66.

¹¹⁰ Rollberg, *Historical Dictionary of Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 176-177.

¹¹¹ Kulieva, "'The East is a Delicate Matter' or Soviet Orientalism in Films about Central Asia 1955-1970," 56.

my research, there are no animated films of Nasreddin Hodja produced in the Soviet Union.

Despite the non-existence of Nasreddin Hodja animated films in the Soviet Union, it has already been discussed in this chapter that such films appeared in PRC. I want to draw attention, at this point, to the relation between the Soviet films and the PRC films.

The Soviet films started to be shown in China for the first time in 1930s,¹¹² and their number increased in the 1950s during the Sino-Soviet Alliance.¹¹³ However, in the 1960s, the relation between China and the Soviet Union were becoming cooler and they were drifting away from each other.¹¹⁴ This rift in the relations was reflected in Chinese art in the mode of search for traditional forms such as Beijing opera, folk music, and imperial Chinese tales.¹¹⁵ Cinema in this era also became inclined towards Chinese traditions rather than the Soviet model films.¹¹⁶ During this period, films that reflected the history of the Chinese empire started to increase in number.¹¹⁷ And in late 1980s, although China became stage to the development of a post-Mao new cinema style in which the Chinese state retreated from intervention into the film industry, the system was still not completely free from the Soviet influence, since the “tightly organized state monopoly” called the China Film Distribution Corporation was handling almost everything related to film distribution in China and all the films were the property of the state.¹¹⁸ Therefore, we see that during the early 1980s, a new model of cinema understanding was developing with the independent Fifth Generation filmmakers and directors, as it has been discussed

¹¹² Pickowicz, *China on Film: A Century of Exploration, Confrontation, and Controversy*, 125.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 246-247.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 301-313.

in section “Chinese Film Studies in PRC” of the Introduction chapter. But, the state control on cinema with the Soviet influence was still continuing. What I would like to underline is the Chinese state control over film industry, which have been effected by the Soviet influence. It has already been mentioned that Nasreddin Hodja has been used by the Soviet Union as a tool to achieve national unity. In a similar way, Chinese state has been using Nasreddin Hodja, under the name Afanti, as a way of a nation building project.

In addition, I also would like to mention the relation between the puppet animation technique of *Afanti de Gushi* series and the Soviet technique of puppet animation. *Afanti de Gushi* series are the first puppet animation television series in China.¹¹⁹ Interestingly, the Wan Brothers, who are considered to be the forefathers of Chinese animation, may have been inspired by Russian puppet animation.¹²⁰

In “Introduction” chapter, I have provided the background information needed for the comprehension of this thesis. In section “Minority Religions and Muslims in China”, I show that there is a wide cultural gap between the Uyghurs and the Hans. Combined with the historical and political issues that I shortly mention in section “The Uyghur Issue”, this cultural gap turns into a serious and complex problem. In the section “Chinese Film Studies in PRC”, I show that state intervention existed in post-Mao film period with socialist aims. This strengthens the point of my thesis that Afanti animated films serve the state’s Xinjiang policies. In section “The History of Animation in China”, I aim to explain why Afanti animated films could only be produced in late 1970s for the first time. In this section, I also show that animation industry has an important place for the Chinese authorities for implementing state ideologies in the Chinese youth. And finally, in the section

¹¹⁹Macdonald, “Jin Xi: Master of Puppet Animation,” 160.

¹²⁰Du, “Suspended Animation: The Wan Brothers and the (In)animate Mainland-Hong Kong Encounter, 1947-1956,” 145.

“Nasreddin Hodja”, my purpose is to show that Nasreddin Hodja exists in a wide range of locations in the world and in all these places that he is known, he has been localized. In these locations that he exists as a literary figure, he deals with local problems. And under socialism, like under the Soviet regime, he has been used as a state apparatus for socialist ideologies. Therefore, how Nasreddin Hodja acts in his anecdotes reveals details about the ideological policies. I argue that PRC, just like the Soviet Union, has been adopting Nasreddin Hodja, known as Afanti in China, in its dealing process with the Uyghur issue. Hence, there is a possibility of a link between the Soviet Union and Chinese animation as well in terms technique.

CHAPTER 2

NASREDDIN HODJA AS “AFANTI” IN CHINA

BEFORE AND AFTER THE AFANTI ANIMATED FILMS

This thesis deals with the question of whether Nasreddin Hodja animated films in China are a project of the central Chinese government for dealing with the Uyghur issue in order to build a powerful and unified nation under the People’s Republic of China, by maintaining power over Xinjiang, through the ethnic model of Afanti.

However, before examining this project as part of a solution to the Uyghur issue, it is necessary first to show that these animated films are actually a project of the Chinese government. Therefore, I aim to show in this chapter that an Afanti culture has been constructed in China by the state via Afanti animated films, while it was just a popular figure among the Uyghurs before this construction process. This construction targets the achievement of Han-Uyghur integration. In addition to this, these works about Afanti focus on promoting Xinjiang to the Hansas part of an internal colonialism project with oriental aspects. Besides, the representation of a constructed Xinjiang image also serves for rewriting the Xinjiang history for the Uyghur audience.

This chapter is examined in five parts. The first part looks into the early efforts of the Chinese state to promote Xinjiang as part of a minority program. The second part is about the very first introduction of Afanti across China before the *Afanti de Gushi* animated films. The third part focuses on the *Afanti de Gushi*’s role in the spread of Afanti’s fame in whole China and the effort of promoting a Xinjiang image with these animated films. The fourth part examines the Afanti animated films produced and broadcasted after *Afanti de Gushi*, their focus on the promotion of

Xinjiang image, and the Chinese government's support in their production process. The fifth part displays the scope of influence these Afanti animated films had in China on a wider scope. In order to do this, other Afanti works that were produced with the influence of these animations are looked into.

2.1 The early efforts of Xinjiang image promotion and Qambarkhan

Afanti is not the first example of a Xinjiang project in China. In October 1947, a Xinjiang dance group called *Xinjiang Qingnian Gewu FangwenTuan* 新疆青年歌舞访问团 (Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe) were welcomed in Nanjing. The dance group also performed in other places such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Taiwan. The group became so popular that they took widespread presence in the Chinese media.¹²¹ Justin Jacobs states that:

Despite runaway inflation, widespread famine, increasingly scarce daily supplies, and an ongoing civil war, from October 25 until well past the (Western) New Year, the Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe garnered a disproportionate amount of press coverage that was thrust before the face of every reader of the *Central Daily (Zhongyang ribao)* and the many other newspapers and magazines nationwide that reprinted the articles. ... At a time when a typical six-page newspaper might carry only one or two photographs per issue, the Xinjiang dance troupe tallied well over twenty pictures in the *Central Daily* in less than two months.¹²²

The dance group became highly popular, especially the female dancer Qambarkhan. Qambarkhan became so famous and popular that she became to be known with different titles like "Flower of the Uyghurs", "Flower of the Gobi", and "Queen of Dance". It is particularly important to note that Qambarkhan had a "state-groomed

¹²¹ Jacobs, "How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong's 'Tianshan Pictorial' and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup," 545-591.

¹²² Ibid., 572.

role” as China’s representative master of traditional Uyghur dance, and she was “the quasi-official standard bearer of ‘traditional’ Uyghur dance”.¹²³

It is clearly seen that this Xinjiang dance group and its dancer Qambarkhan were under the state sponsorship in order to represent Xinjiang. As Jacobs quotes, “Qambarkhan ‘created a celebrity status for herself and introduced for the first time ever the art of Uyghur folk song and dance to the people of the inner provinces.’”¹²⁴ What is important for this thesis is the point that the fame of Qambarkhan was state sponsored and the majority of the Chinese people, mostly the Han population, were not familiar with the Uyghur dance and song culture before this dance group. The group was almost foreigners to China. Jacobs, in regard to this first-time introduction of the Uyghur dance and song, mentions that:

One editorial wrote that ‘everyone was busy looking after them [the Xinjiang dance troupe members], and the caretaking effort would not be upstaged by any foreign diplomatic reception,’ while quipping that ‘it was just like the welcoming of a foreign diplomatic envoy in its impressiveness’.¹²⁵ Han audience members continually inquired as to the dance troupe members’ nationality and ethnicity and, when told that the performers hailed from Xinjiang, promptly requested additional clarification: “Where is this place you call Xinjiang?”¹²⁶

Therefore, it is understood that the Xinjiang dance troupe and its leading member Qambarkhan carried the duty of the introduction of Xinjiang to the Han audience.

¹²³ Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup,” 572-573.

¹²⁴ Tursunay Yunus, *Ussul Peşwasi Qāmbār xanim* [Qambarkhan: Trailblazer of Dance], (Ürümçi: Şinjañ Hälq Näşriyati, 2004), 105, quoted in Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup,” 545-591.

¹²⁵ Shi Wei 史偉, “Ying Xinjiang Gewutuan” 迎新疆歌團 [Welcoming the Xinjiang Dance Troupe], *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日报 [Central Daily News], November 9, 1947, 8, quoted in Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup,” 545-591.

¹²⁶ Päridä Eliyowa, “Şinjañ Sanatçiliriniñ Tunji Qetim İçki Ölkilarni Sayahät Qilişi” [The First Time that Performers from Xinjiang Traveled to the Inner Provinces], in *Şinjañ Tarix Materiyalliri* [Xinjiang Historical Materials], vol. 24, ed. Juñgo Xälq Siyasıy Mäslihät Keñişi and Şinjañ Uyğur Aptonom Rayon Komiteti Tarix Materiyaliri Tätqiqat Häyiti (Ürümçi: Şinjañ Hälq Näşriyati, 1988), 239-249, quoted in Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troup,” 577.

This is a clear attempt of the Chinese government to achieve a Han-Uyghur integration through cultural exchange.

Besides, how the ethnic dance group is represented is important. Gladney notes that:

... the representation of the “minority” in China reflects the objectivising of a “majority” nationality discourse that parallels the valorization of gender and political hierarchies. This process reverses subject/object distinctions and suggest the following parallels: Minority is to the majority as female is to the male, as “Third” World is the “First,” and as subjectivized is to objectivized identity. The widespread definition and representation of the “minority” as exotic, colourful, and “primitive” homogenizes the undefined majority as united, monoethnic, and modern.¹²⁷

For Gladney, this is one step forward from Edward Said’s “orientalism”¹²⁸ and it is “oriental orientalism”, which is the “objectification of the minority Other and majority Self in China”.¹²⁹ Gladney’s argument is based on commodification and objectification of the minorities in China. This commoditication and objectification positions the minorities under the hegemony and super-power of the majority Hans through an oriental representation.¹³⁰ What Gladney says is extremely important to comprehend the position of Qambarkhan, and Afanti animated films also, in China:

I would like to suggest here (and I believe that this is a new direction) that the objectified portrayal of minorities as exoticized, and even eroticized, is essential to the construction of the Han Chinese majority, the very formulation of the Chinese “nation” itself. In order words, the representation of the minorities in such colorful, romanticized fashion has more to do with constructing a majority discourse, than it does with the minorities themselves. This minority/majority discourse then becomes pervasive throughout Chinese culture, art, and media.¹³¹

I claim that this exoticization and orientalizacion process was the motivation that led the Chinese state to promote Qambarkhan, which was devised as a mechanism to

¹²⁷ Gladney, “Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities,” 93.

¹²⁸ Said describes orientalism as the Western style of dealing with the Orient “by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it”; “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient”. See Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

¹²⁹ Gladney, “Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities,” 94.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 92-123.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

position Xinjiang as the subordinate object versus the majority Hans. This mechanism of internal orientalism is based on the Chinese authorities' setting the rules of hegemony over Xinjiang by defining and restructuring it. By positioning Qambarkhan and her dance group with the image of ethnic beauty and romanticism, China has actually put itself into the position of the dominant viewer of this beautified object. For instance, Qambarkhan's position as representing Xinjiang as beauty is seen in Figure 1.



Fig. 1 Qambarkhan at the cover page of the third issue of *Tianshan Pictorial* magazine.
Source: Jacobs, "How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong's 'Tianshan Pictorial' and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe," 574.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20203377>

Tianshan Pictorial, a magazine that was first published in May 1947, which is the same year that the Xinjiang dance group performed in Nanjing, is a perfect example for this internal orientalism. In *Tianshan Pictorial*, a “Han-friendly Xinjiang” was represented, which provided “Xinjiang essential information” to the Han readers who were not familiar with this distant land.¹³² The magazine depicted the Muslims of Xinjiang as “physically more fit and able than the Chinese”.¹³³ The magazine also provided various photos of the Uyghurs. One of them was a man offering grapes to the Han reader (see Figure 2).



Fig. 2 Man from Turpan offering grapes to the Han reader
Source: Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe,” 563.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20203377>

In a similar way, the June issue of the same magazine depicts a young Uyghur woman as “healthy and robust maiden”.¹³⁴ Moreover, one of the articles in the first issue of the magazine notes that “[t]he nationalities of Xinjiang are complex, particularly the fierce (*qianghan*) [强悍] nature of its people, which is rooted in the

¹³²Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe,” 555.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 559.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 556-557.

barriers (*gehe*) [隔阂] between them and the rest of China, and makes this area well-known as a difficult place to govern.”¹³⁵ The words “fierce” and “difficult place to govern” are extremely important in understanding how orientalism works for the Chinese governance and how Xinjiang is positioned within this mechanism. Xinjiang is put to the position of a wild, primitive, fierce, romantic, and erotic land to be exploited. As Jacobs suggests, “Xinjiang was only a wild frontier because Han Chinese civilization and culture had yet to break down the ‘barriers’ separating the two.”¹³⁶

What I claim is that this exotified representation of Xinjiang with strong people and delicious fruits implies the desire of the central government to have hegemonic power over the region, as this kind of representation targets to create an image of wild Xinjiang that needs to be supervised by the Hans. This applies to the creation goal of the Afanti animated films as well.

2.2 Zhao Shijie: “The father of Afanti”

The introduction and the very first diffusion of Afanti from Xinjiang to the whole of China is started by the Chinese person Zhao Shijie 赵世杰, who was trained in the People’s Liberation Army in the department of Uyghur Language and Translation. He got assigned to work in the Southern Xinjiang Party Committee in 1952 and in August, he became a member of the land reform team and went to Xinjiang to participate in the land reform project. Two months later, one day, he witnessed a fight between the local poor people and a wealthy person in Xinjiang during his duty in this reform project. At the end of the fight, one of the poor local person involved

¹³⁵ Tianshan Pictorial, quoted in Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe,” 569.

¹³⁶ Jacobs, “How Chinese Turkestan Became Chinese: Visualizing Zhang Zhizhong’s ‘Tianshan Pictorial’ and Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe,” 569.

in the fight told to Zhao Shijie that Afanti has been fighting against the rich man for hundreds of years, and they have finally defeated the wealthy person right at that moment. From this moment on, Zhao Shijie became curious about this person called Afanti, and he started to collect the local Afanti stories between 1952 and 1956 during his stay in Xinjiang. It was in July 1955 that Zhao Shijie's article with the title "Nasierding Afanti de Gushi" 纳斯尔丁阿凡提的故事 (The Story of Nasreddin Afanti) got published for the first time in the Chinese magazine *Wenjian Wenxue* 民间文学 (Folk Literature). This is the initial moment that Afanti enters into the Chinese world in Mandarin language.¹³⁷

After the very first publication of Afanti, other texts started to be published also one after another. In 1958, *Shanghai Wenhua Chubanshe* 上海文化出版社 (Shanghai Cultural Press) published Zhao Shijie's compiled "Afanti Gushi" 阿凡提故事 (Afanti Stories). In 1959, *Zuojia Chubanshe* 作家出版社 (Writers Publishing House) published "Afanti Gushi". In 1963, *Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe* 新疆人民出版社 (Xinjiang People's Publishing House) published "Nasierding Afanti de Gushi" 纳斯尔丁阿凡提的故事 (The Story of Nasreddin Afanti). After the Cultural Revolution, in 1978, *Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe* 新疆人民出版社 published "Afanti Gushi" 阿凡提故事 (Afanti Stories), also compiled by Zhao Shijie. In 1981, *Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Chubanshe* 中国民间文艺出版社 (Chinese Folk Literature and Art Publishing House) "Afanti Gushi", edited by Ge Baoquan 戈宝权. By 1990s, 16 versions of "Afanti Gushi" in Mandarin, Mongolian, Uyghur, Kazakh, Tibetan and Xibo languages had already been published with more than one million copies. Apart from these, foreign language version of *Renmin Huabao* 人民画报

¹³⁷ "'Afanti' conghe chulai" '阿凡提'从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

(People's Pictorial), English and French versions of *Zhongguo Wenxue* 中国文学 (Chinese Literature), Esperanto version of *Zhongguo Daobao* 中国导报 (China News) published "Afanti Gushi". *Waiwen Chuban She* 外文出版社 (Foreign Language Publishing House) also translated these stories into French, Bengali, Spanish and other languages, making the stories published abroad.¹³⁸

Therefore, as Tsung-chi Yu also notes, it is seen that it was only in 1955 when Zhao Shijie's article on Afanti got published, which is the first time that Afanti stories started to spread in China from Xinjiang. Yu highlights that while Afanti was only a figure known among the Uyghurs before this date; he became a favourite figure all over China".¹³⁹ Therefore, it is Zhao Shijie who introduced Afanti to China, and thus he started to be known as "Afanti zhi fu" 阿凡提之父 (the father of Afanti).¹⁴⁰

2.3 *Afanti de Gushi*: The time when the real fame of Afanti starts

Although Zhao Shijie introduced Afanti to the non-Uyghur population in China, the real fame of Afanti in China started with the broadcasting of 1979 dated *Afanti de Gushi* 阿凡提的故事 (The Story of Afanti) puppet animated film series, produced by the Shanghai Animation Film Studio. This animated film achieved great success and received many awards. *Tenglong Jiang* 腾龙奖 ("Gallopig Dragon" Award), which is given for films with national themes, was given to *Afanti de Gushi* with the first rank. The film also acquired the third place in *Baihua Jiang* 百花奖 (Hundred Flowers Award), given for the best artistic Chinese film. In 1979, it got the *Youxiu Meishupian* 优秀美术片奖 (Excellent Film Award) from the Ministry of Culture. In

¹³⁸ "'Afanti' conghe chulai" '阿凡提'从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

¹³⁹ Tsung-chi, "One Hundred Jests of Afanti."

¹⁴⁰ "'Afanti' conghe chulai" '阿凡提'从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

1991, it got the first rank in the Chicago International Children Film Festival.¹⁴¹ In the online video posted by SMG Dianshiju, the screenwriter of the series, Ling Shu 凌纾, tells that they even received a letter from the Oscars around the year 1985, but during that time, they did not understand what the letter was about, as the team of the studio at that time did not have good level of English language skills. Ling Shu, in the video posted by SMG Dianshiju, also tells that one of the team members tried to translate the letter at that time, but they were not sure if it was a letter to notify that they were qualified to attend the Oscar, if they were nominated as a candidate for the Oscar, or if they won the Oscar.¹⁴² It is clearly visible that *Afanti de Gushi* has raised voice and captured the film industry's attention. This shows that an Afanti culture was being built by the Chinese state through these animated films.

The state-owned Shanghai Animation Film Studio produced 13 more episodes from 1981 to 1988. These episodes became so popular that the opening soundtrack became widely memorized by the youth of that time.¹⁴³ I specifically want to underline that by the early 1970s, there was at least one television station in all provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, except Tibet, and most of the stations had only one channel.¹⁴⁴ The central CCTV distributed its programmes from Beijing to the local stations via microwave technique or by simply dispatching the recorded videotapes. In 1984, China launched the first telecommunications satellite which allowed the audience in Xinjiang, and also in other remote areas like Tibet, to

¹⁴¹ “‘Afanti’ conghe chulai” ‘阿凡提’从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

¹⁴² SMG Dianshiju SMG 电视剧 [SMG TV Series], “Na xie nian, women zhuiguo de donghua: ‘Afanti de Gushi’” 那些年，我们追过的动画：《阿凡提的故事》 [The animation that we went after in those years: “The Story of Afanti”].

¹⁴³ “‘Afanti’ conghe chulai” ‘阿凡提’从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

¹⁴⁴ Hong, “The Historical Development of Program Exchange in the TV Sector, Internationalization of the Chinese TV Sector,” 25.

watch the central programmes on the same day as the rest of the country.¹⁴⁵ It is understood that *Afanti de Gushi* episodes was broadcasted in Xinjiang as well, since the programmes were centrally distributed.

It is clear that these animations reached a large number of audiences, leading to the popularity of Afanti in China. I claim that Afanti was a figure that was specifically chosen by the Chinese state in order to build an ethnic role-model from exotic Xinjiang. Afanti was already popular in Xinjiang before these animations; therefore, he would become a perfect role-model for the Xinjiang audience. This model figure, I claim, is designed to show them how a state-approved Uyghur citizen should be. On the other hand, as Afanti was only recently introduced into the Han population, he was an interesting figure enough to capture their attention to this exotic region. This also works for the integration of Xinjiang into China.

Afanti animated films in China take its roots from the Uyghur culture. The news published by the popular and widespread Chinese online newspaper Sina mentions that *Afanti de Gushi*, “which stays in the memories of the generation born after the 1980s”, is based on the Uyghur stories.¹⁴⁶ It is also mentioned in Giesen’s book *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012* that the stories in *Afanti de Gushi* series are based on Uyghur, not Turkish folklore.¹⁴⁷ So, it is seen that traditional Uyghur folklore stories were popularized in China through these animations.

Through these Uyghur folk stories, an image of Xinjiang was also introduced to the Han audience via the Afanti animated films. Moreover, this image was a

¹⁴⁵ Hong, *The Internationalization of Television in China: The Evolution of Ideology, Society, and Media Since the Reform*, 92.

¹⁴⁶ “Tongnian huiyi ‘Afanti’ jiang gaibian donghua dianying, 2018 nian youwang shangying” 童年回忆《阿凡提》将改编动画电影，2018年有望上映 [“Afanti” of the childhood memories will be adapted to an animated film, expected to be released in 2018].

¹⁴⁷ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*.

constructed exoticized one. Ling Shu, the screenwriter of *Afanti de Gushi*, tells in a TV show that for the production of these series, the team of Shanghai Animation Film Studio actually went to Xinjiang and spent time with the local people to wholly grasp the cultural background and the lifestyle of the local people.¹⁴⁸ The screenwriter highlights that for the visual representation of Afanti and the other characters in the cartoon series, they did a special work, and although more than ten different countries like Central Asian countries, Morocco, and Turkey have Afanti in their culture, they built the image of Afanti based on China's own Uyghur minority.¹⁴⁹ In this process, as told by Ling Shu, the studio's artistic designer Qujian Fang 曲建方 paid special attention to the outward appearance of the characters and the background stage. Ling Shu also stresses that the most distinctive feature of Afanti is his eyebrows, eyes, moustache, and beard. In his words, the outer representation of Afanti has "a taste of the Arabian, Central Asian, and Uyghur".¹⁵⁰ This is clearly an image construction process by the Han studio team who stereotyped the Uyghur image through Afanti.

Apart from closely studying the local culture and appearance, they also paid attention to the local music. For this, they listened to the local music performed by a local musician, who is a player of rawap which is a popular local Uyghur instrument.¹⁵¹ Ling Shu also underlines that they used local Xinjiang minority stories to insert Afanti as a character where it can fit in a humorous way, and the episodes *Mai Shuying* 卖树荫 (selling the shadow of the tree) and *Qi Hun Ji* 奇婚记 (strange

¹⁴⁸ SMG Dianshiju SMG 电视剧 [SMG TV Series], "Na xie nian, women zhui guo de donghua: 'Afanti de Gushi'" 那些年，我们追过的动画：《阿凡提的故事》 [The animation that we went after in those years: "The Story of Afanti"].

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

marriage) were created in this method.¹⁵² This process of inserting Afanti in different local stories is particularly important in the sense that it implies the usage of Afanti as an agent in the representation of Xinjiang. In other words, by putting Afanti in different local stories, Afanti actually serves as a character around which local events with local characteristics take place. Thus, one can say that Afanti is a tool for constructing a Xinjiang image and popularizing this image.

Thus, it is clearly seen that both Zhao Shijie and Shanghai Animation Film Studio actively made special research on the local Uyghur culture and Afanti, and both tried to provide a representation of this figure. It is also important to highlight Shanghai Animation Film Studio's efforts to catch the distinctive qualities of Xinjiang like costumes, music, and daily habits. In this way, they constructed an Afanti image, which is representative of the distant Xinjiang. When *Afanti de Gushi* animated films turned Afanti into a widespread popular figure in all China, a Xinjiang theme was also exposed to the audience. As the screenwriter Ling Shu stresses, Afanti's eyebrows, beard and moustache turned out to be the most distinctive outward feature of this figure.

Thus, Afanti played a role of constructing a stereotypical Xinjiang figure. The studio's special attention to the details like scenery, costumes, life style and the local music contributed to this stereotype building process. Stereotyping a Xinjiang image through Afanti helps the state to have more manageable local people through strictly defined appearance and manners. This descriptive control mechanism allows the central power to keep the region under control by drawing its limits.

¹⁵² SMG Dianshiju SMG 电视剧 [SMG TV Series], "Na xie nian, women zhuiguo de donghua: 'Afanti de Gushi'" 那些年, 我们追过的动画: 《阿凡提的故事》 [The animation that we went after in those years: "The Story of Afanti"]. For the episode summaries of "Mai Shuying" 卖树荫 (selling the shadow of the tree) and "Qi Hun Ji" 奇婚记 (strange marriage), see Appendix A, episodes 1 and 12, respectively.

People's Daily, which is the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,¹⁵³ underlines that before the 1979 dated first episode of *Afanti de Gushi*, Afanti was already a popular legend in Xinjiang for a long time. However, since Afanti appeared as a puppet image on Chinese television in this animated film, he became a popular figure in the whole nation.¹⁵⁴

It is derived from all these that Afanti, and a constructed image of Xinjiang, was introduced to the majority of the Chinese population with these animated films, and then popularized. This was aimed to incorporate Xinjiang into China.

2.4 Afanti animated films

The important role of *Afanti de Gushi* in Afanti's spread in China is clearly seen. But, what is more important for this thesis is the role of the Chinese state in the production process of an "Afanti" culture across China. In later dates after these cartoon series, other works about Afanti was also created under the state sponsorship.

Between 2012 and 2013, the 104-episode *Shaonian Afanti*, which was produced by Ningbo Minhe Film and Television Animation Co., Ltd. was broadcasted on CCTV, and major provincial and municipal television stations.¹⁵⁵ I specifically want to note that Ningbo Minhe Film and Television Animation Co., Ltd. was founded in 2009 with the aim of creating Afanti products, and according to *Hexun* news article, the company had the plan producing an Afanti brand with books, online games, playgrounds, and even a Afanti town in the Ningbo city around 10,000 square meters with an initial investment of CNY 700 million. It is also understood from the news article that the top managers of the company are not Uyghurs

¹⁵³ Fifield, "Chinese Leaders Urge 'Spirit of Struggle' to Face Economic Challenges."

¹⁵⁴ "Afanti de Gushi" 阿凡提的故事 [The Story of Afanti].

¹⁵⁵ "104 Ji sanwei donghua pian 'Shaonian Afanti' jiangyu niandi bochu" 104 集三维动画片《少年阿凡提》将于年底播出 [104-episode cartoon "The Young Afanti" will be broadcasted at the end of the year].

themselves.¹⁵⁶ It is quite fascinating that a company was founded just for Afanti branded products.

One should note that *Shaonian Afanti* series were sponsored by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Ningbo Municipal Committee and the Propaganda Department of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party Committee.¹⁵⁷ Here, it is found noteworthy to mention the status and roles of these propaganda departments. It is stated in *Encyclopedia of Journalism* that:

All news organizations, regardless of market and commercial reform, are considered formal extensions of the party-state, and rely on their official status as central, provincial, county, or municipal government organizations to legitimize their political oversight roles vis-à-vis the party-state. ... All news media organizations are also subject to control and regulation by China's Party Propaganda Department. For example, national press institutions like CCTV, *People's Daily*, and Xinhua News Agency, the government's official press agency, are under direct control of the Propaganda Department of the CPC and are headed by a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee, which sets media policies, supervises their implementations, and issues directives and regulations. The Provincial Party Committee's Propaganda Department controls the provincial-level press and so on."¹⁵⁸

The role of CCTV is also crucially important to note:

China Central Television (CCTV) is the major national television broadcaster in the country, with more than a billion viewers. CCTV is a statutory agency within the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television and is subordinate to the State Council, the top executive and administrative body, which issues administrative regulations. ... CCTV plays the leading role at the top, followed by provincial stations, city stations, and county stations. Within this decentralized model, control over television is exercised on two levels: central state supervision of CCTV, and regional and local management at the grass-roots level.¹⁵⁹

Therefore, it is clearly visible that *Shaonian Afanti* was both sponsored and controlled by the Chinese state. Firstly, its production was sponsored, and then, its

¹⁵⁶ Zheng and Feng, "Ningbo min he yingshi donghua gongsi: Yong zonghe shouduan suzao jingiu bu shuai de 'afanti' pinpai" 宁波民和影视动画公司：用综合手段塑造经久不衰的“阿凡提”品牌 [Using an integrated approach to shape the long lasting "Afanti" brand].

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Sterling, ed., *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, 289.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 289-293.

broadcasting was controlled by the central government. And lastly, it is also noteworthy that National Radio and Television Administration awarded *Shaonian Afanti* and selected the series as one of the 6 animation works under the twelfth “Five-One Project” of the Spiritual Civilization Construction.¹⁶⁰ “Five-One Project” is a project that has been started in 1991 which requires provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities to recommend one book, one theatrical show, one television series, one movie, and one article for the development of the whole Chinese society.¹⁶¹

This “Five-One Project” of the Spiritual Civilization Construction (精神文明建设“五个一工程”, Jingshen Wenming Jianshe “Wu ge Yi Gongcheng”), according to a news article published by *Xinhua* 新华, has being implemented for more than 20 years to promote “advanced culture” and “outstanding works”, and “to launch profound thoughts, exquisite art and excellent production” in order to produce “spiritual and cultural products” and “has enriched people’s spiritual and cultural life”, and has played an important role in “inspiring people with excellent works”.¹⁶² Thus, it is evident that National Radio and Television Administration considers *Shaonian Afanti* as an important work that is part of a cultural project.

Shaonian Afanti had a similar function to *Afanti de Gushi* in terms of introducing a constructed Xinjiang image to the rest of China. In the official

¹⁶⁰ National Radio and Television Administration 国家广播电视总局 [Guojia guangbo dianshi zongju], “Di shier jie jingshen wenming jianshe “wu ge yi gongcheng” huojian donghua pian zuopin” 第十二届精神文明建设“五个一工程” 获奖动画片作品 [The winning animation works of the twelfth spiritual civilization construction of “five one project”].

¹⁶¹ Deng et al., *Jin xian fanrong (1990-1999) Zhongguo lishi dashi xiangjie* 尽显繁荣 (1990–1999) (中国历史大事详解) [Full display of prosperity (1990-1999) (Details of historical Chinese events)]. Section “Jingshen wenming jianshe ‘wu ge yi cheng’ de xin fazhan” 精神文明建设“五个一工程” 的新发展 [The new development of “five-one project” in the construction of spiritual civilization].

¹⁶² “Xijingping jiu jingshen wenming jianshe “Wu Ge Yi Gongcheng” zuochu chong yao zhishi” 习近平就精神文明建设“五个一工程”作出重要指示 [Xi Jinping made important instructions on the “Five-One Project” of the spiritual civilization construction].

webpage of CCTV, it is stated that in August 2013, *Shaonian Afanti* was identified as a key project of “cultural aid to Xinjiang” (文化援疆, wenhua yuan jiang) by the Ningbo municipal government, and it was chosen as one of the 15 outstanding cartoons recommended to the youth by the Central Propaganda Department, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, and the Ministry of Education.¹⁶³ It is seen that *Shaonian Afanti* plays a similar role to the Xinjiang song and dance group, Qambarkhan, and *Afanti de Gushi* in the diffusion of a Xinjiang image across China.

The 6-episode *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (The Old and The Little Afanti) which was produced by Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd. and broadcasted in 2014 is also another Afanti animated film series.¹⁶⁴ This series, like *Shaonian Afanti*, also gets state support and gets third rank prize in the special fund project for domestic animated film development in 2014. According to a notice of the Ministry of Finance, announced by the General Office of the State Council, a special fund was allocated to the *Laoxiao Afanti* and some other animated films, in order to support domestically produced animated films and “thoroughly implement the opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on further strengthening and improving the ideological and moral construction of the youth.”¹⁶⁵ Thus, the state intervention and support in these series

¹⁶³ “Ningbo Xinjiang hepai donghua pian ‘Shaonian Afanti’ yangshi bochu” 宁波新疆合拍动画片‘少年阿凡提’央视播出 [Ningbo-Xinjiang co-produced cartoon “The Young Afanti” broadcasted on CCTV].

¹⁶⁴ Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd., “‘Laoxiao Afanti’ huode 2014 niandu shaoer jiemu jingpin ji guochan donghua sandeng jiang” ‘老小阿凡提’ 获得 2014 年度少儿节目精品及国产动画三等奖 [“The Old and the Little Afanti” won the third rank prize of 2014 children’s program products of domestic cartoons].

¹⁶⁵ “为深入贯彻落实‘中共中央、国务院关于进一步加强和改进未成年人思想道德建设的若干意见’” “Wei shenru guanhe luoshi ‘zhonggong zhongyang, guowuyan guanyu jinyibu jiaqiang he gajin wei chengnian ren sixiang daode jianshe de ruogan yijian”. Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd., “‘Laoxiao Afanti’ huode 2014 niandu shaoer jiemu jingpin ji guochan donghua

is quite evident. Besides, this state-support carries the aim of educating the young generation according to the state ideologies.

Afanti Xinzhuan is one of the most recent Afanti animated films in China. Produced by Shanghai Film Group Co., Ltd., Shanghai Animation Film Studio, and Rice Film Industry in 2016, this animated film has been supported by the Kashgar Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Kashgar Administrative Office and the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China. The animated film, which is a continuation and extension of *Afanti de Gushi* series, received widespread attention and support also from the Ministry of Culture and SARFT. It is also crucial to note that this animated movie has been produced with the aim of showing the traditional culture of ethnic minorities and to promote cultural exchange between different ethnic groups. In the official website of Shanghai Animation Film Studio, it is mentioned that feelings between ethnic groups play a positive role in safeguarding national unity, social stability, and building a harmonious society. It is also clearly stated that this movie can play an active role in promoting the development of Kashgar, Xinjiang.¹⁶⁶

The script of *Afanti Xinzhuan* was on the list of SARFT and it was among the 25 works to get approval from the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Film Bureau of the General Administration of China, for a special support in the script production process.¹⁶⁷ This further strengthens the point

sandeng jiang” ‘老小阿凡提’ 获得 2014 年度少儿节目精品及国产动画三等奖 [“The Old and the Little Afanti” won the third rank prize of 2014 children’s program products of domestic cartoons].

¹⁶⁶ Shanghai Animation Film Studios, “ ‘Zhihui Afanti, nong nong kashen qing’ – yuanjiang 3D donghua dianying ‘Afanti Xinzhuan’ chuanguo zuotan ji xinwen fabu hui zai kaishen juxing” “智慧阿凡提，浓浓喀什情”——援疆 3D 动画电影“阿凡提新传”创作座谈暨新闻发布会在喀什举行 [“Wise Afanti, deep Kashgar feelings” – Xinjiang supporting three dimensional movie “The Legend of Afanti” creative discussion and press conference is held in Kashgar].

¹⁶⁷ National Radio and Television Administration, “Dianying juben fuhua jihua juben xiugai fuchi xiangmu jieguo” 电影剧本孵化计划剧本修改扶持项目结果 [Script modification support project results in movie script planning programme].

that this animated work was based on Xinjiang background on purpose and not by chance, as it was supported even during the script writing process.

Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian 阿凡提之奇缘历险 is by far the most recent Afanti animation production, co-produced by Shanghai Film Group and Shanghai Animation Film Studios and has started to run on cinemas nationwide on the national day, October 1, 2018. According to the official press release of Shanghai Film Group, this new animated movie is also a continuation of *Afanti de Gushi* classic series, as in the case of *Afanti Xinzhuan*. The story of the movie takes Xinjiang as its background setting and all the ethnic style that appeared in *Afanti de Gushi* is preserved.¹⁶⁸

Therefore, the effort to promote the state-built Xinjiang image through the usage of Afanti continues with this animated movie. The director of the movie, Liu Wei, states that;

... they [the main characters in the animated movie] put on traditional costumes of various ethnic groups in Xinjiang, such as the Uyghurs and the Kazakhs, and perform a ‘romantic adventure’ on the vast stage of Xinjiang, fully demonstrating the sincere, kind, and beautiful brothers and sisters of all Xinjiang ethnicities.¹⁶⁹

As understood from the director’s statement, a special attention is given to the harmonious unity of different ethnicities, with a special focus on Xinjiang, and what makes this movie even more important is the fact that it is released on the whole country on the national day, October 1, which carries the movie to a whole nation audience level.

¹⁶⁸ Shanghai Film Group Corporation, “‘Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian’ teji lai xi shi yue yi ri quanguo shanying” “阿凡提之奇缘历险”特辑来袭十月一日全国上映 [Special edition “The Adventure of Afanti” will be on the screen nationwide on October 1].

¹⁶⁹ “Tamen yiqi pi shang weiwuer, hasake deng xinjiang ge minzu de chuantong fushi, zai xinjiang guangmao de wutai shang shang yanchu yi bu ‘qi yuan lixian’, chongfen zhanxian xinjiang ge ze xiongdi jiemei de zhen, shan, mei, 他们一起披上维吾尔、哈萨克等新疆各民族的传统服饰，在新疆广袤的舞台上上演出‘奇缘历险’，充分展现新疆各族兄弟姐妹的真、善、美。” “Bu ou Afanti qizhe maolu huilaile: 3D donghua dianying ‘Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian’ ying guoqing” 布偶阿凡提骑着毛驴回来了: 3D 动画电影《阿凡提之奇缘历险》迎国庆 [The puppet Afanti comes back riding his donkey: three dimensional animated movie “The Adventure of Afanti” welcomes the national day].

2.5 Afanti projects created with the influence of Afanti animated films

Beside the Afanti animated films, there are also other works about Afanti, started to be done after *Afanti de Gushi* series, which shows how much influence these series had on the spread of Afanti culture among the Chinese people, first initiated with the support of the central state. These works will strengthen this chapter's point that Afanti animated films are part of a Xinjiang image promotion campaign.

The acrobatic dance show *Nihao, Afanti* 你好，阿凡提 (Hello, Afanti), performed by the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe (新疆杂技团, Xinjiang Zaji Tuan) is one of such works about Afanti. According to the interview done with the head of the troupe, Anniwaer Maimaiti 安尼瓦尔麦麦提, and the troupe's secretary Cai Xiaorong 蔡晓荣, this acrobatic drama that officially started to be performed in 2009, combines acrobatics, illusion, Xinjiang's songs and dances around the theme of Afanti. The performance was jointly created by the Propaganda Department of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region and the Department of Culture. During the preparations, officials from the Ministry of Culture and the Chinese Writers Association were also invited to Xinjiang. The Party Committee also contributed to the script of the show.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the state intervention in the design of the show is evident. This strengthens this chapter's main idea that Afanti animate films were a state project to promote a constructed Xinjiang image across China.

The show's success is valuable to mention in order to highlight the degree of influence that Afanti and Xinjiang campaigns had on the public. After four years of training and preparations, the show became a real success with 45,000 audiences in

¹⁷⁰ Li, "Xinjiang zai tuan tuanzhang, shuji jiangshu 'Nihao, Afanti' de tai qian muhou" 新疆杂技团团团长、书记讲述“你好，阿凡提”的台前幕后 [The head of the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe and the secretary tell the story behind "Hello, Afanti].

70 performances in just three months. The secretary Cai Xiaorong calls this to be a very rare success for such commercial performances in China.¹⁷¹ By 2018, the acrobatic group's number of performances already reached 500.¹⁷² As a show business, it is evident that *Nihao, Afanti* is a success.

Apart from its success, showing its scope of influence on the Chinese people, it is also very important to underline why this acrobatic performance was designed. In the interview of the Secretary Cai Xiaorong and the head of the troupe Anniwaer Maimaiti, it is stressed that the target audience of the performance is not only the people from Xinjiang, but the Chinese people in the whole country as well as the international audience. Xiaorong and Maimaiti tell that they are in an effort to promote the tourism industry in Xinjiang, so they are in negotiations with the tourism industry in the region as well. Maimaiti underlines that although Xinjiang's economy is relatively prosperous, they cannot really promote its culture without a performance show. So, they actually want to attract tourists from other parts of China to Xinjiang with the help of these performances. However, they also stage performances in other cities like Beijing. The secretary Cai Xiaorong also stresses that it is about creating a brand and business card for Xinjiang tourism.¹⁷³ Therefore, an image-building process exists at the focus of the performance. This Xinjiang image is built upon Afanti figure.

The aim of promoting a Xinjiang image is visible in the content of the show. Although its main theme is Afanti, there are many Uyghur-specific performances

¹⁷¹ Li, "Xinjiang zai tuan tuanzhang, shuji jiangshu 'Nihao, Afanti' de tai qian muhou" 新疆杂技团团长、书记讲述“你好，阿凡提”的台前幕后 [The head of the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe and the secretary tell the story behind "Hello, Afanti].

¹⁷² " 'Nihao, Afanti' tai qian muhou de gushi" "你好，阿凡提" 台前幕后的故事 ["Hello, Afanti" behind the scenes].

¹⁷³ Li, "Xinjiang zai tuan tuanzhang, shuji jiangshu 'Nihao, Afanti' de tai qian muhou" 新疆杂技团团长、书记讲述“你好，阿凡提”的台前幕后 [The head of the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe and the secretary tell the story behind "Hello, Afanti].

such as the aerial tight-rope walk “Uyghur-Dawaz”, which is on the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and which has won awards in the National Minorities Traditional Games of China for eight times. Apart from such performances related to the Uyghur culture, the show itself is set in a romantic and dream-like atmosphere.¹⁷⁴ It is important to note that this show is not only promoting Afanti, but also the Uyghur culture and region by displaying its attractive features in an illusionary atmosphere of the performance, which brings forward the idea of ethnic exotification.

In the interview, Maimaiti tells that it was considered appropriate for Afanti to be chosen as a theme for the show, since it was a favourite figure among people of all nationalities in the country.¹⁷⁵ It is quite clear that Afanti contributes to a special goal of the Chinese state.

This acrobatics performance is not the only project that was built around Afanti theme. In 2008, the Xinjiang branch of the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) launched credit cards with Afanti designs with strong Xinjiang features. These cards became the first fashion credit cards with traditional cultural connotations, according to the information given on ICBC official website. The bank also highlights that Xinjiang Branch of ICBC is committed to make Afanti credit card become Urumqi people’s first choice and the “city’s image card” (城市形象卡, chengshi xingxiang ka).¹⁷⁶ This card design campaign of the bank shows the large scope of Afanti’s fame in China. But, the importance of this card is not restricted with this. It is also important to underline the effort of ICBC to turn this card into

¹⁷⁴ Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government, “Xinjiang Troupe to Stage Record-Breaking Acrobatic Drama.”

¹⁷⁵ Li, “Xinjiang zai tuan tuanzhang, shuji jiangshu ‘Nihao, Afanti’ de tai qian muhou” 新疆杂技团团长、书记讲述“你好，阿凡提”的台前幕后 [The head of the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe and the secretary tell the story behind “Hello, Afanti].

¹⁷⁶ Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, “Gongxing Xinjiang fenheng yingye bu tuichu ‘Afanti’ xinyongka” 工行新疆分行营业部推出“阿凡提信用卡” [Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Xinjiang branch sales department launches “Afanti” credit card].

“city’s image card”. These words hint that this card design may have a purpose of drawing the attention of the non-Uyghurs to Xinjiang as well by using the fame of Afanti, since “city’s image” should logically target the outsiders, not the insiders. ICBC also stresses that “Nasreddin Afanti is an outstanding representative of Xinjiang minority culture, and he is regarded as a figure of wisdom, humour and justice by the people of Xinjiang and the whole country”.¹⁷⁷ The bank also underlines that these cards, which are named *Congming de Afanti* 聪明的阿凡提 (Smart Afanti) and *Kuaile de Afanti* 快乐的阿凡提 (Happy Afanti), are rich in Xinjiang characteristics and cultural heritage which are unique in Xinjiang and the whole country.¹⁷⁸ It is seen that an emphasis is made not only on Afanti but also on Xinjiang. Xinjiang characteristics are tried to be represented via Afanti figure.

Another important detail about the two ICBC credit cards is that the Afanti image used on them are designed in the same way that was used in the *Afanti de Gushi* animated series.¹⁷⁹ Figure 3 and Figure 4 show the related credit cards:



Fig. 3 ICBC credit card with Afanti theme

Source: ICBC, “Afanti xinyongka,” 阿凡提信用卡 [Afanti credit cards]

<http://www.icbc.com.cn/icbc/%E7%89%A1%E4%B8%B9%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8D%A1%E7%89%87%E4%B8%96%E7%95%8C/%E7%89%A1%E4%B8%B9%E8%>

¹⁷⁷ Ju jieshao, ‘Nasierding Afanti’ shi Xinjiang shaoshu minzu wenhua de jiechu daibiao, Afanti bei Xinjiang naizhi quanguo ge zu renmin shi wei ji zhihui, youmo, zhengyi wei yishen de renwu xingxiang. 据介绍, “纳斯尔丁·阿凡提”是新疆少数民族文化的杰出代表, 阿凡提被新疆乃至全国各族人民视为集智慧、幽默、正义为一身的人物形象。Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, “Gongxing Xinjiang fenheng yingye bu tuichu ‘Afanti’ xinyongka” 工行新疆分行营业部推出“阿凡提信用卡” [Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Xinjiang branch sales department launches “Afanti” credit card].

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ For the card images, see “Afanti xinyongka” 阿凡提信用卡 [Afanti credit cards].

81%94%E5%90%8D%E4%BF%A1%E7%94%A8%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8C%BA%E5%9F%9F%E8%81%94%E5%90%8D%E8%AE%A4%E5%90%8C%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8C%BA%E5%9F%9F%E8%81%94%E5%90%8D%E5%8D%A1/%E9%98%BF%E5%87%A1%E6%8F%90%E4%BF%A1%E7%94%A8%E5%8D%A1.htm

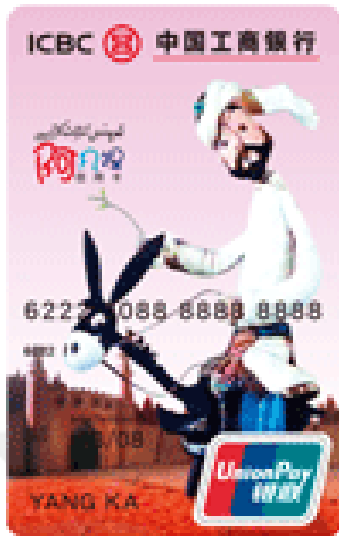


Fig. 4 ICBC credit card with Afanti theme

Source: ICBC, “Afanti xinyongka,” 阿凡提信用卡 [Afanti credit cards]

<http://www.icbc.com.cn/icbc/%E7%89%A1%E4%B8%B9%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8D%A1%E7%89%87%E4%B8%96%E7%95%8C/%E7%89%A1%E4%B8%B9%E8%81%94%E5%90%8D%E4%BF%A1%E7%94%A8%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8C%BA%E5%9F%9F%E8%81%94%E5%90%8D%E8%AE%A4%E5%90%8C%E5%8D%A1/%E5%8C%BA%E5%9F%9F%E8%81%94%E5%90%8D%E5%8D%A1/%E9%98%BF%E5%87%A1%E6%8F%90%E4%BF%A1%E7%94%A8%E5%8D%A1.htm>

For a comparison of the Afanti images on ICBC credit cards with Afanti image in the *Afanti de Gushi* series, one can see the Afanti image from the series in Figure 5:



Fig. 5 Afanti image from *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 13

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shisan ji Zhen Jia Afanti” 阿凡提的故事第十三集真假阿凡提 [The Story of Afanti, episode 13, the Real and the Fake Afanti], 19:50

https://youtu.be/Ro89kfKB9IU?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf

It is seen that the impact of these early-period animated film series is still visible in a bank’s credit cards which are released in April 2008. While the bank calls Afanti as “an outstanding representative of Xinjiang minority culture”, it is using the Afanti image in the same way it was used in the first Afanti animated film series in 1979. Therefore, one comes to the conclusion that today’s Afanti image in Chinese people’s minds goes back to this very first animation series and it is repeatedly being used by the Chinese state.

The spread of Afanti after *Afanti de Gushi* series and the impact of these series are also seen in an Afanti exhibition in Shanghai. According to *China Plus*, which is the official English website of *China Radio International* radio station, mentions the Afanti exhibition held in Shanghai from August 8 to September 3, 2017 as the “largest-ever theme exhibition” which is held “to honor Avanti [Afanti], one of China’s most famous cartoon characters”. The news article highlights that the “legendary figure” with his donkey stood at the exhibition centre at the Bund Finance

Centre. *China Plus* also emphasizes that Afanti “remains a symbol of wisdom and justice in the childhood memories of Post-80s and 90s.”¹⁸⁰ It is very clear how strong words *China Plus* is using to describe Afanti and the exhibition: “Legendary”, “largest-ever”, “one of China’s most famous cartoon characters”, “symbol of wisdom and justice”. Besides, such an important exhibition is held at the heart of Shanghai, the famous Bund Finance Centre. All these stressed factors make it obvious that Afanti is strongly positioned in China.

However, what is even more important for this thesis is the detail that Afanti’s fame in China is based on *Afanti de Gushi* cartoon series and the proceeding cartoons and animated movies. This may be seen in the Afanti representation items in the exhibition, which shows high resemblance to the “Afanti” in *Afanti de Gushi* series.¹⁸¹

Another news article about the Afanti exhibition has been published online by *Shanghai Daily*. This article also uses very similar expressions to the ones in *China Plus*. It is written that:

A large-scale theme exhibition is being held to honor Afanti, one of China’s most famous cartoon characters, at the Bund Finance Center in Shanghai.

The legendary figure with a goatee, who usually rides a donkey, remains a symbol of wisdom and justice in many people’s childhood memories in the 1980s and 1990s. ...

Largely sourced from Uygur folklore, Shanghai Animation Film Studio produced an animated puppet film “The Story of Afanti” in 1979. The humour and unique ethnic flavor of western China’s Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region quickly made Afanti a household name in China.

Between 1981 and 1988, a 13-episode Nasreddin Effendi-related animation was made. The series became one of the most influential animated works in China.¹⁸²

This news article from *Shanghai Daily* also highlights the big impact of *Afanti de Gushi* (The Story of Afanti) series on the spread of Afanti culture in China. What is

¹⁸⁰ Hu, “China’s Largest-Ever Avanti Theme Exhibition in Shanghai.”

¹⁸¹ For the photos of the exhibition, see Hu, “China’s Largest-Ever Avanti Theme Exhibition in Shanghai.”

¹⁸² Xu, “The Legend of Afanti lives on in exhibition.”

more, it is recognized as “one of the most influential animated works in China”.

Therefore, the importance of this series in China is not small. *CCTV International* even calls this series a “landmark” in the history of animation:

A landmark was the ‘Afanti’ series of the 1980s, adapted from Xinjiang folk stories. Puppet artist Jin Xi created the clever, brave, and humorous character of ‘Afanti’. He passed his job on to veteran Qu Jianfang in the mid-80s, and Qu went on to make Afanti a household name.¹⁸³

It is seen that Chinese media is regarding this *Afanti de Gushi* series as the starting point for the spread of fame of Afanti in China. However, they do not forget to mention the Xinjiang root of the stories. And, what is most important for this thesis is that, all these Afanti cartoons and animated works were state-sponsored.

Primerose Gigliesi, a specialist on Chinese art, literature and language¹⁸⁴, states in the preface of the book *The Effendi and The Pregnant Pot* that;

... it is possible to conclude that the diffusion of the Afanti tales in socialist China is not a casual accident. It is a fact which has to be seen within the framework of cultural strategy chosen by the Chinese. It is a strategy that aims to create a new culture which responds to the needs of the millions of people who have become masters of their own destiny.

In reading the Nasreddin stories, therefore, one must try to break out of the restrictive framework of our own traditional method of analysis. This means, first of all, trying to look at the stories not with an outside eye but, if possible, with Chinese eyes. The ideological content of the Nasreddin stories can be used in the work of ideological education today, as China moves forward to create a new and modern society and a new people.¹⁸⁵

Gigliesi’s underlining this detail of a cultural strategy chosen to diffuse Afanti in China in the creation of a new and modern society is specifically important, as it prepares a solid base of proof for this thesis of which topic is the usage of Nasreddin Hodja in the Chinese media for handling the Xinjiang Conflict which stands as a hurdle in this development towards achieving a new and modern society. The

¹⁸³ Ge, ed., “80 Years of Chinese Animation.”

¹⁸⁴ Gigliesi and Friend, trans., *The Effendi and The Pregnant Pot: Uyghur Folktales from China*, back cover.

¹⁸⁵ Gigliesi and Friend, trans., *The Effendi and The Pregnant Pot: Uyghur Folktales from China*, preface, v.

following chapters of the thesis focus on this “new and modern society” building process and how Afanti is connected to this.



CHAPTER 3

PRC'S XINJIANG POLICIES AND

HOW THE POLICIES ARE IN LINE WITH THE AFANTI ANIMATED FILMS

Chapter 2 of this thesis has claimed that previous to the Afanti animated films in China, Afanti was a figure only known in the Xinjiang region; however, after these films, he became a popular and welcomed figure across China. It has also been claimed that these films have been under the sponsorship and encouragement of the central state as part of an internal exoticification and orientalism campaign in order to keep Xinjiang under control and dominance.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Chinese state's Xinjiang policies since *Afanti de Gushi* with the aim of showing how Afanti films are in line with the state policies. In this chapter, it is also shown why these films are produced during specific years. Particularly, the focus will be on why the first series are produced in 1979 and why they stop being produced after 1989 till the 2010s.

This chapter also builds a basis on which the next chapter is constructed with the content analysis of the related Afanti animated films.

3.1 From the foundation of PRC to the first Afanti Animated Film

When the People's Liberation Army entered Xinjiang in 1949 in order to control the region, the CPC had very little experience in Xinjiang and with the non-Han population of the region. Moreover, the army faced a deep Soviet influence among many non-Han elites. In addition, they encountered scattered resistance, sometimes armed. This was a period of direct military control in Xinjiang.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 237-239.

Just military control was not enough to control the region and establish stability. Therefore, the Chinese authorities started a land reform project in 1950, which had economic and political aims. This reform aimed to undermine the local elites which are usually called landlords, by mobilizing poorer peasants against them. It also aimed to earn the support of the poorer population for the central party by lowering the rents and redistributing land. Moreover, meetings were done in which local people were encouraged to denounce the landlords publicly. This also allowed the central government to detect the most compliant and articulate meeting participants so that they could then recruit these compliant people as party members and government cadres. In this way, a path was being opened to expand and deepen the central state's local influence. Although some Uyghur population showed resistance to this project, some of them welcomed it, as it provided them land, livestock, and property confiscated from local landlords. However, this reform project did not prove very efficient in terms of getting the Uyghurs and other local minorities under control because the northern part of Xinjiang was populated by nomads occupied with herding, and land ownership did not mean much to them. The state also feared that the nomads would kill their livestock instead of giving them to the central state. Therefore, the model did not fit and after 1952, the authorities sought other ways to keep the region under control.¹⁸⁷

What is important here for this thesis is the state's effort to earn the support and loyalty of the local population by fighting against the local powers, who are the landlords in this case, and trying to make the minorities' lives economically better. This fighting against the local landlords is particularly reflected in *Afanti de Gushi* and *Shaonian Afanti* series, in which Afanti fights against the wealthy and stingy

¹⁸⁷ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 240-242.

landlord Bayi.¹⁸⁸ In these series, Afanti is a symbol for the Uyghurs who welcomed the land reform project, while Bayi stands for the feudal local power. This shows that Chinese state's desire to integrate Xinjiang into China by constructing an Afanti that fights against the powerful local powers.

An important policy that will be examined is the migration policy for Xinjiang. As James Millward explains, in the 1950s, the state started “Grand Border Support Plan” which mobilized soldiers to be deployed in agriculture, stock-raising, civil engineering, industry, and mining in Xinjiang. Between 1952 and 1954, they were organized into a system which would form the primary basis for migration and settlement policy in Xinjiang for the Han population. This system, called *bingtuan* 兵团 in Chinese, combined production and military duties, and it promoted land reclamation and resettlement in the region. Between 1950s and mid-1970s, the *bingtuan*, apart from the soldiers, had hundreds of thousands of Han migrants, and tens of thousands of convicts who were dispatched to Xinjiang. This was a system of recruiting manpower into Xinjiang. However, complaints were reported in the press reports that some of the local minorities were not satisfied with this migration campaign and they complaint that these Han migrants were destroying their local environment, that they were being forced to learn Chinese, that the Hans did not understand the Uyghurs, that the Han population in the region were dominant, and they raised some other similar issues.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ For *Afanti de Gushi* episodes, see Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti]. For *Shaonian Afanti* series, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

¹⁸⁹ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 251-258.

Therefore, this policy did not seem to be totally successful. However, we should note that the strategy towards Xinjiang was both for increasing the production and having an increasing Han population in this region. This was an effort to achieve the integration of Xinjiang into China and increasing the dominance over it. As Dru Gladney states;

[u]nheralded sociopolitical integration of Xinjiang into the Chinese nation-state has taken place since 1949. While Xinjiang has been under Chinese political domination since the defeat of the Zungars in 1754, until the middle of the 20th century it was but loosely incorporated into China proper. The extent of the incorporation of the Xinjiang Region into China is indicated by Han migration, communication, education, and occupational shifts since the 1940s.¹⁹⁰

This Han migration policy is an important component of the state's Xinjiang policy, which is directed to increase the state hegemony over the region through a growing Han population versus the locals.

When the Cultural Revolution started, things got harsher. Mao Zedong encouraged China's youth to launch political and physical attacks on the personnel of the party and bureaucracy that they accused of following capitalism. As a result, the high ranking officials started to organize their own attacks to defend their positions. When the tone of the campaign went extreme, any foreign or old thing or person started to be attacked. Xinjiang region was also affected by this campaign. Non-Han culture was seen as backward and feudal. During this period, minority culture was oppressed to a large extent. For example, private trading in the bazaars, which was part of daily life for the Uyghurs, was forbidden. Uyghur music, dance, circumcision parties and other ritual celebrations were also among the things forbidden. There was a destruction of cultural items in Xinjiang. It is reportedly told that Qur'ans were burnt, mosques, madrasas, and Muslim cemeteries were shut down, and native

¹⁹⁰ Gladney, *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*, 219.

dresses were forbidden.¹⁹¹ What interests this thesis is the point that during this era there was no tolerance for the minority cultures. What is more, Justin Sevakis states that animation studios were closed down and the artists were forced to work in the country-side.¹⁹² It should be noted that during the Cultural Revolution, publishing of Afanti collections by Zhao Shijie was also interrupted and no article of Afanti was published between 1963 and 1978.¹⁹³

When the first Afanti animated film, *Afanti de Gushi*, was produced in 1979, the Cultural Revolution was over. And this was the time when Deng Xiaoping had the control of the government. James A. Millward underlines that this was a leadership that stressed political stability, economic growth, and pragmatic approach to policy making rather than ideological approach. When Deng Xiaoping came to power, it was already understood and quoted in official sources that the Cultural Revolution policies had damaged the support for the Communist Party among non-Han people in Xinjiang. These former policies included governmental discrimination for non-Han customs, corrosion of minority rights, and the moving away from the autonomous regions system. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping returned to the more modest and amenable minority policies of the early 1950s.¹⁹⁴

Here, the before-mentioned land reform and migration policies that started in the early 1950s should be remembered once again. Deng Xiaoping's emphasis on economic growth and pragmatic approach can be connected to these previous two policies. The land reform of the early 1950s aimed to gain the loyalty of the Xinjiang for the central government, and thus, supported the local people by redistributing land to them. The migration policy, also, carried both economic and political aims.

¹⁹¹ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 265-276.

¹⁹² Justin Sevakis, "Buried Garbage-Chinamation," October 25, 2007, *Anime News Network*, online, quoted in Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 97.

¹⁹³ "'Afanti' conghe chulai" '阿凡提'从何处来 [Where does Afanti come from?].

¹⁹⁴ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 276-277.

Xinjiang during Deng Xiaoping's authority also faced migration, but this time, the migrants were profit driven. Agnieszka Joniak-Lüthi states that:

Most of the post-1980s migration to Xinjiang... appears driven by the search of economic profit. It also seems to be predominantly organized by individuals, and mostly voluntary. At the same time, however, this does not mean it is not political, centrally-planned and centrally- and locally-encouraged. The central and local governments have successfully created the favorable conditions necessary to attract Chinese companies to establish factories in Xinjiang. This, in turn, attracts workers to those regions where factories are constructed.¹⁹⁵

What should be focused here is the central and local governments' efforts to create conditions that will attract the Chinese companies, and in turn, Han workers, to the region. Dru Gladney's statement that "extent of the incorporation of the Xinjiang Region into China is indicated by Han migration, communication, education, and occupational shifts since the 1940s" has already been mentioned previously, and it should be noted here once again.¹⁹⁶ Deng Xiaoping's policies seem to be combining all these four factors of Han migration, communication, education, and occupational shifts by creating a Han and non-Han population living together through voluntary migration to Xinjiang. A Han investor in Xinjiang during 1980s is quoted once as saying:

There are many opportunities for investors in Xinjiang; the state policy is very good. I met many friends here. They all tell me: "It is good that people like you from inner China are coming to invest here, from you we learn how to make big money." I came here to make a contribution to Xinjiang. Our company is paying taxes, and in this way we make a great contribution to Xinjiang. If we don't come, the resources will remain untapped and the government of Xinjiang will receive no taxes There are many investment possibilities here We are operating an iron mine. I have been here for a year now. Xinjiang is really not bad. I got used to it, no problem. The climate is better than back home, [and] in winter you have central heating. The food is *qingzhen (halal)* but I have no problem with that.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Joniak-Lüthi, "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies," 166-168.

¹⁹⁶ Gladney, *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*, 219.

¹⁹⁷ Joniak-Lüthi, "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies," 167.

In a similar fashion to this economic and pragmatic policy of Xinjiang, the National People's Congress passed a law in May 1984. This law allowed local and regional authorities to consider local conditions in applying central government laws to their areas. This law also encouraged the employment of more minority cadres, and also encouraged the promotion of non-Han culture and publishing in non-Han languages. It was also stated in the law that the relevant non-Han language could be adopted as the primary administrative language of an autonomous region or district.¹⁹⁸

It was under such conditions, during which the minority culture was promoted, that the first Afanti animated series were being produced and broadcasted. Therefore, it will be claimed here that under a political agenda which aimed to establish an attractive Xinjiang environment for the Han investors, the first Afanti animated films *Afanti de Gushi*, which was produced by the state-owned Shanghai Animation Film Studios, was part of this agenda. After seeing that earlier oppressive strategy during the Cultural Revolution did not work as expected and led to the deterioration of the Xinjiang Conflict, the state has used the studio to produce an animated film with Xinjiang theme under the minority culture promotion strategy of Deng Xiaoping.

In the online discussion video posted by Alberto Maynard, James Millward states that during the period between 1970s and 1980s, there was more room for cultural expression and more “official appreciation” for the cultural differences. During these years, the state was sponsoring the Uyghur literature, music, and dance. It was a time of openness and there were political space for people to express themselves.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 278.

¹⁹⁹ Maynard, “Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward.”

In a parallel manner, the 1984 law of Regional Ethnic Autonomy guaranteed the preferential policies on minorities, such as priority in secondary school and college admission, and allowing them to have more than one child. These preferential policies are supposed to support the minorities and in turn win their loyalty for the regime.²⁰⁰ *Afanti de Gushi*'s role of integration enters into stage at this point. By producing these Xinjiang themed animated films, the state aims to win the loyalty of the Xinjiang locals. In addition, it also aims to make Xinjiang more attractive to pull the Han investors into the region.

I do not argue that the Chinese state wanted Xinjiang to economically improve for the sake of the local Xinjiang people. It had its own benefits. Gaye Christoffersen stresses Xinjiang's role for China as a supplier of raw materials to the coastal regions, either for exporting or using in its own industry, and as the linkage point of the Silk Road economy.²⁰¹ Xinjiang's rich oil and gas reserves and mineral resources are all important for Beijing,²⁰² which makes the authorities think deeply over how to complete Xinjiang's integration into China.

These animated films can also be interpreted as an instrument that serves for the social mixing of the Uyghurs and the Han, and their becoming friendly and harmonized with each other. Thus, what is claimed here is that the minority law of 1984 is in parallel direction with *Afanti de Gushi* series in terms of giving the minorities more space to exist. It is worthy to underline that during the 1980s, unrests in the Xinjiang region were intensified.²⁰³ Therefore, it was expected for the government to actively seek a solution to settle down this issue.

²⁰⁰ Shan and Weng, "China's New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges," 59.

²⁰¹ Christoffersen, "Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning," 136.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁰³ Harris, *Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China's Policy in the Islamic World*, 117-118.

In a similar way, tourism, which has been one of the main industries that the central state aims to develop, has been one of the main components of Deng Xiaoping's strategies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then, official publications increasingly present ethnic minorities as tourist attractions.²⁰⁴ In a parallel fashion, tourism activity in Xinjiang also faced development. Dru Gladney states that between 1980 and 1987 there have been more than 6,500 hajj pilgrims from Xinjiang to Mecca. Similarly, according to the Chinese press, from 1986 to 1987, the number of domestic and foreign tourists who visited Xinjiang increased by 52% to 73,800. And most of these tourists were coming to see the minorities, who were different from them, and their traditional ethnic dances, and outfit.²⁰⁵ However, the efforts of the Chinese authorities to improve tourism in Xinjiang did not mean that the state's hegemonistic approach changed. It was still an effort of colonial rule based on a constructed minority representation.

Gladney gives examples to some of the minority representations in China during Deng Xiaoping regime, mainly of oil paintings. These oil paintings give a general idea about how the minorities were reflected in that time. They are important to see the the feminine characteristics attributed to the Xinjiang minorities. They show the relation between the female and weak, the ruled and the ruler. One example to these oil paintings, created by the artists of the time, can be seen in Figure 6:

²⁰⁴ Barabantseva, "Development as Localization," *Critical Asian Studies*, 235.

²⁰⁵ Gladney, "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separation," 224-225.



Fig. 6 Representation of a Muslim woman in Zhao Yixiong painting
Source: Zhao Yixiong, "The Awakening of Tarim", 1979, oil painting, in Joan Lebold Cohen, *The New Chinese Painting 1949-1986*, New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987, 54, quoted in Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 106.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2059528>

In the painting seen in Figure 6, an ethnic woman is represented together with very characteristic local patterns such as camels and some other animals, mosque, desert, and some local fruits. The woman, lying right in the middle of these representations, correlate the feminine attributes with the local setting. The relation between the feminine and the distant land puts the latter into the position of the weaker side, as opposed to the dominant male. Other similar paintings can also be seen in Figures 7 and 8:

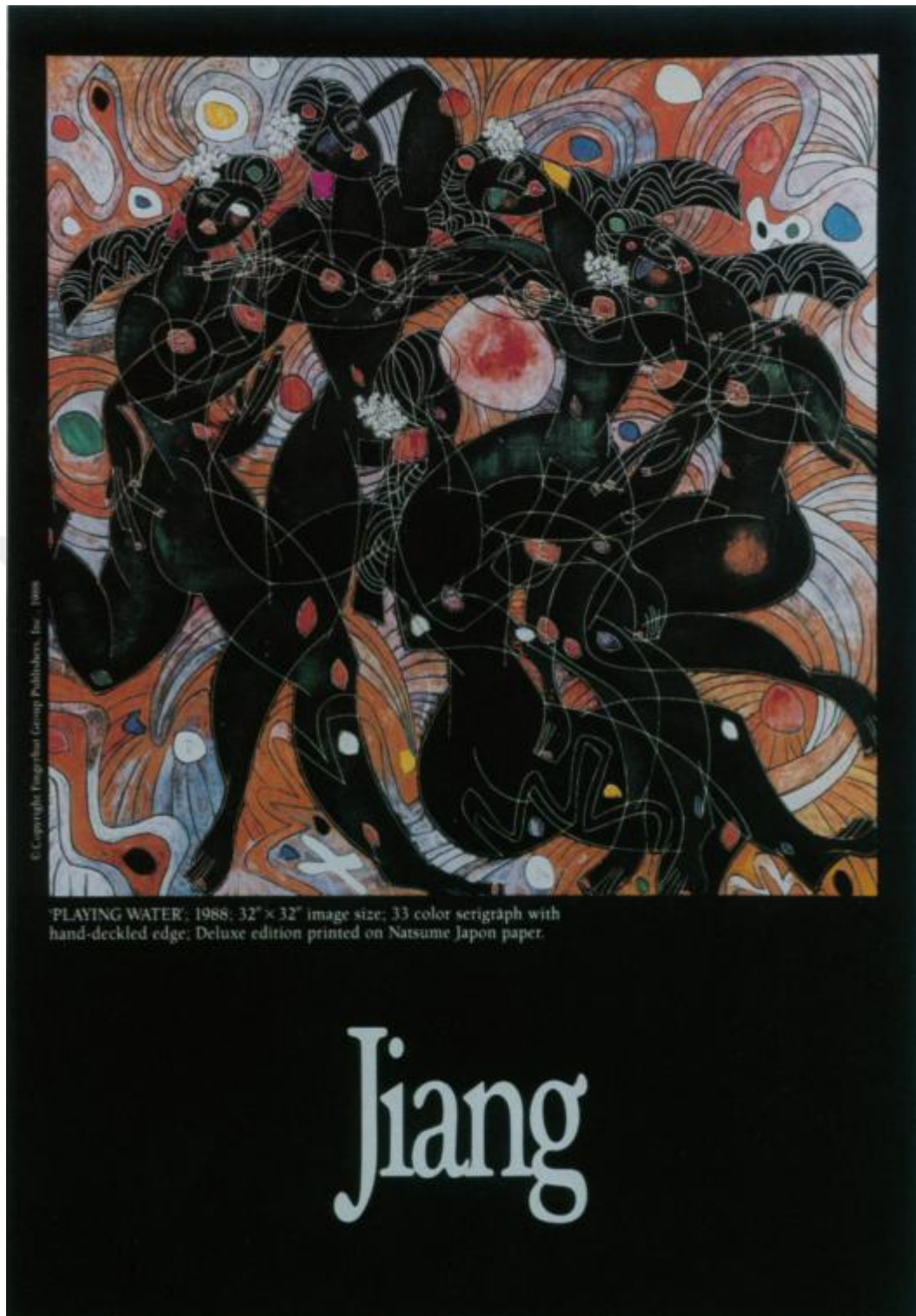


Fig. 7 Jiang Tieng's painting exhibition brochure in 1988
Source: Jiang Tieng, "Playing Water," 1988, oil painting, in Fingerhut Group Publishers, exhibit brochure, 1992, quoted in Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 108.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2059528>



Fig. 8 Representation of a Muslim woman in Silk Road in a painting by Ting Shao Kuang

Source: Ting Shao Kuang, "Silk Road", 1986, painting, in Hiestand Gallery, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio: Segal Fine Art, 1990, September 15-October 12, quoted in Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 107.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2059528>

These paintings by Chinese artists show how the minorities were represented during the reform years. All these paintings link the minorities with the female and the exotic in a distant land with vivid, stereotypical images of camels, mosques, and wide landscapes.

According to Gladney, these Chinese artists objectify minority women as colourful, exotic, and erotic; and they deny their individuality and subjectivity. One

of the artists interviewed by Gladney even admits that he included African elements as well in his paintings,²⁰⁶ which brings forward the historical colonial memories.

Gladney also discusses another minority representation, which is seen in Figure 9:



Fig. 9 Ethnic minority image created by China Islamic Association
Source: China Islamic Association, *A Collection of Painting and Calligraphy Solicited for Charity in Aid of the Disabled*, Beijing: Renmin Meishu Publication Society, 1985, 28, quoted in Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 105.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2059528>

²⁰⁶ Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 110.

It is noteworthy that the caption of the image created by China Islamic Association says “I love the Great Wall” in Mandarin, English, and Arabic language, “although the Great Wall was primarily built to keep nomadic peoples out.”²⁰⁷ Gladney points out to the detail that three of the men in the image wear Turkic and Hui Islamic hats, while the woman is veiled, and strangely, one man is African.²⁰⁸ His comments regarding this African man are worthy to mention:

Perhaps he [the African man] is represented on the wall with the other minorities to represent their ethnic solidarity; more seriously, perhaps it is to emphasize their corporate “primitivity” (i.e., promoting the idea that China’s minorities are like “primitive” Africans)...²⁰⁹

It is seen that Chinese representation, and construction, of minority image is based on a colonial manner. This is why eroticized women are represented, as they symbolize the primitive to be exploited.

What I claim is that *Afanti de Gushi* series were part of such a colonial, exotic ethnic tourism campaign to attract the Hans to Xinjiang. Although Chapter 4 is dedicated to the *Afanti* animated films analysis, I would like to give an example to this project from *Afanti de Gushi* series.

In one of the episodes of *Afanti de Gushi* series, there is a scene where a local ethnic woman dances in the local palace, in a seductive style, with hand gesture offering charm and evoking the audience, as if to say “come to Xinjiang”, which can be seen in Figure 10.

²⁰⁷ Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 97.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.



Fig. 10 Beautiful women dancing in the local palace in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
 Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 12:06
https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf

This construction of minority image has the same idea as seen in Figure 1, man from Turpan offering grapes to the Han reader. I claim that all these are involved in the Xinjiang tourism project, while positioning the ethnic minorities as an object to be exploited. Trevor Sofield and F.M. Sarah Li notes that it was under Deng Xiaoping’s rule that ethnicity in tourism started to be seen as an important element in the development of China.²¹⁰ Keeping Xinjiang under control is seen as part of this development by the Chinese rulers.

3.2 From 1990s to 2010s: No Afanti animated films

The relaxed policy of ethnic openness of Deng Xiaoping was to be followed by harsh campaigns once again. As James Millward states in an online discussion posted by Alberto Maynard, there have been many shifts in PRC’s Xinjiang policies, and the

²¹⁰Sofield and Li, *Indigenous Minorities of China and Effects of Tourism*, 269.

reform policies of 1970s and 1980s which provided more room for cultural expression ended with 1989 Tiananmen demonstrations.²¹¹

Nicolas Becquelin states that during the 1980s and 1990s, a large part of the official opinion on Xinjiang was built on the idea that economic development in Xinjiang would naturally solve all the conflicts if the minorities enjoyed higher standards of living. Therefore, together with economic development, they would abandon their separatist aspirations. However, due to the market mechanism in the local economy, which favoured the Han population, the Uyghurs felt increasingly more colonized.²¹²

Deng Xiaoping made a visit to Xinjiang from 10 to 18 August 1981, and reportedly, he encountered an “unsteady situation”. Accordingly, the Uyghur dissidents were openly expressing their discontent that they did not want to be dominated and they wanted self rule.²¹³ Apart from the discontents on the social part, the economic development of Xinjiang was not as good as expected either. Donald H. McMilen says that:

On the economic front, there were equally pessimistic reports. ... Overall, it would seem that Xinjiang’s economy was only making marginal gains, if any, and that these modest improvements were not keeping pace with the rising expectations of either the people or the authorities.²¹⁴

In order to dissolve the general discontent among the Uyghurs, the Chinese state tried some ways to improve the conditions of these local people. For example, they focused on giving non-Han cadres more flexibility in their leadership roles, improving the minorities’ living conditions, and expanding the range of the policy of freedom to believe in a religion. Meanwhile, McMilen states that, it was also made

²¹¹ Maynard, “Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward.”

²¹² Becquelin, “Staged Development in Xinjiang,” 373.

²¹³ *Zhengming* and *International Herald Tribune*, as quoted in McMilen, “Xinjiang and Wang Enmao: new Directions in Power, Policy, and Integration?,” 581.

²¹⁴ McMilen, “Xinjiang and Wang Enmao: new Directions in Power, Policy, and Integration?,” 580-581.

clear that “all elements who continued to sabotage unity would be severely punished”.²¹⁵

Moreover, there were some several serious incidents in the region that raised concerns about the security in the area. For example, James Millward states that in December 1985, around 2,000 non-Han students from Xinjiang University and other higher learning institutions started a demonstration in Urumqi. The reasons behind this demonstration included topics like the nuclear testing in Xinjiang, immigration of the Hans into this region, and extension of the state’s family planning policy to the Xinjiang minorities as well.²¹⁶ Millward explains that as part of the mentioned family planning at that time, restricted number of child, which was originally designed for the Han population, started to be applied to more and more Uyghurs, particularly on those living in the cities, which stirred up dissatisfaction among them.²¹⁷

Once more, after the relaxed Deng Xiaoping reform era, a harsher policy period was approaching due to the rising concern of the state about the stability in Xinjiang. Brent Hierman states that after a series of demonstrations and riots in Urumqi in May 1989, the state showed signs that its general policy towards the freedom to practice Islam was changing.²¹⁸ He claims that the “wave of protests” that began in April 1988 led to the Baren uprising in 1990. Baren incident is called “exceptional” by Hierman due to its inclusiveness of “premeditated violence, such as assassinations, bombings, and armed insurgencies” and constitutes a “turning point” in terms of “anti-state violence”. He also says that these events caused the Chinese state to change how they react to the conflicts in Xinjiang.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ McMillen, “Xinjiang and Wang Enmao: new Directions in Power, Policy, and Integration?,” 582-583.

²¹⁶ Millward, *Violent Separatism in Xinjiang: A Critical Assessment*, 8.

²¹⁷ Maynard, “Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward.”

²¹⁸ Hierman, “The Pacification of Xinjiang: Uighur Protest and the Chinese State, 1988-2002,” 51.

²¹⁹ Hierman, “The Pacification of Xinjiang: Uighur Protest and the Chinese State, 1988-2002,” 49-50.

Apart from the incidents in Xinjiang, there were also the crucial 1989 Tiananmen demonstrations.²²⁰ In addition, Nicolas Becquelin states that 1990s witnessed an increasing number of violent incidents including the assassination of the vice-chairman of the province's Consultative Political Conference in 1995, the Yining riots in 1997, and the bombings in Urumqi on the ceremony day for the mourning of Deng Xiaoping.²²¹ The violent events become so high in number that the provincial governor of that time, Abdulahat Abdurixit, publicly admits in 1999 and says that "Since the start of the 1990s, if you count explosions, assassinations and other terrorist activities, it comes to a few thousand incidents".²²² Becquelin underlined that 1996 marks "a major turning point" in Xinjiang policy. In 1996, the Chinese state started the national "Strike Hard" campaign targeted against the "separatist and religious activities" in Xinjiang. The repression efforts of the government were then "extended from targeting unlawful activities to controlling the society as a whole". 1990s can be described as a turnaround of the liberal policies of the 1980s. In Becquelin's words; "in the eyes of the party, it seem[ed] that freer cultural expression and religious practices fostered separatist ideas".²²³

What makes this policy shift for Xinjiang important for this thesis is that after the end of *Afanti de Gushi* series in 1989, we do not see the next *Afanti* animated films during 1990s and 2000s. *Shaonian Afanti* series, the next *Afanti* cartoon series after *Afanti de Gushi*, was broadcasted nationwide on CCTV in 2012-2013. So why did the *Afanti* films reappear in 2010s?

²²⁰ Maynard, "Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward."

²²¹ Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," 86-87.

²²² Agence France Presse (Hog Kong), 11 March 1999 (FBIS-CHI-1999-0311, "Governor Says Xinjiang Suffering Separatist Violence", 11 March 1999), quoted in Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," 87.

²²³ Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," 87-88.

3.3 2010s: The return of Afanti

With the rising unrests in Xinjiang in 1990s, the Chinese authorities made a policy change towards the beginning of 2000 and decided to promote and develop the inner Western areas of China, which was an act to handle “economic, regional, ecological, and security concerns”.²²⁴ In June 9, 1999, the Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin made the following declaration at the CPC Central Committee:

The conditions for speeding up the development of the central and western regions have by and large existed, and the time is ripe.... In continuing to accelerate the development of the eastern coastal region, we should lose no opportunities to speed up the development of the central and western regions. From now on, this should become a major strategic task for the party and the state, and should be placed in a more noticeable position.²²⁵

Moreover, the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan of China in 2001 also focuses on the western development:

The State Council has already promulgated a number of policies and measures to support the development of the western region. The state will invest more in the west and increase transfer payments from the national budget to local budgets there. However, people in the western region should rely primarily on their own efforts and hard work over the long haul. We need to accelerate reform and opening up and create a sound investment environment to attract more funds, technology and human resources from home and abroad to the western region. We also need to increase the exchange of cadres.²²⁶

As can be understood from the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan, the Chinese authorities wanted to allocate budget for the regional development, but, they also wanted to create an “investment environment to attract more funds, technology and human resources” to the region.

²²⁴ Lai, “China’s Western Development Program: Its Rationale, Implementation, and Prospects,” 432.

²²⁵ Du Ping, Shi Peihua, Xiao Jincheng, and Yang Jie “Xibu qiujin: Xibu da kaifa de zhengce Beijing yu shangye jiyu” [Getting gold in the West: the policy background and commercial opportunities in Great Western Development] (Beijing: Zhongguo Yanshi Chubanshe, 2000), quoted in Lai, “China’s Western Development Program: Its Rationale, Implementation, and Prospects,” 436.

²²⁶ Zhu, “V. Implementing the Strategy for Developing the Western Region to Promote Coordinated Progress of Different Areas.”

After this soft shift in western area policy, 2009 was marked by the outbreak of serious unrests in 2009 in Xinjiang.²²⁷ Colin Mackerras calls the incidents as “by far the most serious” and says that according to the official Chinese data, the number of dead at the incidents is estimated to be 197. And after these incidents, a series of measures were designed to promote stability, most of which focused on economic development in the region in order to improve the minorities’ livelihood so that they would be less inclined to rebel.²²⁸

These measures were discussed in the Xinjiang Work Conference in 2010. This conference was a joint conference of the CPC central committee and China’s cabinet, the State Council, held in Beijing from 17 to 19 May “to promote ‘a new deal’ in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region”.²²⁹ In regards to this conference, Shan Wei and Weng Cuifen states that:

According to the official Xinhua Agency, the conference decided to take a balanced approach between stability and development in Xinjiang, giving more priority to development. The objective of policies is to “leapfrog development” and achieve “long-term stability.” A consensus among leaders is that the “major contradiction” in Xinjiang is between the growing material and cultural demands of the people and the low level of social and economic development, and to solve this contradiction, the focus of the government in the region has to be on economic development. ...

Xinjiang should also work towards a “moderately prosperous society” (xiaokang shehui) in all aspects by 2020. It should improve people’s living standards and build an eco-friendly environment, as well as ensure ethnic unity, social stability and security.

To achieve these goals, the priority of development will be given to improving the livelihood of all ethnic groups.²³⁰

From the decisions taken in the conference, it is understood that the government decided to focus on the economy and development of Xinjiang in order to achieve

²²⁷ Szadziwski, “The Open Up the West Campaign among Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Exploring a Rights-Based Approach,” 70.

²²⁸ Mackerras, “Xinjiang in China’s Foreign Relations: Part of a New Silk Road or Central Asian Zone of Conflict?,” 27-28.

²²⁹ Shan and Weng, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges,” 58-62.

²³⁰ Shan and Weng, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges,” 62.

ethnic unity, stability, and security in the region. The authorities during that time thought that the “contradiction” in Xinjiang was a result of the “growing material and cultural demands” of the local people and “the low social and economic development”. Therefore, the gap between the demand and the actual situation caused the conflict in the region. Moreover, it is the aim of the government to close this gap in Xinjiang by 2020 by improving living standards, building an eco-friendly environment, ensuring ethnic unity, social stability and security.

Thus, we see that once again the policy towards Xinjiang was changed from a “strike hard” approach of the 1990s and 2000s to a more developmentalist, soft, and moderate one of the 2010s, and 2009 bloody uprisings were the biggest effect that triggered this total shift. Therefore, the re-appearance of Afanti cartoons with *Shaonian Afanti* was a result of this policy change. Moreover, these Afanti series was directed towards the regional development of Xinjiang in order to achieve social and ethnic unity. It was aimed that this regional development would be achieved by turning Xinjiang into a more attractive region through a media promotion campaign via these animated films, like an advertisement campaign.

It is seen helpful here to underline once more that the acrobatic show *Nihao, Afanti*, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, was officially started to be performed in 2009 and has continued to be performed by 2018. The parallel momentum between the show and *Shaonian Afanti* is clear and it is claimed here that both carried the same policy aims. They are both designed to develop Xinjiang’s economy and living standards in order to have a soothing effect on the local people, so that they will not start uprisings. Afanti themed credit cards launched by ICBC in 2008, also focused in detail in Chapter 2, are also correlated with the reappearance of Afanti animated films.

This new Xinjiang-friendly policy reminds one about the land reform policy that started in 1950 in order to win the loyalty of the local Xinjiang people. The new policy approach of 2010 is also similar to Deng Xiaoping reforms in terms of not being oppressive but developmental in Xinjiang.

Nicolas Becquelin mentions that “state environmentalism” was also adopted as part of the project to develop the west to “rejuvenate the environment”.²³¹ This “state environmentalism”, which is basically environmental protection efforts supported by the state, is actually visible in the *Laoxiao Afanti* series. Although a detailed film analysis is made in Chapter 4, I would like to provide an example here in Figure 11 below:



Fig. 11 Afanti watching wind turbines in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6
Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsì 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 11:05
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html

Moreover, Afanti animated films did not only aimed at making Xinjiang more attractive to foster its economic development. In June 2000, the head of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, Li Dezhu, wrote an article in *Qiushi* 求是 [Seeking

²³¹ Becquelin, “Staged Development in Xinjiang,” 366.

Truth], which is the authoritative journal of the CPC.²³² Becquelin states that it was clearly mentioned in the article that the state was aiming to promote migration to the minority regions so that it can “dilute the ethnic populations in the border areas” and “strengthen national unity”.²³³ However, the article of Li Dezhu was also warning against a problem that this migration would cause:

In keeping with the increased population flow of the various ethnic groups, there will be some changes in the proportions of the nationalities. There will also be some conflicts and clashes in their contacts. If this is not handled well, it will have a deleterious effect on national unity and social stability, and should draw a high level of attention.²³⁴

The state was clearly aware of the fact that their migration promotion policy to Xinjiang might cause ethnic clashes due to changes in population rates. Afanti’s role in evading these ethnic clashes starts with his constructed ethnic role modality. As a state-idealized ethnic model, Afanti shows to the Xinjiang people how an approved minority citizen should be. For the Hans, he represents the exoticized distant region. He becomes a pacifier for the Xinjiang people and a figure from a land to be exploited by the Hans.

Afanti is not the only animated film character developed by the Chinese state for the integration of Xinjiang into China. Shenzhen Qianheng Cultural Communication Company won a tender to create the 104-episode *Princess Fragrant* cartoon series as part of a campaign designed to be on television in 2015 by the Chinese authorities “to promote social harmony among China’s different ethnic groups and raise awareness of the folk customs of the Uyghurs”²³⁵ According to articles published on media organizations such as *CNN*, *The Washington Post*,

²³² Becquelin, “Staged Development in Xinjiang,” 373.

²³³ Ibid., 373-374.

²³⁴ Li Dezhu, “Xibu da kaifa yu minzu wenti” 西部大开发与民族问题 [The opening of the west and China’s nationality problem], *Qiushi* 求是 [Seeking Truth], June 1, 2000, quoted in Becquelin, “Staged Development in Xinjiang,” 374.

²³⁵ Brown and Dong, “China’s Restive Far West Hopes to Win Hearts with ‘Princess Fragrant’ Cartoon.”

Global Times, and *The Diplomat*, the cartoon series “Princess Fragrant” (天香公主, Tianxiang Gongzu) is a campaign organized by the Chinese state to cope with the Uyghur Issue through the lovely and beautiful “Princess Fragrant” who can bring the Uyghurs and the Hans together peacefully.²³⁶ In one of the articles, it is stated that:

At a time when the restive region of Xinjiang has witnessed executions of alleged separatists, knife attacks on train passengers, and clashes between the Chinese government and forces it has identified as Muslim extremists, a film company believes that it has the answer: a cartoon princess.

With the encouragement of the authorities, a Chinese animation company is turning to a Disney-like character for help in bringing ethnic Uyghurs and Han Chinese together.

“Princess Fragrant” is a 104-episode show based on the historic figure Ipal Khan.

In a phone interview, its creators said they think the story of a princess from the Uyghur Muslim minority who married a Chinese emperor in the 18th century could ease the ill will on both sides – or at least begin that process with the next generation.

... Deng Jiangwei, director of the cartoon, said the animators chose to focus on Princess Fragrant – rendered with classic Disney-pixie cuteness and wide-eyed innocence- because of her historic contributions to ethnic unity and stability. She remains highly regarded in both Uyghur and Han Chinese societies.²³⁷

“Princess Fragrant” actually has a wide reputation in China under the name Xiang Fei and there are unofficial histories of the legend of “the Fragrant Concubine”.²³⁸ According to most versions of the historical story of this figure, Xiang Fei was the consort or daughter of Khoja Jihan who resisted the Qing dynasty’s conquest of Altishahr at the southern Xinjiang in mid 18th century. The Qianlong emperor, who heard the tales about the beauty and mysterious fragrance of Xiang Fei’s body,

²³⁶ Brown and Dong, “China’s Restive Far West Hopes to Win Hearts with ‘Princess Fragrant’ Cartoon”; Wan and Xu, “Chinese Animators Hope Cartoon Princess Can Help Ease Ethnic Tensions In Xinjiang”; Liang, “Xinjiang Fights an Ideology War Through Cartoon Production”; Pillalamarri, “A New Cartoon Attempts to Bring Han Chinese and Uyghur Together.”

²³⁷ Wan and Xu, “Chinese Animators Hope Cartoon Princess Can Help Ease Ethnic Tensions In Xinjiang.” Although the name of the princess is mentioned as “Ipal Khan” in the news article, the historical name of the figure is mentioned as “Iparhan” by other writers like James Millward. See Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine,” 444.

²³⁸ Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine,” 427.

ordered his general Zhao Hui to bring her to his palace in Beijing. Zhao Hui did so, but once in the palace, Xiang Fei resisted the emperor and stayed determined to remain chaste. It is told that she wanted to revenge for her country and husband, or his father, depending on the version of the story. In the end, the emperor's mother felt too anxious for her son's safety and killed Xiang Fei.²³⁹

It is important to note that Millward focuses on different versions of the story, narrated by the Han, the Uyghurs, and the Manchus, each one representing a different historical perspective. From the Manchu perspective, Xiang Fei is a symbol of a Muslim woman brought from Yarkand into the palace as a marital alliance between the Uyghurs and the Qing rule, and stands as a symbolic meaning for the Qing rule over the Uyghurs.²⁴⁰ For the Uyghurs, Xiang Fei, or Iparhan with her Uyghur name, represents Uyghur ethnic consciousness and a "resentment of Han rule in Xinjiang".²⁴¹ However, the stories produced at later dates by the Han rule represent Xiang Fei as an "exotic femme fatale" in an orientalist nature. This version of the story symbolizes the Uyghur woman as a beautiful and uneasy woman in the harem, "as was Xinjiang in the empire".²⁴² The decision of the Chinese state to use and popularize the exotic version of the story shows its political aim of orientalising Xinjiang.

No matter which version of the story is told, James Millward states that "she [Xiang Fei] appears as a symbol of Xinjiang; her induction into the palace serves as an allegory for the incorporation of Xinjiang within the Qing empire, and, later, the Chinese nation".²⁴³ With the widespread reputation of Xiang Fei and her symbolic

²³⁹ Millward, "A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine," 428-429.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 449.

²⁴² Ibid., 431.

²⁴³ Millward, "A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine," 431.

meaning for the unity of Xinjiang and central governance, it is no wonder that the modern Chinese authorities choose her as a cartoon character to emphasize this ethnic, social, and political integration. Through such cartoons, the central state is trying to teach to the younger generations, both of the Uyghur and the Han population, that such lovely ethnic figures actually existed in history which lived under the control of China.

In the news article on *Global Times*, it is stated that:

The production of the cartoon series is part of the Xinjiang authorities' endeavor to develop the animation industry with the aim of maintaining social stability by boosting cultural exchanges and understanding between Han and Uyghur people, especially at a time of rising tension following terrorist attacks in and outside of Xinjiang.²⁴⁴

It should be noted that *Global Times* is a newspaper under *People's Daily*.²⁴⁵ It was already mentioned in Chapter 2 that *People's Daily* is the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.²⁴⁶ Thus, the statement of *Global Times* is considered to be the Chinese authorities' official statement.

At this point, I want to argue that *Princess Fragrant* is more than just “boosting cultural exchanges”. It is part of the colonial oriental movement which exotifies the Uyghur princess with a beautiful and ornamented female representation (see Figure 12):

²⁴⁴ Liang, “Xinjiang Fights an Ideology War Through Cartoon Production.”

²⁴⁵ “Huanqiu.com Introduction.”

²⁴⁶ Fifield, “Chinese Leaders Urge ‘Spirit of Struggle’ to Face Economic Challenges.”



Fig. 12 Princess Fragrant in 104-episode Chinese animated film series
 Source: Brown and Dong, “China’s Restive Far West Hopes to Win Hearts with ‘Princess Fragrant’ Cartoon”
<https://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/26/world/asia/china-xinjiang-princess-fragrant-cartoon/index.html>

Joanne Smith Finley proposes that television has been used by the Chinese authorities as part of the “projects of social engineering” and “as a tool to encourage its ideal of ‘social harmony’”.²⁴⁷ She deepens her idea by giving an example from a Chinese TV drama, *Xinjiang Girls*:

In this context, the production of *Xinjiang Girls* can be seen as a media attempt to engineer social harmony in a context of regional political unrest. Indeed, at the global level, ‘mass media interventions’ are increasingly employed by governments and NGOs as a tool of change or conflict reduction.²⁴⁸

Xinjiang Girls is about the life of four Uyghur sisters who were raised and educated in Beijing. The main storyline develops around the second eldest sister, who is a civil servant, with an absent Uyghur husband and a new handsome Han boyfriend. The story unfolds when her traditional grandfather refuses this intermarriage. The television series finalizes by suggesting that the Han man should wait till the

²⁴⁷ Finley, “Contesting Harmony Through TV Drama: Ethnic Intermariage in Xinjiang Girls,” 263-264.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

Uyghurs get “modern enough” for intermarriages.²⁴⁹ In *Xinjiang Girls*, we see a “primitive” traditional Uyghur representation under a socially constructive project. The unification of the Uyghur woman and the Han man is obstructed by an Uyghur man. This reveals the hidden meaning that the regional ethnic conflicts are the result of the actions of the minorities and not the Hans. However, we still see the Uyghurs and the Hans together in the episodes, contributing to the state’s unification idea.

Actually, a similar example for usage of animated film on television for dealing with the political conflicts can also be seen in a Tibetan stop-motion puppet series called *Akhu Tönpa*. According to a news article on *Global Times*, the 52-episode animated series is one of the first projects jointly produced by the state sponsored Film, Television and Animation Production Base in Tibet Autonomous Region. It is a state-sponsored project with a nationwide television broadcast date of 2018, and the production team makes sure that the stories of the episodes are “purely Tibetan from its visual to the core values it portrays”.²⁵⁰ And they are dubbing the series in two versions, one in Mandarin and the other in Tibetan language.²⁵¹

Tibet Autonomous Region, just like Xinjiang, has been stage ethnic conflict and it is a sensitive region in terms of ethnicity. At this point, Wenfang Tang and Gaochao He’s statement is important to note:

Although most of the 55 officially recognized ethnic minority groups are well integrated and see little difference between themselves and the Han majority, several other groups, such as the Uyghurs, the Tibetans, the Huis, the Mongols, and the Kazaks, have posed serious challenges to the Chinese state’s ability to maintain ethnic harmony. Each with millions of people, these

²⁴⁹ Vanessa Frangville, “Construction Nationale et Spectacle de la Différence en République Populaire de Chine: Analyse des Rôles de la ‘Minzu Minoritaire’ dans le Cinéma de 1950 à 2005” (PhD thesis, Université Lyon III – Jean Moulin, 2007), 330, accessed 13 April 2011, tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/33/35/66/PDF/These_tome_1.pdf, quoted in Finley, “Contesting Harmony Through TV Drama: Ethnic Intermarriage in Xinjiang Girls,” 270.

²⁵⁰ Huang, “First Tibet-Produced Stop-Motion Animated Series Focuses on Ethnic Stories.”

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

groups are difficult to integrate due to their religious and linguistic distinctiveness.²⁵²

The Chinese state is adopting the usage of media and specifically animated films with particular ethnic themes and figures in order to deal with the minority issues and clashes. It is via these animated films that the authorities are trying to build and shape an ethnic image in the way they want the Han population to see those ethnicities. Besides, this image reflected through such animated films is also targeted at the ethnicities themselves as a training tool for the future generations. This is understood from the fact that the films are dubbed both in Mandarin and the local language, so that both audiences can watch them. This image building process is also clearly mentioned by *Global Times*:

Well designed stop-motion figurines clad in Tibetan robes is probably not the first image that flashes into your mind when thinking of China's Tibetan ethnic group, but this may soon become the case for many after Tibetan animated TV series *Akhu Tönpa* hits small screens nationwide in China in 2018.²⁵³

It is explicitly stated in the official mouth of the CPC, *Global Times*, that the image of Tibetan ethnicity will be changed through these series. It seems that the Chinese authorities are putting their effort to replace the old problematic minority images with the new heroic ethnic figures under forms of animated films. It is interesting that *Akhu Tönpa* series are actually inspired by Afanti, as we learn from *Global Times*:

Still considered one of the Chinese mainland's most well-made and popular animated works, the 1980 classic features a bearded wise man, Afanti, who uses witty tricks to help punish scoundrels. The character is said to have been inspired by the Turkish folk figure Nasreddin, who also serves as an inspiration for the *Akhu Tönpa* team.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Tang and He, *Separate but Loyal: Ethnicity and Nationalism in China*, 1-2.

²⁵³ Huang, "First Tibet-Produced Stop-Motion Animated Series Focuses on Ethnic Stories."

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

Moreover, the director and executive head of *Akhu Tönpa*, Lü Jinghui, says that "... characters in the two stories are similar in some ways ...".²⁵⁵ It is mentioned in the article that Akhu Tönpa character uses his wit to increase the villagers' quality of life.²⁵⁶ It is clear that while Afanti is constructed and developed as an Uyghur role model, Akhu Tönpa undertakes the same role for the Tibetans by showing how a responsible and logical Tibetan should be.

Apart from all these, I found it interesting that all these minority related productions co-exist at a time when there is strong international objection to the Chinese government's oppressive and harsh attitude towards the minorities. Wenfang Tang and Gaochao He states that:

In recent years, China's often harsh policy toward the ethnic separatist movements in these regions [regions where populations of the Uyghurs, the Tibetans, the Huis, the Mongolians, and the Kazaks live in China] has been under attack by Western media and governments for human rights violations. The pressure of international public opinion constantly puts China on the defensive and creates damage to its public image. All these complexities make ethnic relations and national identity burning issues for China's leaders. These issues can potentially shake the Communist Party's legitimacy, regime stability, effective governance, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity.²⁵⁷

In October 2018, there was a debate on the "Uyghur camps" that were formed in China, which raised particular concern on international media. The following text is taken from a recent article on *BBC*:

China is accused of locking up hundreds of thousands of Muslims without trial in its western region of Xinjiang. The government denies the claims, saying people willingly attend special "vocational schools" which combat "terrorism and religious extremism". Now a BBC investigation has found important new evidence of the reality.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Huang, "First Tibet-Produced Stop-Motion Animated Series Focuses on Ethnic Stories."

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Tang and He, *Separate but Loyal: Ethnicity and Nationalism in China*, 1-2.

²⁵⁸ Sudworth, "China's Hidden Camps: What's Happened to the Vanished Uighurs of Xinjiang?."

The article by *BBC* is claiming that large numbers of Uyghurs, hundreds of thousands, have been taken into “re-education camps” by force by the Chinese authorities to enforce the political ideologies of the central authority and those Uyghurs that are taken into these camps cannot be reached by any means and even their families do not know where they are.²⁵⁹

What I claim is that Afanti animated films, specifically the recent ones, carry the purpose of showing that the Chinese state is actually not mistreating the ethnic minorities but instead cherishing and promoting their culture. All the Afanti animated films, in addition to their hegemonistic and orientalist aims, also have this goal of soothing the tension, at least to some degree.

Overall, this chapter examined the question why Afanti animated films were produced. While trying to give the answers, the series of events regarding the governance of Xinjiang and the Uyghurs are examined in a chronological order starting from the founding of PRC. Through this policy examination, it is seen that the Chinese government’s policy on Xinjiang and the ethnic minorities shift over time, usually going back and forth between harsher and softer policy approaches. The softer policy approaches usually aims at gaining the loyalty of the ethnic minorities, as it is seen in the land reform project which started in 1950.²⁶⁰ An example for the hard policy approach, on the other hand, is the period of Cultural Revolution when Uyghur music, dance, and ritual celebrations were forbidden.²⁶¹

The main idea of this chapter is that animated films of Afanti in China are a result of these soft policy approaches to Xinjiang conflict in the sense that they are mainly with the goal of promoting a Xinjiang image and locality.

²⁵⁹ Sudworth, “China’s Hidden Camps: What’s Happened to the Vanished Uighurs of Xinjiang?.”

²⁶⁰ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 237-239.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 265-276.

However, this promotion is done through an oriental, hegemonistic, and degrading way. One of these ways is promoting this Xinjiang image through Afanti animated films to make Xinjiang economically more developed. But, this development target is designed for the benefit of the Chinese state, as Xinjiang is rich with raw materials like oil and gas. Moreover, pulling the Han population to Xinjiang also contributes to the diluting of the local population in the area, which makes the border region safer with less risk of revolts. Besides, achieving greater economic development will also increase the loyalty of the Uyghurs for the central state. It is seen that since Deng Xiaoping reforms of the late 1970s and early 1980s, official Chinese press promote ethnic tourism.²⁶²

This idea of economic development was once more stressed towards the beginning of 2000 to achieve the regional development and settle down security issues.²⁶³ As part of this plan to improve the regional conditions, more attention was given also to environmental protectionism.²⁶⁴ All these efforts are considered to be part of Xinjiang promotion campaigns that are designed to settle down the regional conflict.

This chapter has suggested that in order to make Xinjiang a region that is in correlation with the state aims, Afanti was chosen as an idealized role-model that would be welcomed by the all Han population with his distinct personality, intellect, sense of social justice, humour, and wit. The claimed point here in short is that Afanti has been constructed as an idealized and state approved Uyghur model in order to teach Uyghurs how they should be and to achieve their utmost integration into China. This is mainly done within an orientalist representation. This oriental and hegemonistic approach only highlights the state-approved and “harmless” sides of

²⁶² Barabantseva, “Development as Localization,” 235.

²⁶³ Lai, “China’s Western Development Program: Its Rationale, Implementation, and Prospects,” 432.

²⁶⁴ Becquelin, “Staged Development in Xinjiang,” 366.

the Uyghurs. This is why we see a logical and problem solving Afanti in a touristic environment.

In Chapter 4, titled “Analysis of Afanti Animated Films”, specific examples are given from the Afanti animated films in order to show how this Xinjiang image promotion and Afanti’s state-sponsored function as a welcomed ethnic role model across China is embodied.



CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF AFANTI ANIMATED FILMS

This chapter provides specific examples from Afanti animated films that have been produced and broadcasted in China in order to explicitly show how the Xinjiang image building, presented in Chapter 3, is reflected in these media works, and how Afanti is constructed as a role-model ethnic figure for the all Chinese population with the goal of creating the state-approved Uyghur society, which is integrated into China.

The animated films in this chapter are examined in a chronological order, starting with the 14-episode *Afanti de Gushi*. The next one to be covered is the 104-episode *Shaonian Afanti*, the third one is the 6-episode *Laoxiao Afanti*. The fourth one is *Afanti Xinzhuan*. However, due to location and access limitations, only some images of this animated film are looked into, as during the thesis writing process it was not possible for me to have access to the film. The fifth and the last animated film to be examined is *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*.

These animated films in this chapter are examined based on both visual representations and storylines. The themes that are focused in the examination are religion, language, social harmony and political integration, cultural differences, ethnicity, and Afanti as an ethnic role-model.

4.1 *Afanti de Gushi*

As it has been covered in Chapter 3 and as Millward states in a video posted online by Maynard, the years between 1970s and 1980s have been stage to more freedom of expression for cultural differences, and during these years, the Uyghur

literature, music, and dance was sponsored by the state.²⁶⁵ Millward also underlines that during this period, when Deng Xiaoping was in power, it was understood by the state that the policies of Cultural Revolution had actually gave damage to the loyalty for the Communist Party by the Xinjiang minority groups. Millward also notes that because of this realization, Deng Xiaoping re-started to apply the earlier policies of 1950s, which were more modest and supportive for the minority culture.²⁶⁶ As *Afanti de Gushi* was produced and broadcasted between 1979 and 1989²⁶⁷, visual representations and storylines which show encouraging attitude for the state-approved Uyghur image shall be presented here.

4.1.1 Religion

Religion is not a dominant theme in the stories and visual representations in *Afanti de Gushi* series. However, some details about Islam are seen in the episodes.²⁶⁸

An example to the reference to Islam is in episode 4²⁶⁹, where Guowang (the king) asks Afanti if he knows the date when Afanti will die. Afanti replies by saying that the date when he will die is one day before Guowang will die. Upon this answer, Guowang becomes angry and says that this is not true. However, Afanti replies by asking “Then, excuse me, how do you know it is not true? Has Allah told you the dates when we both will die?”²⁷⁰ It should be noted that the word Afanti in this

²⁶⁵ Maynard, “Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward.”

²⁶⁶ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 276-277.

²⁶⁷ Shanghai Film Group Corporation, “Afanti qi xiao maolu huigui yinmu 3D donghua da dianying guoqing dang shangying” 阿凡提骑小毛驴回归银幕 3D 动画大电影国庆档上映[Afanti rides a small donkey to return to the screen, 3D animation movie will be released on the national day].

²⁶⁸ Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事[Classic animation – The Story of Afanti].For the summarized stories of Afanti de Gushi, see Appendix A.

²⁶⁹ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison].

²⁷⁰ Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 10:45-10:51. Own translation. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 4.

episode uses *zhenzhu* 真主, and this word is translated as “Allah”²⁷¹, which is a direct reference to Islam.

Another place where the word *zhenzhu* is used is episode 5, in which Afanti tries to give a lesson to a local person, Mahmud, for stealing other people’s animals. In this episode, Afanti, just to give a lesson to Mahmud, steals his animals, just like Mahmud has stolen other people’s animals, and refuses to help him find who the thief is.²⁷² At this moment, Afanti says that “*Zhenzhu* can testify that your heart and my heart are the same”.²⁷³

Another episode where *zhenzhu* is mentioned is episode 10. In this episode, Guowang feels extremely unhappy and wants to learn the secret of Afanti’s being happy all the time.²⁷⁴ Afanti tells him that it is *zhenzhu* which makes him happy.²⁷⁵

Apart from the storylines covered in the series, there are some visual representations of Islamic elements in the episodes as well. For example, in episode 4, for a very short duration, we see a local person performing the Muslim prayer.²⁷⁶ In episode 6, there is a local woman who covers her head in an Islamic fashion.²⁷⁷ In episode 8, Afanti prays to God for help with hand gestures seen in Muslims.²⁷⁸

It is seen that reference to Islam is only slightly done. Therefore, I interpret this as a form of including Islam in everyday life as part of a secular world in an

²⁷¹ “Zhenzhu” 真主.

²⁷² For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 5.

²⁷³ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lu” 阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things], 9:32-9:37. Own translation.

²⁷⁴ For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 10.

²⁷⁵ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shi ji Xun Kaixin” 阿凡提的故事第十集寻开心 [The Story of Afanti, episode 10, Searching Happiness], 10:58-11:00. Own translation.

²⁷⁶ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 5:45-5:50. Own translation. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B1-B2.

²⁷⁷ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui” 阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], 1:58. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B3.

²⁷⁸ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lu Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 7:46. Own translation. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B4.

Uyghur-Han integrated China. This secularism shared by both the Uyghur and the Han population contributes to the state's desired model of modern Chinese society with integrated modern minority groups.

4.1.2 Language

The main language used in all the episodes is Mandarin Chinese.²⁷⁹ However, in some scenes, such as the opening and closing scenes of all episodes, Uyghur text is also used together with Mandarin Chinese.²⁸⁰

Apart from the opening and closing scenes, there are also a few scenes where the Uyghur language is seen. For example, a text written in the Uyghur language is visible in episode 2 for a few seconds.²⁸¹ Another example is seen in episode 5, where an Uyghur text, a name of one of the characters in the episode, which is “Mahmud”, is seen, again just for a few seconds.²⁸² One another example for the Uyghur language usage can also be seen in episode 8 for a short time.²⁸³

I argue that just like small touches of Islam, Uyghur language is also almost eliminated from the films. We only see a few brief references to the local language. The slight references to the local language are part of an orientalist approach. Besides, this also contributes to the Han-Uyghur integration with the usage of a common Mandarin language.

²⁷⁹ See Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti].

²⁸⁰ See Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti]. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B5-B30.

²⁸¹ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji tuzi songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 16:37. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B31.

²⁸² Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lü” 阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [the Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things], 4:43. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B32.

²⁸³ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [the Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 8:16. For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B33.

4.1.3 Social harmony and political integration

It is already covered in Chapter 3 that the Chinese state has used migration and settlement policy in Xinjiang, as Millward notes, starting from the 1950s, and as part of this policy, mobilized soldiers were employed in Xinjiang in various fields such as agriculture and civil engineering.²⁸⁴ Joniak-Lüthi highlights that during the 1980s, there was civil migration to Xinjiang, mostly on a voluntary basis due to economic reasons.²⁸⁵ As a result of these migrations, the population of Xinjiang underwent dramatic change. Barabantseva notes that "... the population of the majority Han group has been growing in the western provinces since the 1950s when the government started exercising resettlement of the Han into the western region".²⁸⁶ She also gives statistical data by citing *Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* and notes that in Xinjiang, the percentage of Han population in Xinjiang was 30 percent in 1968, while it became 41 percent in the 1990s.²⁸⁷ Therefore, what I suggest here is that this shift in population rate would mean more need for social harmony in the region amid this renewed form of society.

In *Afanti de Gushi*, the society in which Afanti lives has many serious problems, and Afanti, as the state idealized role-model, solves all these problems one by one. In this way, Afanti achieves the smooth integration of the Uyghurs into the Han society, leading to a state approved social harmony.

One such example is seen in episode 3, where a local man steals money from a little girl.²⁸⁸ In this episode, Afanti makes a fake diagnosis for this thief by saying that he has a memory loss problem and he can forget things very easily. With these

²⁸⁴ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 251-258.

²⁸⁵ Joniak-Lüthi, "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies," 166-168.

²⁸⁶ Barabantseva, "Development as Localization," 241-242.

²⁸⁷ National Bureau of Statistics of China, *China Statistical Yearbook*, (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2003), quoted in Barabantseva, "Development as Localization," 242.

²⁸⁸ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 3.

words, he makes the thief feel obliged to give the little girl's money back. Afanti makes another fake diagnosis for the thief and says that he needs to go under an urgent operation. The thief becomes afraid of Afanti's words and accepts the operation. However, Afanti only cuts his clothes in the operation to reveal a hidden bag full of money. Afanti takes all the money inside and distributes the money to the whole public.²⁸⁹ This is an episode which shows a problematic Xinjiang with thieves. This problem is only solved with the interference of the heroic Afanti, who symbolizes the approved Uyghur citizen in China.

Another example is episode 12 where a poor man is in love with the daughter of the local rich man, Bayi, despite the fact that the daughter's mother does not allow them marry each other since the young man in love is poor.²⁹⁰ In the end of this episode, the poor man and wealthy woman happily gets married with the help of Afanti.²⁹¹ In this episode, the focus is actually about learning to accept the economically poor conditions and being satisfied with life despite these conditions. It has already been discussed that Han investors were pulled to the region, and there was a financial imbalance with the newcomers and the local Uyghurs, causing dissatisfaction among the latter. In this episode, this dissatisfaction is eliminated by Afanti, contributing to the social integration of Xinjiang to China.

Apart from the storyline, the visual representations in these animated series also support social harmony and integration policy. For example, when the social barrier of marriage between the poor man and rich woman is solved, we see their

²⁸⁹ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 3.

²⁹⁰ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di shier ji qi hunyi" 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 12.

²⁹¹ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di shier ji qi hunyi" 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 12.

happy marriage.²⁹² Another example for social harmony is seen in episode 3, where the local people of Xinjiang dance together in harmony.²⁹³

I argue that the representation of social harmony in the episodes is in fact an orientalist one. When the local people harmoniously dance, we see a state-constructed happy ethnic minority image. Dru C. Gladney vividly describes this state effort to build a happy minority image:

One cannot be exposed to China without being confronted by its “colorful” minorities. They sing, they dance; they twirl, they whirl. Most of all, they smile, showing their happiness to the part of the motherland. The four-hour Chinese New Year’s program is a yearly special broadcast throughout China to its 1.1 billion population. And, even though only eight percent of that population is supposed to be minority (the *Han* majority occupy 91.96 percent of China’s population according to the 1990 census), fully one-half of the evening’s programming is devoted to smiling minority dancers. A brief examination of the opening minutes of the evening’s program immediately reveals the crucial role minority peoples play in the contemporary construction of the People’s Republic of China.²⁹⁴

Gladney is talking about the Chinese New Year’s most popular television show on CCTV. He also notes that most of the families in China, including the ones in Xinjiang, prefer to watch this show on New Year celebrations.²⁹⁵ Gladney clearly highlights the central state’s efforts in “construction of the People’s Republic of China”,²⁹⁶ and minorities play a very important role in this process, where they are represented as dancing and smiling.²⁹⁷ Basically, they are shown as satisfied with their conditions in China. It should be kept in mind that the television show that Gladney examined belongs to 1991,²⁹⁸ and *Afanti de Gushi* episodes are broadcasted between 1979 and 1989. So, they are of approximately similar periods. One should

²⁹² Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shier ji qi hunyi” 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage]. For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B34.

²⁹³ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B35-B36.

²⁹⁴ Gladney, *Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities*, 95.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

also note that there were ethnic uprisings during the 1980s.²⁹⁹ The uprisings also continued in the 1990s.³⁰⁰ In a period with such social conflicts, it was important for the Chinese state to show dancing minorities with smiling faces in animated films so that this would help undercut the importance of any ethnic related issues. A similar dancing scene is also seen in episode 8.³⁰¹

4.1.4 Cultural differences

It is widely known that local customs and lifestyles of Xinjiang people are different from the Hans. Elena Caprioni notes that:

Urumqi has been Xinjiang's political and economic centre since the creation of the XUAR [Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region] on October 1, 1955. Based on my research observations in the relevant areas, Hans and Uyghurs typically study and work in the same schools and *danwei* (work units), but they usually live in separate districts. ... Uyghurs are distinguishable from others by their Turkic features, and the young educated generation is divided between those who follow a traditional Uyghur fashion and those who mimic contemporary Western styles. Amongst the former, men prefer to have bears or moustaches, and wear traditional trousers and leather loafers, while women don *yahliq* (multicoloured veils that hide their head, hair and ears) and long skirts. ... Uyghur language is spoken exclusively, and pork meat is not sold or consumed. Crowded bazaars and mosques are common, as are small family dwellings characterized by typical Central Asian architecture. Most streets are full of life night and day, and typical dishes such as *kawap* (kebab) and *polo* (carrot and lamb rice) are served with *aqharaq* (traditional liquor) or beer. In contrast, the cast majority of my Han respondents live in the modern area of Urumqi ...³⁰²

It is seen that the Uyghurs' outward fashion and facial features are clearly different from the Hans. These differences are reflected in *Afanti de Gushi* series.

For example, the episode 1 of *Afanti de Gushi* starts with an ethnic minority man, who wears local costumes and plays local music with a bowed musical

²⁹⁹Millward, *Violent Separatism in Xinjiang: A Critical Assessment*, 8; Hierman, "The Pacification of Xinjiang: Uighur Protest and the Chinese State, 1988-2002," 51.

³⁰⁰Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," 86-87.

³⁰¹Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua" 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode eight, the Donkey that Speaks], For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B37.

³⁰²Caprioni, "Daily encounters between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, integration or segregation?," 276.

instrument.³⁰³ The beard and eyebrows of the man should also be noted, which separates him from the Hans. Local music is also seen in other scenes in episode 1.³⁰⁴

Similarly, there are brief mentions about the local Uyghur culture in the episodes. In episode 1, we see a local man, who wears traditional costume and has moustache, carrying local bread on top of his head.³⁰⁵ A news article of *Global Times* written by Li Ruohan depicts local Uyghur people who are selling *naan* (a kind of local bread).³⁰⁶ The online newspaper Renmin Wang [People's Net] also highlights that lots of people in Xinjiang start the day by eating *naans*, which is full of local characteristics.³⁰⁷ This traditional Uyghur bread with strong local flavour is used in the episode 1.

Another similar example is also from episode 1, where Afanti and his local friends enjoy eating grapes, melon, and *naan* bread.³⁰⁸ It is important to note that Xinjiang is famous for these fruits.³⁰⁹ Local costumes are also used extensively throughout the episodes.³¹⁰

I argue that these ethnic representations are promoted by the PRC under the integrated nation policy. However, I also argue that these are selective representations. This means that the PRC prefers to focus on the state-approved

³⁰³ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin" 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B38.

³⁰⁴ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin" 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree]. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B39-B40.

³⁰⁵ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin" 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree]. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B41.

³⁰⁶ Li, "White Paper Sets Xinjiang Facts Straight, Cites Successes."

³⁰⁷ "Daibiao jianyi: Pushe wangdian ba Xinjiang re nang mai dao quanguo gedi" [A suggestion of representation: establishing outlets to sell Xinjiang to all parts of the country].

³⁰⁸ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin" 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B42-B43.

³⁰⁹ Liang, "Xinjiang: City Famous for Bounty of Fruits."

³¹⁰ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di er ji tuzi songxin" 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B44; Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shen yi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figure B45; Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui" 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B46-B48.

ethnic details which present no jeopardy for the unity of the state. The local kebab is also one of these approved representations.³¹¹ The usage of camels is also another similar example.³¹² The architecture is also displayed in local setting.³¹³ All these elements are regarded as safe to be displayed by the central government.

4.1.5 Ethnicity

In the episodes of *Afanti de Gushi*, ethnicity is highly visible in the facial features of the characters. It should be kept in mind that the Ling Shu, who is the screenwriter of the series, stresses that the most striking outward feature of Afanti is his eyebrows, moustache, and beard.³¹⁴ I argue that all the episodes are stereotyping the Xinjiang locals. Afanti's face is distinctive with a curly unibrow, which is two eyebrows connected in the middle, and thick beard and moustache.³¹⁵ Actually, almost all the male characters in the episodes show similar facial features with thick hair.³¹⁶ As for the females, unibrow is also a stressed feature.³¹⁷

It should be noted here that there are some opinions which have this stereotypical image of unibrow for Central Asian or Middle Eastern woman. For example, David Shariatmadari, writes in *The Guardian* that;

Tajikistan, where women apply herbal paint to the gap between their brows, is a case in point. Iran, though it's now very much in thrall to western standards of beauty, was for centuries pre-eminent keeper of the unibrow

³¹¹ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B49.

³¹² Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B50.

³¹³ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui" 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B51; Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui" 阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], For the related image, see Appendix B, Figure B52.

³¹⁴ SMG Dianshiju SMG 电视剧 [SMG TV Series], "Na xie nian, women zhuguo de donghua: 'Afanti de Gushi'" 那些年，我们追过的动画：“阿凡提的故事” [The animation that we went after in those years: "The Story of Afanti"]].

³¹⁵ For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B53-B55.

³¹⁶ For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B56-B60.

³¹⁷ For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B61-B64.

flame. Persian poetry lauded the *abrou-ye payvasteh* or “continuous eyebrow”, in men and women alike. ... Untended, my naturally thick eyebrows meet in the middle, a token of my Iranian ancestry.³¹⁸

In a similar way, Tom Miller states that:

In the Uzbekistan section of the mall I met Firuza Nadirova, whose complicated family history makes a mockery of the national borders that artificially divide the region. An ethnic Uzbek from Kyrgyzstan, she is married to a Kyrgyzstani Uyghur; their daughter attends a bilingual Chinese-Uyghur school in Kashgar. Sporting a striking monobrow thickened with black paste, she showed me her bright-blue Kyrgyzstani passport filled with Chinese visas, which she renews in Kashgar.³¹⁹

What is aimed to show here is not that the Uyghurs or the Central Asian people necessarily have unibrow features, but that there exist an idea that these people are like this. What is more, *Afanti de Gushi* series densely make use of this feature in order to draw a unified image for the Xinjiang people, representing all of them as one. This stereotypification by the state is intended to construct an information database about the Uyghurs and position the ethnic minority within these predefined limits. In this way, the state becomes the constructor of the ethnic identity, which carries it to the position of the ruler setter.

4.1.6 Afanti as an ethnic role-model

The Chinese government has been using Afanti as the state-approved form of Uyghur identity. In *Afanti de Gushi*, Afanti contributes to the integration of Xinjiang into China by demonstrating positive behaviours such as helping the poor, standing against the unfair and defending justice, being intelligent and witty, and solving the problems in the society in which he lives by helping everyone. All these characteristics make Afanti a trouble-free figure for the state. In this figure construction, the state aims to build an idealized Uyghur model.

³¹⁸Shariatmadari, “I’m with Anthony Davis – It’s Time to Raise the Unibrow.”

³¹⁹Miller, *China’s Asian dream: Empire building along the new Silk Road*, chapter 2, para. 38.

There are many examples for Afanti being an ethnic role model. In episode 1, it is seen that Afanti is fighting against the local rich landlord Bayi who is bullying the poor people by forcing them to pay fee for standing under the shadow of a tree in front of his house. Afanti, immediately after he notices the incident, interferes by buying the shadow of the tree. After this purchasing process, the poor people can now enjoy the shadow of the tree freely as they wish. However, the story does not end here. With the change of the sun's position, so does the shadow till it positions itself in first Bayi's garden and then on top of the roof of Bayi's house. In this way, Afanti and all the other poor people claim that they can enjoy Bayi's garden and his roof, as they have the usage right of the shadow.³²⁰ In this story, Afanti not only stands for the poor people's rights, but also fights against the unfair power of richness in the society. These are obviously desired characteristics of a good citizen responsible for the society. What is more, Afanti shows high level of intellect for solving a social problem. All these characteristics support the idea that he fits as an ethnic role-model.

The episode 3 is especially important as in this episode Afanti solves five important problems in the society. In his very own particular methods, Afanti heals the stealing habit of a thief, teaches technique to an unskilful dentist who cannot pull a tooth, heals an obese man, shows an astronomer that he can see stars in daytime, and heals a depressed singer who cannot sing by bringing forward his true musical abilities.³²¹ All these themes that Afanti deals with are important as they carry symbolic meanings. The thief symbolizes illegal wealth. The dentist symbolizes lack of technical skills. The obese man symbolizes lust. The astronomer symbolizes lack

³²⁰ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin" 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 1.

³²¹ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 3.

of vision and intellect. The singer symbolizes being unproductive. All these particular characteristics stand as obstacles in development of China. Therefore, Afanti stands out as a strong role-model for solving all these obstacles, which is something that the Beijing authorities highly desire for the construction of modern China.

In episode 4, Afanti answers correctly all the question that Guowang asks to him, fully proving his intellectual abilities.³²² In episode 5, Afanti fights against a wealthy person who steals the camels of the local people.³²³ In episode 6, Afanti deals with a local person who is not willing to help a poor person whose house gets collapsed.³²⁴ In episode 7, he fights against the secretary of the treasury who steals money from the treasury.³²⁵ All these and other episodes show an Afanti figure who contributes to the society by helping the poor, standing for justice, mocking the bullying rulers, and using his intellect to solve the social problems.³²⁶

4.2 *Shaonian Afanti*

Shaonian Afanti was broadcasted on CCTV nationwide in 2012-2013.³²⁷ It has been already covered in Chapter 3 that the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan of China focused on creating safe and attractive investment conditions in western China for

³²² Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui”阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 4.

³²³ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lu”阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 5.

³²⁴ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui”阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 6.

³²⁵ Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di qi ji Qiao Duanan”阿凡提的故事第七集巧断案 [The Story of Afanti, episode 7, the Clever Case]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix A, Episode 7.

³²⁶ See Appendix A for the complete summary of the episodes.

³²⁷ “104 ji sanwei donghua pian ‘Shaonian Afanti’ jiangyu niandi bochu” 104 集三维动画片《少年阿凡提》将于年底播出 [104-episode cartoon “The Young Afanti” will be broadcasted at the end of the year].

the region's development.³²⁸ Similarly, in the Xinjiang Work Conference in 2010, the Chinese state decided to focus on the economic development of Xinjiang and guaranteeing the ethnic unity and social stability in the region.³²⁹ In *Shaonian Afanti* episodes, we see how this unity and stability is promoted.

In *Shaonian Afanti* episodes, Afanti is called “Nasaerding” and “Nasaerding Afanti”³³⁰ However; I refer it as “Afanti” hereafter for the sake of consistency throughout the thesis.

4.2.1 Religion

Episode 1 and 2 of season1 starts with the topic of eid al-adha festival.³³¹ In these episodes, the rich and stingy landlord Bayi asks for money from the local people for smelling his meat, but Afanti teaches him a lesson by paying him back with the chinking sound of coins.³³² In this episode, Afanti says to his donkey “*Zou ba. Guerbang jie de wuhui yijing kaishi le*” 古尔邦节的舞会已经开始了 (“Let's go. The dance of eid al-adha festival has already started”).³³³

Another part where a reference to Islam is made is Episode 6 of Season 1. In this episode, Bayi unfairly accuses Afanti for breaking a pot. To give Bayi a lesson,

³²⁸Zhu, “V. Implementing the Strategy for Developing the Western Region to Promote Coordinated Progress of Different Areas.”

³²⁹Shan and Weng, “China's New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges,” 62.

³³⁰Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

³³¹Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di er ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 2 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 2]; see Appendix C, Season 1, Episodes 1-2.

³³²Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season one episode one]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di er ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 2 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 2]. For the episode summaries, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episodes 1-2.

³³³Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 1]; 2:44. Own translation.

Afanti behaves as if he died and returned to life again. After this fake recovering, he tells to Bayi that he has seen Allah, and that Allah told him that he has not broken the pot.³³⁴ It should be underlined that the word Afanti uses is *anla* 安拉, and this word is translated as “Allah”.³³⁵ Moreover, later on in the same episode, Bayi uses the word *zhenzhu*.³³⁶ It has already been mentioned that *zhenzhu* is translated as “Allah”.³³⁷

I argue that these references to Islam aim to create a shared secularism while placing Islam in everyday life. This also works for the achievement of an integrated society. By showing Islam to the Han audience, the state aims to create a harmonious society.

Another reference to Islam in the episodes is the character *Kazi*, who is the local judge in the village where Afanti lives.³³⁸ The importance of Kazi shall be better understood with its function in the society. Michael Dillon states that:

Kashgar Old City had 126 mosques when the city was ‘liberated’ by the PLA [People’s Liberation Army] in 1949 and in the surrounding prefecture of Shufu there were 12,918. This network of mosques presented a challenge to the new regime because, in addition to the imams and other clergy who were

³³⁴Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di liu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 6 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 6], 07:41-07:44. For the episode summary, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 6.

³³⁵ “Allah.”

³³⁶Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di liu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 6 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 6], 08:50.

³³⁷ “Zhenzhu” 真主 [Allah].

³³⁸ For the episodes that mention *Kazi*, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershiyi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 21 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 21]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershisan ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 23]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiyi ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 11 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 11]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di liu ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 6 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 6]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di qi ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 7 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 7]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di ba ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 8 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 8]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di shier ji” 少年阿凡提第十二季第 12 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 12]. For the episodes that mention *Kazi*, see Appendix C, Season 2, Episodes 21, 23; Appendix C, Season 3, Episode 11; Appendix C, Season 4, Episodes 6, 7, 8, 12.

based in them, they were the locus of the system of religious courts in which the *qazi* (judges) dealt with civil cases according to Islamic shari'a law.³³⁹

In all the episodes where *Kazi* appears, the local people either consult him for the issues that they cannot solve, or request him to punish a guilty person for his/her illegal action.³⁴⁰ However, the Kazi in the episodes is a corrupted officer who accepts bribes,³⁴¹ gives wrong or illogical decisions, but Afanti is always able to find a solution in the end.³⁴² The opposition of Kazi and Afanti, the wrong and the right, the corrupted and the just, neutralizes the effect of the ethnic group's religion. Both of the characters share one religion, but one is giving wrong decisions, while the other is always right. This shows that religious beliefs are not necessarily the causes of right or wrong actions. The promotion of this idea contributes to the ethnic integrity.

Apart from these points, visual representations in the episodes also underline some Islamic elements. For example, there are some women with headscarves.³⁴³ It should be note that wearing head scarves, which are called *yaghliq* in Uyghur, is common among Uyghur women as part of a religious practice of Islam.³⁴⁴ All these representations are designed to promote an Uyghur integration.

³³⁹Dillon, *Xinjiang and the expansion of Chinese communist power: Kashgar in the early twentieth century*, "Silk Road city in the land of mountain and desert", para. 13.

³⁴⁰ For the episodes that mention *Kazi*, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershiyi ji" 少年阿凡提第二季第 21 集[the Young Afanti season 2 episode 21]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershisan ji" 少年阿凡提第二季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 23]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiyi ji" 少年阿凡提第三季第 11 集[the Young Afanti season 3 episode 11]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di liu ji" 少年阿凡提第四季第 6 集[the Young Afanti season 4 episode 6]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di qi ji" 少年阿凡提第四季第 7 集[the Young Afanti season 4 episode 7]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di ba ji" 少年阿凡提第四季第 8 集[the Young Afanti season 4 episode 8]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di shier ji" 少年阿凡提第十二季第 12 集[the Young Afanti season 4 episode 12]. For the episodes that mention *Kazi*, see Appendix C, Season 2, Episodes 21, 23; Appendix C, Season 3, Episode 11; Appendix C, Season 4, Episodes 6, 7, 8, 12.

³⁴¹ See Appendix C, Season 4, Episode 6 and 12.

³⁴² For a wrong decision example, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episode 11; for an illogical decision example, see Appendix C, Season 4, Episode 7.

³⁴³ See Appendix D, Figures D1-D15.

³⁴⁴ Abdurehim, "Transnational Migration and Religious Practice: Uyghur Students in Malaysia," "Measurement", para. 1.

4.2.2 Language

All the *Shaonian Afanti* episodes are in official Mandarin Chinese, although there are some references to Uyghur language as well.³⁴⁵

There are scenes where some texts are seen in the Uyghur language. For example, in Season 2 Episode 8, Guowang reads a book written in the Uyghur language.³⁴⁶ Similarly, in Season 3 Episode 10, one of Afanti's friends reads a book written in the Uyghur language.³⁴⁷ In Season 3 Episode 10, we see a scene where a close look of a book written in the Uyghur language is seen.³⁴⁸ However, one should notice that in none of these scenes the language is visible clearly to the audience.

Apart from these, in Season 3 Episode 22, Afanti's friend reads the Quran in Arabic.³⁴⁹ In the same episode, one of the characters, Tuerdi, also reads the Quran, although the book is upside down, because Tuerdi is not focusing on the Quran lecture.³⁵⁰

Another important detail is the names of the characters in the episodes. I want to note that the characters' names in *Shaonian Afanti* series are transliterated into Mandarin Chinese from the Uyghur language. This shows that reference to the Uyghur language and the local features is not totally omitted from the episodes. The names of the characters can be seen in Table 1 below:

³⁴⁵ For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji" 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji" 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji" 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

³⁴⁶ See Appendix D, Figure D16.

³⁴⁷ See Appendix D, Figure D17.

³⁴⁸ See Appendix D, Figure D18.

³⁴⁹ See Appendix D, Figure D19.

³⁵⁰ See Appendix D, Figure D20.

Table 1. Character Names in *Shaonian Afanti* (The Young Afanti)

Character's Name in Pinyin	Character's Name in Hanzi	Character Name in Uyghur Language
Nasaerding Afanti	那萨尔丁阿凡提	Nesirdin Ependi
Selimu Bayi	色里木巴依	Selim Beg
Tuerdi	图尔迪	Turdi
Gulina	古丽娜	Gülнар
Wubuli	乌布利	Ubul
Alimu	阿里木	Alim
Wumaier	乌麦尔	Ömer
Hali	哈里	Xal
Balati	把拉提	Barat
Amina	阿米娜	Amine
Yiliyasi	伊利亚斯	İliyaz
Kadeer	卡得尔	Qadir
Abasi	阿巴斯	Abbas
Miciti	米吉提	Mijit
Wushouer	吾守尔	Huşur
Silamu	斯拉木	Selami
Zhayier	扎依尔	Zahir
Yimamu	伊玛木	İmam
Aximu	阿希木	Haşim
Saimaiti	赛麦提	Semet
Abudula	阿布杜拉	Abdullah
Wupuer	吾普尔	Ghupur
Shabier	沙比尔	Sabir

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

Note: For the Uyghur version of the names, I have got help from the Uyghurs.

Although there are such references to the Uyghur and Arabic language, Mandarin Chinese language is still the dominant one in the whole episodes. Apart from the dubbing in Mandarin, there are also some scenes where we see Mandarin characters very clearly. For example, in Season 2 Episode 10, a local shop's banner

in Chinese text *shoushi dianpu* 首饰店铺 (jewellery shop) is clearly visible.³⁵¹ In Season 3 Episode 15, Afanti and his friends are seen holding a donation box and the Chinese characters on it says *juankuan xiang* 捐款箱 (donation box).³⁵² In Season 2 Episode 5, we see an official announcement in Chinese characters posted by Guowang.³⁵³ The Mandarin text seen in this seen reads as follows: *Tudi zhengshou ling wei kuojian gonglu, zhengshou yanlu tudi ruogan mu, guowang quan gei bei zhengshou tudi de renmen ruogan jinbi, zuowei bushu* 土地征收令为扩建公路，征收沿路土地若干亩，国王全给被征收土地的人们若干金币，作为补助 [the land expropriation order is to expand public roads and levy a certain amount of land along the roads. The king shall give certain amount of gold coins as subsidies to the people whose land shall be expropriated].³⁵⁴

I argue that the dominant usage of Chinese language versus the slight references to the Uyghur and the Arabic language is intended to promote the integration of Xinjiang into China with one common language usage.³⁵⁵ This works for the unity of the state by keeping the whole population under one language. While the Uyghur language is recognized in the episodes, the dominant language is still Mandarin, which shows the stronger of the state over Xinjiang.

4.2.3 Social harmony and political integration

Regarding to social harmony and political integration in *Shaonian Afanti* episodes there are some examples which lead to the conclusion that the Chinese state is trying

³⁵¹ See Appendix D, Figure D21.

³⁵² See Appendix D, Figure D22.

³⁵³ See Appendix D, Figures D23-D24.

³⁵⁴ See Appendix D, Figure D23-D24.

³⁵⁵ Xinjiang experiences several shifts of Arabic and Latin script usage under the reforms of the PRC. While the Uyghurs adopted the usage of the Arabic script in the 10th century with the effect of Islam, Latin alphabet was tried to be used under the rule of the PRC, however, in 1982, the Uyghur alphabet was again shifted to the Arabic script. See Janbaz, "An Introduction to Latin-Script Uyghur," 1-15.

to keep its power on Xinjiang with these animated films. Examples for such episodes are Season 1 Episode 9, Season 1 Episode 9, and Season 2 Episode 22.³⁵⁶

In Season 1 Episode 9 of *Shaonian Afanti*, a thief incident happens in the town where Afanti and all other local characters live. Soon after the incident, the local people notice that all the shops in the bazaar have been entered by a burglar, except for the shop of Wang. Hence, they become suspicious of him as a potential burglar. However, Afanti prevents such accusations by saying that they have no proof to accuse Wang. After a while, Afanti proves that Wang is innocent.³⁵⁷

This episode is particularly important in the sense that all the local people, except Afanti, accuse Wang of burglary. However, it is Afanti who corrects this unjust accusation.

As per the study done by Quan et al., “Wang” is a surname that belongs to the Han ethnic origin.³⁵⁸ Symbolically, this episode puts the local Xinjiang into a position where they are unable to make correct judgements and where they accuse the Han population. It is only Afanti who have the right judgement capability, and he is the state-idealized Uyghur figure.

Furthermore, Wang’s appearance with a particular hair style and costume different than the other characters in the episodes also makes it clear that he is of Han origin.³⁵⁹ Here, another important detail is the specific hairstyle. This detail can be concluded from the information provided by Sun:

³⁵⁶ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di jiu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 9 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 9]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershier ji 少年阿凡提第二季第 22 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 22]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 9; Appendix C, Season 2, Episode 22.

³⁵⁷ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di jiu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 9 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 9]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 9.

³⁵⁸ Quan et al., “Development and Validation of a Surname List to Define Chinese Ethnicity,” 328-333.

³⁵⁹ See Appendix D, Figures D25-D26.

Hairstyle may vary through China's long history, but it was central to Chinese cultural politics and remained so down to the recent times. In 1645, for example, the invading Manchus, who would establish the last dynasty, the Qing (1644-1911), issued the haircutting decree: Conquered Chinese male subjects were required to shave their foreheads and plait their hair in a pigtail like the Manchus.³⁶⁰

Metzger also emphasizes this hair style:

According to the *shisan jingzhushu* (Thirteen Classics), men customarily bound their hair up on the top of their heads. This convention – however unevenly it may have been practiced – changed with the advent of the Qing Dynasty and the imposition of the queue in 1644.³⁶¹

Here, it should be noted that Xinjiang was incorporated into China in 1759 during the Qing dynasty.³⁶² Therefore, it can be proposed that via these *Shaonian Afanti* series, the reference is to the Qing Dynasty period to highlight the historical integration of Xinjiang to China.

It is not only Wang who is of Han Chinese origin in *Shaonian Afanti* series. Another similar Han origin character is seen in Season 1 Episode 11 and Season 2 Episode 22.³⁶³ The aim of inserting Han characters in the episodes is to give the idea that Hans have been in this region together with the local people. This is an attempt of legitimation for the Han existence in Xinjiang. Besides, the co-existence of Han and Uyghur contributes to the national unity.

In Season 1 Episode 11, the Han character is mistreated with other local people by the wealthy local landlord Bayi, where Bayi wants to sell them water at a very high price at a time of drought.³⁶⁴ In Season 2 Episode 22, the Han character shopkeeper Zhang gives a job opportunity to Saimaiti, who has been a thief in the village before. However, the local people except Afanti do not trust him anymore,

³⁶⁰Sun, "The Politics of Hair and the Issue of the Bob in Modern China," 353-354.

³⁶¹Metzger, "Charles Parsloe's Chinese Fetish: An Example of Yellowface Performance in Nineteenth-century American Melodrama," 636.

³⁶²Harris, "Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China's Policy in the Islamic World," 114.

³⁶³ See Appendix D, Figures D27-D28.

³⁶⁴ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shi yi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第11集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 11].

and nobody wants to give him a job. The rich landlord Bayi decides to abuse Saimaiti, and makes him work without paying him any salary, since he already knows that local people have no trust in Saimaiti, they would not believe that he actually worked for Bayi.³⁶⁵

It is evident that the Han origin characters in the episodes are represented as positive, while the landlord Bayi always shows negative attitudes. Afanti, however, stands out as the state-approved ethnic figure. The existence of the good and bad ethnic characters side by side with the good Han characters serves the state's Uyghur integration goals.

In the episodes, there are also some scenes where social harmony is promoted. For example, in Season 3 Episode 19, Afanti and his five friends, namely Gulina, Wubuli, Wumaier, Tuerdi, and Alimu, finds six precious stones, and they decide that these stones represent their friendship.³⁶⁶ The stones, each with a different colour and different size, are seen again in Season 4 Episode 4.³⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that China has 5 autonomous regions, which are Tibet, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Inner Mongolia, and Guangxi.³⁶⁸ I interpret these six precious stones as a symbol for central China and the five autonomous regions. The friendship of the child characters stands for the unity and integration of the ethnic minorities.

Examples for social harmony are not restricted with these episodes. For example, in Season 3 Episode 15 and 16, Afanti collects donation for school renovation, which highlights social responsibility and being helpful for the issues

³⁶⁵ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershier ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第 22 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 22]. See Appendix C, Season 2 Episode 22.

³⁶⁶ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shijiu ji" 少年阿凡提第三季第 19 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 19]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episode 19.

³⁶⁷ See Appendix D, Figure D29.

³⁶⁸ Goodman, "The Politics of Regionalism: Economic Development, Conflict and Negotiation," 9.

that concern all.³⁶⁹ Collaborative living is emphasized in Season 3 Episode 25, where Afanti and his friends cook together.³⁷⁰ In Season 4 Episode 3 and 4, Afanti helps his sick friends to get cured.³⁷¹ In Season 1 Episode 13, the local people in the village open a new well for water supply through a collective work.³⁷² All such episodes signify the importance of cooperation, friendship, helping each other, social responsibility, and collective working. These concepts are vital for a harmonious and integrated society for easing the tension in Xinjiang.

4.2.4 Cultural differences

It has already been mentioned that in the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan of China, a special attention was drawn to creating safe and attractive investment conditions in western regions of China.³⁷³ Therefore, it is the state's goal to make Xinjiang more attractive in order to draw investors to the region and make it economically improved, so that it will be a healthy supplier of raw materials, food, and human resources. And, *Shaonian Afanti* episodes bring forward some elements from Xinjiang that are aimed at making it more attractive for the Han audience.

One example of such elements is Xinjiang dance and music. Examples for the episodes where scenes focus on Xinjiang musical instruments and dance are Season

³⁶⁹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiwu ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 15 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 15]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiliu ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 16 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 16]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episodes 15-16.

³⁷⁰ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di ershiwu ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 25 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 25]”. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episode 25.

³⁷¹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di san ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 3 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 4 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 4]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episodes 3-4.

³⁷² See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shisan ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 13 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 13]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 13.

³⁷³ Zhu, “V. Implementing the Strategy for Developing the Western Region to Promote Coordinated Progress of Different Areas.”

1 Episode 1, 7, 23; Season 3 Episode 1, Episode 3.³⁷⁴ Season 3 Episode 3 and 4 are entirely about the musical instrument *dutar*.³⁷⁵ And it is important to note that *dutar* is an Uyghur instrument.³⁷⁶ Therefore, we see that clear emphasis is given to some local Uyghur motifs, which may be quite attractive for the Han population.

Another particular cultural element highlighted in *Shaonian Afanti* episodes is the local Uyghur bread. This traditional bread, which is called *naan*³⁷⁷, is a distinctive flavor of Xinjiang.³⁷⁸ In *Shaonian Afanti* episodes, the character Gulina's mother, Amina, is a *naan* seller.³⁷⁹ *Naan* is clearly visible to the audience in *Shaonian Afanti*.³⁸⁰ These cultural details are devised to make the Han population accept the Uyghurs by promoting their attractive sides. This cultural acceptance will eventually contribute to the solution of the Uyghur issue.

Another specific reference to traditional Uyghur customs is the architectural designs. Kobi mentions that minarets, domes, gates, and columns reflect Islamic influence in Xinjiang.³⁸¹ The dome structure can be seen in many scenes.³⁸²

The house structure seen in the episodes are very similar to the real houses in Xinjiang. Figures 13, 14, and 15 below are some examples to Xinjiang houses:

³⁷⁴ See Appendix D, Figures D30-36.

³⁷⁵ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di san ji di san ji*” 少年阿凡提第三季第3集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di san ji di si ji*” 少年阿凡提第三季第4集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 4]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episodes 3-4.

³⁷⁶ Wong, “Reinventing the Central Asian Rawap in Modern China: Musical Stereotypes, Minority Modernity, and Uyghur Instrumental Music,” 38.

³⁷⁷ Li, “White Paper Sets Xinjiang Facts Straight, Cites Successes.”

³⁷⁸ “*Daibiao jianyi: Pushe wangdian ba Xinjiang re nang mai dao quanguo gedi*” 代表建议：铺设网点把新疆热馕卖到全国各地 [A suggestion of representation: establishing outlets to sell Xinjiang to all parts of the country].

³⁷⁹ For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di yi ji*” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di er ji*” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di san ji*” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di si ji*” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

³⁸⁰ See Appendix D, Figure D37.

³⁸¹ Kobi, “Building Transregional and Historical Connections: Uyghur Architecture in Urban Xinjiang,” 213.

³⁸² See Appendix D, Figures D38-D41.



Fig. 13 Uyghur style houses in Xinjiang
Source: CGTN America, 2016, September 30
<https://america.cgtn.com/2016/09/30/xinjiang-disappearing-architecture>



Fig. 14 Uyghur style houses in Xinjiang
Source: CGTN America, 2016, September 30
<https://america.cgtn.com/2016/09/30/xinjiang-disappearing-architecture>



Fig. 15 Uyghur style houses in Kashgar, Xinjiang
 Source: CGTN America, 2016, September 30
<https://america.cgtn.com/2016/09/30/xinjiang-disappearing-architecture>

Very similar architecture is also seen in the *Shaonian Afanti* episodes.³⁸³ However, no single detail is given about the details, historical background, or specific functions of these buildings. They stand in the episode with a charming and romantic decorative purpose and with an implication that the characters live somewhere in Xinjiang. I also would like to mention that the place where the characters live is not mentioned in any of the episodes.³⁸⁴ The characters live in a nameless place with Western oriental features, like a magical land. The representation of this nameless place with Xinjiang and Middle Eastern characteristics draw the Han populations' attention to the local region and make the Uyghurs more accepted within the society with the help of the charming environment and architecture.

Similar to Xinjiang architecture, Xinjiang costumes are also used in *Shaonian Afanti*. Examples to such costumes can be seen in many episodes.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ See Appendix D, Figures D42-45.

³⁸⁴For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

³⁸⁵ See Appendix D, Figures D1, D2, D3, D4, D6, D7, D10, D11, D12.

Another point that is important for Uyghur and Xinjiang promotion is the concept of grape. Xinjiang is highly famous for its grapes.³⁸⁶ And in *Shaonian Afanti*, Afanti and his father sell grapes in the bazaar to make a living.³⁸⁷ Afanti is also seen working in vineyards.³⁸⁸ All these points show that the series are designed with the purpose of solving the Uyghur issue by creating a charming Xinjiang image.

4.2.5 Ethnicity

It has already been stated that according to Ling Shu, the screenwriter of *Afanti de Gushi*, the most noticeable outward feature Afanti is his eyebrows, moustache, and beard.³⁸⁹ In *Shaonian Afanti* series, these facial features are still seen.³⁹⁰ These stereotyping is a form of building power over the stereotyped figures through constructed information. This built information base helps the authority to control the group of which identity is shaped around the constructed stereotyped identity.

4.2.6 Afanti as an ethnic role-model

Afanti in *Shaonian Afanti* series is a hard working and diligent ethnic child who contributes to the well being of his community. His positive actions show how a state approved citizen should be. He works for the development of the whole society.

³⁸⁶Liang, “Xinjiang: City Famous for Bounty of Fruits.”

³⁸⁷ For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

³⁸⁸ See Appendix D, Figure D46.

³⁸⁹ SMG Dianshiju SMG 电视剧 [SMG TV Series], “Na xie nian, women zhuiguo de donghua: ‘Afanti de Gushi’” 那些年，我们追过的动画：“阿凡提的故事” [The animation that we went after in those years: “The Story of Afanti”].

³⁹⁰ See Appendix C, Figures Figures D1, D2, D7, D9, D18.

An example to this is seen in Season 1 Episode 5, where Afanti and his friends work hard in the vineyard at a very early hour in the morning.³⁹¹ In Season 1 Episode 6, Afanti and his friend work for Bayi.³⁹² In Season 2 Episode 1, Afanti sells dried grapes in the bazaar.³⁹³ In Season 3 Episode 7, Afanti works in the vineyards to help his father.³⁹⁴ In Season 3 Episode 21, Afanti works for Bayi by carrying eggs.³⁹⁵ It is seen that Afanti is represented as a role model that works hard to earn his living at a very young age. This image of hard-working Uyghurs, of course, would contribute to a developing society.

Another important aspect that puts forward Afanti as an ethnic role model in the series is his high intellectual abilities. In Season 1 Episode 1 and 2, he defeats the wealthy and bullying Bayi with his intellect. When Bayi requests money from all the people for smelling his meat, Afanti pays Bayi back by making him listen the sound of the coins.³⁹⁶ This episode reveals his ability to overcome unjust people with his intellect. More importantly, it is the landlord Bayi whom he outcompetes. It is seen that Afanti stands against the feudal rule and local powers in Xinjiang, which is a

³⁹¹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di wu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 5 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 5]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1 Episode 5.

³⁹² See Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di liu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 6 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 6]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1 Episode 6.

³⁹³ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 1]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 2 Episode 1.

³⁹⁴ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di qi ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 7 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 7]”. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 3 Episode 7.

³⁹⁵ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di ershiyi ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 21 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 21] For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 3 Episode 21.

³⁹⁶ Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di er ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 2 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 2]; see Appendix C, Season 1, Episodes 1-2.

very valuable aspect for the Chinese state in keeping its powerful dominance over the region.

In Season 1 Episode 9, Afanti proves that the shop owner Wang is not a thief and that the object in his shop is not made of gold by first weighting a certain amount of golden coins which are at equal weight with the object, and then by putting all the coins and the object into a basket full of water. When the golden coins sink, the object floats on water, which proves that the object is not made of gold.³⁹⁷ This episode shows the analytical and scientific skills of Afanti. At the same time, it is underlined that Afanti is a figure who stands on the side of the Hans.

Similarly, in Season 1 Episode 11, when Bayi tries to charge people by selling water for one silver coin per one barrel at a time when there is drought, Afanti find a solution by bringing a barrel in extra big size.³⁹⁸ This episode also highlights Afanti as a figure with a solution to every problem.

Another feature that makes Afanti a well fit for a role model is that he is helpful for others and contributive to the society in which he lives. For example, in Season 1 Episode 15 and 16, Afanti tricks Bayi for bullying Amina and her uncle, and in the end, he is able to save them.³⁹⁹ In Season 1 Episode 23, Afanti helps Amina sell more bread by organizing music and dance in front of Amina's shop.⁴⁰⁰ In Season 1 Episode 8, Afanti and his friend Gulina distribute bread to the people in

³⁹⁷ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di jiu ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第9集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 9]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 9.

³⁹⁸ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shiyi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第11集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 11]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 11.

³⁹⁹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shiwu ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第15集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 15]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shiliu ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第16集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 16]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episodes 15-16.

⁴⁰⁰ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第23集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23] For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 23.

their neighbour village, who cannot find food due to drought.⁴⁰¹ In Season 3 Episode 15, Afanti collects donations in order to renovate their school.⁴⁰² In all these episodes, it is seen that Afanti is helping others to find solution to various problems, which is very contributive for the general well being of the society.

An important aspect of Afanti in the animated films is that he stands for justice and fights against unfair people.⁴⁰³ As already mentioned in Chapter 2, Afanti is regarded as a symbol of justice even by China's reputable bank ICBC in its official website.⁴⁰⁴ This makes him a well fit for an ethnic role model. In this way, as an ethnic role model, he functions both by educating the whole Uyghur community and by creating this overall cooperative Uyghur image.

An example to the episodes where Afanti stands for justice is Season 1 Episode 20. In this episode, Bayi accuses Afanti's donkey Dudu for secretly eating his one sack of clovers. In order to show if Bayi is really right or making an unfair accusation, Afanti tries to find a proof. And, as a proof, he weights one sack of clovers, which is equal to sixty five kilograms. Then, he also weights his donkey Dudu, which also weights sixty five kilograms. In doing this, he proves that it is impossible for Dudu to have eaten sixty five kilograms of clovers at once, since that

⁴⁰¹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ba ji" 少年阿凡提第二季第8集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 8]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 2, Episode 8.

⁴⁰² See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiwu ji" 少年阿凡提第三季第15集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 15]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 3, Episodes 15.

⁴⁰³ For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji" 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji" 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji" 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

⁴⁰⁴ Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, "Gongxing Xinjiang Fenhong Yingye Bu Tuichu 'Afanti' Xinyongka." 工行新疆分行营业部推出“阿凡提信用卡” [Industrial and Commercial Bank of China BC Xinjiang Branch Sales Department Launches "Afanti" Credit Card].

would be equal to its whole body weight.⁴⁰⁵ In this episode, Afanti stands out as a person that uses logical ways for justice. He also shows the importance of not accusing somebody in an unfair way without solid proof.

In Season 2 Episode 3, there is an incident in which there is actually one real guilty thief, but the thief has two other identical brothers which makes it hard to recognize who the real thief is. When even the Guowang cannot find a solution to this, he just says that if the real thief shall not be released, all the three brothers will be punished. However, Afanti decides to play a psychological game on the brothers in such a way that the innocent brothers will unknowingly reveal the real guilty brother.⁴⁰⁶ In this episode, Afanti is again helping the justice to be applied, while protecting the innocent ones.

In Season 3 Episode 11, it is seen that Kazi, who is on the position of local judge, gives a wrong decision and punishes Wumaier in an unfair way. However, Afanti corrects Kazi's wrong decision.⁴⁰⁷ In this episode, Afanti clearly shoulders the position of justice when the local officer cannot perform his duty in an efficient and correct way.

All these points make Afanti an ethnic role model for the Uyghurs. For the Hans, he represents a whole population of the Uyghurs and becomes a symbol in their eyes with educative function. He shows how to be welcomed and state-approved citizens. The point is that with *Shaonian Afanti* series, a state-sponsored model of Xinjiang and the Uyghurs is promoted in order to shape Xinjiang in the

⁴⁰⁵ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第20集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 20]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 1, Episode 20.

⁴⁰⁶ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di san ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第3集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 3]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 2, Episode 3.

⁴⁰⁷ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di shiyi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第11集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 11]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix C, Season 2, Episode 11.

way the state desires, and in order to increase the integration of Xinjiang into China. Afanti in these animated films serves as a state-approved model of the Xinjiang people who are loyal to the central government and who work for the benefit of the whole Chinese society.

4.3 *Laoxiao Afanti*

In this section, I analyze the 6-episode *Laoxiao Afanti*, which is broadcasted in 2014 by Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.⁴⁰⁸ An important point for the analysis of these episodes is the year 2014 in which they were broadcasted, as this time period gives background about the Xinjiang policy during that time. In this regard, the Xinjiang Work Conference's emphasize on the target of achieving stability in Xinjiang by solving the low level of social and economic development in the region and improving the local people's life conditions, and creating a pollutant free green environment till 2020 should be reminded once again, which has been already mentioned in Chapter 3.⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, when analysing *Laoxiao Afanti*, these targets of the Chinese state should be kept in mind.

4.3.1 Religion

In *Laoxiao Afanti* series, there is no explicit reference to religion and Islam, and there are only some brief scenes where Islam is visible.⁴¹⁰ For example, in episode 1, a mosque is visible at the background.⁴¹¹ A mosque is also seen in episode 2.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸For production details, see Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd., “‘Laoxiao Afanti’ Huode 2014 Niandu Shaoer Jiemu Jingpin Ji Guochan Donghua Sandeng Jiang,” [“The Old and the Little Afanti” Won the Third Rank Prize of 2014 Children’s Program Products of Domestic Cartoons].

⁴⁰⁹Shan and Weng, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang and Its Challenges,”62.

⁴¹⁰ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti].

⁴¹¹ See Appendix E, Figure E1.

⁴¹²See Appendix E, Figure E2.

Apart from this, in a few scenes men wear skullcaps.⁴¹³ Regarding the skullcap, Fuller and Lipman states that “Public-sector employees, for example, cannot wear clothing marked as Muslim, including head scarves or coverings for women and the embroidered doppa skullcap for Uyghur men”.⁴¹⁴ It is clearly stated that head scarves and skullcaps have Islamic annotation.

However, there is no headscarf seen in the episodes, and moreover, most of the characters are highly modern and fashionable.⁴¹⁵ For example, there are characters who wear modern stylistic sunglasses, western style hats, and fashionable costumes.⁴¹⁶ This shift from a more traditional representation that starts with *Afanti de Gushi* and continues with *Shaonian Afanti* to a much more modern representation in *Laoxiao Afanti* is the result of Xinjiang modernization goal by 2020. The effect of the PRC to create a modernity shared by the all society, including the Han and the ethnic groups, is clearly visible in *Laoxiao Afanti* episodes. This shared modernity is targeted to serve for the benefit of an integrate society.

4.3.2 Language

In *Laoxiao Afanti* episodes, no single reference to Uyghur language is seen and all the episodes are completely in Mandarin Chinese.⁴¹⁷ It has already been discussed that *Afanti de Gushi*⁴¹⁸ and *Shaonian Afanti*⁴¹⁹ episodes have references to the

⁴¹³ See Appendix E, Figures E3-E4.

⁴¹⁴ Fuller and Lipman, “Islam in Xinjiang,” 324.

⁴¹⁵ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti].

⁴¹⁶ See Appendix E, Figures E5-E9.

⁴¹⁷ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti].

⁴¹⁸ Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti].

⁴¹⁹ For the episodes, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji”

Uyghur languages. The reason for *Laoxiao Afanti* for not to have any reference is related to the goal why it was produced and broadcasted, since it is seen that these episodes' topics are different than the previous two Afanti animated films series.⁴²⁰ *Laoxiao Afanti* completely focuses on teaching children modern ways of living. Apart from that, it is also apparent that PRC is trying to eliminate all linguistic references to Xinjiang. This is a method to form a common, shared, and integrated living between the Han and the Uyghur population.

4.3.3 Social harmony and political integration

Laoxiao Afanti episodes' topics mainly focus on the general well being of the society and teaches on current life conditions such as low carbon emission, avoiding heavy traffic in the cities, efficient usage of energy, correct parking rules in traffic, anti-theft, losing weight, protecting the forests, math skills, anti-pollution, anti-smoking, and renewable energy.⁴²¹ Most of these topics are also expressed through visual representations.⁴²²

Laoxiao Afanti episode topics are of very educative manner and of pedagogic nature. They are related to social responsibility, protecting the nation's resources, contributing to the society, and being a good citizen. All these attitudes are for the benefit of the improvement of Xinjiang's socio-economic status. It should also be kept in mind that creating environmentally friendly conditions for the development

少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji" 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji" 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

⁴²⁰ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix F.

⁴²¹ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix F.

⁴²² See Appendix E, Figures E10-E24.

of Xinjiang is specifically mentioned in Xinjiang Work Conference.⁴²³ *Laoxiao Afanti* episodes are produced and broadcasted to achieve this government goal of developing Xinjiang and reaching conflict free stability in the region as a result of this economic development.

Apart from focusing on development, the episodes also carry the aim of political integration of the Xinjiang to China. In the episode 3 of the films, Afanti is responsible for the safekeeping of a precious dragon exhibition in an amusement park in the city.⁴²⁴ It is noteworthy that the episode includes a dragon festival and a dragon exhibition.⁴²⁵ With the combination of the dragon and Afanti as the dragon keeper, Afanti symbolizes the Uyghurs who collaborate with the central state.

He Xingliang, as cited in Sleebom, defends that dragon has been a symbol of the Chinese nation, an authority and rule of the royalty.⁴²⁶ Thus, the usage of dragon in *Laoxiao Afanti* Episode 3 is symbolic for the unification of Xinjiang and the central China, the Uyghurs and the Hans.

4.3.4 Cultural differences

Just like eliminating all linguistic reference to the Uyghur language, references to Xinjiang culture are very few in *Laoxiao Afanti* episodes.

⁴²³Shan and Weng, "China's New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges," 62.

⁴²⁴ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsì 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di san ji shuanglong baozhu" 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 3.

⁴²⁵ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsì 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di san ji shuanglong baozhu" 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 3. For the related images, see Appendix E, Figures E25-E26.

⁴²⁶ He Xingliang, "Zhongguo tuteng wenhua gaishu" [Summing up Chinese totem culture], *Yunnan Shehui Kexue* 2 (1990):37-39, quoted in Sleebom, "The Power of National Symbols: The Credibility of a Dragon's Efficacy," 303.

There is no single reference to Xinjiang culture in the storylines of *Laoxiao Afanti*.⁴²⁷ Only some local Xinjiang culture is in some scenes. For example, the skullcap that some men wear is related to the Uyghur tradition.⁴²⁸ Some scenes show skullcap wearing men.⁴²⁹ However, many other people look much more modern.⁴³⁰ The house of Afanti is also in local style with domes. Visual representations of such architecture are seen in some other scenes as well, though not many.⁴³¹ The outfit of Afanti is still in his stereotypical traditional fashion.⁴³² Actually, Afanti is the only figure in *Laoxiao Afanti* with a traditional outfit.

The elimination of Xinjiang culture is clearly a state effort to modernize Xinjiang with the goal of reaching regional development and stability by 2020.

4.3.5 Ethnicity

In *Laoxiao Afanti* series, there is no explicit reference to ethnicity and all the characters, except Afanti's distinctive appearance, seem to be excluded from any ethnic outlook.⁴³³ The only character with an ethnic outlook is Afanti.⁴³⁴ This shows the state's aim of creating a unified nation together with the minority groups. This is clearly an effort of homogenization with the ultimate goal of national integration.

4.3.6 Afanti as an ethnic role-model

⁴²⁷ For the episodes, see Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿反提 [The Old and the Little Afanti]. For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix F.

⁴²⁸ Fuller and Lipman, "Islam in Xinjiang," 324.

⁴²⁹ See Appendix E, Figures 3-4.

⁴³⁰ See Appendix E, Figure E27.

⁴³¹ See Appendix E, Figure E28.

⁴³² See Appendix E, Figure E29.

⁴³³ See Appendix E, Figures E27, E30, E31, E32, E33.

⁴³⁴ For Afanti in *Afanti de Gushi*, see Appendix B Figure B30; for Afanti in *Laoxiao Afanti*, see Appendix E Figures E29, E31.

Afanti in *Laoxiao Afanti* series stand out as the main character, together with his son, the little Afanti, and finds various solutions to different problems in the society.⁴³⁵

In Episode 1, Afanti fights against air pollution by riding his donkey instead a car, and he contributes to the low carbon emission goal. In the same episode, he also warns a taxi driver not to smoke.⁴³⁶

In Episode 2, Afanti's son demonstrates to the audience how to park one's vehicle in the correct way by putting his donkey to the parking lot. This makes him a role model for the young audience. Moreover, in the same episode, when asked how many stars there are in the sky, Afanti cleverly replies that the number of stars is equal to the number of hairs at his beard, meaning it is too hard to count.⁴³⁷ This answer shows his intellect and wit, making him a role model.

In Episode 3, Afanti's son tries to take back a precious pearl from a thief in order to save a dragon statue where the pearl belongs.⁴³⁸ This makes Afanti a role model for the young audience for anti-theft.

In Episode 4, Afanti and his son fight against deforestation.⁴³⁹ This episode makes Afanti a role model for environmental protection.

⁴³⁵ For the summary of the episodes, see Appendix F.

⁴³⁶ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji di tanlü" 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 1.

⁴³⁷ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di er ji chongwu lü" 老小阿凡提第 2 集宠物驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 2, Pet Donkey]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 2.

⁴³⁸ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di san ji shuanglong baozhu" 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 3.

⁴³⁹ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], "Laoxiao Afanti di si ji huoxing renda jjudian" 老小阿凡提第 4 集火星人大酒店 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 4, Mars Grand Hotel]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 4.

In Episode 5, Afanti solves an inheritance problem among three brothers by using his mathematical skills.⁴⁴⁰ In this way, he becomes a role model for the younger generations to study maths.

In Episode 6, Afanti fights against smoking.⁴⁴¹ In this way, he turns into a role model for healthy habits.

It should also be emphasized that since Afanti stands out as a figure from Xinjiang region, all the points stressed in *Laoxiao Afanti* episodes make him an ethnic role-model that represent the whole Xinjiang. In a way, Afanti turns into the image for Xinjiang. A particular attention should be given to the point that Afanti's all behaviours in *Laoxiao Afanti* are directed for the overall well being of the whole society. This puts him into a collaborative role with PRC.

4.4 *Afanti Xinzhuan*

Due to location and access limitations, it was not possible for me to watch the animated film *Afanti Xinzhuan* during the writing process of this thesis. However, in the official poster of it, we see Afanti in his local Uyghur hat and his donkey, which can be seen in Figure 16 below:

⁴⁴⁰ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di wu ji qiao fen yichan” 老小阿凡提第 5 集巧分遗产 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 5, Skillful Heritage Division]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 5.

⁴⁴¹ See Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji yan xiao chen san” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering]. For the summary of the episode, see Appendix F, Episode 6.

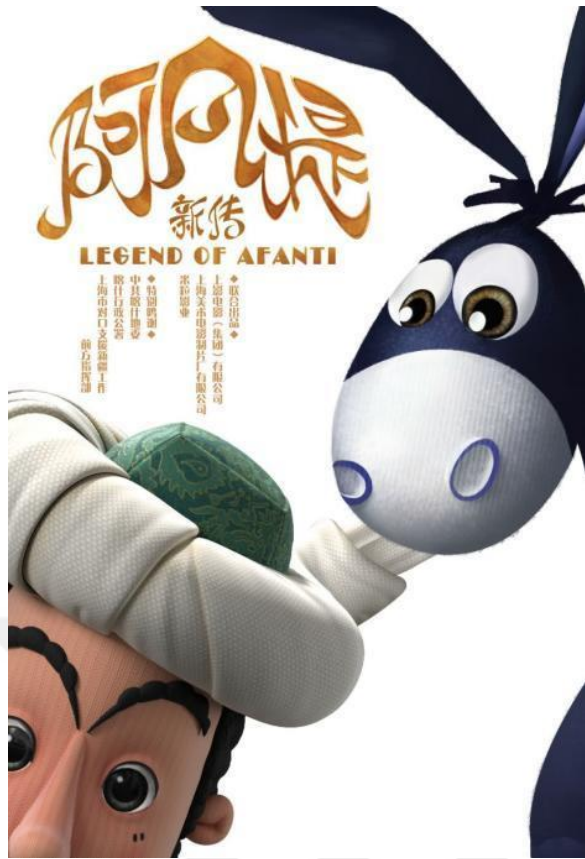


Fig. 16 *Afanti Xinzhuan* poster

Source: Shanghai Animation Film Studios, “Zhihui Afanti, nong nong kashen qing” – yuanjiang 3D donghua dianying “Afanti Xinzhuan” chuanguo zuotan ji xinwen fabu hui zai kaishen juxing” 智慧阿凡提，浓浓喀什情”——援疆 3D 动画电影“阿凡提新传”创作座谈暨新闻发布会在喀什举行 [“Wise Afanti, deep Kashgar feelings” – Xinjiang supporting three dimensional movie “The Legend of Afanti” creative discussion and press conference is held in Kashgar] <http://www.ani-sh.com/newsinfo.php?id=93>

The title of the animated film, which is written in Chinese characters, is specifically important. Its writing style resembles the Uyghur alphabet. An English translation is provided, but no Uyghur version. This shows the state’s aim of keeping its dominant position over Xinjiang.

Moreover, as it was mentioned in detail in Chapter 2, the official website of Shanghai Animated Film Studio states that *Afanti Xinzhuan* may take an essential role in the promotion of Xinjiang.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴² Shanghai Animation Film Studios, “Zhihui Afanti, Nong Nong Kashen Qing” -- Yuanjiang 3D Donghua Dianying “Afanti Xinzhuan” Chuanguo Zuotan Ji Xinwen Fabu Hui Zai Kaishen

4.5 *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian is the most recent Afanti animated film produced and broadcasted in China. This animated film has been produced by Shanghai Film Group and Shanghai Animation Film Studios in 2018, and has been broadcasted nationwide on October 1, 2018.⁴⁴³ In the analysis of this animated film, Xinjiang Work Conference's target of reaching stability in Xinjiang by 2020 should be kept in mind.⁴⁴⁴ Similar to the analysis of *Afanti de Gushi*, *Shaonian Afanti*, *Laoxiao Afanti*, and *Afanti Xinzhuan*, *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* is also analyzed under the themes of religion, language, social harmony and political integration, cultural differences, ethnicity, and Afanti as an ethnic role model.

4.5.1 Religion

In the storyline of the movie, there is no direct reference to any religion. However, some references to Islam are made via visual representations. For example, we see that the main leading female character in the animated film appear in a face veil.⁴⁴⁵ Harris notes that veiling is a visible sign of Islamic identity among Uyghur women.⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, headscarf is also seen in the animated film.⁴⁴⁷ Wearing headscarf is part of an Islamic identity.⁴⁴⁸ Besides, there are many male characters in

Juxing["Wise Afanti, Deep Kashgar Feelings" – Xinjiang Supporting Three Dimensional Movie 'The Legend of Afanti' Creative Discussion and Press Conference is Held in Kashgar].

⁴⁴³Shanghai Film Group Corporation, "Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian" Teji Lai Xi Shi Yue Yi Ri Quanguo Shanying [Special Edition "The Adventure of Afanti" Will be On the Screen Nationwide on October 1].

⁴⁴⁴ Shan and Weng, "China's New Policy in Xinjiang and Its Challenges," 62.

⁴⁴⁵ See Appendix G, Figure G1.

⁴⁴⁶ Harris, "Harmonizing Islam in Xinjiang: Sound and meaning in rural Uyghur religious practice," 294-295.

⁴⁴⁷ See Appendix G, Figure G2.

⁴⁴⁸ Rogers, "Xinjiang: Prospects for Development Challenges for the New Administration," 10-11.

the animated film seen as wearing skullcaps.⁴⁴⁹ As known, wearing skullcaps is a sign of Islam for Uyghur man.⁴⁵⁰ Therefore, all the visual representations related to veil, headscarf, and skullcap in this animated film are clear markers of Islam.

However, these visuals are seen only as a form of outfit in a few scenes. Therefore, I claim that these slight references to Islam are intended for a secular national rule. Islamic elements are not completely eliminated from the movie. This slight inclusion helps the Han to accept the Uyghur identity. However, the dominant style of the movie is modern and secular. All these play a role in the overall national integration by providing modernity shared by all.

4.5.2 Language

Uyghur language is not seen in any scene in the animated film and the standard Mandarin is used exclusively.⁴⁵¹ However, some of the characters' names are known. For example, the main female character is called *Gulixian* 古丽仙, which is a transliteration from the Uyghur name "Gülşen".⁴⁵²

The fact that any reference to the Uyghur language is almost nonexistent in the film shows PRC's effort to strengthen a united nation with a common language, which will ultimately support the Han-Uyghur integration.

4.5.3 Social harmony and political integration

At the beginning of the animated film, a special dedication scene appears in Mandarin Chinese, which is translated as "This film is sincerely devoted to the all hardworking, kind-hearted, auspicious, and wise brothers and sisters of all ethnic

⁴⁴⁹ See Appendix G, Figures G3-G6.

⁴⁵⁰ Fuller and Lipman, "Islam in Xinjiang," 324.

⁴⁵¹ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti].

⁴⁵² Own translation.

groups of Xinjiang” and “A production specially supported by the Shanghai pairing assistance to Xinjiang Work Front Command”.⁴⁵³ The first sentence is a clear dedication to the solution of the Xinjiang conflict by giving the message that the Chinese state is actually totally embracing the whole Xinjiang in a very Xinjiang-friendly manner. And, the second sentence that appears on the screen reveals the economic and socio-political aim of this animated film. An article published in *Xinhuanet* tells about the Xinjiang assistance program:

Twenty years have passed since the first officials from the central government and other provinces were dispatched to Xinjiang to assist local development.

More than 19,000 officials have worked in Xinjiang since the program was started by the Chinese government in 1997, which requires central ministries and 19 provinces and municipalities to support Xinjiang in building new infrastructure and boosting local development.

The assistance program set several records in terms of geographical area, the population involved and investment. The program has brought substantial changes for people in Xinjiang, which makes up one sixth of China's land area.

At the Sixth National Meeting on Pairing-Assistance to Xinjiang, held in Xinjiang from Sunday to Tuesday, China's top political advisor called for better education and continued efforts to help Xinjiang tackle poverty and implement employment-based poverty reduction projects.⁴⁵⁴

It is seen that this assistance program carries the aim of developing Xinjiang to deal with poverty and improve the living conditions of the local people. According to the same news article, from 2011 to 2015, a total of more than 58 billion Chinese Yuan were invested for 5,161 projects, of which 300 were cultural ones.⁴⁵⁵ Even more interestingly, a talent show was produced and broadcasted on a local television channel, which attracted more than four million audiences.⁴⁵⁶ And, a team of twelve

⁴⁵³ “Jin yi ci pian xian gei qinlao shanliang, xiang he zhihui de xinjiang ge minzu xiongdi jiemei” 谨以此篇献给勤劳善良、祥和智慧的新疆各民族兄弟姐妹 [This film is sincerely devoted to the all hardworking, kind-hearted, auspicious, and wise brothers and sisters of all ethnic groups of Xinjiang]; and “Shanghai shi duikou zhishou xinjiang gongzuo qianfang zhihui bu tebie zhichi chupin” 上海市对口支援新疆工作前方指挥部特别支持出品[A production specially supported by the Shanghai pairing assistance to Xinjiang Work Front Command]
Own translation. See Appendix G, Figure G7.

⁴⁵⁴ An, “China Focus: 20 Years of Transformation in Xinjiang under Assistance Program.”

⁴⁵⁵ An, “China Focus: 20 Years of Transformation in Xinjiang under Assistance Program.”

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

people were sent from Shanghai to Kashgar by the Shanghai municipal authorities for the production of this television show.⁴⁵⁷

Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian was also produced as one of the projects in order to support Xinjiang as part of the Xinjiang assistance program. This is a clear indication of PRC's effort to solve the Uyghur issue by improving the living conditions of the local people in Xinjiang.

Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian supports the social harmony through its main storyline which is about Afanti's struggle to help the local people get rid of the water shortage by fighting against the bandits.⁴⁵⁸ Gulixian, the main female character, not only supports Afanti in his struggle, but she also sacrifices her own life in order to save both Afanti and the whole city.⁴⁵⁹ Sacrificing and putting one's life into danger for the sake of the whole community are behaviours that strengthen the society's sense of unity and integration.

Apart from these, there are also scenes *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* that supports social harmony.⁴⁶⁰ For example, there is a scene where the local people dance all together around a bonfire with local music.⁴⁶¹ However, this harmonious representation is actually an orientalist one in the sense that the local identity is simplified to the level of dancing ethnic minorities in the form of touristic attractions.

4.5.4 Cultural differences

*Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*⁴⁶² contains some Xinjiang culture elements that are highly attractive for the Han audience. For example, the main female character Gulixian,

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ See Appendix H.

⁴⁵⁹ See Appendix H.

⁴⁶⁰ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti].

⁴⁶¹ See Appendix G, Figures G8-G9.

⁴⁶² See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti].

with whom Afanti falls into a romantic relationship, is a highly skilled dawaz performer.⁴⁶³ She is presented to the audience in a charming and almost magical environment with an attractive dawaz stick and traditional local costumes.⁴⁶⁴

According to the Chinese media, the dawaz performance, which is aerial tightrope walking, is a traditional acrobatics performance of Xinjiang, and it has been under the protection of the Chinese State Council since 2006, when it was added to the list of intangible cultural heritages.⁴⁶⁵ However positive it may seem for the demonstration of an Uyghur tradition, Uyghurs are put to the position of ethnic performers like a tourism promotion campaign. Together with other elements in the films, all these factors reveal it to be orientalist.

For example, Afanti romantically plays the musical instrument *dutar*.⁴⁶⁶

Harris describes *dutar* as;

A long-necked plucked lute with two nylon (formerly silk) strings tuned a fifth or sometimes a fourth apart, with seventeen chromatic frets. The *dutar* is beautifully decorated, like all Uyghur lutes, with settings in horn or bone. It is used to accompany folk songs, and as a supporting instrument in the *muqam*. A *dutar* can be found in almost every Uyghur home, and is the sole instrument which Uyghur women have traditionally played.⁴⁶⁷

It is understood that *dutar* is a widespread traditional musical instrument among the Uyghurs. The appearance of *dutar* on the screen is part of the Chinese government's efforts to make the historically problematic Uyghurs softer and more charming.

In *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*, the place where the characters live is *Putao Cheng* 葡萄城 (the Grape City).⁴⁶⁸ Xinjiang is undoubtedly famous for its grapes.⁴⁶⁹

This fruit is clearly an attraction for the people that visit Xinjiang. In addition to

⁴⁶³ See Appendix G, Figure G10.

⁴⁶⁴ See see Appendix G, Figure G11.

⁴⁶⁵ "Meet Gulpiya Jelili, Princess of the Tightrope."; "Across China: Meet Gulpiya Jelili: The Xinjiang Princess of Aerial Tightrope Walking."

⁴⁶⁶ See Appendix G, Figures G12-G13.

⁴⁶⁷ Harris, *The making of a musical canon in Chinese Central Asia: The Uyghur twelve muqam*, "The principal Uyghur musical instruments".

⁴⁶⁸ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti].

⁴⁶⁹ An, "Grape Festival Opens at Turpan in NW China's Xinjiang."

grape, *Putao Cheng* is shown to be within natural and beautiful scenery with wide deserts, green lands, and the entire magical atmosphere.⁴⁷⁰ There are also camels that are used by the characters.⁴⁷¹ All these points make the film very orientalist.

Similarly, Uyghur dance and local costumes are extensively used in the film.⁴⁷² We also see local bazaar life and the local palace.⁴⁷³ All these representations objectify the local people in Xinjiang, turning them into objects for the viewer.

4.5.5 Ethnicity

The only place where ethnicity is expressed openly is the beginning of the movie, where a dedication page notes that “This film is sincerely devoted to the all hardworking, kind-hearted, auspicious, and wise brothers and sisters of all ethnic groups of Xinjiang”.⁴⁷⁴ Apart from this clear expression, visuals in the film hint that the characters are different than the Hans. This hint is done through facial features such as moustache, beard, eyebrows, and eyes, and costumes.⁴⁷⁵ Other than these, no mention of an ethnic origin is made throughout the animated film.

The nonexistence of explicit ethnicity helps the state homogenize the local Xinjiang people and unify them with the other groups in China.

4.5.6 Afanti as an ethnic role model

In *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*, Afanti is presented as a real hero that puts his own life into danger in order to save the local people from serious water shortage.⁴⁷⁶ He fearlessly fights against the bandits that block the city’s water. Moreover, he is witty

⁴⁷⁰ See Appendix G, Figures G14-G17.

⁴⁷¹ See Appendix G, Figure G18-G19.

⁴⁷² See Appendix G, Figures G20-G21.

⁴⁷³ See Appendix G, Figures G22-G24.

⁴⁷⁴ See Appendix H, Figure 7. Own translation.

⁴⁷⁵ See Appendix G, Figures G3-G4.

⁴⁷⁶ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti]. See Appendix H.

and intelligent, which helps him in his dangerous adventure. For example, when he meets with the bandits in the cave, he easily deceives them by throwing two *jinbis* into opposite directions and making them follow the *jinbis*. He also uses his intellect when he behaves as if he is on the side of the officer, which proves to be a trick that allows him to escape.⁴⁷⁷

At the beginning of the film, Afanti also shows his intellect to Bayi when Bayi asks him five *jinbis* for the noise Afanti causes with his musical instrument. Afanti, as a reply, says that he will pay the *jinbis*, but he also charges Bayi for the smell of rotten meat that Bayi is eating.⁴⁷⁸

All these manners put Afanti into an ethnic role model who is clever, problem solver, and courageous. However, this film has a very important aspect that differentiates it from the previous Afanti animated films. This is the first Afanti animated film where we see Afanti in love. His emotional relation with Gulixian turns him into a romantic hero.⁴⁷⁹ He is courageous enough to put his life on danger for Gulixian, the woman that he loves, and shows his courage by jumping into a big chasm after her with the hope of saving her life.⁴⁸⁰

The romanticization of Xinjiang shows how PRC tries to reflect the region. With this film, Xinjiang becomes a place of an almost mythical land called “Grape City”, with vast deserts, camels, exotic houses, and a true romance. Actually, this is the objectification of Xinjiang, which makes it powerless but beautiful, a place to be exploited or gazed at.

In short, all the five animated films analyzed here show that although they seem to be supportive for Xinjiang culture, they actually reflect a hegemonistic and

⁴⁷⁷ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti]. See Appendix H.

⁴⁷⁸ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti]. See Appendix H.

⁴⁷⁹ See Appendix G, Figures G25-G27.

⁴⁸⁰ See Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* [The Adventure of Afanti]. See Appendix H.

oriental approach which puts Xinjiang into a less powerful position with suppressed identity. Throughout the films, only state-approved representations are visible, which are considered to be safe by PRC, such as costumes, dancing, some musical instruments, and some architecture. The bigger part of ethnic identity and a deep insight into the real life of the local people is avoided.

This shows the Chinese state's wish to have control over Xinjiang by allowing it to have only a limited identity by constructing a limited Xinjiang knowledge database through these films. The consumers of these films, which are the Han and the minority children, will be growing up with this constructed Xinjiang information. This gives these animated films a very educative nature, which aims to keep Xinjiang within controllable borders.

Besides, these animated films are also contributing to a shared modernity and a Han-Uyghur integration. This is mainly done through a modernized ethnic representation. In addition, the charming characteristics of a distant Xinjiang support the acceptance of the Uyghurs in the Han community. All these factors play an important role in the solution of the Uyghur issue.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I deal with the question of how Nasreddin Hodja has been used by PRC in animated films as an ethnic role model figure in order to settle down the Xinjiang conflict. My main claim is that the Chinese state has been repeatedly and systematically adopting the usage of Nasreddin Hodja figure, as known with the name “Afanti” in China, in animated films as a project to integrate Xinjiang into China by constructing a state-approved Uyghur role-model image and by representing the sanctioned features of Xinjiang. The Afanti animated films, through this image construction, serve an educative function for the Uyghurs, while reflecting an oriental approach for the Hans. This oriental attitude contains PRC’s desire to strengthen its control on Xinjiang. Besides, the animated films also serve for the Han-Uyghur integration by making the Uyghurs more accepted in the Han society. This is mainly done by representing the attractive features of Xinjiang.

In order to build this claim and thesis, I have explained how the political goals of the Chinese state match with Afanti animated films that have been produced and broadcasted since 1979. With this aim, I have made an analysis of both the related political aims and actions of PRC regarding the Xinjiang conflict and the Afanti animated films.

I have included brief background information on the subjects of minority religions and Muslims in China, Xinjiang conflict, film studies in PRC, history of Chinese animation, and Nasreddin Hodja. Minority religions and Muslims in China and Xinjiang conflict show how complex the situation is for the Uyghurs and for the Hans. Film studies in PRC show that although the film studies focus on the creative

and artistic fifth and sixth generation films, state intervention in film industry should not be overlooked. Afanti animated films since 1979 is the direct result of such state intervention. In the history of Chinese animation, I mainly intend to show the developments in animation industry when these Afanti animated films were being produced. Nasreddin Hodja section in background chapter mainly provides brief historical information on Nasreddin Hodja in different nations and shows that he, as a literary figure, exists on a wide range of places from Xinjiang to the Balkans. However, apart from the places that he has been known as a literary figure, he has been used as an ideological apparatus under the Soviet regime, just like its usage in PRC. Nasreddin Hodja's characteristics and the fact that he exists in many different locations with no defined original identity makes him suitable to be used for political ideologies.

The Uyghur issue exists since the Qing dynasty. Throughout history, the Chinese authorities responded to this conflict through hard and soft policies. Animated films of Afanti in China, as it has been claimed in Chapter 1, are part of the soft policy approach to Xinjiang.

In Chapter 2, I mainly argue that Afanti animated films in China has been part of a Chinese project and that Afanti culture has spread in China with the state promotion, while it was just popular among the Uyghurs before this project. However, this promotion was done on a selective basis. This means that PRC promoted a constructed representation of Afanti and Xinjiang in order to build its desired control on the region. Xinjiang dance group *Xinjiang Qingnian Gewu Fangwen Tuan* 新疆青年歌舞访问团 (Xinjiang Youth Song and Dance Troupe) is one of these state constructed representations. Through the leading dancer Qambarkhan, an ethnic image of beauty is reflected. This beautification contains

objectification, otherization of the minorities, commodification, and internal orientalism. *Tianshan Pictorial* magazine that was published in 1947 for the first time also provides some images that contain this oriental image building process.

After these examples, I continue with telling how Afanti was first introduced across China with the efforts of Zhao Shijie and how Afanti's real popularity starts with *Afanti de Gushi* series.⁴⁸¹ It is highly important to note that the producer of the series, Shanghai Animation Film Studio under Shanghai Film Group Corporation, is a state owned studio in China.⁴⁸² Therefore, this shows that *Afanti de Gushi* series are a state production.

The chapter also examines the later dated Afanti animated films, which are *Shaonian Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (The Old and The Little Afanti), *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 (The Old and The Little Afanti), *Afanti Xinzhuan* 阿凡提新传 (The Legend of Afanti), and *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 (The Adventure of Afanti). All of these receive some kind of state support in this or that way. With the influence of these animated films, Afanti culture has developed and spreaded in China. Moreover, similar Afanti projects such as the popular acrobatics show *Nihao, Afanti* 你好, 阿凡提 (Hello, Afanti) are also seen in China. This shows how influential the animated films have been in China in terms of building an Afanti culture. In this construction of Afanti, stereotypical ethnic figure was created and turned into a popular figure.

Chapter 3 tries to show how the state's Xinjiang policies are in correlation with the Afanti animated films. In order to do this, Chinese state's policy towards the

⁴⁸¹ “‘Afanti’ Conghe Chulai,” “阿凡提”从何处来 [Where Does Afanti Come From?].

⁴⁸² For the information about Shanghai Film Group Corporation's being a state studio, see “Studios Trying to Dominate the Big Screen in an Increasingly Competitive Market.” For the information about Shanghai Animation Film Studio's being part of Shanghai Film Group Corporation, see Ren, “Words from the president.”

Xinjiang conflict since the foundation of PRC is examined with a specific focus since 1979, which is the first release date of *Afanti de Gushi*.

In 1950, the Chinese state started a land reform project, which aimed to oust the local landlords by lowering the land rents and redistributing lands. This project aimed to activate the poorer peasants and earn their loyalty for the state.⁴⁸³ At the same time, this campaign aimed at eliminating the local powers of the feudal system. This is reflected in both *Afanti de Gushi* and *Shaonian Afanti* series where Afanti fights against the landlord Bayi.⁴⁸⁴

“Grand Border Support Plan” that was started in the 1950s provided Xinjiang with a large number of immigrants to be employed in agriculture, stock raising, engineering, various industries, and mining in the region.⁴⁸⁵ It is understood that this project was intended to improve Xinjiang. Besides, it was also aimed to decrease the locals’ population density in the region, while increasing the Han population rate at the same time. The target of this process was to decrease the uprising potential in Xinjiang and support the border areas.

However, during the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese state started to implement harsh policies that oppressed the local Xinjiang culture.⁴⁸⁶ It can be said that the doors that were once opened for the local Xinjiang characteristics were now

⁴⁸³ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 240-242.

⁴⁸⁴ For *Afanti de Gushi* episodes, see Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti]. For *Shaonian Afanti* series, see Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

⁴⁸⁵ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 251-258.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 265-276.

closed. As Justin Sevakis notes; artists, including the animation studio talents, were forced to leave their jobs and work in the country side during this era.⁴⁸⁷

It was only after the end of the Cultural Revolution that the first Afanti animated films found the possibility to be produced. It was Deng Xiaoping's considerably more modest and open minority policies that paved the way for this new development. Deng Xiaoping followed a pragmatic approach for the Xinjiang policy which made economic improvement and political stability in the region much more important.⁴⁸⁸ In this period, there was an immigration policy that aimed to increase the population in Xinjiang, but this was not a forced migration. Instead, it was driven by the state's creating attractive economic conditions in the region that would draw the Han population on a voluntary basis to the region.⁴⁸⁹ In a way, this policy was making Xinjiang more attractive across China. The minority law that passed in 1984 also encouraged the promotion of Xinjiang, and other non-Han culture.⁴⁹⁰ The important thing to emphasize at this point is that it was under such conditions that *Afanti de Gushi* series, the first Afanti themed animated films in China, were produced and broadcasted. This suggests that state's softer Xinjiang policies of the era were in parallel with Afanti animated films. However, what I argue is that this promotion of Xinjiang had the goal of accomplishing Xinjiang's integration into China. Unrests in Xinjiang were intensified in the 1980s, and these animated films were a chance to smooth the tension.

This is also in compliance with the ethnic tourism promotion campaigns in order to increase tourism activity in Xinjiang since the late 1970s.⁴⁹¹ It is worthy to

⁴⁸⁷ Giesen, *Chinese Animation: A History and Filmography, 1922-2012*, 97.

⁴⁸⁸ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 276-277.

⁴⁸⁹ Joniak-Lüthi, "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies," 166-168.

⁴⁹⁰ Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 278.

⁴⁹¹ Barabantseva, "Development as Localization," 235.

note that the tourism promotion campaign for Xinjiang is also one of the purposes of the *Nihao, Afanti* acrobatics show, which has been performed since 2009.⁴⁹² It is seen that improving tourism in Xinjiang stays in the political and economic agenda of the Chinese government since Deng Xiaoping. Therefore, it is claimed that animated films about Afanti are also part of this tourism development campaigns for the improvement of Xinjiang's economic and social conditions. This would improve the living conditions of the local people Xinjiang, which would in turn make the locals less inclined to uprising. However, I argue that this touristic representation contains oriental attitude and colonial goals, which can also be seen in the oil paintings of the era. The same motif is also seen in *Afanti de Gushi*.

However, this soft economic policy of Xinjiang ended with 1989 Tiananmen demonstrations.⁴⁹³ It was in 1996 that the central government turned to “Strike Hard” campaign, targeted against the separatist acts in Xinjiang.⁴⁹⁴ After this policy shift and the abandonment of the previous cultural freedom policies for Xinjiang, animated films about Afanti are not produced till the 2010s.

After the bloody uprising of 2009, the Xinjiang Work Conference in 2010 stresses the importance of promoting Xinjiang again, to achieve economic prosperity, ethnic unity, regional security, and stability. In this conference, the state also expresses its aim to develop Xinjiang by 2020.⁴⁹⁵ Therefore, we come across again a policy shift for Xinjiang. After the harsh treatments under “strike hard” campaigns, it is again softening and leaving more room for cultural expression. I claim in this part of Chapter 3 that this softening leads to the production of *Shaonian Afanti* series,

⁴⁹² Li, “Xinjiang zai tuan tuanzhang, shuji jiangshu ‘Nihao, Afanti’ de tai qian muhou” 新疆杂技团团团长、书记讲述“你好，阿凡提”的台前幕后 [The head of the Xinjiang Acrobatic Troupe and the secretary tell the story behind “Hello, Afanti].

⁴⁹³ Maynard, “Uyghur and Chinese Relations since 1949 by James Millward.”

⁴⁹⁴ Becquelin, “Xinjiang in the Nineties,” 87-88.

⁴⁹⁵ Shan and Weng, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang and its Challenges,” 58-62.

which were broadcasted nationwide on CCTV in between 2012 and 2013. It has also been noted that in 2008, ICBC launched Afanti themed credit cards, which also shows this softening policy. This policy change is part of the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan of China, which focuses on the western development.⁴⁹⁶

The later Afanti animated films of *Laoxiao Afanti* also shows parallel features with the state policies. Moreover, a special fund was allocated for the production of these series by the General Office of the State Council.⁴⁹⁷ As I claim in the chapter 3, these series were produced with the state's aim of solving the Xinjiang conflict by increasing the Xinjiang minorities' loyalty for the central government, developing the region through state environmentalism, and softening the ethnic conflict. The Afanti animated films at this period also aimed at increasing Han immigration to Xinjiang in order to dilute the Uyghur population rate. The animated films that would show attractive sides of Xinjiang would help to boost this immigration. Apart from this, an ethnic role model of Afanti would also teach the Uyghurs how they should be "appropriate" citizens.

However, these animated films are also quite hegemonistic and aim at reconstructioning the image of Xinjiang. The animated film series *Princess Fragrant* is also an example to this, which develops around the theme of the historical Uyghur female figure Xiang Fei.⁴⁹⁸ Xiang Fei reflects a state approved version of an Uyghur woman in the palace harem, who is represented as a beautiful femme fatale. This symbolizes the Xinjiang's position in China, which is an exotic land hard to keep under control.

⁴⁹⁶ Zhu, "V. Implementing the Strategy for Developing the Western Region to Promote Coordinated Progress of Different Areas."

⁴⁹⁷ Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd., "'Laoxiao Afanti' huode 2014 niandu shaoer jiemu jingpin ji guochan donghua sandeng jiang," 《老小阿凡提》获得 2014 年度少儿节目精品及国产动画三等奖 ["The Old and the Little Afanti" won the third rank prize of 2014 children's program products of domestic cartoons].

⁴⁹⁸ Millward, "A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine," 427.

The animated films *Afanti Xinzhuan* and *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*, as it is claimed in the thesis, are also part of the state project to solve the Xinjiang conflict. The Tibetan stop-motion puppet series *Akhu Tönpa*, which is a state sponsored project,⁴⁹⁹ is an example for the Chinese government's ethnic minority policies, which strengthens the claim that Afanti animated films are produced under state sponsorship in order to solve the Xinjiang conflict.

In overall, Chapter 3 claims that Chinese government's Xinjiang policies at times when they focused on promoting the region in order to solve the Xinjiang conflict resulted in the production of the animated films about the figure Afanti.

Chapter 4 of this thesis analyzes the 14-episode *Afanti de Gushi*, 104-episode *Shaonian Afanti*, 6-episode *Laoxiao Afanti*, *Afanti Xinzhuan*, and *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian* animated films under the themes of religion, language, social harmony and political integration, cultural differences, ethnicity, and Afanti as an ethnic role-model. This examination is done in terms of both storylines and visual representations.

Through this examination, it is seen that some motifs specific to Xinjiang region and culture have been used in the Afanti animated films. For example, the Islamic prayer is seen in *Afanti de Gushi* series.⁵⁰⁰ In a similar way, the eid-al-adha festival is a topic of *Shaonian Afanti* Season 1 Episodes 1 and 2.⁵⁰¹ Or, in *Laoxiao Afanti* series, mosque is visible.⁵⁰² In *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*, we see the leading female character wearing a face veil, which is reference to Islam, again.⁵⁰³ However, all these references only slightly touch upon Islam. The reason behind this minor

⁴⁹⁹ Huang, "First Tibet-Produced Stop-Motion Animated Series Focuses on Ethnic Stories."

⁵⁰⁰ Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui" 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode four, Wisdom Comparison], 5:45-5:50. For the related images, see Appendix B, Figures B1-B2.

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix C, Season 1 Episode 1, Episode 2.

⁵⁰² See Appendix E, Figure E1.

⁵⁰³ See Appendix G, Figure G1.

reference is the state's aim of creating a shared secularism. This shared secularism helps the nation to be more unified with common features on focus. Increased common features mean less chaos among the ethnic groups.

Apart from religion, usage of the Uyghur language is also occasionally seen in the related animated films. For instance, *Afanti de Gushi* series' opening and closing scenes include the episode names written in the Uyghur language.⁵⁰⁴ Or, in *Shaonian Afanti*, Uyghur text is visible.⁵⁰⁵ However, the dominant language used in all the episodes is Mandarin Chinese. This shows the PRC's goal of keeping control and dominance over the region.

Social harmony, which in turn leads to the political integration of Xinjiang to the rest of China, is a theme that is highlighted in *Afanti* animated films. For example, in *Afanti de Gushi* series, we see that the local public is happily dancing together, which shows that they are in harmony.⁵⁰⁶ However, these kinds of cultural reflections are orientalist. They objectify the ethnic minorities by turning them into visual representations. For another example, in *Laoxiao Afanti* series, *Afanti* becomes responsible for guarding a Chinese dragon statue.⁵⁰⁷ Here, it is aimed to show a state-idealized Uyghur person who collaborates with the Chinese authorities as the protector of the Chinese nationality.

The theme of cultural differences is another point that is examined in Chapter 4. Through the analysis, it is seen that there is no detailed reference to Uyghur culture. All the references provided are within state approved limits such as dancing, eating kebabs, or grapes. This objectification of the local culture makes the films orientalist.

⁵⁰⁴ For the opening and closing scenes, see Appendix B, Figures B5-B30.

⁵⁰⁵ See Appendix D, Figure D17.

⁵⁰⁶ See Appendix B, Figures B35-B36.

⁵⁰⁷ See Appendix F, Episode 3.

Ethnicity is also examined in Chapter 4 and it is seen that ethnic differences only exist within stereotypes. For example, in *Afanti de Gushi* series, Afanti's face is typical with his distinctive curly unibrow, thick bears and moustache.⁵⁰⁸ In *Shaonian Afanti*, such facial features are also visible.⁵⁰⁹ The stereotypification provides a foundation for the state to categorize and control the minorities.

The last theme that is examined in Chapter 4 is Afanti as an ethnic role-model. Through the analysis of Afanti animated films, it is seen that Afanti stands out as a figure with high intellectual capability, wit, sense of humour and justice. His personality makes him a responsible citizen, standing for the benefit of the Chinese society. Therefore, Afanti figure carries an important role in being a model for the integration of Xinjiang into PRC. This image represents the local minorities of Xinjiang who contribute to the well being of the overall Chinese society, who stand for the rights of the all public, who acts in cooperation with the state, and who do not perform any separatist actions. This model is state approved and it shows how Uyghurs should be in order to be welcomed by the government.

When all these elements are combined, we see that Afanti animated films in China reflect the state's method of solving the Xinjiang conflict by increasing its integration to China. It is seen that this is an effort of increasing control on the region by constructing a Xinjiang image. This is also about building state sanctioned historical information for the future generations, as children are the target audience of these films. By watching these animated films, the Han audience' acceptance of the Uyghurs will increase. Moreover, when the Uyghurs watch these films, their awareness of a homogeneous society and shared modernity will grow. All these eventually contribute to the solution of the Uyghur issue.

⁵⁰⁸ See Appendix B, Figures B53-B55.

⁵⁰⁹ See Appendix D, Figures D1, D2, D7, D9, D18.

APPENDIX A

SUMMARIZED STORIES OF

AFANTI DE GUSHI 阿凡体的故事 (THE STORY OF AFANTI)

I have summarized *Afanti de Gushi* series, which are provided in sections Episode 1-13 of Appendix A, by watching the episodes posted online by Libra Wan on the online video platform Youtube.⁵¹⁰ Since I have watched all the episodes in its original language, which is Mandarin Chinese, I take responsibility for any possible mistake, missing information, or misunderstanding that may arise due to my language skills.

Episode 1

On a very hot day, the poor local people of the village stand under the shadow of a tree which is just in front of Bayi's house. Bayi gets disturbed by the sound they make and becomes angry at them. He asks them who gave them the permission to stand there under the tree in front of his house. He also claims that the tree belongs to him, since it is in front of his house. Furthermore, he wants to charge them money for standing under that tree.

The local people reply him by saying that they do not have enough money. Upon hearing this, Bayi starts to confiscate their belongings that they have, such as milk, sheep, and bread.

Soon, when Afanti comes under the same tree, Bayi wants to charge him also. Upon this, Afanti surprisingly says that he wants to buy the shadow of the tree and

⁵¹⁰ Wan, *Jingdian Donghua – Afanti de Gushi* 经典动画-阿反提的故事 [Classic animation – The Story of Afanti].

gives a bag full of gold to Bayi. Later on, they complete the selling process with an official agreement.

From now on, Afanti starts to sit under the shadow of this tree on hot days. When the shadow moves towards the gate of Bayi's house, he sits just in front of the gate. He also invites his friends to sit under that shadow.

When Bayi arrives at his house, he sees that the doorway of his house is blocked by Afanti and his guests. Bayi becomes angry for seeing them there, but Afanti says that he officially bought the shadow and he has right to sit there. Moreover, Afanti also says that if Bayi wants to pass through the gate of his house, he needs to make payment to Afanti, because he will need to pass through the shadow that has been purchased by him.

Since Bayi does not want to make any payment to Afanti, he tries to climb the garden's walls to enter into the garden. However, he falls down and everybody laughs at him.

Later on, Bayi's wife advises her husband to cut the tree to get rid of the shadow. When Bayi starts to cut the tree with an axe, the tree starts to bend forward and its shadow reaches on top of Bayi's house.

Now, Afanti inquires additional money from Bayi, saying that Bayi's house is touching his shadow.

As a solution to this shadow issue, Bayi offers to buy it back. But now, Afanti asks much more money than the amount he originally paid. He explains the reason behind the price increase by saying that now the tree has grown quite a lot, which means the shadow has also grown bigger.

Bayi feels like he has no option to cope with Afanti and he agrees to pay the amount he requires for the shadow.

At night, Afanti and his friends climb on top of the roof of Bayi's house and they entertain themselves by playing some musical instruments. Bayi gets disturbed by the loud sound and angrily shouts that he already agreed to buy the shadow and that Afanti and his friends should leave his house.

However, Afanti replies that he agreed to buy the shadow created by the sunlight. But now it is the shadow created under moonlight. Upon this, Bayi says that he wants to buy the shadow created by the moonlight also.

Afanti accepts to sell this shadow also, but says that the price of it is equal to all the debt that all the people owes to Bayi. Bayi replies by saying that this is too expensive. But now, a group of donkeys start to attack Bayi and his wife.

Episode 2

One day, while Afanti is working for the wealthy local person Boke, Boke requires Afanti to clean the garden without using any water. He also asks Afanti not to let the ground dry. Hearing this order, Afanti uses oil instead of water to clean the garden.

When Boke returns home, he gets very angry to see that all his oil has been used by Afanti. However, he cannot give any punishment to him because Afanti's cleaning process is in complete compliance with his requirements.

Later on, three other rich people gather together to discuss what punishment they should give Afanti. They decide to tell Afanti that tomorrow is the doomsday of the world and they want to eat the sheep of Afanti today before the world ends. They also want Afanti to give them his rabbit.

Hearing these wishes, Afanti cooks his sheep. But, to prepare the cooking fire, he uses the clothes of the three men while they are swimming. When they finish swimming and look for their clothes, Afanti tells them that since tomorrow is the last

day of the world, they should not bother about their clothes, as they will not need them anymore.

Anyway, Afanti is judged in front of the local judge for burning the clothes of these three men and gets three months of imprisonment sentence.

Upon hearing this sentence, Afanti gets happy because this means that the end of the world has not come yet. He says that it is ok to get the punishment, but he wants to send a letter to his family via his rabbit. He whispers to the ear of his rabbit and says that he wants his father to send some food. After a while, his father comes together with the rabbit and the food that Afanti wanted. He tells that the rabbit brought him the letter sent by Afanti.

After seeing what the rabbit can do, Boke says that he just wants the rabbit and Afanti does not need to have a punishment. However, Afanti says that he can have three years of imprisonment, but cannot give the rabbit. Upon this answer, the judge gives ten years of punishment. Now, Afanti says that he will give the rabbit, but he has a requirement before giving the rabbit. He says that he used to use the rabbit to send messages to his family and relatives. Now that he will not have the rabbit, he will need a passport to visit his family who live in another place. The judge accepts this and quickly prepares a passport in return for the rabbit.

Now, the judge wants to try the rabbit by sending a message to his wife to prepare food for his guests that will arrive. When the guests arrive at home, they see that there is no food prepared.

The judge understands that the rabbit has no such ability of delivering message. However, by this time, Afanti has already left the town with the passport.

Episode 3

One day, when Afanti is in the village bazaar, he sees that a man steals some money from a little girl who is trying to earn money by selling flowers. Soon, Afanti sees another man stealing bread from a bread seller. What is more, Afanti also sees a dentist trying very hard to pull out a patient's tooth. Watching all these situations in the bazaar, Afanti starts to think anxiously.

Soon, the dentist asks Afanti's help to take the patient's tooth out. He says that there is no issue which Afanti cannot solve. Afanti thinks that if he ties the tooth to his donkey with a tie, the donkey can pull it out when it walks away. He tries this method and the donkey really pulls the tooth out.

Very soon, a fat man comes and asks Afanti if his donkey can cure his obesity. Afanti says that he should ask this to the donkey. The donkey randomly hee-haws and Afanti "translates" what his donkey means. He says that the donkey is telling that if he wants to find a cure that heals everything, he needs to dig his home's garden for one month and he will find the cure there inside the garden.

After pulling the tooth out and telling a cure for the obese man, the donkey suddenly starts to be seen as a miraculous doctor by the local people.

However, the astronomer of Guowang (the king), who is also in the bazaar that day, does not believe that the donkey can cure anybody and he wants to test it. He asks that if the donkey is miraculous, he can make him see the stars in daytime. But, if the donkey fails to achieve this, he says that he will complain to Guowang and tell that Afanti is a liar.

Upon this, Afanti quickly thinks of a solution and tells that the donkey can make him see the stars in daytime, but for this, he should not eat anything for one month. The astronomer listens this answer and accepts to try this method for one

month. However, he tells that if this method does not prove to be effective, it will be the last day of Afanti's life.

Soon after this, another man comes to Afanti to ask for a cure for his disease. He is a singer with a heart disease which makes him unable to sing. Afanti says that his donkey wants to listen him sing a song to find a solution to his sickness.

The poor singer starts to perform his music; however, everybody in the bazaar who hears his music wants to escape, except Afanti and his donkey.

At the end of the song, Afanti applauds him, which makes the singer so happy that his depressive mood gets better, and he regains his musical skills.

Later on, a thief steals a honey jar in the bazaar. Upon seeing this, Afanti starts to think about what to do. As a solution, he lets the thief steal his donkey while he is hiding in the box that the donkey carries. When the thief brings the donkey into his house and opens the box, he sees Afanti in it. To the thief's surprise, Afanti thanks the thief for inviting him to his house.

The surprised thief does not know what to say, and makes up a lie by saying that he invited him to cure his sickness. He says that he is very thin and wants to put on weight. Upon this, Afanti says that he needs to put honey on his face and walk around in the meadows with honey.

In the morning, the man goes to the meadows just like Afanti advised him. But suddenly the bees start to attack him. He eventually faints, attacked by the bees.

Meanwhile, the astronomer continues to try not to eat anything for one month. However, due to hunger, he faints and has hallucination of stars during daytime.

At the same time, the obese man continues to dig his garden, and as a result of physical movement, he loses weight.

Now, Afanti still has problems to solve in the village. The thief that stole money from the little girl who sells flowers rejects giving her money back. Upon this, Afanti talks to the thief and says that the colour of his face does not look good and he should see the doctor donkey.

Afanti says that the donkey's diagnosis is lack of sleep and absent mindedness. Upon hearing this, the man says that it is right that he forgot to pay the flower seller girl's money.

Afanti says that he has one more sickness which is the most serious. This sickness is related to his shoulders and he tells that he immediately needs to go under operation. The thief, who becomes afraid of Afanti's words, accepts to go under operation.

Afanti starts the operation, but he only cuts the thief's clothes, revealing a bag of money hidden under his clothes. He takes all the money and distributes them to all the local people in the bazaar.

Episode 4

One day, Guowang wants to make all the people under his control know that he is the most intelligent Guowang in the world. For this, he organizes an intelligence competition and says that any person who can correctly answer all the three questions that he asks will be awarded.

Soon, local people start to attend the competition but they all fail to give the correct answers. After a while, Afanti wants to be tested for his intelligence as well and visits Guowang in his palace.

In the competition, Guowang asks how many stars there are in the sky. Afanti replies that there are 9,999,990.09 stars in the sky. What is more, he asks Guowang

to count them if he does not believe him. Guowang becomes surprised and a little bit angry with this answer. He asks the second question: “Where is the centre of the earth?” Afanti replies by saying that the centre of the earth is just the place where his donkey is putting his front right foot.

Guowang becomes even angrier with this answer and says that if he is the Guowang, the centre of the earth should be where his right foot is standing.

Afanti says that they can measure the distance from all directions and if they prove Afanti to be wrong, they can kill him. However, nobody dares to measure the distance.

Guowang asks the last question: “Do you know when you will die?”

Afanti thinks for a moment and replies: “The day I will die is one day before you will die”. Although Guowang says that this is not true, he becomes speechless after Afanti’s words: “How do you know? Did Allah (zhenzhu, 真主) tell you the dates when we will die?”

Upon this answer, Guowang cannot say anything more and he organizes a celebration in his palace for Afanti’s success in the competition.

However, during the celebration, Guowang asks another question to Afanti: “If you are the most intelligent person, then tell me, what day will be the happiest day for the public?” Afanti answers this by saying, “It is the day that you will die”

Hearing this answer, Guowang becomes angry but one of the men in the palace tells to Guowang that when he dies, he will go to heaven. But Afanti expresses his objection even to this explanation by saying that so many good people has died already so far that their souls have already filled the heaven, leaving no space for Guowang.

After this, Guowang makes no action to punish Afanti but lets him rest in his palace, thinking that Afanti is already drunk due to the alcohol served in the celebration feast. In reality, his secret plan is to kill Afanti while he is sleeping. However, he does not know that Afanti is sober with a clear mind, because Afanti gave all the served alcohol to his donkey.

Thus, Afanti prepares his bed to look like as if somebody is sleeping under the quilt, so when Guowang's officers approach Afanti's bed to kill him, they only stab the cushions, thinking that they have killed him.

Next morning, Guowang learns that Afanti has been killed at night. However, he suddenly remembers what Afanti has told him before: Guowang will die one day after Afanti will die.

After remembering these words, Guowang becomes obsessed with the idea of death and becomes terrified, causing him to have visions of death and souls. He wants Afanti to be alive again.

Hearing this, Afanti reveals himself, telling that he has not been killed. Being so happy that he is alive, Guowang offers Afanti to be the prime minister. However, Afanti rejects this offer but instead says that a more suitable person for the position is sitting on the throne of Guowang. When Guowang rushes to the throne to see who he is, he only sees that Afanti's donkey is sitting there.

Episode 5

One night, a thief approaches and steals camels and the donkey of Afanti when the owners are sleeping.

When they wake up, they see an axe left by the thief, and the name of the thief is written on the axe: Mahmud.

Understanding that the thief is Mahmud, Afanti visits his home and asks about the lost animals. But, Mahmud rejects to talk about this issue and sends him away.

Later on, when Mahmud sleeps at night, Afanti and the owners of the camels take the camels, Afanti's donkey, and horses of Mahmud from his home and carry them to another place.

In the morning, Mahmud realizes that his animals have been stolen, and he starts shouting to Afanti, whom he has previously employed for keeping an eye at his gate where he keeps his animals, for not catching the thieves.

Afanti replies by saying that he has employed him only for keeping an eye at the door, not for catching the thieves. Afanti also adds that Allah, in this way, can testify that the heart of Mahmud and Afanti are the same.

Upon this answer, Mahmud becomes angry and punishes the poor Afanti by using him as a "horse" instead of his lost horse.

Mahmud makes Afanti carry him on his back for a while but when they approach a water well, Afanti makes him fall down into the well on purpose.

Mahmud becomes so helpless inside the well that he becomes obliged to ask Afanti's help to get out. To convince Afanti to help him, he shouts that he is a donkey and Afanti is a human being.

In the end, Afanti helps him get out and gives his horse back to him, but tells him not to forget what he has said in the well.

Episode 6

One day, while Bayi is taking a tour in the village on his donkey, he sees a collapsed house. The owner of the house, named Kurban, wants to borrow some money from Bayi to repair the house, but Bayi tells him to ask Allah for help.

Bayi continues to ride his donkey and comes across a wolf, which starts to run after him. Meanwhile, Kurban sees him and saves his life by killing the wolf. But Bayi insists on saying that it is Allah who saved his life, not the man. In this way, he tries not to give any money to this man. Meanwhile, Afanti silently watches everything that happens.

Later on, Bayi goes to the bazaar to have a haircut, but he thinks that the price that the barber asks is too high. Upon this, Afanti suggests giving him a haircut for free, but he cuts all his eyebrows and beard instead of just the hair.

When everybody in the bazaar laughs at his appearance, he wants to cover at least his head with a hat. But he thinks that the hats are too expensive.

Upon this, Afanti tells that he will give him a hat for free if he helps Kurban to rebuild his home. Bayi promises to help him rebuild Kurban's home if Afanti will give him ten hats for free.

After this, Afanti gives him ten hats, but the hats are of only a finger's size. When Bayi asks why they are so tiny, Afanti says that he only wanted ten hats but have not told how big they should be.

Now that the hats are submitted, Afanti requests him to give money to Kurban for rebuilding his home.

Afanti and Kurban starts rebuilding the house with the new materials. And the home is built:

After the home is rebuilt, Bayi requests Kurban to give back his money, or else he will move to the second floor of the house.

Upon this request, Afanti starts to destroy the first floor of the house. He tells that Bayi has no right to say anything for this, because he only has right on the second floor.

Bayi and his wife, who are in the second floor's balcony at that moment and get shaken by the effect of Afanti's destroying, start screaming with fear, and at that moment a bag of gold that they carry falls down from the balcony. Bayi tells them that they can get the whole bag, but wants them to stop destroying the house.

Episode 7

One day, the golds of the treasury are stolen by the treasury secretary, but the judge fails to find who the burglar is.

Meanwhile, the treasury secretary makes a plan to steal the rest of the golds from the treasury house. In order to actualize his plan, he needs some other people to help him, so he convinces two other men to get the golds together.

While the three of them goes together to get the golds and they get inside to the treasury house, Afanti follows them.

Although the treasury secretary is disguised under dark clothes, Afanti notices two moles, one on his hand, and the other on his nose.

Soon after this, the secretary takes bags of gold and tells to the other two people that he will leave first, and then they can also leave by taking their own bags of gold. The two other men agree, but after the secretary leaves, they realize that the bags that the secretary left for them are full only with stones instead of golds.

Soon, the guardians of the treasury house arrive to catch the thieves, but surprisingly, the secretary is also together with the guardians, making them catch the two other men.

The two men are taken to the court to be judged, and they confess that the secretary wanted them to steal the golds. Upon hearing this, the secretary puts some golds into the pocket of the judge as a bribe.

The judge becomes very glad to receive the bribe. He gives the two men punishment for stealing the treasure.

Meanwhile, Afanti watches what is happening and asks the judge: “You have taken the bribe for not punishing the secretary, but you have still not found the treasure, how will you explain this to the Guowang?”

Afanti tells that there are three people guilty of stealing the treasure, but one of them is the real guilty one. In order to find the real guilty person, he distributes three sticks to the three men. Afanti also tells that the stick of the real guilty person for stealing the treasury will change by itself.

The judge and the secretary believe in these words. The secretary and the two men who helped him to steal the golds take one stick and go to their rooms to sleep at night. Afanti tells that the stick of the thief will be different in length by the morning.

At night, the secretary suddenly realizes that his stick starts growing. Feeling very nervous, he starts to “fight” with the stick and starts to have nightmares of the stick growing longer and longer.

He wakes up in terror and breaks the stick into half so that he will not be revealed as the thief due to his stick which has grown longer than the two other men’s.

When Afanti and the judge asks all three people to show their sticks in the morning, the judge decides that it is the secretary who is guilty because his stick got shorter. In fact, the stick has not grown shorter or longer, but the secretary just broke it out of fear that it will grow longer by itself.

Episode 8

One day, Afanti meets a man in the bazaar. He notices that this man shows great respect for the wealthy people and values money. He also notices that he is wearing a big and flamboyant hat.

Afanti tells him that because his hat is so big, it must be making pressure on his brain. He also asks if he can give his hat to his donkey.

Upon these words of Afanti, everybody in the bazaar laughs and the man becomes angry. He says that only the educated people can wear this type of hat and asks Afanti if his donkey can read.

Afanti replies and says that he can teach his donkey how to read in just a month. Hearing this answer, the man becomes surprised and quickly goes to his master to tell that Afanti can teach donkeys how to read.

The master becomes interested in this and wants Afanti to teach his own donkey to read. He sends his donkey to Afanti and gives him one month of time for training.

One month passes and during this time, Afanti teaches his donkey to turn the pages of a book by hiding food between the leaves and making it search for the food. Eventually after completing the training, he brings his donkey to the master for a show. But this time, he does not put any food inside the book, thus, the donkey starts to heehaw when it notices that there is no food.

Everybody in the room who watches the show becomes fascinated, as they think that the donkey is really reading the book.

Having seen that the donkey can read, the master now asks Afanti to teach the donkey how to speak in one month.

After some time, Afanti tells to the master that the donkey has learned to speak, but it tells bad things. He says that the donkey tells how the master collects taxes from the folk by force and saves them in his treasury.

The master does not want to believe and asks how the donkey can know these things. Afanti replies by asking “Don’t you ride this donkey each time you go to do bad things?” Upon this question, the master starts to sweat with fear.

Now he begs Afanti to find a solution to this and kill the donkey. Afanti refuses by saying that he cannot kill such a talented donkey. Now, the master suggests that he will send a person to steal the donkey, so he can kill it instead of Afanti. Afanti accepts this method.

When Afanti returns home, he prepares a model that looks like a real donkey and when the appointed person goes to Afanti’s garden to steal the donkey, he sees this model and thinks that the donkey is dead already.

Episode 9

One day, when the prince visits the village, Afanti runs his donkey on purpose towards the prince. The donkey bumps into the horses of the prince and his men. Afanti explains this situation to the prince by saying that his donkey likes to run towards crowded places. Upon hearing this, the prince gives Afanti the honour of hunting with him and his team.

They all go for hunting, but the donkey is slow and at times it becomes stubborn not to walk. The prince and his team stops and waits for Afanti and his donkey.

As a solution to this, Afanti makes a sail and ties it to his donkey, which helps to push it forward with the help of the wind.

Now that Afanti's donkey has a sail, it goes so fast that it leaves all the horses of the prince behind.

Later on, they continue to hunt. However, the prince and all his men prove to be very unsuccessful at throwing bows and Afanti laughs at this.

Now, the prince wants him to have a try with shooting and show them how to hunt a sheep properly. Afanti tries the bow for twice, both of them with unsuccessful results. The prince and his men laugh at Afanti, but Afanti has a plan.

He ties some grass to the tail of his donkey and lets him go around. The sheep around starts to follow its tail. Afanti easily catches the sheep, but then lets it go free.

The prince and his men continue going around, trying to hunt. Soon, they become very thirsty and order Afanti to bring some water.

Afanti finds an abandoned house and starts yelling to them: "Come, Come!" The three men come running with the hope of water. Afanti just says to them that he has found this abandoned house with no water. They return back to their horses.

After a while, Afanti again yells to them, again: "Come, come I have found a water pot" They run to Afanti with the hope of water. But Afanti just says to them that the pot has no water in it.

After a while, it becomes night and the weather becomes cloudy with signs of a storm approaching. The prince and his men get Afanti's sail, tie it to their horses, and leave Afanti alone.

The prince and his men hide from rain in a place and they make fun of how Afanti should be dealing with hardship now in this weather. However, Afanti arrives on his donkey soon. He thanks to the prince for leaving him alone. He says that if they did not leave him alone, he would not have seen the Garden of Heaven.

The prince gets quickly captured in this dream-like land of flowers. In this dream-land, there is a beautiful woman with a golden arrow in her hands which can be used to hunt a very white and plump sheep. He says that he also wants to go there.

Afanti tells that he cannot go there, because that land is fake. The prince does not believe it to be fake, because he sees that Afanti has not got wet from the rain. Afanti says that the gates of the garden have been closed.

The prince just mounts on his horse and hastens to find the Garden of Heaven. He tries to climb on very tall rocks with the hope of find the land, but he falls down and hits his head to the floor. Suddenly he starts to have visions of the land with plump sheep. At that moment, heavy rain starts pouring down. He wants to hide under a small cave, but he cannot enter because the sheep that he was trying to hunt does not allow him to enter. The prince has no other option now than to sleep outside on the ground, under the heavy rain.

Meanwhile, Afanti and the men of the prince wait for the prince to return. Afanti says that maybe right now the prince is eating kebab. The prince's men get excited with this idea and say that they also want to go there. While they leave the house, Afanti mounts on his donkey and he also leaves.

Episode 10

One day, Guowang feels very depressed and nobody in the palace can make him happy. Meanwhile, Afanti is hanging clothes that he has dyed in different colours in his garden and singing very happily while doing this.

Soon, Guowang notices how happy Afanti is. He immediately orders his men to make Afanti unhappy, as he cannot stand Afanti's song while he is so depressed. In order to make Afanti unhappy, Guowang and his men under his command make a plan. According to their plan, they disguise themselves as common people by changing clothes and they visit Afanti.

Afanti thinks that they are customers and he asks them if they want their clothes to be dyed. Guowang says that he wants one sheet of cloth to be dyed, but also says that he does not want it to be green, red, yellow, or blue. He tells that the colour he wants is the colour that cannot be found in the world.

Upon this, Afanti says that he can prepare this cloth, but he can deliver it on a day other than Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, or Sunday.

Guowang and his men get surprised with this answer and they leave. They do not notice that Afanti has actually recognized their real identities.

Soon, one of the men under Guowang's command comes and says that Guowang ordered all the dye houses to be closed.

After a while, Guowang hears the songs of Afanti again and becomes unhappy, as he cannot understand how Afanti can be full of joy like this. Guowang visits Afanti again. This time, he sees that Afanti has become a shoe maker.

He says that he wants to buy something that his hand touches first. Afanti starts showing all kinds of shoes to him, but Guowang keeps rejecting whatever he

offers. After a while, he gets angry and says that he wants to buy Afanti if his hand touches him first and that he wants to let him neither sing nor be happy.

But at that moment, Guowang touches the ladder that Afanti has been sitting on. Afanti says that now he should buy the ladder. Guowang becomes very angry and leaves the shop.

Guowang sends his man again to tell his order that from this day on nobody is allowed to open shoe shops.

Now, Afanti starts to cut woods and continues to sing happily. Guowang cannot stand this and goes to him and asks why he is so happy. Afanti says that he cannot tell this and it is a secret. At that moment, the local people gather around and watch them.

Afanti says that this secret can only be told to the hardworking common people. Upon hearing this, Guowang says that he is also a poor man. Upon this answer, Afanti accepts to tell the secret. He tells that Allah makes him happy. Guowang asks where Allah is. Afanti replies and says that he is in the ruins of the ancient city.

Guowang and his men suddenly become very happy and they quickly leave Afanti to find the ruins of the ancient city.

At night, Guowang and his men go to the ruined ancient city to find Allah. They start shouting “Allah, where are you?” repeatedly. Soon, a storm arrives and they see a tornado. They become very frightened and start to escape. They fall down from high rocks and then see an owl screaming.

In the morning, they return to the palace. They are in a very bad mood and what is more, nobody opens the gates of the palace to them. Even the jester of the palace does not let them enter into the palace.

Guowang sees that Afanti and the local people are all there. Afanti says that now there is a new Guowang in the absence of the old one and he ordered everybody not to open the gates. Everybody laughs at the Guowang.

Episode 11

One day, the tax officer tells to the imperial envoy that he will always be his farmer and he likes his daughter. But the envoy asks how much money there is in his pocket.

The tax officer becomes angry at this and starts to collect taxes from everyone.

The local people have no other option than to obey him.

After a while, having collected enough money, the tax officer visits the envoy's house. He asks for his permission to marry his daughter.

However, the envoy requires much more money than what the officer has collected and refuses to let his daughter marry him.

Next day, the officer goes to the village centre and collects even more taxes from the local people.

He also wants Afanti to pay tax in double amount. Afanti says that he will give him the tax he wants. Meanwhile, he hides a gold under the tail of his donkey. And then he starts to pray to God to give him some money.

After praying, Afanti takes the hidden gold out from the donkey's tail.

Everybody including the officer becomes amazed by the trick.

With the dream of marrying the daughter of the envoy, the officer wants to borrow the donkey to have more gold. Afanti agrees to give the donkey only for one day. In return for the donkey, Afanti gets all the tax collected that day and distributes all the money back to the public.

The officer takes the donkey and goes to the envoy to get permission to marry his daughter. He explains that this donkey produces one gold every day. To prove this, he starts to pray to God just like Afanti did before.

The donkey “produces” the gold, which was hidden by Afanti before. The envoy wants to see one more gold. But this time, when the officer performs the praying, the donkey only excretes.

The envoy, who gets angry with what he has seen, kicks the officer and chases him away. Meanwhile, the donkey escapes. The two men run after it, but cannot catch. The donkey finds Afanti and the two old companions hug.

Episode 12

One day, while Afanti is riding his donkey in the forest, two bandits cross his way and try to kidnap the donkey. But they start a fight between themselves over the argument of to whom the donkey will belong.

Afanti comes up with a solution and says that he will throw arrows at two different directions. The person who will take and bring the arrow back first will own the donkey. The bandits agree and run after the arrows to bring them first.

Meanwhile, Afanti mounts on his donkey and starts to escape. However, bandits catch him. At that moment, a young man comes to Afanti’s help and chases the men away with his sword. He invites Afanti to his home.

While they are having conversation, Afanti learns that the young man is in a depressed mood since he is in love with the daughter of Bayi. However, the girl’s mother does not allow them to marry because he is poor. The mother wants her daughter to marry Guowang.

Afanti makes a plan to help this young man marry Bayi's daughter. He goes to the girl's mother and introduces himself as the envoy of the Guowang. He tells that Guowang is a young and brave man with lots of pearls.

The mother believes in Afanti's words and gets impressed with the idea of pearls.

At night, Afanti and the young man build a wooden big kite which looks like a palace when looked from afar.

When the girl's mother sees the kite from afar, she thinks that it is a real palace. She asks Afanti if the Guowang would accept her daughter as a wife. Afanti says that Guowang will consider this.

The next day, Afanti visits the mother again and tells that Guowang will visit the local people in disguise and will check them.

After Afanti leaves, the mother orders her men to follow Afanti. Afanti is aware that they are following him and because of this, he visits shepherds of sheep, donkeys, and camels. When the mother asks the shepherds to whom these animals belong, they reply that they belong to Guowang.

The mother follows Afanti to all the way to the young man's home. Although the young man wears very simple clothes, the mother insists that he is Guowang disguised as a common person. She wants him to come to her house and marry her daughter. The young man eventually marries Bayi's daughter.

Episode 13

One day, people in the village notice that they have not seen Afanti for a while. Soon, a rumour spreads in the whole village that Guowang has arrested him.

Meanwhile, Guowang is so angry because they have not been able to capture and arrest Afanti for a year. He makes a plan to catch Afanti and sends a “fake Afanti” to the village, who looks identically the same as the real Afanti.

The fake Afanti starts to behave in unfair ways. He also delivers a speech in public and tells that he has done so much wrong actions in the past, and from now on he will be under the service of Guowang and the landlord Bayi.

Meanwhile, the real Afanti arrives at the town, but he notices that his old friends have lost their sincere feelings towards him. He wonders what happened. When he arrives at the place where the fake Afanti is delivering his speech, the local people become very surprised to see two Afantis.

Both the fake and the real Afanti claim to be the real Afanti and no one can decide who the real one is.

One old man asks questions to both of them to test who is real and who is fake. After hearing their answers, he understands that the one who supports the poor people’s rights is the real Afanti.

The fake Afanti becomes very upset with this and invites the real Afanti for a challenge of healing the sick people.

Next day, the town people gather in front of the palace of Guowang. They are divided into two groups. The wealthy group supports the fake Afanti; the poor group supports the real Afanti.

Guowang also watches them. The Afanti who loses the challenge of curing the sick will be given death penalty. Soon, the challenge begins.

The fake Afanti cures a blind man and a crippled man. But all these man are actually healthy people who just act for helping fake Afanti.

Now it is the real Afanti's turn in the challenge. But he directly says that he cannot cure any one of these people. He says that Guowang should test his donkey instead of him.

Afanti ties a rope to the column which supports the roof under which all the fake sick people are sitting. He ties the other side of the rope to his donkey and slaps it. When the donkey starts running, the roof shatters. The fake sick people start running away in fear. Now everybody sees clearly that they are neither blind nor crippled.

Guowang approaches to Afanti and asks him "to be the backbone of the imperial court". But Afanti replies that the fake Afanti is already his backbone. Guowang becomes angry and orders his men to arrest Afanti. But the public does not let the guardians catch Afanti.

APPENDIX B

SCREENSHOTS OF

AFANTI DE GUSHI 阿凡体的故事 (THE STORY OF AFANTI)



Fig. B1 A man performing the Muslim prayer in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡体的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 5:45.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B2 A man performing the Muslim prayer in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡体的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 5:50.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B3 A poor local woman in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 6
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui” 阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], 1:58.
https://youtu.be/U0pxY6mv3HM?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B4 Afanti Afanti praying to God to ask for help in his challenge in front of the Guowang in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 8
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [the Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 7:46.
https://youtu.be/-HmGiYgFtLw?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B5 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1
 Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫
 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 1:47.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B6 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1
 Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫
 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 24:37.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B7 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 1:57.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B8 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 17:46.
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B9 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 0:39.
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B10 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 27:43.
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B11 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4

Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 0:18.

https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B12 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4

Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 25:10.

https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B13 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 5

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lü”阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things], 3:13.
https://youtu.be/EDxTfm51_c?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B14 Text in Uyghur language, “the End”, in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 5

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lü”阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things], 19:09.
https://youtu.be/EDxTfm51_c?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B15 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 6

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui”阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], 0:40.

https://youtu.be/U0pxY6mv3HM?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B16 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 6

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui”阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], 20:01.

https://youtu.be/U0pxY6mv3HM?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B17 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 7

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di qi ji Qiao Duanan” 阿凡提的故事第七集巧断案 [The Story of Afanti, episode 7, the Clever Case], 0:13.

https://youtu.be/XYOFse6bcM0?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B18 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 7

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di qi ji Qiao Duanan” 阿凡提的故事第七集巧断案 [The Story of Afanti, episode 7, the Clever Case], 17:28.

https://youtu.be/XYOFse6bcM0?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B19 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 8

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 0:09.

https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHPyf



Fig. B20 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 8

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 17:27.

https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHPyf



Fig. B21 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 9

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di jiu ji Shoulie Ji” 阿凡提的故事第九集狩猎记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 9, Hunting Memory], 0:07.

https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B22 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 9

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di jiu ji Shoulie Ji” 阿凡提的故事第九集狩猎记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 9, Hunting Memory], 19:24.

https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B23 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 10

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shi ji Xun Kaixin” 阿凡提的故事第十集寻开心 [The Story of Afanti, episode 10, Searching Happiness], 0:15
https://youtu.be/fImJT--fdwg?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B24 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 10

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shi ji Xun Kaixin” 阿凡提的故事第十集寻开心 [The Story of Afanti, episode 10, Searching Happiness], 16:41
https://youtu.be/fImJT--fdwg?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B25 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 11

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shiyi ji Bao Lü 阿凡提的故事第十一集宝驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 11, the Precious Donkey], 0:07

https://youtu.be/8MqPos6XmF8?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B26 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 11

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shiyi ji Bao Lü 阿凡提的故事第十一集宝驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 11, the Precious Donkey], 18:40

https://youtu.be/8MqPos6XmF8?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B27 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 12

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shier ji Qi Hunyi” 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage], 0:06

https://youtu.be/Go5QrSbnPsE?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B28 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 12

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shier ji Qi Hunyi” 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage], 20:12

https://youtu.be/Go5QrSbnPsE?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B29 Text in Uyghur language in the opening scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 13

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shisan ji Zhen Jia Afanti” 阿凡提的故事第十三集真假阿凡提 [The Story of Afanti, episode 13, the Real and the Fake Afanti], 0:04 2017, https://youtu.be/Ro89kfKB9IU?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B30 Text in Uyghur language in the closing scene in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 13

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shisan ji Zhen Jia Afanti” 阿凡提的故事第十三集真假阿凡提 [The Story of Afanti, episode 13, the Real and the Fake Afanti], 19:50 2017, https://youtu.be/Ro89kfKB9IU?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B31 A text written in Uyghur language in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
 Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 16:37
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B32 A text written in Uyghur language in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 5
 Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di wu ji Tou Dongxi de Lü” 阿凡提的故事第五集偷东西的驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 5, the Donkey that Steals Things], 4:43
https://youtu.be/EDxTfm51_c?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B33 Afanti's donkey reading Uyghur text in a book in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 8

Source: Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua" 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 8:16

https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B34 A beautiful Uyghur woman with her lover in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 12

Source: Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di shier ji Qi Hunyi" 阿凡提的故事第十二集奇婚记 [The Story of Afanti, episode 12, the Strange Marriage], 5:59

https://youtu.be/Go5QrSbnPsE?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B35 Local Xinjiang people in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 24:39
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B36 Local Xinjiang people in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 26:03
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B37 Afanti and dancing girl in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 8

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di ba ji Lü Shuohua” 阿凡提的故事第八集驴说话 [The Story of Afanti, episode 8, the Donkey that Speaks], 12:37
https://youtu.be/OkH8D0ef2so?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B38 Local person playing a local musical instrument in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 2:59
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B39 Local people playing musical instruments in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1
Source: Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集
卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 21:15
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B40 Local people playing musical instruments in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1
Source: Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集
卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 23:31
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B41 Local people in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1

Source: Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集 卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 3:07

https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B42 Local people and Afanti eating fruits in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1

Source: Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集 卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 3:07

https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B43 Local man and Afanti eating fruits in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 1
Source: Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di yi ji Mai Shuyin” 阿凡提的故事第一集
卖树荫 [The Story of Afanti, episode 1, Selling the Shadow of Tree], 13:57
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B44 A wealthy local man in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信
[The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 15:11
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B45 Local people in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 24:43

https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B46 Local people in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4

Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 4:22

https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B47 Guowang smoking a hookah in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 6:59
https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B48 Local females dancing in the local palace in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 12:05
https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B49 Afanti holding a stick of kebab in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 2:56

https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B50 The astronomer on top of a camel in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 3:15

https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B51 The local village center in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 5:40.
https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B52 Local house in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 6
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di liu ji Linse Gui” 阿凡提的故事第六集吝啬鬼 [The Story of Afanti, episode 6, the Stingy Ghost], 14:45
https://youtu.be/U0pxY6mv3HM?list=PLC_XkuSUh1b9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B53 Afanti saluting his master Bayi in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 0:16
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B54 A boy selling bread in the bazaar and Afanti in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 1:28
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0MbWk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B55 Afanti and his donkey in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 14:04

https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B56 Wealthy Bayi in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 17:51

https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B57 Local man in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 6:50
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B58 A local man in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin” 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 6:46
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B59 A person selling bread in the bazaar in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi” 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 0:46
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0Mbwk?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B60 Guowang and his guardians in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 4
Source: Wan, “Afanti de di si ji Bi Zhihui” 阿凡提的故事第四集比智慧 [The Story of Afanti, episode 4, Wisdom Comparison], 25:14
https://youtu.be/7AivyJ81MnM?list=PLC_XkuSUHlb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B61 A wealthy person's wife in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 2
Source: Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di er ji Tuzi Songxin" 阿凡提的故事第二集兔子送信 [The Story of Afanti, episode 2, the Rabbit that Sends Letter], 16:04
https://youtu.be/VOqxFTBEQVs?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B62 A local girl in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 3
Source: Wan, "Afanti de Gushi di san ji Shenyi" 阿凡提的故事第三集神医 [The Story of Afanti, episode 3, the Divine Doctor], 1:07
https://youtu.be/yzbfMk0MbWk?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B63 A beautiful woman in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 11

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shiyi ji Bao Lü 阿凡提的故事第十一集宝驴 [The Story of Afanti, episode 10, the Precious Donkey], 0:57

https://youtu.be/8MqPos6XmF8?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf



Fig. B64 Dancing woman in the palace in *Afanti de Gushi*, Episode 10

Source: Wan, “Afanti de Gushi di shi ji Xun Kaixin” 阿凡提的故事第十集寻开心 [The Story of Afanti, episode 10, Searching Happiness], 4:54

https://youtu.be/fImJT--fdwg?list=PLC_XkuSUhIb9FsVpdRhCfRH-kzY7DHpyf

APPENDIX C

SUMMARIZED STORIES OF

SHAONIAN AFANTI 少年阿凡体 (THE YOUNG AFANTI)

I have summarized the stories of *Shaonian Afanti*⁵¹¹ by watching the related animated films online and provided them in sections Season 1-4 of Appendix C. As I have watched all the episodes in Mandarin Chinese, I take responsibility for any mistake, missing information, or misunderstanding that may occur in my summaries due to my language abilities.

Each full episode is originally divided into two parts and provided here in the same format. For instance, episode 2 is the continuation of episode 1, and episode 4 is the continuation of episode 3.

I have not been able to watch Season 1 Episode 12 due to technical difficulties, as the online streaming was not available for this episode.

Season 1, Episode 1

One day, when it is the time of Eid al-Adha, all the people in the village organize a celebration. As it is the traditional custom to share the meat of the sacrificed animal with the other people, everybody expects Bayi, who is one of the wealthiest people in the region, to share some amount of meat with them.

However, his wife Alina does not want to share meat with anybody.

Meanwhile, Afanti's friends argue with Tuerdi, Bayi's son, about Bayi's being very

⁵¹¹ See Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季 [the Young Afanti season 1]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji” 少年阿凡提第二季 [the Young Afanti season 2]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季 [the Young Afanti season 3]; Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季 [the Young Afanti season 4].

mean. In order to prove that his father is not mean, Tuerdi promises that everybody will eat from the meat that his father will distribute.

But, Bayi and his wife Alina have a different plan. They want to distribute just the bones of the meat, instead of the meat part. Upon hearing this plan, Tuerdi hides all the bones so that his father will have to distribute meat.

Upon this, Bayi makes another plan. He gets a plate of cooked meat and lets everybody in the village smell it. Then, he says that because they got the smell of the meat, they should give something to him in return as a courtesy.

Afanti replies that because his nose has been blocked for a while, he has not been able to smell the meat, so he does not have to give him anything in return. Bayi gets angry and insists that anybody who smelled the meat should give him some food.

Afanti thinks that he should do something to help other people not give anything to Bayi. In order to achieve this, he makes a plan. According to the plan, he offers Bayi money and if Bayi accepts the money, he will have to distribute the meat to the local people. Bayi happily accepts this offer.

Season 1, Episode 2

Now that Afanti has made a suggestion to Bayi to give him money, he has to find the required money for this plan to work. Thus, he asks other people in the village to give him some money and they all accept this by giving him some amount of money.

Meanwhile, Afanti tells to Bayi that he will receive his money, but he wants him to wait in the bazaar while his eyes are tied. Bayi, who gets excited with the idea of money, accepts this and stands in the bazaar while his eyes are closed. While everybody gives Afanti some money, Bayi hears the sounds of the coins.

After collecting all the coins, Afanti tells to Bayi that now that Bayi has heard all the sound of the coins, they have already paid the price of smelling the meat.

Season 1, Episode 3

One day, Afanti and his friends feel very bored and they decide to play the game of kicking shuttlecock (ti ianzi, 踢毽子). For the material of this game, they need the feather of a cock. They think that they can get two feathers from Gugu, the pet cock of Tuerdi. However, Tuerdi cannot stand the idea of getting feathers from his lovely cock and runs away from the kids. In order to save the cock from his friends, he gives it to his father to take care of him. But while Bayi is busy with calculating how much he should spend for the eid al-adha, the cock runs away. Bayi and Tuerdi start to seek it.

Meanwhile, the children make their own shuttlecock with feathers other than Gugu's.

But, Bayi and Tuerdi see the feathers on the shuttlecock and they think that they belong to Gugu. Bayi asks the children to give him money for stealing Gugu and taking its feathers. However, Tuerdi insists that he wants Gugu, not the money. So, Bayi says that the children shall return Gugu till tomorrow; otherwise they will have to pay for it.

Tuerdi gets very upset that Gugu is lost and all of his friends start to seek Gugu. Meanwhile, Bayi finds Gugu but hides this fact.

Season 1, Episode 4

The children continue to try to find Gugu. Meanwhile, Bayi hides the fact that he has found it. But, Afanti coincidentally sees Bayi and Gugu together.

Bayi brings Gugu to his home and tells his wife not to tell Tuerdi that he has found it. His wife agrees. Their plan is to get the money from the children that Bayi asked for if they cannot find Gugu. Bayi hides Gugu in a room and locks the door.

Afanti makes a plan to get Gugu from Bayi. According to the plan, Afanti and his friends sneak into the garden of Bayi's house at night. With the help of Afanti's donkey's skill of tracking Gugu's odour, they find it. But because the door of the room is locked, they cannot go in.

Meanwhile, Bayi, upon hearing the sounds that the children make in the garden, arrives with a lantern. He accuses them of being in his garden at this hour. But Tuerdi says that they are here to help find Gugu. Meanwhile, Afanti gets the lantern from Bayi and sheds light into the room where Gugu is locked.

Gugu becomes confused when it sees the light and crows, thinking that it is morning, and in this way reveals its place.

Now that everybody knows Gugu was hidden by Bayi, they do not have to pay anything to him.

When his wife discovers this, she hits Bayi for not being able to get the money.

Season 1, Episode 5

One day, Afanti and his friend Wumaier work in Bayi's vineyards at very early hour in the morning by collecting grapes in return for some payment for the job they do.

Meanwhile, Bayi, his wife and Tuerdi are having breakfast at their home. Tuerdi asks his mother why they make his friends work part time. His mother replies that his friends are poor, so they need to work.

At that moment, Bayi brings a jar of honey. As soon as they taste it, they are almost mesmerized with the delicious taste.

Soon, Afanti and Wumaier arrive, having finished their work in the vineyard. They knock on the door and say that they are very hungry, waiting for somebody to open the door.

As soon as Bayi hears them, he tries to hide all the food on the table. Tuerdi wants to tell his friends that they have the most delicious thing in the world, but his mother stops him and says that they should not share good quality food with other people.

Afanti and Tuerdi cannot wait anymore in front of the door and they enter the garden. They want to eat the food on table, but Bayi says that they are poisoned and can kill anybody who eats it.

Bayi's wife says that she will bring the best food on earth to Afanti and Wumaier, but she only brings some cookies and plain water. Afanti and Wumaier become upset with this attitude and decide to teach them a lesson. For this, they go to the town centre and prepare a stand for selling the porcelains from Bayi's house. In fact, they are just fake porcelains and not belonging to Bayi.

When Bayi arrives and sees that everybody watches his porcelains, he becomes very angry.

But, he makes a secret plan and tells them that if they can work for him one more day, he will give them a big amount of money. Afanti and Wumaier accept this offer. Upon hearing that Bayi will give these two children so much money, Bayi's wife, Alina, gets angry. However, Bayi tells her that he has a secret plan and she does not need to worry.

Season 1, Episode 6

Bayi breaks one of his porcelains at home intentionally. Then, he sticks the broken parts and puts it in a room in his house, which is full of similar items.

Afanti and Wumaier arrive at Bayi's house for the job that Bayi has previously offered. Bayi says that today's job is to move some items from one room to another.

Wumaier becomes very happy for this easy job, but Afanti gets suspicious and feels that something is wrong with this easy task.

When Wumaier tries to carry the already broken porcelain vase, it easily breaks down.

Afanti discovers that it was already broken before and stucked with honey. He decides to make a plan to discover if it was broken by Bayi on purpose. As part of the plan Afanti makes, Tuerdi tells Bayi that Afanti and Wumaier has died. Bayi quickly runs to see if it is true. He sees that Afanti and Wumaier lie on the ground.

After a while, the two children `wake up` and say that they have seen "Allah" (Anla, 安拉). They say that Allah told them that it is not them who have broken the vase. Bayi does not believe them. However, Afanti insist on saying that he will see the truth very soon.

Soon, some words made of black dots appear on the floor, saying `Speak the truth and do it, or else you shall lose your wealth`.

Actually, Afanti and Wumaier has written this text with honey on the floor beforehand, and now it is just some bugs that come to the honey and make it look like a text.

Because the honey is spread, bugs follow the honey and gather around Bayi. Bayi becomes very afraid and confesses to God that he has done wrong and he is the one who has broken the vase. Afanti and Wumaier laugh at Bayi and leave him.

Season 1, Episode 7

One day, Afanti and his friends dance together with joy, but there is a problem. Tuerdi cannot dance. Gulina wants to teach him how to dance. However, Tuerdi accidentally falls over Gulina and she becomes angry. She says that Tuerdi is not only fat but also stupid, and moreover, he is still considering attending the dance fest.

Wumaier and Alimu laugh at Tuerdi, but Afanti tells them not to laugh. Both Gulina and Tuerdi leave away with anger. Later on, Afanti convinces Gulina to teach Tuerdi how to dance.

Meanwhile, Tuerdi is very upset and rejects eating anything to lose weight. Afanti and Gulina visit him. Gulina apologizes for the bad words she said, but Tuerdi is still very upset no matter what they do. Afanti convinces Gulina to help him.

Season 1, Episode 8

Gulina tries to teach Tuerdi how to dance. Tuerdi continues to reject eating any food. To cheer him up, Afanti and Wumaier joins lunch with Tuerdi. But Bayi tries to give all the meat to Tuerdi.

Later on, Gulina and Afanti continue to teach Tuerdi how to dance. Soon, Bayi comes and says that they cannot teach him well and that he is the best dancer who can teach him in the best way. While they discuss about who dances better, Tuerdi suddenly learns how to dance.

Season 1, Episode 9

One day, a man called Saimaiti appears in the village bazaar and inquires about Afanti, asking if he is really smart or not. The local men answer him by saying that there is no issue which Afanti cannot solve.

When it becomes night, Saimaiti steals all the precious things in the bazaar. Next day, everybody notices that all the shops except Wang's has been entered by a burglar. Thus, everybody becomes suspicious of Wang as a potential burglar.

Bayi comes to the shop and accuses him of partnering with the burglar. Afanti immediately tries to prevent Bayi's accusation saying that he has no proof to accuse Wang of being a burglar.

Very soon, Bayi sees that his stolen golden object is in Wang's shop, and accuses him for stealing it.

But Afanti proves that the object is not made of gold. His method to prove this is as such: He weights an amount of golden coins till they become at equal weight with the object. Then he puts all the coins into one basket which is full of water, and the object into another. While the coins sink to the bottom of the basket, the object floats on top, meaning that its material is not made of gold. Thus, Wang is proved to be innocent.

Season 1, Episode 10

Afanti and his friends continue to find the real thief. In order to find him, they plan to put some money under a tree at night and catch the thief that will come to pick the money. But, Saimaiti hears about their plan when they are talking and does not take the money. Instead, Bayi falls into this trap and takes all that money.

Now, he is being accused of being the thief. To prove that he is not, he makes a deal with Afanti and his friends to find the real thief.

As part of the plan they make to find the thief, Afanti begs Bayi to give him some money in the bazaar, a place where everybody can see and hear them. Bayi rejects him and does not give money. Meanwhile, Saimaiti watches everything that happens.

Saimaiti approaches Afanti and asks who Bayi is and Afanti tells him that he is the richest man of the village but does not give him money.

At night, Bayi hides a bag under a tree on purpose, as he and Afanti knows that Saimaiti is following them. When Saimaiti takes the bag, which is full of stone actually, they catch him.

Season 1, Episode 11

On a too hot season, drinkable water gets less and less each day in the village. Bayi immediately starts to think about lending water by constructing a well in his garden and earning money in this way.

People who hear about the well in his garden gather around Bayi with the hope of getting some water. Bu Bayi insists on selling the water. He says that his selling price is one silver coin per one barrel. Since the local people have not enough money to continuously buy water from Bayi, they feel hopeless.

Afanti finds a solution to this. He orders one huge barrel to be built and brings the barrel to Bayi's garden, saying that he will pay one silver coin to fill this barrel, which is in compliance with the selling rule of Bayi.

Season 1, Episode 13

The local people in the village discuss about opening a new well for water supply. Bayi becomes very happy with this idea and says that he can give the necessary tools for the construction of the well for free. But, his requirement is that once the well is opened, he will be the distributor of the water.

Teacher Kadeer disagrees with this idea and says that the new well will belong to everybody and cannot be under one person's monopoly.

Upon hearing this, Bayi's wife becomes very angry. Because, once the new well will be under operation, they will not be able to sell water from their own well anymore. She immediately orders Bayi to find a solution to this situation.

Meanwhile, Afanti starts to draw the map of the place to locate where the well will be constructed. Tuerdi sees the map and thinks that the drawing looks very good, so he takes the map secretly. He shows it to Bayi and asks him to draw another beautiful map.

Bayi examines the map and goes to the local people to tell that the water source for the new well passes through his own well's source of water. So, he requires getting his share from the new well to be built.

Afanti thinks that he needs to find a solution to Bayi's requirement. As part of his solution plan, he says that Bayi is right and tells him to come to his house at night to get the money he wants.

At night, Bayi arrives at Afanti's house as they agreed before. Surprisingly, Afanti asks him to pay money for the air that he inhales within the borders of his house. When Bayi does not accept to pay, Afanti replies that they will not pay for the water that will come from the new well, either.

Season 1, Episode 14

Everybody in the village work very hard to finish the new well project. But, they need a lantern to finish the construction, as they cannot see the very bottom of the well. And the lantern is in the house of Wumaier.

Tuerdi says that he can go and bring the lantern from Wumaier's house. Upon hearing this, Bayi quickly goes to Wumaier's house and steals the lantern to stop the opening of the well.

Soon, Afanti and his friends discover that the lantern is not in Wumaier's house. It is not hard for them to guess that Bayi has taken it because previously that day, Wumaier has seen him in the garden during the day.

Wumaier decides to test Bayi to see if he really took the lantern. For this, he visits his shop with a bag full of golds. He tells that the place where they dig for the well is full of golds, but they cannot continue without a lantern.

Upon hearing this, Bayi hastens to go to the well to find the golds himself. He enters into the well with the lantern he stole and digs the earth for hours, but cannot find even one gold. Furthermore, he cannot climb up the well to get out. Eventually, he goes out with the help of the children.

When he finally gets out from the well, he sees that Afanti is holding a big piece of gold. They agree to make a deal and exchange the lantern with the gold. Now the children have the lantern that they need.

Soon, Bayi discovers that it is not a real gold but just a painted stone. He understands that he is deceived by Afanti.

Season 1, Episode15

One day, Bayi walks in the bazaar, making some calculations about his recent spending. Seeing that he has spent too much money recently, he decides to earn some money by lending money to other people, like a loan system. But nobody wants to borrow money from him.

Suddenly, Bayi sees Gulina's uncle, who has just arrived on the village and has not met Bayi before.

In the bazaar, Gulina's uncle seeks a pot to cook food, and Bayi suggests lending him one. He accepts this offer, as he does not know Bayi's habit of asking for money after making a help.

After learning that Gulina's uncle has borrowed a pot from Bayi, Afanti wants to give the pot back to Bayi immediately. However, Bayi says that this is not the original pot that he gave.

Soon, after Bayi's insistence for asking money for the pot, Gulina's uncle starts to have nightmares about Bayi and cannot stand this anymore. He wants to leave the village. But Afanti stops him, saying that even if he leaves, Bayi will keep bothering Amina.

As a solution to this problem, Afanti decides to play a trick. He takes a pot with him to the bazaar and starts yelling, saying that the pot can turn any object that is put inside into two objects. He performs the trick of turning one egg into two eggs, and turning one piece of bread into twopieces of breads. Bayi wants to turn one gold into two golds, but Afanti says that the pot became too tired today, and it needs to rest one day.

Season 1, Episode 16

One day, Afanti continues to perform his trick with the pot. The pot “gives birth” to one gold. Seeing this, Bayi buys the pot immediately and pays a bag full of money for it. But when he tries the pot himself at home, the pot does not “give birth”.

Afanti asks Bayi what object he tried in the pot. Bayi says that he tried the bracelet of his wife. Afanti replies that because the object was too big, the pot has died as a result of becoming too tired.

Season 1, Episode 17

One day, Afanti and his friends work in the farm with Yiliyasi Grandfather, collecting and carrying wheat. Meanwhile, Tuerdi eats watermelon with Gugu and does not work.

When Gugu eats from the wheat that Wumaier carries, he becomes very angry at Gugu and kicks it. Tuerdi sees this and the two children start to fight with each other. Wumaier easily wins the fight, and the sad Tuerdi decides to get stronger by exercising.

Meanwhile, it is time of the year for Bayi to collect the wheat that he has lent before. However, he decides to get two bags of wheat for every one bag of wheat that he gave. The amount of wheat that people give to him makes him feel unsatisfied.

Afanti, in a joking way, says that Bayi should be very strong and this must be the reason for him not to be satisfied with the amount of the wheat bags, as he can carry them very easily. Upon this, he invites him for a competition of strength. If Afanti wins, Bayi will not abuse other people again about wheat. However, if Afanti loses, he will have to work for Bayi for one year without any payment. Bayi accepts

this challenge, and says that Teacher Kadeer shall become the judge in the competition.

Season 1, Episode 18

Afanti and Bayi start the competition of strength. The first round of the competition is about carrying a big stone on top of the head.

Bayi cannot hold the stone above his head due to its heavy weight. But Afanti wins this race easily by simply hand standing on top of the stone. In this way, the stone's position becomes turned upside down as if the stone is standing on top of his head and he wins this round.

The second round is about throwing an object to a distant place. The one that throws it to the most afar will win it. Upon this, Afanti suggest to throw a piece of cloth.

Because Bayi tries to throw the cloth directly when the cloth is spreaded freely, he cannot throw it far due to the air which slows the movement of the cloth. But Afanti knots the cloth very tightly so that it will not be affected by the air and he throws it easily.

He becomes the winner of the competition and guarantees that everybody will have sufficient wheat stocks.

Season 1, Episode 19

One day, while the children play in the clover fields in the village, Tuerdi finds a red fruit and eats too much of it, which makes him drunk due to its special ingredient. He goes home and tells Bayi that he has found the fruits in the fields, where Afanti is collecting clovers.

Hearing the clovers, Bayi sneaks into the garden of Afanti's house and steals the clovers already collected by Afanti.

In the morning, Afanti sees that the clovers have been stolen. To catch the thief, he puts more clovers and hides some special red fruit among them. At night, Bayi steals the clovers again. But this time, Afanti sees him stealing.

The reason for Bayi to steal the clovers is that he uses them to feed his horse. In the morning, Bayi's horse becomes sick. Bayi asks Afanti's help to cure his horse. Afanti tells him that he has hidden the red fruit among his clovers to find the thief, and asks him where Bayi found the clovers. He also tells that if his horse has eaten the clovers from his garden, he can find a solution to its sickness.

Without any other methods to cure the horse, Bayi confesses that he has stolen Afanti's clovers. He tells Afanti that he will pay for the clovers if he can cure the horse. Afanti heals the horse with some oil and takes money from Bayi for the clovers he stole.

Season 1, Episode 20

One day, while the children are in the class at school, Afanti's donkey Dudu starts to run after Gugu and accidentally hits Bayi.

Bayi becomes angry at Dudu and goes to Afanti's house. He says that Dudu has not only kicked him, but has also eaten a sack of his clovers, which in fact is not true. He says that Afanti should pay for this by giving sixty five kilograms of clovers, or else he shall work for him for one year without payment. Afanti thinks that he has to find a solution to Bayi's argument and has to prove that Dudu has not eaten the clovers.

After a while, Afanti brings a bag full of clovers to Bayi and they weight the sack in the bazaar. They see that the weight of the sack is sixty five kilograms. Meanwhile, everybody watches them in the bazaar.

Suddenly, Afanti says that he wants to weight his donkey as well. They see that Dudu is also sixty five kilograms. Now, Afanti says that it is impossible for a donkey of sixty five kilograms to eat 65 kilograms of clovers and still weight sixty five kilograms.

Season 1, Episode 21

One day, when Balati and another person from the local people are working in the cotton fields, Afanti brings them some grapes. As they start a conversation, it is revealed that these two people have a problem.

They tell to Afanti that they have borrowed some money from Bayi, and now it is time to pay it back. What makes the situation bad is that they have not been able to harvest the cottons yet. So they do not have money. They have already asked Bayi to extend the deadline, but he keeps rejecting this offer.

Meanwhile, Bayi is busy with counting his money at home. But he cannot count the numbers correctly. Tuerdi warns him and says that it should be 13 after 12. While Bayi and Tuerdi continue with counting, Afanti arrives at their home to ask for an extension of the payment deadline. Bayi says that he can only accept this if they can let him bend downward until the sunset tomorrow. But, if Afanti cannot make him bend, he should work for Bayi for one year without any payment. Afanti accepts this challenge.

The children start to think about how to make Bayi bend down. Suddenly, Tuerdi arrives and tells them that his father bends down every day when he is

counting his money, because he needs to use his foot fingers to count, as his mathematical skills are not good. So, it is easy to make him bend downward.

Afanti thinks of a plan to make Bayi calculate money so that he will bend downward. As part of his plan, he asks Bayi how much money his household owes him. Bayi starts counting his fingers. But he realizes that this is Afanti's secret plan to make him bend downward, so he stops counting. Afanti's plan does not work so far. He needs to find another solution.

Season 1, Episode 22

Afanti tries to find other ways to make Bayi bend downward. He thinks that he will only bend down for money.

While Afanti and his father are sitting in the yard of their house, Bayi comes and asks if he can collect grapes from their garden. Afanti says that he can collect as much as he wants, but he cannot bend downward, or else he will lose the challenge.

Bayi starts collecting all the grapes at Afanti's garden with care not to bend down. But at the last grape that he takes, a coin that Afanti previously hidden on the branch falls on the ground, and Bayi bends down to get the coin. Everybody sees that he has bent downward, which means that he has lost the challenge. Thus, he has to extend the deadline for the payment he will get from Balati and the other local person.

Season 1, Episode 23

One day, Gulina and her mother cannot sell any bread. Nobody wants to come to their shop because this shop belonged to Bayi previously. Afanti, who hears about this, promises to find them customers.

In order to attract customers, he performs a music and dance show in front of the shop with the help of his friends. Soon, many people come to the shop to buy bread, as they are attracted by the performance.

Bayi also comes to the shop to get some bread. Gulina's mother says that she will not ask for money if the bread is not good. Upon hearing this, Bayi takes a bite from all bread pieces and says that they all taste very bad. He also says that he will come again tomorrow and leaves without making any payment.

Now, many of the bread pieces of Amina are bitten by Bayi and they cannot be sold, but Amina needs to earn money.

Afanti makes a plan to solve this problem. He goes to Bayi's wife and says that Bayi has a problem. He tells that Bayi's sense of smelling and tasting has a problem.

Bayi's wife Alina immediately goes to the bread shop and sees Bayi tasting and throwing away the breads. She becomes very anxious and thinks that he has a sickness related to tasting and smelling. Because there are lots of people around at that moment, Bayi cannot explain the situation to his wife.

Alina calls the doctor and the doctor wants to take blood from Bayi. Bayi, who is afraid of the doctor, confesses that he has no sickness.

Season 1, Episode 24

Bayi and his wife come to the bread shop again to take revenge. Now, they play a trick. Bayi continues to say that the breads have no taste, and his wife says that these breads have burnt the tongue of her husband. Bayi asks for money from Amina as compensation for harming his tongue.

Afanti thinks of a plan to solve this problem. As part of his plan, he says that he can cure Bayi's tongue and gives a prescription to Bayi. According to this prescription, Bayi should chop woods. When he sweats, he will get rid of his tongue's sickness. Afanti also says that if this method will not cure him, he will pay him the money that he asks for. Bayi accepts to apply this prescription.

Bayi starts to chop the woods. After a while, he becomes tired. Afanti says that Gulina's household prepared meat, which they can go and eat. This way, they can also see if his tongue got cured or not.

But Bayi does not know that Afanti added lots of hot pepper into the meat. After getting one bite, he feels very hot. He drinks water, which Afanti previously added salt into it. Bayi, whose tongue is still very hot, cries out saying that the water is very salty. Everybody around hears this and they agree that his tongue is cured, as he can sense the taste of salt.

Afanti wins the challenge. Now, Gulina's household does not need to pay any money to Bayi for harming his tongue.

Season 1, Episode 25

One day, when Afanti tries to get some milk from a sheep, the sheep hits him because she wants to protect her lamp.

Afanti gets very affected from this event. He starts to think about his own mother and becomes sad. He also sees that Gulina's mother Alina cares for her. His sadness deepens. Teacher Kadeer, who sees that Afanti is in a depressed mood, advises him to take a walk around to feel better.

Meanwhile, Tuerdi loses his mother's bracelet, and Gugu drops it into the well in their garden.

At the same time, Bayi rejects to pay Wumaier's wage for the job he did for him. When Afanti meets Wumaier, he sees that he is very angry at Bayi for not paying his money. Afanti says that he will help him.

Season 1, Episode 26

Bayi tries to seek the bracelet that Gugu dropped into the well. He asks Afanti's help to find it. Afanti agrees to help him only if Bayi pays Wumaier's money for the part time job he did. Bayi accepts this offer.

Afanti finds the bracelet in the well with the help of light reflected from sun via two mirrors. After this, Bayi pays Wumaier's Money.

Teacher Kadeer tells Afanti that helping other people makes one's heart fill with joy. Afanti says that he can be happy while thinking about his mom. He also says that his mom will be in his heart forever.

Season 2, Episode 1

One day, one ally country sends a sparrow as a gift to the Guowang (the king). Now, Guowang also wants to send a gift back to the ally country, but he and the Wanghou (the queen) cannot decide what gift they can choose.

The envoy of the ally country says that the gift that his Guowang would like to have is not so easy to find. This gift sometimes has two legs, sometimes four, and sometimes six.

The Guowang orders his officer Abbasi to find this special gift, and says that he shall not come back unless he finds it.

In order to find what this gift is, Abbasi seeks Afanti's help. Afanti says that he has a solution and asks Abbasi to bring the envoy to the town bazaar next day.

When the envoy tells to the Guowang that Afanti told the gift can be found in the bazaar, Guowang wants to see this little boy called Afanti with his own eyes.

In the bazaar, the Guowang meets Bayi and tells him that he will give him a bag of golds if he can bring Afanti to him. Bayi hastens to go to Afanti.

Meanwhile, Afanti is selling dried grapes, which they have grown in the fields. Bayi says that he wants grapes but these grapes should not be green, purple, or yellow, and if Afanti cannot sell him such grapes, he should close the shop and leave.

Afanti says that he can sell this kind of grapes, but Bayi should visit the shop on any day except Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, or Sunday to buy these grapes.

Guowang secretly watches and listens Afanti's reply. He introduces himself as Abbasi's distant cousin. He says that he has heard how smart Afanti is, and that he wants to test him to see if this is true.

Guowang starts a competition between him and Afanti. According to the rules of the competition, the one who can make all the people in the bazaar take off their hats and bow will win the game.

Guowang starts the game. He addresses to the public and says that he will pay one coin to anybody who will bow to him by taking his hat off.

Everybody bows to him except Bayi, who says that he cannot sell his honour. Upon hearing this, all the other people who have taken the gold previously give them back to the Guowang.

Now, it is Afanti's turn. Afanti just says that this man is the respected Guowang. Upon hearing this, everybody takes their hats off and bows.

Afanti wins the competition. Now, Guowang tells him to find the gift that he needs for the ally country's Guowang. Afanti says that the gift is available in the bazaar, for sure.

Season 2, Episode 2

Afanti and his friends go out of the school and run to the bazaar. They see that the Guowang and the ally country's envoy have already arrived there to see the special gift.

Afanti quickly shows the gift: It is a donkey. To make it more clear, he gives the example of Dudu. When he stands near Dudu, they have six legs together. When he mounts on Dudu, they have four legs. When he carries Dudu on his back, they have two legs.

The envoy accepts the answer as correct and adds that he wants to give a gift to this smart boy.

The envoy gives Afanti a box and says that Afanti should answer a riddle correctly to take the gift inside the box.

The riddle is as follows: The thing inside the box is sitting when it is standing, sitting when it is walking, sitting when it is sitting, sitting also when it is lying.

Afanti answers the riddle by asking another riddle: What thing lies when it stands, lies when it walks, lies when it sits, and lies when it lies. He also tells that this thing can eat the answer of the envoy's riddle. He says that the answer to envoy's riddle is frog.

Afanti opens the box that the envoy has given him as gift. The frog jumps on envoy's face and scares him. After running around for a while with fear, he answers Afanti's riddle and says that it is a snake.

But the envoy also says that now Afanti should catch and bring him a snake as a gift, as he gave Afanti a frog as a gift already.

Guowang says that Afanti should catch the snake only by himself.

Afanti is very scared of snakes, so he cannot catch one but gets a rope and paints it just like a snake. He takes the rope to the envoy. The envoy suddenly gets very scared. Later on he realizes that it is just a rope, but Afanti says that everybody in the palace has heard that he screamed as “snake”, so he accepted it as a snake.

Everybody in the room confirms. Afanti wins this challenging game.

Season 2, Episode 3

One day, a thief comes to Bayi's shop, but Bayi catches him while he tries to steal an object that he sells in the shop. However, the thief convinces Bayi not to report him as a thief.

Meanwhile, an envoy that carries a beautiful pearl with him walks in the bazaar, rejecting the help of Abbasi.

But in bazaar, the same thief easily steals this pearl. Abbasi catches the thief. Somebody in the bazaar recognizes him and says that he is the son of Yiliyasi.

Abbasi says that he should get a punishment. However, something unexpected happens suddenly and the two brothers of the thief, who look identically the same, appear and stand next to the thief. Now it is impossible to distinguish who is the real thief.

Guowang orders this case to be solved by Afanti. Afanti, as a solution method, brings three sticks of the same size and distributes one stick to each brother. He says that the stick of the real thief will reveal itself. Guowang says that if the real thief

will not be revealed, all three of them will be punished. They put all three of them in separate prison cells.

At night, each of the brothers feels guilty. Moreover, each one of them wants to say that he is the real thief in order to save the other two brothers.

In the morning, they are brought to the Guowang. Each one of them says that he is the real thief. Guowang orders them to hold the magical sticks up, and they realize that one of the sticks is longer than the others.

Afanti explains the situation. He tells that actually the sticks are just regular sticks with no magical power. But he tells that in the night, he went to the jail where the brothers can hear him and told aloud that the real thief's stick shall get shorter.

Now, it is revealed that the two brothers, in order to help the other two brothers, broke their own sticks. But the one with the long one is the real guilty brother.

Guowang allows Afanti to choose what punishment should be given. Afanti says that the thief should do public service as the punishment.

Season 2, Episode 4

The real thief starts working in the bazaar as a public service, cleaning the floor. But his two other brothers love him so much that they insist on helping him, doing his duty instead of him.

Afanti tells to the two innocent brothers that no matter how much they love him, they should let him complete his duty by himself. But Afanti knows that they will continue to help their brothers.

To give them a lesson, Afanti tells that the guilty brother should plow a field all alone. He gives them a `magical stick` which will get shorter if he does not do his duty alone.

They do not believe this story of `magical stick` this time, and the two brothers start to plow the field when the thief brother sleeps under a tree. Secretly, Afanti watches them all.

But Afanti had a plan well organized beforehand. He had already soaked the stick in water previously, and now when it dries, it gets smaller.

Now, Afanti compares the sticks, and says that the stick got smaller. So, it is revealed that he did not do his duty by himself.

Now, all the three brothers understand the importance of accomplishing ones' own duty, and the guilty brother starts to complete his own duties on his own.

Season 1, Episode 5

One day, the local people of the town see that there is a public notice hung on a tree, which says that in order to expand the roads, some land will be taken from the local people. Afanti says that since Bayi has the largest lands, this will be a very good chance to use them for the benefit of the country. Bayi becomes angry at this idea.

Everybody becomes very upset with this notice of the Guowang. Although the Guowang will distribute compensation for the lands that will be used for the road expansion, the poor local people will have no benefit, since they all rent the lands from Bayi. After this road expansion project, they will have no land to rent for doing agriculture anymore.

Afanti decides to consult to Teacher Kadeer about this. Teacher Kadeer writes a letter about this problem and Afanti delivers the letter to the Guowang.

Meanwhile, Bay's wife advises Bayi to collect the rents of the lands before Guowang takes the lands.

On the road, Afanti sees Bayi discussing with Maciti. In their discussion, Bayi insists on increasing the rental fee. After discussing for a while, Bayi says that he wants to get all the harvest of the "bottom part" (since the product is carrot, the bottom part of the harvest is the vegetable part), and he says that he will let the farmer Maciti take all the product which are the "top part" (the leaves of the carrots, in this case).

Afanti makes Maciti accept this deal, but of course he has a smart plan. He brings just the leaves of the carrots as harvest to Bayi says that these are the "bottom parts" and says Bayi just said "bottom parts" and "top parts", and had not said "at the bottom of the soil" or "on top of the soil". Afanti also asks Bayi to show which side of his nose is top and which part of his nose is bottom.

Bayi gets angry at this answer and wants all the harvest of cotton of Wushouer, including the roots under the soil, and the fruit part on top of the soil. This time, Afanti prepares just the roots and the leaves of the cottons to give to Bayi. As an explanation to this, he says that cotton is not a "fruit", so Bayi cannot take them.

Meanwhile, Guowang and Wanghou decide to distribute compensation money to all the peasants and the land renters in return for land.

Season 2, Episode 6

After the Guowang and the Wanghou decides to distribute compensation money to the peasants, the local people become very happy about this except Afanti and

Teacher Kadeer. They say that the peasants need these lands to continue their living by doing agriculture.

The two decide to talk to Guowang about this. When they meet the Guowang, Teacher Kadeer convinces him to visit the local people and see the situation himself. During his visit to the local people, Guowang sees that nobody is working anymore and everybody is having fun, since they soon will have no land to work but money. He returns to his palace after what he sees and decides to cancel the plan of renovating the roads. Everybody becomes happy again to have the lands, except Bayi.

Season 2, Episode 7

One day, Guowang visits the local people in the town centre. Bayi immediately goes forward to talk to him. He says that Guowang is the best and everything is perfect. Bayi gives him golds for these good words and then he leaves.

Meanwhile some poor guy who came from the neighbour village in the crowd faints due to hunger. He tells that his village has great drought and everybody is coping with hunger. Hearing this, Afanti asks Bayi why he did not tell Guowang about the drought, as Bayi has lands in this neighbour village and he should know about this disaster.

Teacher Kadeer decides to go to palace to tell about this. When he arrives at the palace, he says to Guowang that he should bow his head to see the real situation of the people, or else he cannot see the reality when he stands at high level.

Guowang, as a reply, says that if somebody can make him bow his head, he will go to see this situation.

After this, Guowang's edict is posted in the village. The edict says that anybody who can make Guowang bow his head will be rewarded.

Afanti decides to use the Barber Silamu to make Guowang bow his head. He accompanies Silamu to visit the palace.

While cutting Guowang's hair, the barber makes him bow his head. Upon this, asks Guowang to visit the poor village, now that he lost the bet. Guowang, as a reply, says that he already visited the village.

Season 1, Episode 8

Afanti and Gulina distribute some bread to the poor village which was affected by the drought. Guowang, who is on a visit to the village, sees that all the peasants are saying "thank you" to Afanti. He orders Afanti to visit him in the palace.

In the palace, Guowang tells to Afanti that he realized that thanking somebody is a very precious thing. So he decided to say "thank you" instead of giving golds to the peasants. Afanti gets surprised with this. He asks how a "thank you" will help the peasants. Guowang orders Afanti to find a way that will make "thank you" work for the benefit of the poor peasants affected by the drought.

Upon this, Afanti makes a plan and accordingly, tells Bayi that he talked to Guowang and Guowang will give "gifts" to people who will help the local peasants affected by the drought. This news about the "gifts" of Guowang quickly gets heard by everybody in the town and everybody starts distributing food to help the poor peasants.

Afanti, as a response to this way of helping, requests Guowang to say "thank you" as a "gift" in front of everybody who helped the local poor people. Guowang accepts this plan.

Guowang says "thank you" in front of everybody in the town centre and he bows with respect for their generous help for the poor.

Then, everybody thanks him in return for this “gift”. However, it takes Bayi a few minutes to realize that the gift of the Guowang is actually a “thank you” instead of the precious gifts that he has been dreaming to acquire.

Season 2, Episode 9

One day, a peacock that Guowang feeds bites his hand. He becomes angry, but Wanghou says that he should not be angry and instead he should be merciful. Upon this, Guowang decides to be a good and merciful Guowang.

One day, he takes a tour in the town. During his visit to the town, he acts mercifully to everybody. But when he meets a thief who stole Bayi’s goods, he still acts mercifully and says that from now on he will not punish anybody.

Bayi immediately starts to abuse Guowang’s mercy and starts taking goods from people by force randomly, thinking that Guowang will give no punishment. Afanti decides that he needs to find a solution to this problem.

He visits Guowang and says that if he continues to act like this, he will end up with undesired results. But Guowang says that he does not need standard rules anymore to rule the people. Afanti asks if he will not need that rules even if he becomes angry. Guowang replies that he will need them, but he will never be angry again. After this reply, Afanti invites him to play chess and says that he has heard that his chess skills are really good.

During the chess match, Afanti keeps saying he made a wrong move and wants to take back his move. He repeats this insistently on purpose for many times. In the end, Guowang becomes angry and knocks over all the chess pieces. But he does not accept that he became angry.

Soon after, Abbasi calls them to have some food. At the table, Afanti brings out a *jianzi*(shuttlecock) ball and says that the feathers are taken from the bird which they will eat soon. Guowang thinks that Afanti cooked his lovely pet peacock and becomes really angry. This time he has to admit his anger.

Upon this, the Wanghou says that being a merciful ruler requires being clear on punishments. Only after that wisdom may exist.

Hearing the queen's words, Guowang fines Bayi with the penalty of paying money. He also gives him the punishment of cleaning the bazaar in the town centre everyday.

Season 2, Episode 10

Bayi starts to sweep the floors in the bazaar as part of his punishment. Guowang comes to check him and sees that there is one leaf on the floor. Deciding that the floors are not clean enough, he orders Bayi to continue to clean the floors for one month.

Tuerdi becomes very sad for his father's tiring labour and decides to ask Afanti's help to save his father from this duty of cleaning. As Tuerdi is Afanti's good friend, he agrees to help him and goes to the palace to discuss this situation with Guowang.

Afanti takes one grape that Guowang offers. After tasting, he says that it is too sour. He asks why he does not order his servants to pick only the sweet ones. To this question, Guowang answers that this would be too cruel. Afanti asks another question: If he is merciful like this, why he does not behave mercifully to Bayi. Guowang replies that if Afanti can help Bayi clean the floor in the bazaar, he will

end the punishment of Bayi. But he has one condition: Nobody else should help him clean the floors except Afanti.

Afanti accepts this offer. However, since the bazaar is too big for two persons to finish cleaning, he asks the local people to keep clean their own shop's area. Everybody accepts this and very soon, the bazaar becomes really clean. In this way, nobody actually "helps" Afanti or Bayi personally, but they only keep their own area clean.

When Guowang makes his next visit to check, he cannot find any dust or dirt in the bazaar and puts an end to Bayi's punishment.

Season 1, Episode 11

One day, Guowang makes a public announcement that children with good education and culture will be allowed to be guests in his palace.

To educate Tuerdi to be the Guowang's guest, Bayi hires a teacher. But Afanti and the other kids realize that he looks like a fake teacher and actually he cannot show the moves such as saluting somebody in the correct way.

Moreover, the fake teacher does not allow Tuerdi to eat anything but instead eats all the food himself. Tuerdi cannot stand this and decides to seek Afanti's help to get rid of him.

Afanti, as a solution, organizes a tournament in the bazaar. According to the rules of this game, who eats the most food will earn some money. Upon hearing this, the teacher immediately wants to attend.

The fake teacher easily wins the game by eating all the food in a very greedy way and asks for the money as the award of the competition. This reveals that he

cannot be a teacher of culture or elegance. At that moment, Guowang's officer Abbasi comes and arrests him, saying that he is a cheater.

Season 1, Episode 12

Afanti and his friends are invited to the palace as guests. There, they play with ball. When one shoot hits one of Guowang's officer's head, he becomes angry and in order to take revenge, he advises to Guowang that Afanti's team should play ball in the presence of the envoy of Bayada Country when he makes a visit next month. Guowang accepts this suggestion.

Because they will be playing with the ball in the presence of a foreign envoy, they should be acting in an elegant way. Thus, this officer of Guowang takes the duty of teaching culture to Afanti's team. But he keeps complaining about the way they behave when they play with the ball, as the children make each other fall down. So, they want the officer to teach them the correct way to play with the ball. But the way the officer plays is based upon tricks and deceiving the opponent.

They decide to do something both not to disappoint the Guowang and at the same time to get rid of the officer's classes.

When Guowang wants to see and check the process of their education, they start to carry out their plan. They play the ball just like the officer taught them before: distracting the opponent by tricks. Guowang becomes surprised to see their tricks and gets angry at the officer for teaching to play like this.

The officer also wants to check the children's table manners and wants them to share and eat soup. Afanti knows that it is very hard to distribute the food in a fair way, so he asks Wumaier to distribute the soup by dividing it into six cups, as they are six children in total. He also says that the last cup will belong to Wumaier, the

distributor. In this way, Wumaier really carefully distributes the soup, because otherwise the last cup of soup may be very little.

Guowang becomes very satisfied with how they share the food. He also understands that Afanti is the one to come up with this sharing idea.

Season 1, Episode 13

One day, one man from the Bayada country comes and asks a question to Guowang. He asks whether it is the sun or Bayadathat is more far away.

Abbasi says that he does not know the answer, and the man says that this is actually the correct answer since no one actually knows the answer.

Guowang becomes very satisfied with the thinking style of this man and appoints him as the tax officer.

But the new tax officer Yimamu starts to collect taxes randomly again and again. Afanti decides that it is high time to solve this problem and makes a visit to him.

Afanti, in order to challenge him, wants him to test his intelligence. The tax officer asks him if the Sun or Bayada is more far away.

Afanti answers the Sun is more far away, because he has heard people who went to Bayada, but he has not heard anybody who went to the Sun.

The crowd that watches them in the town centre applause Afanti's answer. Then, the tax officer asks another question. This time, he asks whether it is Bayada or the Sun that is closer to them.

Now, Afanti replies that the Sun is closer, because everybody sees the Sun from where they stand, but nobody can see Bayada from there.

Upon hearing this answer, the officer becomes upset and just says that he is busy now and they can discuss this later on. At that moment, Afanti becomes sure that he is just a crooked person and decides to tell this to Guowang.

When he talks to Guowang about the crooked tax officer, Guowang says that he trusts the tax officer. He also says that if Afanti cannot prove what he has just told, his family will have to pay tax in an amount three times more than the usual. Afanti accepts this agreement.

At night, Abbasi and Afanti carefully watch Yimamu to find a mistake that he will make. Soon, they see that he is running away with a bag. When they catch him, they see that the bag is full of fake documents, all marked by a fake stamp of Guowang.

Upon hearing this, Guowang becomes very angry and punishes him. He also tells to Afanti that he has been lucky this time, but this does not guarantee him to be right next time. Afanti thanks him for this good advice.

Season 1, Episode 14

Now that Yimamu, the crooked tax officer, has been punished by Guowang, he has to be kept under the supervision of the guardians. When Bayi sees him, Yimamu secretly places a note in his hand. In the note, it is written that if Bayi can help Yimamu to be saved, he will give a large sum of golds to him as a reward.

To get the golds, Bayi asks Afanti to help convince Guowang to release Yimamu. As a reason for such a request, he tells that he has just discovered that Yimamu is a distant cousin of him.

Afanti agrees to help Bayi, as he knows very well that Yimamu will harm Bayi in the end, and Bayi, as a result, will have his own punishment. He also tells about this to Guowang, and Guowang likes this idea.

Yimamu is released and he disappoints Bayi, as he says he actually have no golds at all and if he complains about this to Guowang, he will also reveal the fact that they have no blood relation and that Bayi has deceived Guowang.

Yimamu, after this blackmail, starts to abuse Bayi. He starts to force him do whatever he wants. He eats everything he wants and makes Bayi pay for him. He makes Bayi massage his foot, and also makes him do other kinds of things for his own benefit, all by force.

Tuerdi cannot stand this anymore and asks Afanti to help them. Since Tuerdi and Afanti are good friends, Afanti accepts to help him and makes a plan. He calls Guowang to make a visit to Bayi's home to check the situation. When Guowang arrives at his home, Bayi cannot stand this anymore and confesses everything. In the end, he gets rid of Yimamu's blackmailing, but gets punishment from the Guowang to pay 50 golds.

Season 2, Episode 15

One day, Guowang hunts in the village. Meanwhile, Afanti and Wumaier finds three baby rabbits with no mother rabbit nearby. They worry that Guowang will hunt either the babies or the mother. Just when Guowang is about to shoot the mother rabbit, Afanti catches and saves her.

Guowang accepts to save the rabbit's life only under one condition: Afanti and Wumaier will spend one night outside with no equipment and nobody will help them. The two children accept this offer.

They spend the whole night out, taking care of the rabbits. It becomes very cold, but they get warm when the mother rabbit runs away and they run after her to catch her. Soon, they understand that the mother rabbit runs on purpose to make them get warmer.

Meanwhile, Guowang stays in a tent near to the two children, since he is still on the hunting trip. He wants Abbasi to send them clothes to keep them warm, and says that he will not hunt the rabbit anymore. But Afanti and Wumaier does not accept this small gift, and they say that now that they have accepted Guowang's initial challenge, they should comply with it and spend the night outside with no equipment.

Guowang becomes a little upset with this rejection of his gift. He wants to check them himself. When he sees that both the kids are sweating, he says that they must have used some equipment to get warm. The two children say they have not used anything to get warm. Guowang says that even if they have not used anything, there is the light of the moon which helps them to keep warm, so this means they have lost the challenge.

Afanti makes a plan to solve this problem. He secretly sneaks into Guowang's tent where he sleeps. He pulls his blanket away and extinguishes the fire designed to keep him warm. He also carries away the heater.

Soon, Guowang wakes up with the feeling of cold. He goes out and sees the two children and the heater there. When he asks why the heater stands there, Afanti says that since the moon should be keeping him warm, he should not need it. Guowang understands what Afanti means and in the morning, he lets them free.

Season 2, Episode 16

Guowang orders Abbasi to take all the three baby rabbits and carry them into the palace. Gulina, Afanti and Wumaier discover that the babies are gone and the mother rabbit is very sad.

Afanti decides to talk to Guowang and convince him to release the baby rabbits. Guowang tells him that he only caught one baby rabbit and agrees to release the rabbits only if Afanti can get him the other two baby rabbits. Afanti accepts this.

But since Guowang caught all the three rabbits and keeps them hidden in the palace, they cannot find the other two babies. Abbasi tells them that Guowang actually caught all the babies and the Wanghou is taking care of them. Upon hearing this, Afanti makes a plan.

Afanti and Gulina seek the Wanghou's help. Affected by the lovely feelings these children have, she gives the two baby rabbits to them. Now, they achieve to fulfil the requirement of Guowang.

However, Guowang says that he has one more requirement before giving the third rabbit. They should differentiate if the rabbits are male or female.

Afanti quickly grabs the two rabbits and holds them from their ears in the air. He says that the rabbit that looks upside is the female, and the other one which is aggressively moving his feet in the air is male.

Hearing this answer, the Wanghou suggests taking care of all the rabbits together in the palace, including the mother rabbit. Afanti and Gulina accept this gladly.

Season 2, Episode 17

The time of taxpaying arrives for the peasants. Now, they should pay the taxes by giving some part of their harvest. Guowang's men announce this in the town.

However, Afanti's father is very anxious since the harvest has not been good this year, and they do not even have any remaining harvest from the last year. Everybody in the village is desperate about the bad harvest they had this year, but the tax collector does not listen any of them and takes all the harvest of them.

Afanti quickly thinks of a plan. He asks Tuerdi to bring wine from their house and make the three tax collectors drink it. Soon, they become drunk. They get on their cart and start driving, but Afanti cuts all the bags of wheat so the more they drive, the more wheat spreads to the road. After this, the villagers collect the spreaded wheat from the road.

When the tax collectors arrive at the palace, Guowang punishes them for getting drunk and causing the wheat scattered around.

Season 2, Episode 18

Guowang wants to see Afanti due to his action of making the tax collectors drunk and cutting the wheat bags.

Abbasi takes him to the palace, but Guowang orders Afanti to wait in front of the palace the whole night till next morning. He says that if Afanti is really smart, he will surely find a solution to get warm at night.

Afanti keeps warm at night by moving a lot. In the morning, he tells to Guowang that due to the severe drought this year, the harvest was very poor and that was the reason for him to make the tax officers drunk and cut the wheat bags.

Upon hearing this, Guowang agrees to consider the drought and the bad harvest situation, but also punishes Afanti by ordering his household to pay double taxes.

Afanti, as a solution to this problem, takes two full bags of wheat to Guowang. He tells that he brought all the wheat at his home, and now they do not have any wheat, so he kindly asks to borrow some wheat. Guowang asks how much he wants to borrow. Afanti says that one wheat gives birth to two wheats, two wheat give birth to four wheats. If the rule is like that, he wants the amount that the ninety-ninth wheat will give birth to.

Guowang does not calculate the amount and calmly replies by saying that he agrees to give such a small amount and orders Abbasi to prepare the wheat.

Abbasi calculates how much of wheat they should give and Guowang becomes shocked with the result, since it means a great amount of wheat. Guowang says that Afanti can take the wheat, but he should finish taking all the wheat till tomorrow.

He thinks that Afanti will not be able to get all the wheat due to deadline, but Afanti calls people from the village, since Guowang has not said he should complete it just as one person, and they all finish it quickly.

Season 2, Episode 19

One day, a soldier from a different land visits Guowang and the Guowang orders Abbasi to let him see the local bazaar.

In the bazaar, the soldier randomly eats food from every seller but does not pay any money. When he eats from the grapes that Afanti and his father sell, Afanti asks for money. Upon hearing that the man never carries any money, Afanti asks him to give his sword as a deposit.

However, the soldier says that this sword is so precious that its worth equals to all the things sold in the bazaar and that he cannot give it to Afanti.

Afanti says that he wants to have a look at it, and after checking it he says that the sword is fake and it cannot even cut a paper. In order to prove this, he invites him to a challenge. According to the challenge, if the soldier cannot cut a paper, he will have to give the sword to him. The soldier accepts this challenge since he thinks it will be very easy to win.

Afanti puts the paper on a round flat stone and lets the soldier try to cut it. The soldier fails to cut it and loses the challenge game. But, when he does not want to give the sword, Afanti makes him sign an agreement, which says that he has lost the challenge and he will pay to Afanti later.

However, the soldier suddenly tells to Guowang that he has to leave the town earlier than previously planned due to some urgency. Upon hearing this, Abbasi tells to Afanti that the soldier is leaving the town. Having learned this, Afanti makes a plan to get his money from him before he leaves.

As part of his plan, Afanti requests Abbasi to tell to the soldier that Afanti has a very strong sword. The soldier tells to Afanti that he will buy the sword if it is really good. However, Afanti brings just an old and rusty chopper.

Afanti wants him to see how this sword can cut sharply. For this, he first sharpens the sword and then washes it. Then he easily cuts a paper spreaded on the flat stone. This is the same stone and paper which the soldier was unable to cut with his own sword before.

The soldier does not want to pay for this old chopper, but Afanti says that he already promised to buy it if it is good. Since the chopper cuts the paper, this proves that it is better than the soldier's sword.

When the soldier resists not to buy it, Afanti says that he should at least pay for the grapes he has eaten in the bazaar if he does not want to spoil the reputation of his country. The soldier hopelessly pays for the grapes.

After the soldier leaves, Afanti explains to Abbasi how this old chopper has been able to cut the paper. They tell that there is a relation of strength and resistance between paper and sword and this is the reason for the soldier not being able to cut it. When the paper gets wet, it loses this resistance and the sword easily cuts it. That's why Afanti washed the sword. In this way, the paper got wet.

Season 2, Episode 20

One day, a man with great sword skills comes to the village. He performs his sword skills and says that he will give 50 golds to any person who has better skills than him. He also explains that he is the brother of the soldier who was defeated in a challenge by Afanti previously. Afanti accepts to race his sword skills with this man.

Afanti loses the first round of the competition, which is about chopping woods.

But Afanti sets up the rules for the second round of the competition. In this round, the one with the best carving skills will win. Afanti carves a very small wood perfectly and wins this round of the competition.

The third round, which is the last round, is set up by the swordsman. In this round, the one whose knife is the sharpest will win the game. Afanti accepts to compete in this round also only if it will be organized tomorrow.

Next day, Afanti gives his knife to Abbasi to compete against the man, as the man has just said "whose knife" and did not say "who will compete". Since Abbasi is very athletic and can move very fast, he wins the challenge.

Season 2, Episode 21

One day, Saimaiti, who used to be a thief before, now does not want to steal anything anymore and asks Bayi to give him a job. But Bayi chases him off and beats him.

Being insulted, Saimaiti steals his purse.

Hopelessly looking for his purse which was a gift from his wife, Bayi asks Afanti's help to find it. They become suspicious of Saimaiti for stealing it, but Afanti says that they need to prove this before accusing him.

To prove that Saimaiti has stolen the purse, Bayi walks around Saimaiti with a bag full of money and drops it on purpose to see whether he will steal it or not. Although Saimaiti does not want to steal it, he takes the bag just to give it to Bayi, but just at that moment, guardians of the city arrive and see him with the bag in his hand. Bayi says that he was trying to steal the bag.

They take Bayi and Saimaiti to Kazi, who is the local judge. In front of Kazi, Saimaiti cannot stand the pressure and confesses that he has stolen the purse of Bayi. He says that he had no other way than stealing, since nobody gave him a job.

Kazi gives him punishment of cleaning the bazaar for one month. Saimaiti really carefully cleans the bazaar with the hope of earning everyone's trust.

Season 2, Episode 22

Saimaiti continues to work in the bazaar to get people's trust and earn money. But he still cannot achieve to win people's trust. Moreover, Bayi says that he will give him two golden coins if he works one day for him, but he does not pay it after Saimaiti works for him. Because two golden coins are a big amount of money for one day of work, nobody believes in Saimaiti's words that Bayi has promised to pay him this amount of money.

Upon this, Afanti decides to help Saimaiti and makes a plan. As part of the plan, Afanti and Saimaiti shout out in the bazaar, telling that Bayi paid Saimaiti two gold coins for one day of work. Hearing this, everybody rushes to Bayi to get the same job.

Bayi tells them that he has not paid any money to a thief like Saimaiti but can give it to other people. Afanti says that this is not the right way of get people's trust to become a good businessman, or else he will bankrupt if he loses other people's confidence.

Upon hearing this, Bayi agrees to pay the amount that he previously promised to Saimaiti.

Season 2, Episode 23

One day, Afanti's donkey Dudu wants to save Tuerdin's chicken Gugu from the attacks of the cats, but it fails to achieve this and moreover, gets hurt by them. When Afanti sees him, he thinks that it is Dudu's fault to start a fight. Feeling sad after this accusation, Dudu abandons home.

At night, the drunken Saimaiti sees Dudu but he has a hallucination and thinks that Dudu is a big fat sheep. He steals and hides it in his home.

Soon, Afanti and his friends realize that Dudu is gone and they start to seek it. They discover that Saimaiti is selling it on the bazaar. Afanti calls out Dudu's name, however, Dudu does not respond to Afanti's call, as it is made drunk by Saimeiti.

As a solution, Afanti hangs posters on the walls with Dudu's picture on them, announcing that it is lost.

When people see these posters, they realize that Dudu actually belongs to Afanti's family, and that Saimaiti is a thief.

Bayi also realizes that Saimaiti has actually stolen Dudu and he wants to use this situation to his own advantage. For this, he says that he will tell about this event to Kazi and takes Dudu from Saimaiti. However, he hides it at his home, instead of giving it to Afanti.

When Afanti comes to Bayi's house to take Dudu back, Bayi insists on saying that Dudu belongs to him. But Dudu attacks Bayi and makes him run away. Dudu and Afanti happily reunite.

Season 1, Episode 24

Afanti and Bayi make a riding competition, and Afanti's Dudu wins rather than Bayi's horse. The rumour spreads quickly in the village that Dudu is so fast that it can run faster even than the Guowang's horse. Soon, Guowang hears about this rumour and feels jealous.

To give Afanti a lesson, Guowang gives Afanti the mission of delivering post to the post station by riding Dudu with a tight deadline. But the post station is too far away from the village, and Afanti does not know how to go there with Dudu.

Guowang sends Abbasi and another officer to watch Afanti to guarantee that he will only deliver the post by riding Dudu and no horse.

However, Afanti makes a plan to deceive the officers so that they will not be able to watch him when he is actually on his way to the post station. As part of the plan, Afanti makes Gulina ride a rocking horse at home at night, and the guardians outside watch the rocking horse moving back and forth. Because it is night time, they think that it is Afanti who is riding the donkey at home. Since Afanti is a little child, they think this is a normal action for him to do.

While they are watching actually Gulina riding the rocking horse, Afanti sneaks out and steals one fast horse from the guardians and completes the mission by riding that horse.

Season 2, Episode 25

One day, while Gulina's mother Amina is selling pumpkins on the bazaar, the tax collector sees her and falls in love with her. To attract her, he buys a pumpkin by paying a very large amount of money, much more than the real worth of it. He sends news via Bayi that next day he will come again to marry Amina.

However, Amina does not want to marry him. Thus, Afanti makes a plan to prevent the tax collector from forcing her to marry him. According to this plan, Amina hides on top of the roof of her house when the officer arrives.

Afanti says that Amina can marry him only under one condition: The officer will have to leave this house with the first thing that he will hold. So, he should not hold any other thing before he holds Amina with his hands.

The officer thinks that this is very easy to achieve and accepts this challenge. But since Amina is on top of the roof, he cannot climb without using his hands. With the help of his two assistant officers, he manages to get on the roof, but now Afanti's friends start to throw pumpkins to him.

He cannot avoid the pumpkins and holds one of it with his two hands in order to prevent it from hitting him, and now he only has to leave Amina's house with the pumpkin, unable to win the challenge.

Season 2, Episode 26

The tax collector who is in love with Amina insists on marrying her. For this, he gives some money to Bayi to help him.

Bayi finds Amina in the bazaar and says that she should either pay him thirty *jinbis* (“gold coins”) in three days or else Bayi will take her house. Or, she can also choose to marry the tax collector in order not to pay this amount. However, Amina has neither money to give to Bayi nor will to marry the tax officer.

As a solution to this problem, Afanti tells to Bayi’s wife that the tax collector is marrying Amina. The plan works and Alina feels jealous of Amina. She tells to Bayi that the tax collector cannot marry Amina, as the most beautiful woman in the bazaar is herself, not Amina. Feeling fearful of his wife, he has no other way than to discourage the tax collector from this marriage. Together with his wife, the two tell to the tax collector not to marry a woman like Amina who is poor and uneducated. Listening Alina’s words, he now becomes interested in her beauty instead of Amina and starts to flatter her with beautiful words.

Tuerdi becomes angry at the tax collector for becoming interested in his mother. He and Afanti decide to teach him a lesson for this.

At night, when the tax collector becomes too drunk at the dinner, Afanti and Tuerdi starts to move pumpkins around secretly by pulling them via tied ropes and they create an environment as if there are ghosts around. The tax collector becomes very scared. Tuerdi and Afanti throw pumpkins to him and make him go away from Bayi’s house.

Season 3, Episode 1

One day, the local people of Afanti's town have a feast all together, enjoying music and food. However, Bayi eats all the food himself and gets sick. After checking him, the doctor says that he has only three days left before he will die. He also says that he can cure him, but in return for a large sum of money. Bayi does not want to pay this amount of money and rejects his offer.

Later on, Afanti also wants to check Bayi. After checking him, he says that he can cure him only if he accepts to chop some woods. After chopping a large amount of woods, Bayi sweats a lot and feels better. As a result, his stomach heals. Afanti says that now Bayi should have understood the situation of the workers, apart from getting cured.

Season 3, Episode 2

One day, Bayi's wife gets angry at Bayi for hiding her box which is full of pearls. Bayi, who is very afraid of his wife, climbs on a tree to escape her anger, but falls down and faints.

When he recovers, he secretly listens Afanti who is telling to his wife that there is one kind of a dog who can find pearls with the help of its high level of smelling skill. Upon hearing this, Bayi starts to act as if he does not recognize either his wife or his son, and instead he starts to behave towards Afanti as if he is his son.

Meanwhile, one poor villager who needs to renovate his house needs to borrow money from Bayi. Bayi surprisingly agrees to give him money, but he gives only a bunch of stones and says that these are golds.

Afanti, hearing this, thinks of a plan to “cure” Bayi and bring back his memory. In return for curing Bayi, he wants Bayi’s wife to promise to lend money to this poor villager who needs to renovate his house.

As part of the plan, Afanti invites some villagers to Bayi’s house and while Bayi is in the room, he tells to the villagers that as his “father”, Bayi, is sick, they need to move to a different place for his treatment and the villagers will not need to pay any of their debts to Bayi from now on. Hearing this, Bayi immediately remembers everything and his memory revives.

But Bayi’s wife ignores the promise which she previously gave to Afanti and says that he does not have any of such a promise of lending money to the poor villager.

To solve this problem, Afanti visits Bayi and his wife with three villagers and says that all these three men have heard Bayi’s wife while she promised Afanti to give him the pearl box once Bayi is cured. Bayi’s wife unintentionally answers by saying that she only promised to lend some money to the poor villager, and not promised to give the pearl box. By saying this, she unintentionally confesses her original promise and now has no other way than to lend the money.

Season 3, Episode 3

One day, Gulina’s father wants to give his musical instrument dutar to Bayi under a bailment agreement in return for some money. Bayi agrees to get it only if he teaches him how to play it. Besides, Bayi also requests to keep the instrument for one day. Because Bayi wants to perform the dutar to his wife.

At home, Bayi performs the dutar to his wife but he plays so unskillfully that his wife does not want to listen him.

Afanti and Gulina's father arrives at the shop next day to redeem the instrument. However, Bayi says that since he did not teach him how to play it, he should pay more to get the dutar back. Afanti offers to teach Bayi how to play so that they can get the instrument by not paying this much amount of money.

Bayi accepts this offer. However, he has no musical skills and cannot learn how to play it no matter how hard he tries. According to their agreement, since Afanti is not able to teach him, he cannot get the instrument back.

Tuerdi tells to Afanti that his dad cannot learn how to play. He also explains that once upon a time, his mother saw a great dutar player and danced in front of him while he played the instrument. This event caused Bayi to be very envious of his wife.

Upon hearing this story, Afanti understands why Bayi wants to learn to play dutar so much and comes up with a solution. He makes one offer to Bayi. According to this offer, Gulina's father will play dutar secretly while hiding in a way that no one will see him, and Bayi will act as if he is playing the dutar. When his wife will watch Bayi acting like that, she will really think that Bayi is the player of the instrument.

Bayi accepts this offer and acts just like Afanti told him. The plan works and Bayi's wife feels attracted to her husband.

Season 3, Episode 4

Bayi returns the dutar to Gulina's father but the father realizes that the red amber which was originally on the dutar is now missing.

Later on, Gulina sees a red amber ring on the finger of Bayi's wife. They realize that Bayi's wife has taken the amber from the dutar and made a ring with it.

Afanti immediately makes a plan to get the amber back. He visits the shop owner Wang who made the ring for Bayi's wife. He asks if it is possible for Wang to make a fake amber ring that looks exactly the same to the one he did for Bayi's wife. Wang says that he can make it.

After Wang prepares the fake ring, Afanti gives it to Amina, Gulina's mother. When Bayi's wife sees it on Amina's finger, she becomes extremely jealous. She just gives her ring to Bayi and says that she does not want it anymore, since Amina has also the same.

Bayi takes the ring to sell it in his shop. Afanti, as part of his plan, goes to the shop with Wumaier and says that Wumaier's uncle wants to buy the ring, but they first want to check if the amber is real or fake.

While checking the ring, they secretly change it with the fake one and say that they do not want to buy it. Now, they have the original amber back. They put it on dutar again and Gulina's father becomes very happy to have it back.

Season 3, Episode 5

One day, Bayi sees that his son, Tuerdi, is eating a crispy cake which he bought from Gulina's mother Amina. Because the cake is very crispy, it easily gets broken. Bayi thinks that this may be a defect of the product and he wants to return it to Amina. But Amina does not accept to get it back.

To give Amina a lesson, Bayi says that he wants to order 100 cakes delivered to his home and gives them a basket so that they can put the cakes inside. However, the basket has fish smell on it, which is part of Bayi's plan.

When Afanti and Gulina bring the cakes to Bayi's house inside of the basket, the two cats of Bayi's house attack the basket with the fish smell and all the cakes get

broken. Now, Bayi says that he won't pay for the broken cakes. This means that all the effort and money spent by Amina to prepare the cakes are gone.

But Afanti wants to prove that the cakes were actually not broken and it was the faults of the cats which attacked the basket. Since the basket belongs to Bayi, Afanti thinks that this should not be the fault of Amina.

To prove this, he gives two cakes to the cats. One of the cakes is not from the basket, and the other one is from the basket. The cats eat the cake from the basket, but do not even taste the other cake. This proves that they are attracted by the fish smell of the basket, not by the cake. Since the basket belongs to Bayi, Amina is proved to be totally faultless.

But now, Bayi and his wife say that they cannot know how many cakes were there in the basket now that they are all broken. So, they reject to pay for the cakes. To solve this issue, Afanti weights one unbroken cake, which is 100 grams. They put all the broken pieces on a bag and also weight it, which is 10 kilograms. Now, he proves that there were 100 cakes. Now, Bayi has to pay for 100 cakes. But his wife thinks about another plan.

Season 3, Episode 6

While Afanti and Gulina wait for Bayi to pay for the 100 cakes, Bayi comes with another plan. He first asks to Gulina if her mother is afraid of another big amount of cake order. Gulina says that her mother can handle any cake order. Then, Bayi says that he wants to a cake order which will be enough for the whole village to eat. If they can prepare this order, he will pay by double. However, if they cannot handle the order, he will not pay for the 100 cakes. Afanti accepts this challenge. But he wants Bayi to make a contract about this offer.

After signing the contract, Afanti organizes everybody in the village. According to the plan of Afanti, when Bayi arrives at the fest they organize, they will act as if they have eaten the cakes of Amina.

When Bayi arrives at the fest to eat cakes, everybody acts as if they have already eaten the cakes and they are full. Now, since everybody tells the same, Bayi has to believe them and he has to pay by double for the cakes.

Season 3, Episode 7

Afanti's father becomes so tired while plowing the fields that he almost faints. In order to help him, Afanti takes permission from Teacher Kadeer's class at school. He looks for two people who can work part time to help his father. But all the part time workers are already hired by Bayi. Bayi agrees to give two workers to him only if he pays the double amount for the workers. Afanti rejects this offer and decides to work on the field himself.

Tuerdi, Wumaier and Wubuli help Afanti in the fields. When Bayi sees his son helping Afanti for plowing the fields, Afanti and Tuerdi acts as if they have found a jinbi in the soil. Actually, they have borrowed the jinbi from Teacher Kadeer.

Bayi, who sees the jinbi taken from the soil, wants to dig the same field to find more jinbis. He brings his own part time workers and makes them dig the field. They search the entire field to find golds, but cannot find anything. While searching the soil, Bayi do not notice that he is actually helping Afanti plow the fields. In the end, Afanti, as a lesson to Bayi, pays him some money for working at the field.

Season 3, Episode 8

While Wumaier and Wubuli walk around the fields with the jinbi that Teacher Kadeerlent them, they accidentally drop it. Bayi finds it and does not give it back to them although they say it belongs to them.

To teach Bayi a lesson, Afanti ties a rope to a jinbi and pulls Bayi into a trap by making him follow the jinbi. As Bayi tries to catch it, Afanti pulls the rope.

Eventually, Bayi falls into a big pit and needs Afanti's help to get out.

Afanti tells to Bayi's wife that Bayi has fallen into a pit. He says that he knows where the pit is, but asks one jinbi in return for telling where it is. Bayi's wife gives one jinbi and finds Bayi, but she also falls into the same pit while trying to help his husband.

Season 3, Episode 9

One day, Bayi has insomnia and Afanti's father advises him to drink milk to help him sleep. But Bayi drinks too much milk and becomes sick of diarrhea.

The next day, he accuses Afanti's father for making him drink milk. Afanti advises him to try to fall asleep while counting the numbers. This way, he falls asleep and has a dream. In his dream, Gugu has the ability to turn everything into gold.

When he wakes up, he goes to Afanti to help him sleep faster so that he can again have the same dream. Afanti says that he can prepare a drink to make him sleep, but he cannot do it now as he has to pick all the grapes and is too busy. Bayi suggests picking the grapes himself so that Afanti can prepare the drink. Afanti accepts this offer.

However, Afanti gives Bayi just plain water. But since Bayi has did hard work by picking the grapes, he is very tired and falls asleep very easily. He also does not notice that Afanti made him work for him.

Bayi has a new dream this time, where he is in a very precious palace with a tree of gold.

Season 3, Episode 10

Bayi keeps having dreams of a house made of gold, but each time he wakes up, he comes to realization that there is no such golden house. He loses his appetite for life and stops trading. He loses interest even for money. He only wants to have dreams of gold.

Bayi's wife, who is anxious about Bayi's psychology, asks Afanti to cure his sickness.

As a solution, Afanti gives a book to Bayi. The book is about finding golden rooms and houses. Afanti tells to Bayi that there is a method written in the book for having golden rooms and if he can find that method, he will become the richest man.

Bayi reads the entire book and eventually finds the method he has been looking for. To apply the method, he immediately goes to his store and sells all his goods for half price, which have been originally overpriced. He tells to his wife that this is the selling method described in the book.

All the people in the village buy goods from Bayi's store. By making Bayi apply this method, Afanti achieves both curing Bayi's disease and helping people buy their required goods.

Season 3, Episode 11

One day, the back of Bayi feels too itchy and uncomfortable. He wants Wumaier to hit him on his back. But while Wumaier hits him, Kazi sees and punishes him for hitting Bayi. Even after Bayi says that he wanted him to hit his back for massage, Kazi does not release Wumaier. He wants them to pay three jinbis in order to release him. However, Bayi does not want to pay it.

Afanti thinks of a solution in order to release Wumaier and asks Abbasi's help to save him. Abbasi, as part of the plan, bumps against Kazi on purpose and falls down. Kazi gets afraid as Abbasi is the guardian of the Guowang, and he tries to clean Abbasi's clothes by patting on him.

Meanwhile, Afanti and Gulina come and accuse Kazi of hitting Abbasi. Both the kids start shouting and saying aloud that Kazi is hitting Abbasi in the bazaar. Afanti says that they will only not accuse him if he releases Wumaier. In the end, Kazi has no other option than to release Wumaier.

Season 3, Episode 12

One day, Bayi falls down from a high stair and injures his waist and cannot stand up due to pain. Afanti tries to treat him, as Tuerdi is too sad about his father's injury. To cure him, Afanti carries him to the bazaar and gathers everybody to watch him how to cure Bayi. He takes a scissor and cuts Bayi's trouser's belt in front of everybody. Bayi immediately stands up, as he becomes angry for having his belt cut in public.

Although he realizes that he can stand up, he says that he will not express thanks to Afanti as he has cut his belt.

Season 3, Episode 13

One day, Afanti wants to help his father carry pots by carriage. There are two kinds of pots. One kind of pot is made for the purpose of keeping food. It is thick and heavy, and keeps the food inside calm. The other kind of pot is made for boiling tea. It is thin and light, and gets warm faster.

At the same day, Bayi also needs to carry pots but he accidentally breaks one of them. His wife gets angry, as now he needs to buy another one. He promises that he will find one pot for free.

Later on, Bayi steals one pot from Afanti. Although Wumaier sees Bayi stealing, they still need to prove that Bayi is the one who stole the pot. They understand that the pot Bayi stole is one of pots used for boiling tea.

Upon this, Afanti and Wumaier go to Bayi to ask for the pot. But Bayi rejects that he has not taken the pot. He shows all his pots and says that if Afanti can find his own pot, he can take it. If he cannot find it, he needs to give him ten more pots.

Afanti tries to feel the temperature of the pots with his hands. He discovers that one of the pots is much hotter than the others, and he understands that it is the tea pot stolen from their house.

Season 3, Episode 14

Afanti tries to deliver some pots to Bayi which he requested before. Unfortunately, Wumaier breaks one of them. In order for Bayi not to realize that the pot is broken, he acts as if the broken pot is not the one he brought but a pot which was already in Bayi's house. He also hides the unbroken pot inside a case so that Bayi will not notice the fact that it is not broken.

Bayi gets angry when he sees the broken pieces and says that he wants the kids to work one month for him for breaking his pot. However, Afanti says that he can turn the pot back into unbroken condition again.

To show how he can make it, he collects the broken pot pieces and pretends to be putting them into the same case where he previously hidden the unbroken pot. But actually, he hides the broken pieces in some other place.

When Bayi opens the case, he sees that the pot is unbroken and totally safe again. He thinks that Afanti has supernatural powers for turning broken pots into unbroken pots.

Now, one pot is still lacking from the set of pots that Afanti brought which Bayi has not noticed it yet.

Soon, Bayi's wife comes out of the house and starts to check the pots which Afanti delivered to their house. When Afanti sees that Bayi is playing with a slingshot, he makes a plan so that Bayi's wife will not notice the lacking pot.

To perform his plan, he sticks the already broken pot pieces together, and when Bayi hits his target with the slingshot, Afanti hits the pot at the same time secretly with another slingshot and breaks it on purpose. Bayi's wife does not see that it was Afanti who hit the pot, but instead thinks that it was Bayi who hit and broke the pot.

Season 3, Episode 15

One day, the kids try to collect enough money to renovate their classroom.

Everybody in the bazaar except Bayi donates some money for the renovation.

To make Bayi also donate for the school, Afanti makes a deal with him. According to the deal, he sells Bayi a pot cheaper than its real price. But he says that Bayi will

collect money inside the pot and will share that money for the renovation of the school. Bayi accepts the deal and buys the pot, but does not collect money.

Although Bayi is unwilling to share his money with the school, Tuerdi is very willing to do so and starts selling its lunch to earn some money for the renovation. When Bayi learns this, he gets very angry. However, Tuerdi says that he wants to show to everybody that his father is not stingy but the best father who keeps his promise. Hearing these words, Bayi becomes emotional and accepts to contribute to the renovation.

Episode 16

For the school renovation, Bayi collects 20 *tongbis* (“copper coins”) Bayi’s wife takes all the 20 *tongbis* that Bayi has saved for the school renovation. Bayi notices that his savings are taken by his wife but he has no courage to talk to her. He tells this to Afanti and his friends, saying that he has no money anymore for the school renovation.

In order to find a solution to this problem, Afanti makes a plan. According to the plan, he tells to Bayi’s wife that Bayi actually wants to save 30 *tongbis*, not 20. Upon hearing this, she puts the 20 *tongbis* back to the original place where she has taken, so that she will be able to get 30 *tongbis* when Bayi saves them. Now, Bayi takes all the 20 *tongbis* from where his wife has put.

Season 3, Episode 17

One day, Afanti and his father buy a sheep for a cheap price from a seller in the bazaar. But later on, they notice that the sheep transforms into a man.

The man tells that as a result of the bad deeds he has performed, he has turned into a sheep, and his brother sold him to earn some money. He tells that only when he encounters a good and honest heavenly body he turns again into a human being. He also tells that because Afanti's father has a good and honest heavenly body, he has turned into a human.

Afanti's father feels sad for this man and releases him. However, now they have no more money to buy another sheep.

Later on in the bazaar, Wumaier sees the same sheep seller arguing with Bayi. Bayi's argument is that if he is selling this sheep for such a low price, there must be a cheating in it. Wumaier feels sad for the seller and buys the sheep.

Afanti notices that the sheep that Wumaier has bought is the same sheep he previously bought with his father. The seller realizes that Afanti understood their cheating, and to get out of this situation, he tells the same lie, that is, he is trying to find a good soul to save his brother.

In order to prove that these two men are cheaters, Afanti says that he can help him, but for this, the seller should act in the same way as the sheep, and in this way, their souls will interact with each other and the sheep will turn into a human being again.

The seller has no way other than accepting this offer. He starts to move just in the same way as the sheep. But his cheater brother cannot stand this performance in the middle of the whole bazaar and reveals himself to tell the whole cheating process: First, they sell a real sheep, and then one of the brothers exchanges place with the sheep, and the other brother takes the real sheep back. After this confession, Abbasi arrests these two cheater brothers.

Season 3, Episode 18

One day, Wumaier wakes up from a dream and thinks that he is a good and honest heavenly body. Believing in this, he starts to help everybody in the bazaar the whole day.

Bayi, who hears this, wants to abuse Wumaier's good intention and persuades him to work in his shop and carry all the heavy boxes by saying that he has hurt his back.

However, Afanti sees Bayi dancing and realizes that he is totally in good health. In order to prove that Bayi is abusing Wumaier's good intention, Afanti makes a promotional sale of his grapes in the bazaar. He says that only males can buy the grapes with discount and the buyer needs to carry the big grape basket himself.

Bayi, who hears about the promotion, starts carrying the whole basket himself and Wumaier sees that he has no back injury. What is more, Bayi really injures his back while carrying the big grape basket, because the basket is full of stones instead of grapes, which is part of Afanti's plan.

Season 3, Episode 19

One day, Afanti and his friends find 6 precious jades. Afanti suggests that these 6 jades will represent their friendship, including himself, Gulina, Wubuli, Wumaier, Tuerdi, and Alimu. Upon this, each one takes one stone.

When Bayi sees the precious jade in Tuerdi, he decides to take the other jades from the other children also, especially the red one that Gulina has, which is the most precious one.

In order to take the jades from the children, he invites them to have a lunch at his house. After they finish their meal, he proposes to play the shell game with the jades⁵¹². If the children lose, he will take their jades. But if he loses, he will serve them meat to eat.

By cheating, he takes all the jades from the children, as none of them can make the correct guess in the game. When it is Afanti's turn to play, he proposes to hide his jade and wants Bayi to guess where the jade is.

Bayi thinks that Afanti will cheat him with the same trick he did, and thinks that the jade is in his hand, not under one of the cups. To accuse Afanti for cheating him, he says that he stole his cheating method. But actually, Afanti did not make any cheating and the jade is just under one of the cups. Bayi not only loses, but also reveals his own cheating by accusing Afanti for stealing his method.

Season 3, Episode 20

One day, the teacher Kadeer organizes Afanti and his friends to have a sports competition.

In the competition, Bayi wants Tuerdi to win. But Tuerdi's opponents are Afanti and Wumaier, who are very strong.

Bayi tries to make Tuerdi win the competition by cheating. To make Afanti, who is Tuerdi's opponent, lose the competition, he throws a stone to him. But the stone hits Tuerdi instead of Afanti and he gets hurt. He cannot continue the competition.

⁵¹² A game where there are three cups and an object is hidden under one of the cups and the spectator tries to guess in which cup the object is while the tricker moves the cups rapidly.

Afanti, meanwhile, is about to finish the competition. However, he sees that Tuerdi cannot move because he is hurt, so he stops competing to help him. The two friends walk towards the finish line shoulder to shoulder together.

In the end, Bayi again makes Tuerdi pass the finish line first by pulling him forward, but Tuerdi gives the award cup to Afanti, and Afanti shares the cup with all his friends. He says that the cup belongs to their friendship.

Season 3, Episode 21

One day, Afanti and Wumaier work for Bayi by carrying eggs for him.

But Afanti falls one egg and Gugu takes and hides it. Bayi realizes that one egg is missing, and he says that if they cannot find it, he will not pay for their work.

Wumaier and Afanti find the egg and take it from Gugu. Bayi has no other choice than to pay their money for the work they did.

However, as soon as Tuerdi sees the egg, he attempts to eat it but the egg gets broken, because it is not boiled.

Season 3, Episode 22

One day, Tuerdi eats ten eggs in the class. Afanti says that he should not eat so many eggs, as it is not good for health. In order to prevent Tuerdi from eating so many eggs in one day, Afanti says that he will perform a magical trick but he needs eggs for this. Tuerdi gives all his eggs to Afanti to watch his performance. Afanti starts to hide all the eggs one by one by making hand tricks and Tuerdi becomes amused with the show.

However, when Tuerdi's mother learns that Afanti has taken all the eggs, she gets angry.

Afanti realizes that he needs to teach Tuerdi's mother that eating too many eggs may be unhealthy. To teach this, he asks the Teacher Kadeer's help to assist him and they make a plan together.

As part of their plan, Afanti eats many eggs in front of Tuerdi's mother and then he acts as if he faints. At that moment, the Teacher Kadeer comes and checks him to see if he is ok, and he says that eating too many eggs in a day can cause fainting like this.

The mother believes in Teacher Kadeer and prevents Tuerdi from eating too many eggs from now on.

Season 3, Episode 23

One day, Afanti and his friends are having math class at school, but Tuerdi cannot solve the problems. Upon this, Bayi decides to teach him how to make calculations. However, Tuerdi cannot learn calculation from his father and as a result; Afanti wants to help him study maths.

In order to attract Tuerdi's attention to maths, he devises a game with marbles where the players need to count the marbles and make calculations. By playing this game, Tuerdi easily learns how to make basic calculations.

Season 3, Episode 24

One day, Tuerdi tries to learn how to do multiplications but he cannot learn the multiplication table. Afanti and his friends help him study, but he insists on not learning. Upon this, Afanti and his friends try to teach him the multiplication table by playing a game of counting. In the end, Tuerdi learns how to do multiplications.

Season 3, Episode 25

One day, Afanti and his friends want to cook some food. However, Tuerdi's mother tells to Tuerdi that cooking is a very dangerous thing and he should not attempt to cook. She also gives him some food to eat, so that he will not need to cook with his friends. So, when all Tuerdi's friends collaborate to cook together, Tuerdi does not help at all.

Instead, Tuerdi hides somewhere where his friends cannot see him and starts to eat his own food secretly. However, Afanti sees him.

In order to give him a lesson, Afanti takes and hides all the rest of Tuerdi's food. Soon, when Tuerdi gets hungry again, he sees that all his food is gone.

Now, he has no other way than to cook together with his friends. All the children help him to teach him how to cook. They prepare the food all together and share it.

In the end, Afanti gives Tuerdi's food, which he had previously hidden, back to him, but now Tuerdi says that food should be shared with everybody and he shares his food with his friends.

Season 3, Episode 26

Tuerdi wants to sleep all day without eating anything and his mother gets very anxious about this. After learning that Tuerdi has cooked for everybody, she thinks that this made Tuerdi too tired. She gets angry at Afanti and his friends for making Tuerdi cook. She says that if Afanti cannot find a way to bring Tuerdi's appetite back, he will have to confront what she will do.

Now, Afanti needs to find a way to make Tuerdi desire food again. While searching for a solution, Afanti and Gulina realize that because Tuerdi does not move

at all, he does not feel hungry and wants to sleep all the time. To make him move, they convince him to play games with them. After running around and doing lots of physical movements, his appetite returns back to normal.

Season 4, Episode 1

One day, Guowang wants to celebrate Wanghou's birthday, but he cannot find the perfect gift. Thus, Guowang thinks that a cloth dyed with a unique colour would be a good gift. He announces to the public that who can make such a cloth will be awarded.

Upon hearing this, everybody in the town rush to Bayi to buy dye. Bayi, of course, immediately increases the price of the dye. He claims that he can sell the goods at whatever price he wishes.

However, Bayi's wife advises Bayi not to sell any dye but to make the unique colour themselves. Actually, this is the idea that Afanti gave to Bayi's wife, since he knows that there is no "unique" colour in the world.

Although everybody tries to find the "unique" colour, nobody can find it.

Season 4, Episode 2

Bayi's wife gets angry at Bayi because of his inability to prepare the cloth with a unique colour for Guowang. Meanwhile, Abbasi visits Afanti to ask for his help to find the unique colour.

Afanti knows that there is no such unique colour. But he promises to find a solution to satisfy Guowang.

After a while, Bayi claims that he has found the cloth with the unique colour. He says that the cloth he prepared is the ugliest cloth in the world, so it is unique. He

visits Guowang to show this cloth. But Guowang becomes very angry to see such a cloth and says that he will punish him.

Just at that time, Afanti arrives at the palace. He says that he will show the cloth that Guowang wants, but only in a “unique day” with no other similar day. Upon this answer, Guowang becomes satisfied and releases Bayi.

However, an embassy from a different country, who is at the palace at that moment, says that today is a unique day on earth, so he should present the unique coloured cloth. But Afanti replies by saying that yesterday was also unique, so, the embassy’s comment is not correct.

In the end, Afanti explains that actually all the colours in the earth are unique in their own way and there is no need to seek the “unique” one.

Guowang becomes very satisfied with his answer.

Season 4, Episode 3

One day, Afanti and his friends perform dance to Guowang and Wanghou in the palace. Afanti notices that there is a very beautiful tree with flowers on it in the palace garden. Guowang says that this flower tree usually blooms in one colour. However, it blooms in two colours only in special years.

As they continue their talk, Wanghou realizes that Wumaier is not in the dance group. She learns that he is sick and resting at home. Acting in good faith, she orders Abbasi to send some cookies to him.

Afanti and his friends give the cookies to Wumaier. Although Tuerdi wants to eat one of the cookies, Wumaier does not want to share and hides the cookies in his bed. But Tuerdi tries to get a cookie secretly from Wumaier’s bed, which makes him stand too close to Wumaier.

After a while, Afanti notices that Wumaier does not get better and he decides to seek a doctor. The doctor tells them that Wumaier has a high fever which can be contagious. He wants to make collaboration with Afanti. He says that if they can make the right medicine for this sickness and sell it, they can share half of the profit. Afanti accepts this offer.

The doctor tells him that he needs Japanese honeysuckle flowers which can be found in the garden of the Guowang to prepare this medicine.

As only Afanti can get the flower from the palace, he asks to get one flower from Guowang. He also asks one half jinbi from him.

He gives the half jinbi to doctor, as part of his promise to share the cash for the medicine, and keeps the flower to cure Wumaier.

Season 4, Episode 4

Tuerdi gets infected with the same disease of Wumaier, as he stood too close to him while he tried to steal one cookie from him, not knowing at that time that his disease is contagious.

But since Afanti has already given all the medicine he made to Wumaier, he now needs another flower to prepare the same medicine again. But this time, Guowang does not want to give the flower, saying that it is a very precious flower.

However, Afanti is determined to heal his friend and decides to steal the flower. When he tries to steal it, Guowang orders his guardians to catch him.

But in the end, Guowang gives the flower to cure Tuerdi and releases Afanti. Tuerdi becomes healthy again and they all celebrate their friendship.

Season 4, Episode 5

One day, Afanti sees that Bayi is cutting the branch of the tree that he is sitting on. As one would expect, Bayi falls down from the tree. Later on, Gulina tells about this event to her friends and makes fun of Bayi. However, Bayi notices that Gulina is making fun of him.

After a while, Gulina's mother Amina needs to borrow flour from Bayi to make breads. But Bayi and his wife does not want to give them any flour due to Gulina's previous behaviour.

Seeing the hopeless situation of Amina and Gulina, Afanti decides to help them. So, he goes to Bayi and asks for some flour. Bayi says that he will give him flour for free if he does not use any bag or plate to carry the flour away. Upon this, Afanti pours some water into the flour bag and starts to knead dough. He prepares a big dough and just takes it for free, without using any bag or plate.

Season 4, Episode 6

One night, Bayi enters into Amina's bakery and destroys everything inside. Next day, everybody in the bazaar gather around the bakery to understand who did this.

Amina tells that Balati, the shopkeeper Wang and Bayi were the last people to leave the bazaar yesterday. So, she becomes suspicious of these three men. However, they cannot agree on who was the last one to leave the bazaar.

Afanti makes a plan to find a solution to this issue. According to his plan, he says that he has a special stone which leaves a mark on the nose of a liar person after that person touches the stone. And he makes all the three people touch on the stone with both hands and then puts all three of them in separate rooms.

After a while, they come out of their rooms. Everybody sees that Bayi's nose has been stained with dirt.

Bayi gives gold to Kazi to save him from this situation. Kazi says that Afanti has no proof that the stone actually works.

Afanti, as a reply, says that this stone is just a regular stone with no magical features indeed. But when the three people touched it, their hands just got dirty. Since Bayi was too anxious that he will be revealed as the liar, he should have checked his nose repeatedly, causing it to be stained with dirt.

Bayi rejects this argument by saying that his nose was just itchy. He says that if Afanti can make him beat his own body, he will compensate for the loss of the shop. Kazi, hearing this, leaves them and says that they should reach a solution by themselves.

Afanti, to make Bayi beat himself, throws flour on him. To get rid of the flour, Bayi pats his clothes on his body, and everybody sees that he beat himself. Now, he has to compensate for the loss that he caused on Amina's bakery.

Season 4, Episode 7

One day, a camel seller wants to sell a camel in the bazaar for 30 jinbis. Bayi buys it, but he only gives 20 jinbis in a bag. Since the seller does not immediately check how much jinbis there are in the bag, he only realizes this later on. However, Bayi does not accept that he only gave 20 jinbis instead of 30 jinbis.

Afanti, to help the seller, steals the camel from Bayi and gives it back to the seller. But now, Bayi brings Kazi and says that the seller and Afanti have stolen the camel.

To solve the situation, Kazi asks if Afanti or the seller has any proof that the camel belongs to the seller. If they cannot prove it, the camel will be given to Bayi.

Afanti says that it is better to ask the camel itself. Bayi asks to the camel if its owner is Bayi. The camel shakes its head, saying “no”. But Bayi does not accept this, and says that he wants the camel to shout out loudly when Afanti asks if it belongs to the seller.

Now, Afanti asks to the camel if it belongs to the seller. The camel shouts out loudly, just like Bayi required.

Upon the camel’s behaviour, Kazi accepts that the camel belongs to the seller. Later on, when the seller asks Afanti how he managed to make the camel reply him like that, he says that the first time Bayi asked the question, he showed the camel a mountain fruit that camels do not like to eat. The second time when Afanti asked the question, he showed the camel some salt, which camels like. Because the camel wanted to eat it, it shouted out loudly.

Season 4, Episode 8

One night, Bayi steals the same camel from the seller. While stealing it, he uses some food to make the camel move towards himself. But he forgets the basket that he uses to carry the food and leaves it in the seller’s house by mistake.

Next day, Afanti’s father Saidierding realizes that the basket belongs to Bayi. Afanti and the seller go to Bayi’s house to understand the situation.

Although Bayi tries to reject that he stole the camel and says that the basket does not belong to him, Tuerdi says that it is their house’s basket. Afanti and the seller also hear the sound of the camel from Bayi’s garden. They decide to tell the situation to Kazi.

The seller goes to Kazi to tell that Bayi has stolen his camel. But Kazi does not listen to him, and what is more, accuses him of accusing good people. He does not care for the seller, because the seller is a poor person who cannot give money to Kazi. Meanwhile, Bayi escapes with the camel.

Now, Afanti and the seller have to find the camel themselves. Afanti thinks of an idea. He thinks that the camel will recognize the sound of the bell ringing that used to hang on its neck previously.

When Afanti rings the bell, the camel hears it from a distant place and approaches him. In this way, they achieve to find the camel. And the camel kicks Bayi afar, giving him a lesson.

Season 4, Episode 9

One day, when Bayi and Tuerdi are having breakfast, Bayi's wife comes and gets very angry at Bayi for not opening his shop earlier.

Bayi hopelessly asks Afanti if he can help him to make his wife not become angry at him at least for one day.

Afanti advises him to give flowers to his wife. But, Bayi's wife sees the flowers before Bayi gives them to her, and she becomes angry, since she thinks that he will give them to another woman.

Now, Afanti thinks about another idea. According to his new plan, Bayi acts as if he is sick. And, Afanti pays money to the doctor to act in accordance with the plan. The doctor says that his sickness is caused by getting offended too much. Hearing this, Bayi's wife says that she will never get angry at him again.

Season 4, Episode 10

After hiring the doctor to convince his wife that he is sick, Bayi feels very discontent since he had to make payment to the doctor. To eliminate this sense of depressive mood, he requests Afanti to make him happy again. He also says that if Afanti cannot achieve to make him feel happy, he will have to pay the doctor's fee and will also have to work one month for Bayi for free.

In order to make Bayi smile and feel joyful, Afanti makes a dance performance with his friends for Bayi. However, this performance does not have the expected results. As a consequence, Bayi says that since Afanti is not able to make him happy, he has to work for him for one month.

As part of the part time work, Bayi's wife wants Afanti to clean their garden. However, Bayi says that Afanti shall not use water to clean it. But he still expects the garden to be wet after the cleaning.

As a solution to this paradoxical request, Afanti uses the oil which belongs to Bayi. When Bayi sees that all his oil has been used for the garden, he gets angry and gives the punishment of performing another one month's of free work.

In order to get rid of this work, Afanti makes a plan.

As part of the plan, he arrives at their home very early in the morning and prepares breakfast for Bayi's family. He behaves very obediently to each one of them. He serves all the food and prepares whatever they want. Bayi becomes very satisfied to see Afanti behaving like this.

After Afanti leaves their garden, Bayi loudly expresses that that it is the happiest day in his life. But, Afanti's friends, who have been secretly listening him behind the gate, reveal themselves and say that Afanti does not need to work for Bayi

anymore since he said it is the happiest day for him. Tuerdi also confirms that his father said so. Afanti, as a result, gets rid of having to work for Bayi for free.

Season 4, Episode 11

One day, Afanti and Gulina need to buy fertilizer from Bayi, since Gulina had planted a tree and she wants it to grow fast. When Afanti asks the price for the fertilizer, Bayi says it costs three jinbis. Soon after, Gulina also comes to the shop and asks the same question. This time, Bayi replies that it costs four jinbis.

Considering the rapid price increase, Afanti decides that they do not have to buy fertilizer from him. Instead, they decide to use ashes of old trees and plants. They prepare the required material and spread it into their field where the tree is planted. But at night, Bayi secretly collects all the ashes and scatters them to his own field, which is adjacent to Gulina's field.

When Afanti asks why Bayi stole the ashes, he just says that it should be the act of wind to carry the ashes to his own field, so he should not be guilty.

To find a solution to this ash problem, Afanti makes a plan. As part of the plan, he and his friends pour lots of water into Bayi's field at night. Because Gulina's field is at a lower ground level than Bayi's field due to slope, the water flows toward Gulina's field and all the ashes move to that field together with the water movement. When Bayi learns that the ashes are all gone to Gulina's field, he makes his own plan to have the ashes again at his own field. Thus, at night, he secretly moves the border of the field. However, now that the border is changed, Gulina's tree stands within the borders of Bayi's field.

Season 4, Episode 12

When Gulina notices that her tree suddenly moved to Bayi's field, they call Kazi to decide to whom the tree belongs. After checking the situation, he wants to see if there is any proof about to whom the tree belongs. Instead of a proof, Bayi bribes Kazi so that he will give his decision for the advantage of him.

Meanwhile, Gulina cannot find any proof to convince Kazi. She starts to cry and Abbasi hears her voice. Afanti tells to Abbasi that this is not a small situation, but something that interests everybody, as Bayi is taking the fields of the poor people, which mean life to them. Abbasi decides to ask for Guowang's help to solve this issue.

However, Guowang orders Kazi to solve the situation. Kazi, as a solution, orders his officers to cut the tree into two. In this way, one half of the tree will belong to Bayi, and the other half will belong to Gulina.

But just when the officers are about to cut it into two, Gulina stops them and cries, saying that she does not want the tree anymore and she only wants it to continue to be alive.

Upon hearing this, Kazi decides that the tree belongs to Gulina, as she is the one who sincerely cares for it.

He also gives punishment to Bayi for cheating Gulina by changing the border of the fields. According to the punishment, he will have to work in the field of Gulina.

Season 4, Episode 13

One day, Tuerdi and his cousin Hali get into a quarrel about whether Afanti or Hali is smarter. As a consequence, Hali invites Afanti for a fight challenge.

Meanwhile, Tuerdi also wants to challenge his cousin because of his hatred for him, since his cousin eats all the food himself and does not share with him.

Tuerdi convinces Wumaier to fight with Hali, since Wumaier is stronger than Afanti and has more chance to win the challenge. However, in order to convince him for this fight, he lies by saying that Hali has said bad things about him.

Tuerdi introduces Wumaier to Hali as if he is Afanti, and the two start to fight. Since Hali has a much stronger body than Wumaier, he beats him.

Season 4, Episode 14

Tuerdi and his friends gather together to discuss the fighting between Wumaier and Hali. Tuerdi apologizes for the wrong he did by introducing Wumaier as Afanti. He says that he just wanted to give Hali a lesson.

All his friends want Afanti to take revenge from Hali by fighting him, but Afanti rejects this idea. But soon, everybody in the town starts discussing about how Afanti lost a fight and that he is not the smartest person anymore.

When Wumaier and Hali come across in the town, Wumaier urges him not to tell anymore that he beat Afanti. Hali says ok, but he also says that from now on he will say he beat both Afanti and Wumaier. After this reply, the two children start to fight again.

Meanwhile, Afanti and his father discuss this issue, and his father tells him that the important thing is to win by intelligence, not by force.

Gulina quickly runs to Afanti's house to tell him that Hali and Wumaier are fighting again. Afanti goes to solve this problem.

Hali and Wumaier continue to fight, and Afanti secretly places a note into Hali's bag. Meanwhile, guardians of the town arrive and they tell that no such fight is

allowed. But Hali gives them money as bribery, and the guardians start to leave them, having accepted the money.

Upon this, Afanti quickly thinks of a plan and takes Hali's bag and starts to run away. Hali stops him and tells to the guardians that he is taking away his bag. Upon this, the guardians catch Afanti and open the bag, and the note that Afanti previously hidden in the bag is found by them.

It is written in the note that the God will punish the corruptofficials. Upon seeing this note, the frightened guardians immediately arrest Hali. Soon, Hali leaves the town and says that he will never come again.

Season 4, Episode 15

One day, Afanti needs to carry pots of his house to help his father. But since the pots are very heavy, Dudu cannot pull the cart. Bayi suggests them to use his horse for free, but in this case Afanti will have to carry Bayi's pots also and deliver them to somebody. But, he also has another condition. If Afanti cannot bring back the horse till tomorrow, he will have to work for Bayi for one year without any payment.

Afanti accepts this offer. Bayi gives him the horse, the cart and the map to use for delivering his pots. However, the map he gives is not correct and besides, he also tells his horse not to go through the right way.

The horse fears a lot from Bayi that he may punish him if he helps Afanti to find the right route. So, although the horse knows the correct way to go, it does not help Afanti to find his way. As a result, Afanti gets lost in the forest.

After a while, the horse starts to have hallucinations and thinks that its current rider Afanti is Bayi. It starts to run away from Afanti, thinking that he will punish

him. While running wildly, it falls down into a pit and Afanti helps him to get out from it.

After Afanti's help, the horse feels merciful and thankful for Afanti and decides to help him find the correct path. With the help of the horse, Afanti manages to deliver the goods.

Finding the correct destination, Afanti returns back to their town and returns the horse to Bayi. Bayi becomes surprised that he is able to find the correct way and return back so quickly. Suddenly, the horse kicks Bayi very strongly, and, in a way, gives him a punishment.

Season 4, Episode 16

Because Bayi beats his horse, the horse runs away from him. Afanti and his friends find and take care of the poor horse. When Bayi wants to get the horse from them, they say that the horse does not want to go back to him and that it is more intelligent than Bayi.

Upon this, Bayi requests Afanti to prove that the horse is more intelligent than him. For this, he wants Afanti to show that the horse can read a book. If Afanti cannot prove it, he will have to work for one year for Bayi for free.

After this challenging offer, Afanti trains the horse for a while. Each time, he puts some food between the pages of a book and makes the horse find the food. As the horse gets trained more in this way, it learns that each time there will be food in the book.

When it is time to prove that the horse can read, Afanti just puts the book in front of the horse and the horse starts to turn the pages, searching for food. As it cannot find, it neighs and continue to turn more pages to see if it can find some food.

Everybody who watches the horse turning the book pages think that it can really read the book.

Season 4, Episode 17

One day, one man who is called Shabier comes to the town and says that he wants to visit Bayi. When Tuerdi tells about this man to Bayi, Bayi realizes that his visiting purpose is to ask about the jinbis that he gave to him for safekeeping. Since Bayi and his wife have already spent the jinbis, they make a plan so that Shabier will not request them.

When Shabier arrives at their house, Bayi invites him to have some food and drink some alcohol. Shabier cannot refuse this kind invitation. But after a while, he becomes totally drunk. Bayi, after ensuring that he is not sober, gives him the pot where he put the jinbis previously. But this time, the pot is full of wheat instead of jinbis. Shabier leaves Bayi's house with the pot, thinking that he got the *jinbis*.

On the street, Afanti sees the drunken Shabier and invites him to his house to have a rest, thinking that he is not in a good condition. In the morning, Shabier wakes up and realizes that the pot is full of wheat. He tells to Afanti that his *jinbis* are gone.

After checking the pot a while, Afanti realizes that there are two types of wheat in the pot: Green ones and yellow ones. The yellow ones mean that they are newly harvested, while the green ones mean that they are the harvest of almost eight years before.

Afanti tells to Bayi that somebody should have removed the *jinbis* inside and put wheat instead, but Bayi rejects this, saying that they have not even moved the pot. After this, Afanti promises Shabier that he will find the *jinbis*.

Season 4, Episode 18

Afanti continues to try to get the jinbis back from Bayi, but Bayi does not give them. As a solution, Afanti decides to scare him psychologically.

At night, when everybody sleeps, Afanti and Wumaier sneak into Bayi's garden and make sounds. Afanti gets scared and start to have nightmares about the jinbis he stole. Since Bayi makes noises while having nightmares, his wife keeps waking up and eventually forces him to sleep in the garden.

Bayi becomes even more scared in the garden. What is more, Afanti and Wumaier start to move objects with ropes tied to them, making Bayi believe that there are ghosts around. After a while, Bayi cannot stand this fear anymore and faints. Next day, the doctor visits Bayi and after checking him, he says that Bayi's heart is sick and he cannot cure it. Afanti says that there is one way to cure this sickness: Bayi should find a pot and tell to the inside of the pot whatever he has in his heart.

Hearing this, Bayi immediately grabs a pot and starts to confess that he stole the jinbis from the pot. Meanwhile, Abbasi and Afanti secretly listen whatever he says and Abbasi arrests him for stealing the jinbis.

Season 4, Episode 19

The summer is about to end and Wubuli wants the money he earned from Bayi for the work he has done in the summer. However, Bayi does not want to make the payment. In order not to give money to him, he puts some grape juice at a pot and asks Wubuli to carry the pot before getting his money. While Wubuli carries it, some bees, which are attracted to the grape juice, attack him. He falls down and breaks the pot.

Bayi says that now that the pot is broken, he cannot pay him for the summer work, as the pot is worthy of five jinbis, just the amount equal to his work.

Wubuli leaves Bayi's house desperately and in pain due to the bee attack.

Bayi, in order to make Afanti not come to ask for Wubuli's payment, puts some honey at the outside part of his garden gate. When Afanti and Wubuli arrive, the bees attack them and they cannot enter into the garden.

As a solution, Afanti very carefully removes the bee hive away from Bayi's house and enters into his garden. He and Wubuli bring a pot which is just the same as Wubuli broke. After returning the pot, Wubuli asks for his summer work payment. Bayi has no other option than to pay his summer work salary.

Season 4, Episode 20

One day, Afanti's father prepares the pots that Bayi ordered. But when he brings them to Bayi, Bayi does not want to pay for them and he says that the delivery has been late.

Afanti makes a plan to get the payment his father has deserved. He prepares an "unbreakable" pot with the help of glue. He tells to Bayi that this is a very special pot and if he wants, his father can make one for him. One pot costs one jinbi. Bayi wants to buy three pots and gives three jinbis to Afanti.

In return for the money, Afanti gives him three "unbreakable" pots. When Bayi tries to see if they are really unbreakable, Afanti's friends and Dudu try to reduce the impact of the hit with some hand tricks, so that the pots do not get broken. Bayi and his wife think that they are really unbreakable.

Season 4, Episode 21

One day, Bayi learns that his wife and the Guowang are relatives. After learning this information, he loses his mind and does not even recognize the people in the town and behaves as if he is from the royal family.

To bring his memory back to normal, Afanti tries to scare him as a method of healing his mind. They achieve to scare him by acting as if they are kidnapping his wife. When he sees that his wife is in danger, he returns to his normal personality and wakes up from his illusionary world.

Later on, he shows his family tree to Guowang. Upon this, Guowang lets them stay in the palace till they prove whether they are really relatives or not.

Season 4, Episode 22

After it is revealed that Guowang and Bayi's wife are really relatives, Bayi starts to abuse all the local people in the town. He buys whatever he wants from the bazaar without making any payment, and he forces people carry him on chart on their shoulders.

Guowang becomes angry at Bayi for behaving in such an abusing way and makes a plan with Afanti to give him a lesson.

To apply their plan, Guowang orders Bayi's wife to stay in the palace due to their kinship. However, he orders Bayi to stay at his regular home and work at his shop as usual.

After one night they spent separately from each other, Bayi and his wife really miss their regular daily life and they do not want to be Guowang's relatives anymore.

Upon this, Guowang releases Bayi's wife and orders Bayi not to abuse any local person ever again.

Season 4, Episode 23

One day, Guowang acknowledges the public about a beauty contest that will be organised. According to the announcement he makes, any woman who is above 10 years old can attend the contest.

Hearing this, both Amina and Bayi's wife wants to attend the contest.

But, Amina has only one dress that she can wear at the competition and it is very old. However, Gulina wants her mom to attend the competition so she embroiders a flower on the dress to conceal a torn part of it.

Surprisingly, everybody in the bazaar like the dress so much that a rumour spreads in the town about a golden dress that Amina has.

Bayi's wife, who does not like any one of her dresses, hears about this rumour and wants Amina to prepare a golden dress for her also. Amina, which has no such dress, does not know what to do.

Afanti thinks that if Tuerdi sews one dress for her mom, she will be very glad and will like it. Tuerdi, as part of the plan, prepares a dress for her mom and she really becomes very happy.

Season 4, Episode 24

One day, just before the beauty contest, Bayi's wife wakes up with some black marks on her face and she feels very disappointed about this. Bayi thinks that eating meat may help her get back her beauty, and with this idea, gets one sheep to cut. But, that sheep is a mother sheep which has a newborn lamb.

Afanti decides to save and reunite the mother sheep and the lamp. In order to do this, he tells to Bayi's wife that drinking milk every day will cure the black marks on her face. To prove this, he puts some ink on the face of Amina before, and makes her drink milk in front of Bayi's wife, and then cleans the inks. Bayi's wife really thinks that the black marks on Amina's face have been healed with the help of milk.

Upon this, she wants to drink milk and the only milk source they can find is the mother sheep. This means that Bayi cannot slaughter the sheep, as they will need it to have fresh milk. They also bring the lamp next to the mother sheep so that it will continue to produce milk.

After a while, both woman, Amina and Alina, attend the competition. Wanghou decides that everybody is beautiful and there is no specific winner.

Season 4, Episode 25

One day, Gulina wants to buy a birthday gift for her mom and decides to buy a small cup for putting sheep oil inside. But first, she needs to get her money from Bayi for the part time job she did.

When Bayi and his wife see Afanti and Gulina at their home, they understand that they are waiting for the payment, and they make a plan not to give the money.

Bayi's wife suggests that Afanti and Gulina shall catch the two cats which are in their garden before they receive their money. Although it is a hard task, the two children manage to catch the cats.

But now, Bayi's wife requires Afanti and Gulina to distinguish which cat is the mother cat. She says that if they cannot distinguish her, they will not receive their money.

Afanti uses a fish to distinguish the mother cat. He gives one fish to one of the cats. The cat takes it, but eventually gives it to the other cat. Afanti says that only a mother cat will share her fish with her child. Now, Bayi has no other option than to pay their money.

Season 4, Episode 26

One day, the two cats of Bayi's house attack Tuerdi while he is eating some food. Bayi, who sees this happening, runs after the cats and hits them with a slingshot.

By coincidence, Afanti sees that the cats are running away in pain from Bayi's house.

To give Bayi and Tuerdi a lesson, Afanti, Wubuli and Wumaier meow at night like a cat in a place where Bayi and Tuerdi can only hear but not see them.

When they hear the cat sound, they start running after them to catch them.

Now, Afanti and Wumaier start to throw stones to Bayi and Tuerdi using a slingshot, just like they did to the cats. This hurts them very much.

After a while, Afanti and Wumaier reveal themselves. Afanti tells to them that hurting a cat or any other animal is just like hurting a human being, and that the animals have similar senses like the humans, so we should care for them.

Hearing these words, Tuerdi feels sad for the two cats and he hugs them, saying that they will take good care of them from now on. Bayi, who hears Tuerdi's words, feels obliged to confirm him.

APPENDIX D

SCREENSHOTS OF *SHAONIAN AFANTI* 少年阿凡体 (THE YOUNG AFANTI)



Fig. D1 The wealthy Bayi and his wife in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 1
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集[the Young Afanti season 1 episode 1]; 2:06
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmkr1s.html



Fig. D2 Local people and the wealthy Bayi in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 1
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 1 集[the Young Afanti season 1 episode 1]; 3:00
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmkr1s.html



Fig. D3 Bayi's wife in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 1
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第1集 [the Young Afanti season 1, episode 1]; 6:17
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmkr1s.html



Fig. D4 A local woman and Afanti's friend Alimu in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 2
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di er ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第2集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 2], 3:15
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmktew.html



Fig. D5 A Han origin man in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 11
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shiyi ji”
少年阿凡提第一季第 11 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 11], 6:05
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmltfo.html



Fig. D6 Gulina’s mother preparing bread in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji”
少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 1:45
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlok8.html.



Fig. D7 Local people in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji”
 少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 4:35
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlk8.html.



Fig. D8 Wealthy Bayi’s wife and Afanti in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji”
 少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 8:14
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlk8.html.



Fig. D9 Guowang and Wanghou in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 1
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 1], 1:48
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlit0.html



Fig. D10 Afanti and local people in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 1
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 1 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 1], 1:59
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmndno.html



Fig. D11 Afanti's friend Gulina and her mother in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 25

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director) *Shaonian Afanti di san ji di ershiwu ji* 少年阿凡提第三季第 25 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 25], 1:42
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmmrxk.html



Fig. D12 Local people in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 9

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “*Shaonian Afanti di si ji di jiu ji*” 少年阿凡提第四季第 9 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 9], 5:40
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmuwkc.html



Fig. D13 The wealthy Bayi's son Tuerdi and Bayi's wife in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 13
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di shisan ji"
 少年阿凡提第十三季第 13 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 13], 4:15
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmunp0.html



Fig. D14 Local people in the Guowang's palace in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 24
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di si ji di ershisi ji"
 少年阿凡提第四季第 24 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 24], 10:23
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmuk08.html



Fig. D15 Afanti and his friend Gulina looking at some textile sold by a local woman in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 25
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di ershiwu ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第 25 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 25], 2:08
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmuiwo.html

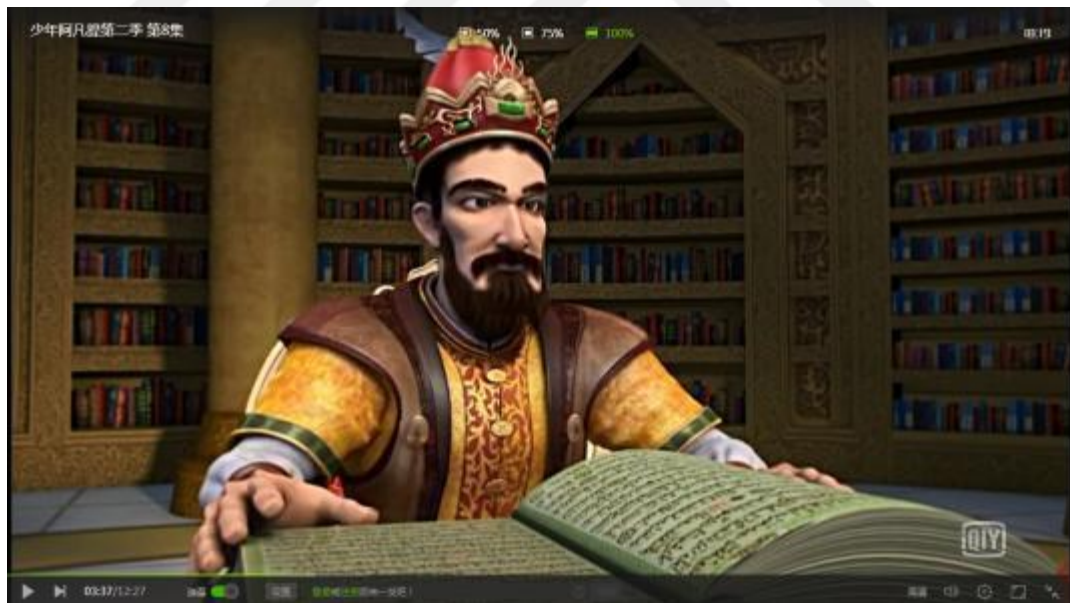


Fig. D16 Guowang reading a book written in Uyghur language in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 8
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ba ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 8 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 8], 3:37
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlcgc.html



Fig. D17 Afanti's friend reading a book written in Uyghur language in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 10

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shi ji" 少年阿凡提第三季第10集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 10], 4:39
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmonxo.html



Fig. D18 Bayi reading a book written in Uyghur language in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 10

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shi ji" 少年阿凡提第三季第10集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 10], 6:53
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmonxo.html



Fig. D19 Afanti's friend reading the Quran in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 22
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di ershier ji"
少年阿凡提第三季第 22 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 22], 1:52
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmmv8s.html



Fig. D20 Afanti's friend Tuerdi reading the Quran in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 22
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di ershier ji"
少年阿凡提第三季第 22 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 22], 2:02
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmmv8s.html



Fig. D21 Guowang standing in front of a local shop in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 10
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ba ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 10 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 10], 3:51
Retrieved from https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmjdp4.html



Fig. D22 Afanti and his friends in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 15
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shiwu ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第 15 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 15], 2:36
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmoqh4.html



Fig. D23 An official announcement in the town posted by Guowang in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 5

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di wu ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第5集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 5], 1:39
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlc3g.html

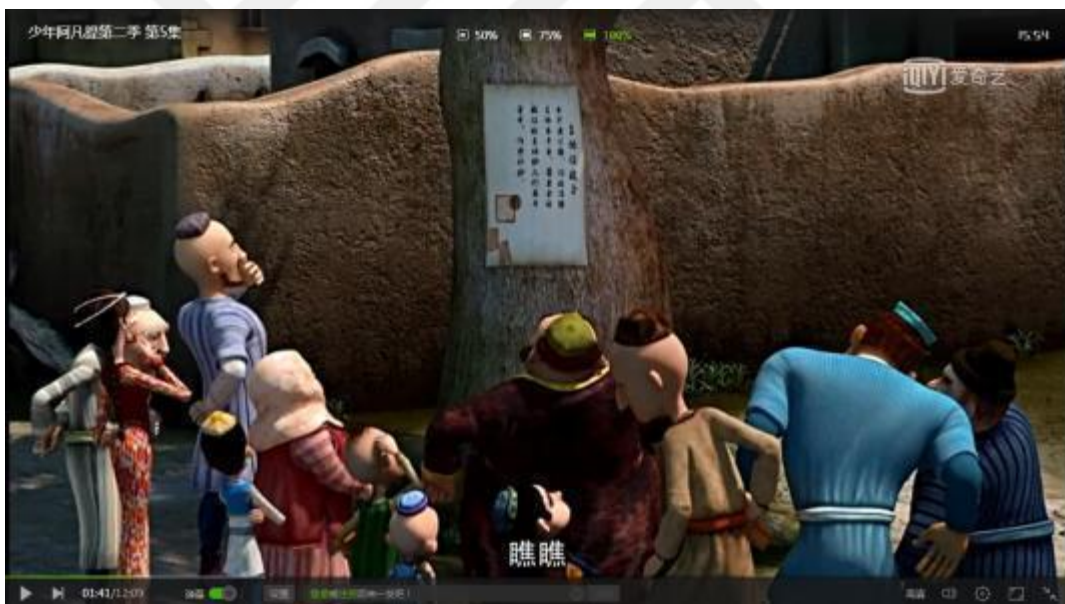


Fig. D24 Local people looking at the announcement posted by the Guowang in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 5

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di wu ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第5集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 5], 1:41
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlc3g.html



Fig. D25 The local shop owner Wang in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 9
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di jiu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第9集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 9], 6:32
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmko0c.html



Fig. D26 The local shop owner Wang in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 9
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di jiu ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第9集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 9], 6:29
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmko0c.html



Fig. D27 A local woman a Han origin man in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 11
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di shiyi ji”
 少年阿凡提第一季第 11 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 11], 6:05
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmltfo.html



Fig. D28 A local man and a Han origin man in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 22
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershier ji”
 少年阿凡提第一季第 22 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 22], 2:10
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmllohs.html



Fig. D29 Afanti and his friends holding stones with different colors, representing their friendship in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 4
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di si ji” 少年阿凡提第四季第4集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 4], 10:37
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmuqsc.html



Fig. D30 Local people playing musical instruments *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 1
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第1集 [the Young Afanti season one episode one],
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmkr1s.html



Fig. D31 Afanti's friends playing musical instruments in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 7
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di qi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第7集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 7], 1:39
<https://www.mgtv.com/b/159313/1800408.html>



Fig. D32 Afanti's friend Gulina dancing local style in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 7
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di qi ji" 少年阿凡提第一季第7集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 7], 1:53
<https://www.mgtv.com/b/159313/1800408.html>



Fig. D33 A local man playing a musical instrument in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 1:46 https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlok8.html



Fig. D34 Afanti and his friends playing musical instruments in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji” 少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 4:10 https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlok8.html



Fig. D35 Local man playing a musical instrument in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 1

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di yi ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第1集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 1], 1:41
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmndno.html



Fig. D36 Local musician in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 3

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di san ji di san ji” 少年阿凡提第三季第3集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 3], 6:28
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmnfvg.html.



Fig. D37 Afanti's friend Gulina holding bread in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 23
Source: Zhang (Producer) and W.J. (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di ershisan ji"
少年阿凡提第一季第 23 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 23], 2:35
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlok8.html.

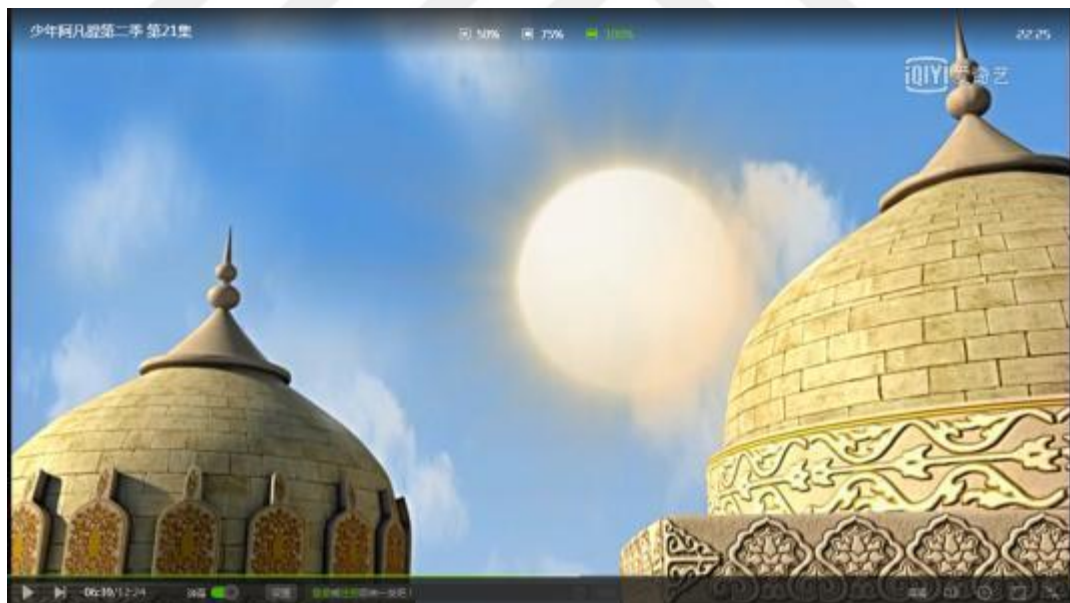


Fig. D38 The domes of the local buildings in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 21
Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di er ji di ershiyi ji"
少年阿凡提第二季第 21 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 21], 6:39
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmnjjo.html



Fig. D39 Guowang in his palace in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 7
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di qi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 7 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 7], 8:24
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmlbcc.html

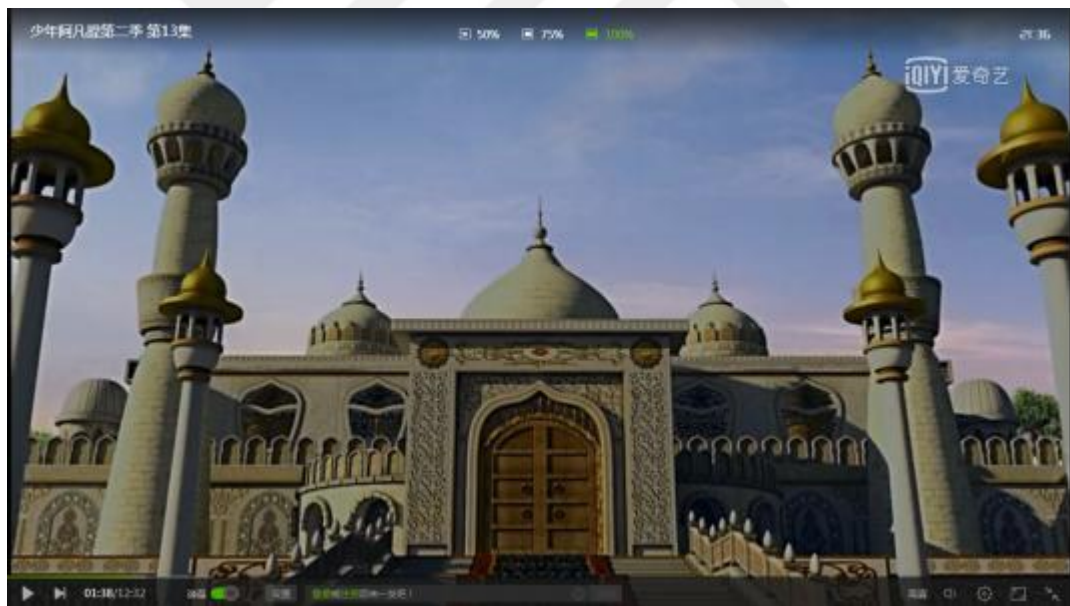


Fig. D40 Guowang’s palace in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 13
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di shisan ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 13 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 13], 1:38
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmjgis.html



Fig. D41 The dome of the Guowang's palace in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 4, Episode 12

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di si ji di shier ji” 少年阿凡提第十二季第 12 集 [the Young Afanti season 4 episode 12], 5:46
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmulfs.html



Fig. D42 Two officers collecting harvest as tax from the local people in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 17

Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di shiqi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 17 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 17], 2:35
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmnrno.html



Fig. D43 The palace of the Guowang in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 18
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di shiba ji”
 少年阿凡提第二季第 18 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 18], 1:44
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmnu9k.html



Fig. D44 Some local houses in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 2, Episode 20
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo, W. J. (Director), “Shaonian Afanti di er ji di
 ershi ji” 少年阿凡提第二季第 20 集 [the Young Afanti season 2 episode 20], 5:58
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmnv18.html



Fig. D45 Bayi's house in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 3, Episode 19
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di san ji di shijiu ji"
 少年阿凡提第三季第 19 集 [the Young Afanti season 3 episode 19], 11:05
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmn6ak.html



Fig. D46 Afanti in the grape fields in *Shaonian Afanti*, Season 1, Episode 5
 Source: Zhang (Producer) and Guo (Director), "Shaonian Afanti di yi ji di wu ji"
 少年阿凡提第一季第 5 集 [the Young Afanti season 1 episode 5], 1:54
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrmmklhs.html

APPENDIX E

SCREENSHOTS OF

LAOXIAO AFANTI 老小阿凡体 (THE OLD AND THE LITTLE AFANTI)



Fig. E1 A mosque in the background setting in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1
Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 5:19
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E2 A mosque in the background setting in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 2
Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di er ji Chongwu Lü” 老小阿凡提第 2 集宠物驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 2, Pet Donkey], 00:18
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t0c.html



Fig. E3 Afanti, Afanti’s son, and the presenter wearing a skull cap in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 12:30 https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E4 A man wearing a skull cap in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 2:34 https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E5 Modern glasses in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 6:59

https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E6 Modern fashion in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 2

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di er ji Chongwu Lü” 老小阿凡提第 2 集宠物驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 2, Pet Donkey], 3:36

https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t0c.html



Fig. E7 Modern fashion in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 3

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di san ji Shuanglong Baozhu” 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl], 3:36
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t9c.html



Fig. E8 Modern and stylistic sunglasses in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 5

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di wu ji Qiao Fen Yichan” 老小阿凡提第 5 集巧分遗产 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 5, Skillful Heritage Division], 6:45
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vo8.html



Fig. E9 Western style hat, in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 5

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di san ji Shuanglong Baozhu” 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl], 6:54
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t9c.html



Fig. E10 Traffic jam in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 5:27
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E11 Traffic jam in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 11:10
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E12 Parking rules in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 2

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di er ji Chongwu Lü” 老小阿凡提第 2 集宠物驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 2, Pet Donkey], 2:57
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t0c.html



Fig. E13 Traffic rules in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 2

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di er ji Chongwu Lü” 老小阿凡提第 2 集宠物驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 2, Pet Donkey], 3:09
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t0c.html



Fig. E14 Deforestation in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 4

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di si ji Huoxing Renda Jiudian” 老小阿凡提第 4 集火星人大酒店 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 4, Mars Grand Hotel], 2:54
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66spw.html



Fig. E15 Mathematics competition in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 5

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di wu ji Qiao Fen Yichan” 老小阿凡提第 5 集巧分遗产 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 5, Skillful Heritage Division], 1:45
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vo8.html



Fig. E16 Air pollution in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 5

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di wu ji Qiao Fen Yichan” 老小阿凡提第 5 集巧分遗产 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 5, Skillful Heritage Division], 4:35
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vo8.html



Fig. E17 Anti smoking in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 3:25
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E18 Anti pollution in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 4:58
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E19 Caughing children due to smoke in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6
 Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 5:24
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E20 Caughing man due to smoking in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6
 Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 7:48
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E21 Air pollution in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 8:39
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E22 Air pollution in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 9:27
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E23 Clean energy in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 11:02
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E24 Clean energy in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 6

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di liu ji Yan Xiao Chen San” 老小阿凡提第 6 集烟消尘散 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 6, Smoke Elimination Dust Scattering], 11:49
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vbk.html



Fig. E25 A dragon festival in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 3

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di san ji Shuanglong Baozhu” 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl], 1:46
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t9c.html



Fig. E26 A dragon statue in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 3

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di san ji Shuanglong Baozhu” 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl], 3:51
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t9c.html



Fig. E27 People with modern outlook in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 5

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di wu ji Qiao Fen Yichan” 老小阿凡提第 5 集巧分遗产 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 5, Skillful Heritage Division], 2:12
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66vo8.html



Fig. E28 Building with dome structure in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 2:02
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E29 Afanti and his son in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 2:26
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E30 Police officer with no explicit ethnic appearance Afanti and his son in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 4:31
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E31 Taxi driver with no explicit ethnic appearance in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1
 Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 5:11
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E32 People with no explicit ethnic appearance in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 1
 Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di yi ji Di Tanlü” 老小阿凡提第 1 集低碳驴 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 1, Low Carbon], 6:19
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66svg.html



Fig. E33 Modern looking men with no ethnic emphasize in *Laoxiao Afanti*, Episode 3

Source: Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], “Laoxiao Afanti di san ji Shuanglong Baozhu” 老小阿凡提第 3 集双龙宝珠 [The Old and the Little Afanti, episode 3, Double Dragon Precious Pearl], 3:13
https://www.iqiyi.com/v_19rrh66t9c.html

APPENDIX F

SUMMARIZED STORIES OF

LAOXIAO AFANTI 老小阿凡体 (THE OLD AND THE LITTLE AFANTI)

I have summarized *Laoxiao Afanti* series, which are provided in sections Episode 1-6 of Appendix F, by watching the episodes posted online by Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] on the online video streaming platform Iqiyi.⁵¹³ Since I have watched all the episodes in its original language, which is Mandarin Chinese, I take responsibility for any possible mistake, missing information, or misunderstanding that may arise due to my language skills.

Episode 1

One day, Afanti and his son receive an invitation to attend to an organization in the city about low carbon emission. They get prepared for this organization and start to go the city on the back of their donkey.

On the way to the city, Afanti tells a story to his son. According to this story, once upon a time, Afanti was riding his donkey together with a stingy merchant. The merchant was carrying a very light bag of cotton, while Afanti was carrying a heavy bag of salt. The merchant continued to ride his donkey without helping Afanti. However, after a while, they passed through a river. While the cotton bag becomes heavier as the cottons absorb water, the salt bag becomes much lighter, as the salt

⁵¹³Shanghai Afanti Touzi Konggu Youxian Gongsi 上海阿反提投资控股有限公司 [Shanghai Afanti Investment Holdings Co., Ltd.] [阿反提 AFANTI], *Laoxiao Afanti* 老小阿凡提 [The Old and the Little Afanti].

inside dissolved in the water. After this, Afanti continued to carry the salt bag very easily.

Afanti finishes his story and at that moment, his donkey excretes randomly on the road. A policeman, who has been passing by just at that moment, sees this happening and stops the donkey and fines it for polluting the environment. He says that in Europe, people are already using mobile toilets.

After this police incident, Afanti continues his trip to the city. In order not to be late for the organization, he gets in to a taxi, but the traffic jam is so heavy that they cannot move. What is more, Afanti realizes that the taxi driver is smoking inside the car. He warns the driver not to smoke. Meanwhile, Afanti cannot attend the first day of the organization since he cannot arrive on time due to traffic jam.

The next day, Afanti decide to go the city centre by riding his donkey, as he thinks that the donkey will be faster than the cars. Thus, Afanti starts to ride his donkey together with his son. However, he meets unexpected problems on the road, such as fast drivers which make the road very dangerous.

After a while, they finally achieve to reach to the city centre and they attend the organization. Afanti steps on the stage to deliver a speech about low carbon emission, and he tells the benefits of riding a donkey instead of a car. He tells that a donkey does not have carbon emission, and furthermore, one can ride a donkey under all road conditions. Besides, a donkey needs only natural sources such as the sun and the wind.

Episode 2

One day, Afanti and his son ride their donkey in the city. After a while, the donkey becomes stubborn and does not want to walk. So, Afanti decides to leave the donkey

and continue to go by the city by walking. But Afanti's son says that one cannot leave his vehicle randomly on the road, and he parks it in a bicycle station. But the donkey gets excited with a bike going on the road and starts to run after it. However, it becomes scared of the cars.

After spending some time among the cars, the donkey realizes that there are lots of pet dogs in the city and that their owners are taking very good care of them. It feels strange among so many dogs and it wants to be a dog also. Thus, the donkey convinces Afanti to buy dog clothes and it also visits a pet's hairdresser to change its fur colour to resemble a dog's appearance.

Meanwhile, there is a pet dog competition in the city and the donkey also attends it under the disguise of a dog's appearance. However, in the competition, it will be required to perform some challenging duties such as barking, jumping, and walking on top of a ball, and the donkey finds these duties hard to perform.

After a while, Afanti and his son come to the competition stage and they tell to the presenter that they are seeking their missing donkey. Because the donkey is disguising itself and does not want to be a donkey any more, it does not reveal itself. But, Afanti says that the dog's owner who can find his donkey will be rewarded with money. Upon this, the presenter brings many donkeys with the hope of winning the award, and he asks Afanti which donkey belongs to him.

Afanti takes a look at these donkeys and says that his donkey is the most intelligent one. So, he asks a question and says that the donkey which will be able to answer it will prove to be his donkey.

So, he asks how many stars there are in the sky at night. All the donkeys start to guess the correct number by holding banners with numbers written on them, but none of them can answer correctly.

Meanwhile, Afanti's real donkey wants to answer by pulling Afanti's beard, but the presenter does not allow it to show the number, thinking that it is a dog. However, Afanti says that this animal knows the correct answer. The donkey, which feels jealous of the other donkeys, at last reveals that it is a donkey actually by putting off its dog costume.

The presenter asks why the donkey's answer was correct. Afanti says that the number of stars in the sky is equal to the number of hair at his beard.

Upon this, the presenter requests the reward to be given to him, as he helped to find his donkey. But Afanti replies that he said the dog's owner that helped to find his donkey will be rewarded. Now, the presenter shows Afanti's donkey, saying that this animal was his dog that helped to find the donkey. But Afanti says that if this animal is the presenter's dog, then this means Afanti's donkey does not exist. Afanti also asks to his donkey if he wants to be a dog again and the donkey answers that it does not.

Episode 3

One day, Afanti and his son visit the amusement park in the city. That day in the amusement park, there is a dragon exhibition where a precious dragon statue with two big pearls on it is exhibited. The "Manager of the Pea Enterprise" (*Wandou Jingli* 豌豆经历) Mr. Yan is invited for the opening ceremony of the dragon statue. However, Mr. Yan's wife steals one of the pearls and the keepers of the statue cannot do anything about it, although they know that it is her who stole it, since Mr. Yan has an important position as a manager.

So, the statue keepers ask Afanti's help to get the pearl back. Afanti's son decides to take this duty and for his, he makes a plan. According to this plan, he

introduces himself to Mr. Yan and his wife as a guide of the amusement park and he starts to show them around, while trying to get the pearl back secretly. For this, Afanti's son tries to entertain Mr. Yan and his wife in the best ways possible where he can take the pearl without their notice, so he takes them to a ride on the roller coaster.

On the roller coaster, Afanti's son first warns them to tie their safety belts. However, during the run, he cannot achieve to take the pearl. What is more, Mr. Yan's wife notices that he is trying to get the pearl, so she escapes into woman's toilet, where Afanti's son cannot enter. In the toilet, she hides the pearl in her clothing.

On the next entertainment tour, Afanti's son takes his two guests to the swimming pool, but Mr. Yan's wife insists on not swimming, so she does not take off her clothes and Afanti's son fails to take the pearl again.

However, something unexpected happens and a tamed whale in the pool starts to chase Mr. Yan. Afanti's son says that this whale chases people whose weight exceeds a limit, and this pool helps to lose weight.

After this activity, they go to dance. Afanti says that moving is very beneficial for the body's health.

However, in these activities, Afanti's son cannot achieve to get the pearl back. Thus, his father, the old Afanti, decides to handle the situation. For this, he borrows the second pearl from the dragon statue which is identical to the other stolen pearl. With this pearl, he performs some illusionary tricks in front of everybody and hides his pearl in the mouth of his donkey on purpose. He says that now the pearl will come out from the clothes of the woman.

He just continues his performance as an illusionist and gets the other pearl from the cloth of Mr. Yan's wife. Since Mr. Yan and his wife are in public, they cannot prevent Afanti's performance.

After this, both of the pearls are put into their original places in the dragon statue. This time, the statue keepers take more care and place a glass panel in front of the statue so that no visitor will be able to touch it. One of the visitors says that they can only watch it, and they are not allowed to touch it.

Episode 4

One day, Afanti and his son drive a car in the forest and they say that the air is very fresh with lots of trees. But soon, some wood cutters start cutting trees randomly and the trees fall into the road, endangering the lives of Afanti and his son. After driving for a while, they arrive at a place where all of the trees are cut by a chopstick plant owner.

The plant owner, who turns out to be one of the old friends of Afanti, invites them to his house. Afanti accepts this kind invitation; however, he also wants to teach him a lesson for cutting all these trees. For this, he makes a plan.

As part of the plan, Afanti tells to the plant owner that there is a very good hotel which belongs to Aliens from Mars and the rich people stay there. The man likes this idea very much and says that he can not only stay there, but also open a chopstick factory near to it.

Afanti leaves his house soon and quickly decorates a building in an "Alien" style. He also wears "Alien" costumes with his son and they wait there for the plant owner to arrive.

The plant owner soon visits this hotel, but he does not like its place and asks why the aliens have not built such a hotel in a better place. Afanti, who is under the disguise of an alien from Mars, says that this place is really good, because it identically looks like Mars with neither trees nor green places.

After a while, the plant owner feels hungry and he orders dinner. Afanti prepares lamp, duck, fish, and chicken, but none of them are real meat. They are all fake. Afanti explains that there are no living animals anymore in this place as there is no food for the animals to eat.

After a while, the plant owner goes to his room to have a rest. He wants to take a shower, but the shower pours only sand instead of water. Afanti explains that there is no more water in this place, as there are no trees.

The plant owner becomes very angry at the service he gets at this hotel and decides to leave. However, it starts to rain soon and everywhere gets covered with flood.

Soon, the hotel gets completely destroyed with the flood. But the plant owner still tries not to lose his bag which is full of money.

Afanti tells him that natural things like water, animals, and trees are much more important than money. After listening this, the plant owner understands that money is not important and he gives up the idea of opening more chopstick plants.

Episode 5

One day, there is an animal competition in the city. Different animals from different countries attend the competition with their owners, showing their math skills like counting and doing additions.

The donkey of Afanti sees the competition and it also wants to attend. Meanwhile, there is breaking news on television about the death of a company owner and the unsolvable dispute of the inheritance problem among his three sons.

A lawyer takes the case and he invites Afanti and a company to advise him on the solution of the inheritance. Upon this, Afanti starts to ride his donkey, together with his son, to go to the place where the lawyer has invited him. There is a long way to go and Afanti's son starts to teach the donkey some mathematical skills like multiplication during their trip.

Meanwhile, the company owner, Mr. Mahuli, who is also invited by the lawyer give advice on how to solve the inheritance problem, passes by Afanti and his son, leaving them all in exhaust smoke. Upon this, Afanti's son tells to Mr. Mahuli that their donkey is a unique animal with no carbon emission and which protects the environment. Afanti also says that this donkey only drinks water instead of oil, and furthermore, the donkey is much stronger than things that exhaust carbon dioxide.

Upon this explanation, Mr. Mahuli becomes angry and invites Afanti to a challenge. He says that the one who drives faster will win, and if Afanti loses, he will not accept the advice of Afanti on the solution of the inheritance case.

Mr. Mahuli reaches to the lawyer faster than the donkey and meets the three sons involved in the case.

The lawyer explains that inheritance of the father of three sons consists of 17 valuable horses and the three sons cannot share them.

The lawyer also explains to the sons that in his will, their father has written that the biggest son will get half of the horses. The second brother will get one third of the horses. And the third brother will get one ninth of them.

Mr. Mahuli tries to make a calculation. He divides 17 into two, which means eight and a half horse. He tries to divide 17 into three, but he cannot do this. He understands that he cannot divide the horses in this way, and suggests selling all the horses and dividing the money instead.

At this moment, Afanti and his son arrive with their donkey. Afanti realizes that he cannot divide 17 horses, and so he makes a suggestion to give his donkey for free also in addition to the horses. In this way, he calculates 18 animals instead of 17. Now, he divides the number easily. In this way, the biggest brother gets nine horses, the second brother gets six horses, and the third brother gets two horses. All the horses they get in total equals to 17, and Afanti is able to get his donkey back.

After solving this issue, Afanti and his son also explain that the aim of the father of the brothers was to make them not divide the horses actually. He did not want them to get separated from each other. By making 17 horses not shareable mathematically, he actually wanted them to stay together.

Episode 6

One day, Afanti and his son take a tour in the city together with their donkey. However, another father and son, who are eating bananas, throw the banana skins randomly and the donkey of Afanti slips when it steps on them. Afanti falls down from the donkey the people gather around him to see what happened. Meanwhile, children who notice that it is Afanti, wants him to tell them stories. Upon this, Afanti takes the children to a park where they can sit while listening his stories. Meanwhile, the son of the man who threw the banana skin also attends the other children to listen Afanti, and during this time, his father waits for him. However, while he is waiting, he smokes.

Afanti starts to tell his story: One day, when he was riding his donkey in the woods, he saw an old hat seller sitting hopelessly. When he asked him why he was in such a bad mood, the hat seller showed a group of monkeys who stole his hats. Afanti thought of a plan to get the hats back from the monkeys. As he knew that monkeys like to mimic human's behaviors, he got the hat that the seller was wearing and threw it into his basket. The monkeys mimicked him exactly in the same way and threw their hats into the basket. In this way, Afanti achieved to get all the hats right into the basket.

After listening this, the children want Afanti to tell another story. However, Afanti says that they need a clean environment to tell stories. Upon this, the children start to collect garbage around and put them into garbage bins.

Afanti wants to start telling his second story, but this time, the father who is waiting for his son, starts to smoke another cigarette, which causes everybody to cough. While coughing, Afanti cannot tell his story. Thus, Afanti's son decides to tell a story himself.

He tells that once upon a time, Bayi had a big tree at the garden of his house and the shadow of this tree was also reflected on the road outside of the garden. Thus, Afanti and his friends was standing there under the shadow in the road and having a conversation.

However, Bayi saw them and requested them to pay the fee of the shadow, since the tree belonged to him. Afanti accepted this and bought the shadow by paying some amount of money.

After a while, when the position of the sun changed, the shadow of the tree started to be reflected in the garden of Bayi. Seeing this, Afanti and his friends

started to use the shadow in Bayi's garden. Although Bayi became angry at this, he was not able to oppose this as he already sold the shadow to Afanti.

At night, the shadow of three under the moonlight started to be reflected on top of the roof of Bayi's house. So, Afanti and his friends sat on the roof and started to have entertainment with music. Bayi could not stand this anymore and he decided to return Afanti's money, cancelling the selling.

Afanti's son finishes this story. However, the other child's father still continues to smoke. Upon this, Afanti's son warns him and the man gets convinced to quit smoking.

However, soon, a vehicle passes by them with lots of exhaust smoke. Afanti says that they should use electrical cars instead of the regular ones in order not to cause air pollution. But this time, they wonder where the electricity will come from. Upon this question, they all visit an electricity factory. They see that it causes heavy pollution. Afanti also has a suggestion to this problem and he says that they should use clean energy to solve this problem. He explains that there are different clean energy types such as hydro energy, tidal energy, and solar energy. They also visit wind turbines to see wind energy. They see that these energy types are clean and continuous.

APPENDIX G

SCREENSHOTS OF *AFANTI ZHI QIYUAN LIXIAN* 阿凡提之奇缘历险

(THE ADVENTURE OF AFANTI)



Fig. G1 Gulixian wearing a face veil in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 6:40.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G2 A local woman in Gulixian wearing a face veil in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 15:15.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G3 Local people in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 8:31.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G4 Local people in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 29:03.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G5 Afanti, Bayi and the Water Affairs Official of the Grape City riding camels in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 31:15.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G6 Bandits of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 35:38.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G7 The text that appears right before the film starts in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 0:39.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G8 Local people of the Grape City dancing around a bonfire in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 19:46.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G9 Afanti and Gulixian dancing in Xinjiang style in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 20:55.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G10 Gulian performing the traditional Uyghur dawaz in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 9:01.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G11 Gulixian with local costumes and dawaz stick in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 6:45.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G12 Afanti and the local men playing music in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*.
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 1:26.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G13 Afanti playing local musical instrument dutar in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 2:00.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G14 Landscape view of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 2:24.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G15 Landscape view of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 2:33.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G16 Landscape view of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 2:40.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G17 Landscape view of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 2:52.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G18 The desert in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 30:59.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G19 Camels in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 29:47.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G20 Afanti and Gulixian dancing in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 20:59.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G21 Afanti and Gulixian dancing in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 21:30.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G22 The local bazaar of the Grape City in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 3:03.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G23 The palace of the Guowang of the Grape City Afanti and Gulixian dancing in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 16:26.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G24 Guowang, Gulixian, and the palace servant in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 17:06.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G25 Afanti and Gulixian's romantic moments in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 23:46.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G26 Afanti and Gulixian's romantic moments in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 23:29.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>



Fig. G27 Afanti and Gulixian's romantic moments in *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*.
Source: Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti], 1:18:29.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSSq4au3b1E>

APPENDIX H

SUMMARIZED STORY OF *AFANTI ZHI QIYUAN LIXIAN* 阿凡提之奇缘历险

(THE ADVENTURE OF AFANTI)

I have summarized *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*, which is provided in Appendix H, by watching it posted online by Sai Yj on Youtube.⁵¹⁴ Since I have watched all the episodes in its original language, which is Mandarin Chinese, I take responsibility for any possible mistake, missing information, or misunderstanding that may arise due to my language skills

The summary of *Afanti Zhi Qiyuan Lixian*

One day, when Afanti and his friends play music on the roof of their house, their neighbour Bayi accuses them for disturbing his hear and wants them to pay 5 *jinbis* for the disturbance they cause. Meanwhile, he is holding a steak. Afanti accepts to pay the money, but he says that he first wants Bayi to pay for the smell of the rotten meat that goes into his nostrils.

While they are discussing like this, they suddenly notice a fairly beautiful woman, Gulixian 古丽仙, who is jumping skillfully from one roof to another one by one. Afanti notice that she is holding a dawaz stick, which means she must be going to attend the dawaz competition.

At the competition, Afanti meets the girl by chance and they introduce each other. Afanti immediately falls in love with her.

⁵¹⁴Sai Yj, *Afanti Zhi Qi Yuan Lixian* 阿凡提之奇缘历险 [The Adventure of Afanti].

After a while, a huge crack opens in the mid of the town suddenly. And after this crack, the villagers can find no water to drink or use. There is suddenly shortage of water and they cannot find the reason for this sudden water crisis.

As a result, the water affairs officer and Afanti decide to examine the reason of this water shortage.

On the way to the water examination, Bayi also joins them with three of his camels. After going in the desert for a while, Afanti suddenly sees a donkey trapped in the sand. He stops to rescue the donkey, but meanwhile, the camels escape.

Bayi becomes very frustrated with Afanti for stopping for a donkey and causing his camels to run away. However, Afanti makes a quick hand trick with two precious jewels that he brings out from his pocket and convinces Bayi that this donkey is very precious by making him believe that the eyedrops of the donkey turn into precious jewels.

Then, they continue their voyage and soon discover a cave. Inside the cave, they see that the source of the water inside the cave has been blocked by some people.

The bandits that have blocked the water start to chase after Afanti, Bayi, the officer, and the donkey. Just at the time when two of them catch Afanti, they quarrel about who should take him to their leader. Afanti, seeing that they argue with each other, brings out two *jinbis* and says that he will throw one of them to the right, and one of them to the left side. Who will bring one *jinbi* faster will bring him to their leader. The two bandits fall into this trap and go after the *jinbis*. Meanwhile, Afanti, Bayi, and the donkey start to run away.

After they achieve to exit the cave, they suddenly realize that the officer is not there. At that moment they try to find a solution to find the officer, the bandit surround and attack them. Right at that time, Gulixian arrives and saves them.

After taking a rest, Afanti decides to go into the cave to find and save the officer. Gulixan also wants to accompany him, and the two go into the cave.

Inside the cave, they discover that the officer is actually the leader of the bandits and he is trying to find the hidden treasure in the cave, where there is also an underground city. In this underground city, there is a secret map of the treasure, and in order to find the treasure, he has cut the water spring.

Afanti decides to behave as if he is collaborating with the officer just to trick him and escape safely. The underground city is full of hidden traps like sudden swords popping out from walls. Afanti first earns the officer's trust, and then easily deceives him, making him choose a wrong option on the way to the treasure. By doing this option, the officer unknowingly releases the water down into the treasure room from which he hardly escapes.

Meanwhile, Afanti and Gulixan also try to escape both from the harsh water waves coming and also the officer who is trying to kill them.

When Afanti and Gulixan have no way to escape since the only bridge that leads to the exit is destroyed, they decide to walk on the rope of the destroyed bridge with the help of Gulixan's dawaaz skills. However, the officer continues to chase after them and Gulixan falls down into a deep chasm. Afanti, who also jumps after her, cannot save her and she dies.

Meanwhile, a big rock that falls from the top of the cave kills the officer. Soon, the citizens of the Grape city arrive and take Afanti out.

At the end of the animated film, Afanti decides to leave the Grape City and tour the world. Something unexpected happens on his way, and he meets Gulixan suddenly, who is not dead.

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