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平成30年度学部学生による自主研究奨励事業研究成果報告書

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ふりがな 共同 研究者氏名		学部 学科		学年	年
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研究課題名	Exploring Muslim narratives in China: A case study of Hui Muslim in Yunnan Province.				
研究成果の概要	研究目的、研究計画、研究方法、研究経過、研究成果等について記述すること。必要に応じて用紙を追加してもよい。(先行する研究を引用する場合は、「阪大生のためのアカデミックライティング入門」に従い、盗作剽窃にならないように引用部分を明示し文末に参考文献リストをつけること。)				

I. Introduction: Defining the Hui

China is widely understood as a homogenous society. In Japanese, 漢学 (*kan gaku*), which refers to the studies of traditional Chinese culture⁽¹⁾, can be literally translated as the *study of Han*. There seems to be a tacit assumption that all Chinese are the same and all Chinese are Han. While Han is indeed a dominant group in China, the other 55 recognized ethnic minorities still make up 8.4% of the Chinese population (National Bureau of Statistics, 2010). By examining issues of identity of one of those ethnic minorities, this study hopes to call for attention and contribute to a re-examination of this often predetermined notion of “Chineseness” as “Hanness”.

Hui is one of the main ethnic minorities in China with a population over 10 million (Ibid.). While nearly 20% of Hui population live in Ningxia Hui autonomous Region, the rest is scattered across the country (Ibid.). According to Gladney (2004: pp.160-165), until the 1950s, Hui people were simply known as *Huijiao tu*, which means Muslims. As a result of the policy of identification and classification of ethnic groups (*minzu shibie*) carried out from the 1950s to late 1970s by the Communist Party of China, Hui was officially recognized as an ethnic minority (The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, 1999). It is evident that nowadays, Hui people generally accept this ethnic identity and are willing to present themselves as *Huizu* (people of Hui ethnicity). However, except for the fact that they share the same religious belief, the labelling of Hui as a united ethnic group appears to be based on an arbitrary political strategy that has provided a mainstream narrative for each ethnic minority. This raises the question of how Hui articulate their identity within such contextual framework.

To answer this question, this research explores the Hui’s narrative by examining how they articulate their ethnic and religious identities. To do so, the author will propose a typology to interpret three different types of Hui identity based on a fieldwork of Hui community conducted in Yuxi City of Yunnan Province during August 12th to September 5th in 2018. Finally, the author will analyze the variations and transformation of Hui identity and predict the tendency of future Hui identity using the “acculturation strategy” model (Berry, 1997).

II. Research design			
Fieldwork	Method	Synopsis	Sample
Fieldwork 1	Qualitative interviews	Investigate the expression and experience of their ethnic identities of local Hui and Han people through interviews.	Hui (N=15) Han (N=6)
Fieldwork 2	Observation Participation	Form a context for understanding the local Hui's religious activities by visiting the local mosque on <i>Zhumari</i> (Jumu' ah, collective prayer held by Muslims every Friday)	Activities in the local mosque
Fieldwork 3	Observation Participation	Form a context for understanding interethnic communication of local Hui and Han people in daily life by attending a party celebrating a Hui girl's entering of university	Celebration party for university entering
Fieldwork 4	Observation Participation	Investigate the local Hui people's custom and community solidarity through an annual commemoration of a local Hui's death.	Death anniversary

Table 2.1 Overview of fieldwork

Table 2.1 above presents the four main components of the author's fieldwork. The data collected through interviews (fieldwork 1) are the primary source of analysis in this report. Since the author intends to put the spotlight on the locals' perspectives on their own identity construction, qualitative method and inductive approach were adopted in this research. For the purpose of this study only data relevant to the discussion of Hui's identity were included. These constitute the framework for the author's understanding of the locality and the variety in identities of Hui that will be discussed in the following sections.

Yimen county, where the fieldwork was conducted, locates in the middle of Yunnan province. It has a population of 180 thousand people and covers an area of 1571 square kilometers (Liu, 2018). Since 2011, Yimen has been listed as one of the resource-exhausted cities (*ziyuan kujie chengshi*) in China by the central government, which suggests its underdevelopment of economy, imbalance in industrial structure, and severe environmental damage. By the end of 2017, the total population of Yimen is about 180 thousand people (Ibid.). According to a 2014 press release by the local government, 22 ethnic minorities inhabit in Yimen, of which most live in mountainous areas with adverse natural conditions.

III. Findings: Typology of Hui identity

As mentioned, this research aims to establish a theoretical framework for ethnic and religious identity construction of Hui. In order to do so, the author applies thematic analysis to propose a typology of three types of Hui identity. This categorization serves to depict the variation in objective identity construction within the Hui community, and therefore to better understand the causes and patterns of identity construction of ethnic minorities in China. The typology presented in table 3.1 below are mainly based on the qualitative interview data collected in fieldwork 1.

Identity Type	Attribute	Example
Type A: “Sino-Muslims”	High level of faith	“(During Ramadan, I) never feel hungry, (because) Allah bless us. Allah truly bless us.” By Participant No.1
	Sense of belonging to the Islamic communities	“For example, if we are total strangers to each other, (and if we) meet somewhere, any conflict between us will suddenly be resolved...If we both believe in Islam.” By Participant No.14
	Practice most of the Islamic duty in daily life	“(When we still live near the mosque we) go to the mosque five times a day.” By Participant No.2
Type B: Pragmatic Hui	Moderate level of faith	“For me (religion) is not a big part of my life.” By Participant No.19
	No strong sense of belonging to the Islamic community, sometimes a sense of belonging with Hui community to a limited extent	“(I would) feel a bit closer (with Hui people in comparison with other ethnic groups that believe in Islam).” By Participant No.19
	Ignore most of the Islamic duty in daily life except for the pork taboo	“Normally, (I’m) not used to... Wearing hijab makes (me) feel... Too stuffy.” By Participant No.3
Type C: “Fake Hui” (“假回族”)	No faith	Participant No.21 who stated being unreligious
	No specific sense of solidarity with any religious or ethnic community	/
	Ignore all Islamic duty in daily life including the pork taboo	“We are Hui, but we still eat pork.” By Participant No.21

Table 3.1 Typology for Hui identity

As shown in table 3.1, the author identifies three attributes to categorize participants into each identity type: level of faith, sense of solidarity with different communities, and Islamic practices. Level of faith is defined by participants’ description of what role Islam played in their life, and the participants’ perception of faith and religion. To what extent the participants felt attached with Muslim community in general, and to what extent they differentiated Hui from other ethnic minorities that also have an Islam tradition determine which community the participants share most solidarity with. Finally, the frequency and variety of religious practices that participants perform on a daily basis are evaluated based on the participants’ description and the author’s observation.

Type A: “Sino-Muslims”

“Sino-Muslims” is first termed by Lipman (1998) in his book *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*, in which he uses this term to address Hui and famously questions the *minzu* (ethnicity) categorization. Participants who are classified as Type A here are best described as “Sino-Muslims” due to their

indifference towards ethnic identity. For example, when asked about the difference between Hui and other Islam believing ethnic minorities in China, participant No. 2, a housewife who used to operate a restaurant in a peri-urban area, answered as such:

“If (they believe) in Islam, then (we are) all the same.”

For Type A participants, to be Hui is to be Muslim. The two words are interchangeable in any circumstances that they refer to Muslims in other countries also as Hui. These participants strictly perform daily prayers and visit mosque frequently. Participant No.1 and No.2 even stated that when the two of them lived near to the mosque before, they visited the mosque five times a day. Type A participants are mostly over their fifties, and lived in their retirement, except for only one younger participant who is the local Imam. Both women and men usually wear Islamic clothing in daily life, which are hijabs for female and white hats for male. Intriguingly, although type A participants are strict about religious practices themselves, they seemed to be tolerant towards younger Huis' relaxed attitude to Islam, which probably encouraged the transition from Type A to Type B identity.



A 92-year-old Hui woman at a commemration held for her brother

Type B: Pragmatic Hui

The most evident characteristic of Type B participants is their pragmatic attitude regarding Islam. Although type B participants were firm about them being religious, all of them also rationally chose to free themselves from daily religious practices so that their religious belief may not hinder their routine work. Participant No. 3, a restaurant owner in her thirties, explained why she chose not to wear hijab as such:

“We do these things (work) every day, (and we) all find (wearing hijab) inconvenient. Most importantly, in their eyes (in the eyes of the elderlies) these are all excuses. This is a habit thing. But I think that it is good enough to keep the faith inside our heart. At least we Hui don't eat those, don't eat those pork. I practice what I say. I think that these matters of forms, these superficial things (are what) I probably need to accept in a long process.”

Although all of Type B participants are careful about the pork taboo, this is almost the only religious obligation they bear. To justify their violation of other Islamic duties, “inconvenience” is the most common reason. Moreover, as participant No.3 described above, sometimes they even consider many of the Islamic restrictions and laws “superficial”. For some of type B participants, the religious identity they embrace is sometimes even considered imposed on them as a family obligation rather than an active pursuit of faith:

“It's not that (we) want to believe. Actually, since we are born and grow up in such family, we have to follow (Islam) (If) we now go out and say that I don't believe in Islam and I want to eat pork, they probably not going to like this... I feel this is just like we say that there are some responsibilities you have to shoulder. As a matter of fact, I do not really want to believe in these things, but you have to do things that passed on to you.”

In his illustration, participant No.3, a car industry entrepreneur in his thirties, explicitly pointed out that his

religious belief, if one may refer to it as such, is out of filial piety. Although this might be an extreme case, the religiosity among type A participants can seldom be observed in the case of type B participants. For Type B participants, religion is not excluded from their understanding of self, and many still maintain a considerable level of interest and loyalty to Islam. Yet, neither their religious nor their ethnic identity plays a significant role in their life, in which they give most priority to individual achievement and family.

Type C: "Fake Hui"

In the fieldwork, the author only encountered one participant who can be categorized as Type C. However, in every interview, there are accounts of whom they referred to as "fake Hui". "Fake Hui" is defined as those who are recognized as Hui in legal documents because either or both of the person's parents is Hui, but have no concerns about his ethnic or religious identity and break the most basic pork taboo.

The other "authentic" Huis' attitudes toward fake Hui are varied. For instance, during an interview of several high school graduates, participant No.8 firmly stated that if she would not consider a "fake Hui" to be Hui, even if legally the person was recognized as such. In another interview, participant No.3 shared a more moderate opinion that she would not judge "fake Hui" to be not religious since religious belief is a personal matter.

IV. Discussion: Rationale for the typology of Hui identity

The typology of Hui identity proposed above presents the conceptualization of individuals' accounts of their ethnic and religious identity. However, the vital question of what forces drive individuals to demonstrate very distinctive identities still remains unanswered. In this section, therefore, the author introduces the model of acculturation strategies by John Berry (1997) as the theoretical lenses to analyze the construction of Hui identity on both individual and social level.

The model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997) is established based on two major issues for individuals of a non-dominant social group: whether one intends to maintain one's identity and characteristics, and whether one intends to maintain relationships with broader society. Strict Muslim elderlies, who mostly associate with other Huis and oppose assimilation with Han, adopt a marginalization strategy, and establish Type A identity. Younger generations who are working or getting an education outside of Hui community, and are put into an environment where Han is the majority, often compromise their religious and ethnic identity, which as suggested in this model as taking an integration strategy, eventually construct a Type B identity. Other Huis, who are often children of interethnic marriage and thus are socialized to concern little or none about the religious and ethnic implications of being a Hui, end up taking a path of assimilation sometimes without noticing.

Figure 4.1 shows a plurality that varied acculturation strategies are adopted by different individuals based on their value systems. Yet, such observation could be superficial. Each identity type and the acculturation strategy have a generational characteristic: Type A participants who adopt separation/segregation strategy are dominantly elderlies, while Type B and Type C participants are mostly younger generations. While one can argue that the elderlies are more conservative regarding religiosity and the younger generations have a more liberal idea about their religious identity, it is hardly the whole picture.

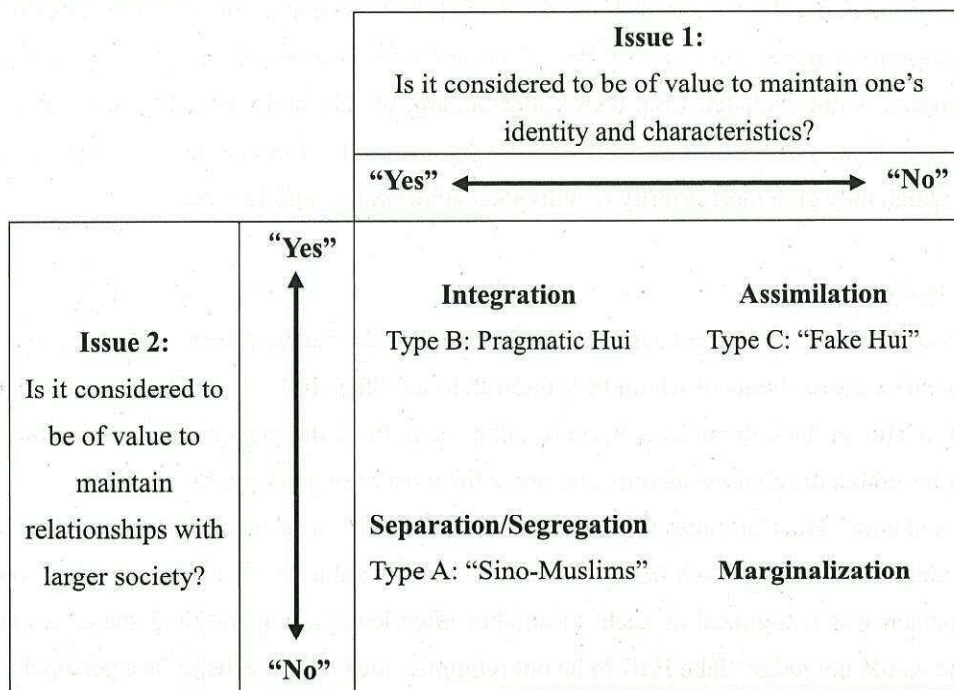


Figure 4.1 Acculturation model for Hui identity, based on “Acculturation strategies” by Berry (1997)

In interviews, one narrative that all three types of Hui share in common in the self-awareness of being a minority in society. The realization of “being a minority” is not merely voluntary, since the majority group in a society seldom shares the same awareness of their social position. In reality, the lack of support system (provision of halal food in company & school cafeteria, for example), misrepresentation of minority communities on the media, and most straightforwardly, being labeled and generalized as ethnic minorities are the constant reminders for Hui’s awareness of holding a peripheral value and culture. As a result, one’s willingness and value perhaps contribute very little to one’s choice of a particular trajectory of identity construction, but rather the identity one is allowed to adopt is determined by his/her relationship with the society. Since the given socio-political context facilitates a relatively fixed Hui community, the individual has to be the one who adjusts, not the other way around. Therefore, young people who have no choice but to find themselves a position in the labor market to make a living are assigned the responsibility of integration or assimilation, and only the elderlies who are exempted from social participation can afford to be segregated and assert their religious and ethnic identity.

V. Conclusion

Based on the case study of Hui community in Yimen, the author concludes that mainly three types of Hui identity can be detected. Firstly, “Sino-Muslims” are mainly elderly who prioritize their religious identity and often do not differentiate one ethnic group from another as long as they share the same belief of Islam. Secondly, “pragmatic Hui” are those who are more aware of their ethnic identity as “Hui” and often put their religious belief aside when it conflicts with secular life. Finally, “fake Hui” are those who have no difference with majority Han except for their legal status as Hui.

As a case study, this research should by no means be considered comprehensive. Thus, for further generalization, future studies in other Hui communities is more than necessary. Yet, the implication of this study which suggests an inquiry in the pluralist nature of the Chinese society deserves attention. As mentioned, China is undoubtedly a multi-ethnic country, and the establishment of pluralism-based society is critical for the thriving

of the 55 ethnic groups in China. However, the labeling of “minority” and lack of institutions that address and legitimize the needs of such ethnic groups seem to play a role of discouragement to the assertion of Hui’s religious and ethnic identity. Therefore, through this research, the author hopes to call for academic discussion on the conditions and future of ethnic minority groups in China.

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Appendix 1: List of interview participants

Number	Ethnicity	Age	Profession	Gender	Education Background
1	Hui	92	/	Female	Elementary school drop-out
2	Hui	60~70	Retired (Used to work in construction and then opened a restaurant before retirement)	Female	Elementary school graduate
3	Hui	30~40	Restaurant owner (part-time: online small business)	Female	Middle school graduate
4	Hui	30~40	Laborer in steel industry	Male	/
5	Han	60~70	Retired (Used to work as carpenter, also in construction, transportation and many other industry)	Male	/
6	Hui	30~40	Imam	Male	/
7	Hui	60~70	/	Female	/
8	Hui	19	Student	Female	High school graduate
9	Hui	19	Student	Female	High school graduate
10	Han	19	Student	Female	High school graduate
11	Han	19	Student	Female	High school graduate
12	Han	19	Student	Female	High school graduate
13	Han	80~90	Retired (Used to be middle school teacher)	Female	/
14	Hui	60~70	Retired (Used to work in several different industries)	Male	/
15	Hui	30~40	Doctor	Female	/
16	Hui	70~80	/	Female	/
17	Hui	70~80	/	Male	/
18	Han	40~50	Housewife	Female	University equivalence graduate
19	Hui	60~70	Retired (Used to work in construction, smeltery, transportation and many other industries)	Male	Elementary school graduate
20	Hui	30~40	Car maintenance company owner	Male	/
21	Han	40~50	Salaryman	Male	/

Note:

(1) See the second edition Great Japanese dictionary (*Nihongo daijiten*).

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