


T.C.

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

SOSYOLOJİ



SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION
OF THE HUI MUSLIMS IN CHINA: PAST AND CONTEMPORARY

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

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ABSTRACT

Hui and Uygur ethnic groups are the main two communities that share Islamic beliefs. From the historical records of China, it could be inferred easily that the ancestors of Hui are mostly coming from the Arab, Persian, and Turkic language-speaking regions in central and western Asia. Most of the ancestors of Hui were merchants who were doing the the business trades with Chinese government and after their business in China, they would go back to their motherland. So at the Tang(from 618 to 906 A.D.) and Song(from 960 to 1279 A.D.) dynasties, they still identify themselves as the Arab, Persian, or Turkic as they were only temporarily living in China.

When it comes to the Yuan(from 1279 to 1368 A.D.), Ming(from 1368 to 1644 A.D.), and Qing(from 1644 to 1912 A.D.) dynasties, accompanied by the new Emperors and kingdoms from central and western Asia regions, some slaves believe in Islam were brought from those areas at the same time. Also some of the descents of the ancestors of Hui developed themselves into the 5th or 6th generation, adopting the Chinese Han culture as well. So the community of Hui started to emerge since Yuan and developed into a mature community in the Qing dynasty. And the name of Huihui and Hui were first introduced around Yuan as well. People started to identified themselves as Chinese Hui or Chinese Huihui, they began to think their culture was a combination of the Chinese culture and Islamic culture. Also, because of the different policies towards Hui in different dynasties, the inner-group recognition of identity was more and more accepted as the governments were trying to weaken the Hui community by limiting its rights,

Hui was under high pressure about their education, working opportunities, social insurance, etc. So Hui gradually gained the idea that their natural biological boundaries with Chinese Han people and their different religious beliefs made the Hui and Han separated from each other.

Nowadays, instead of being called Muslim, the Hui preferred to be named as Hui. Compared with being a member of religious community, membership of a Chinese ethnic group could share more social privileges, so Hui are more pleased to accept their identity as an ethnic group. They adopted the Hui culture about living habits, norms, languages, and other aspects as part of their social and cultural identity from generation to generation.

Through the daily practice of the Hui customs, we found that Hui's social and cultural identity construction are highly related the government policies. When the government takes out more flexible policies towards Hui, Hui prefers to join the social life and show out their identity recognition as both Hui and Chinese. But if the government shows a negative attitude towards Hui, the Hui people would deeply hide their Hui characters, claiming that their living habits are out of personal experience or family tradition. Also, in this process, Hui would be more connected and united, because they think they have the shared memories of being oppressed.

KEYWORDS: Hui; China; Identification,

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INTRODUCTION

As an atheist country, it seems that in China there will not be any Muslim population. Indeed, China has a long history of Islam development. Because of historical reasons, for business and politics, there were a huge amount of people from Mongolia, East Asia, and Middle East areas came to China, bring the Islamic religion at the same time. Their posterities settled down in China for various reasons and became the ancestor of contemporary Chinese Muslim people.

Nowadays, The Hui Muslim and Uyghur Muslim are recognized as the two main Chinese Muslim groups. Uyghur Muslims are mainly living together in northeastern China (known as Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region¹), while Hui Muslims are spreading all over the country. Similar with the Uyghur people, Hui Muslims prefer living in the northwest provinces as well, but for most of the cities with a great population of Hui, they are rich in transportation resources and mostly are from the Zhongyuan region². As most of their ancestors came for business in the past hundreds of years, so living around the cities that are nearby the transportation centers could be another significant feature of the Hui.

¹ Xinjiang (Chinese: 新疆; pinyin: Xīnjiāng), officially named ad Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, is an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China (PRC), located in the northwest of the country close to Central Asia.

² Zhongyuan (Chinese: 中原; pinyin: Zhōngyuán) is the area on the lower reaches of the Yellow River which formed the cradle of Chinese civilization. It forms part of the North China Plain.

According to the Chinese 2011 census³, there is approximately 10.5 million Hui people are living in different regions of China, sometimes Dungan people (another Islamic ethnic group named Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) are also considered to be part of the Hui ethnicity as well. And Hui Muslims are ranking in the fourth position of the whole population in China.

Due to the long-term interaction with the Chinese Han people, Hui Muslims have developed their own living norms, which has distinct differences from the practice of Islam (Gladney, 1996). The living norms makes Hui seems so similar with Han Chinese, which leads to the results that there is very little understanding among non-Hui citizens towards Hui, although the Hui is already the 4th ranking position in the whole population. Most people don't have an idea about who the Hui is and why they consider themselves different from Han Chinese(Dillon, 1999). But still, Hui Muslim are maintaining some of their unique culture and living habits which are developed from their Islam religion. For example, the Hui, they follow Islamic diet norms and refuse to consume pork in all of their cuisines (Gladney, 1996)

Nowadays, the Hui Muslim is one of 56 recognized ethnic groups in China. The government considers the Hui as a group of people including some historically Muslim communities which haven't been put into any other China's ethnic groups.

Based on the background mentioned before, here comes the question that how do those Hui people identify themselves, and how do they set up their own social and cultural identity construction, and if there any differences between the old generation and the young generation? While most of non-Hui or non-Muslim people believe that the Hui equals Han, then how do the Hui feel about it, do they

³ the Chinese population census is held every 10 ten years. This population data is based on the sixth national population census.

recognize themselves as an independent ethnic group, or they also believe that Hui is just Han with a certain religion. So, in the fieldwork research and literature review, I would mainly try to focus on those topics and give a comprehensive expression about how the Hui identify themselves from the past time and the contemporary society, also how did they make reach their cultural and social identity construction.

Demographic of the Hui in China

The demographic data shows that China has a large population of 1.4 billion, among them, the youth population takes only a relatively small part of it. Because of the one-child policy implemented in the 1980s, China's population growth rate gradually slowed down.

Now China is the largest country in the world. According to the 2010 census, the Han population accounted for 91.51%, and the minority population accounted for 8.49%. The Hui is a relatively populous ethnic minority in China, with a total population of 10,586,087 people (2010, excluding Taiwan Province). It is distributed in 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities across the country. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region is its main settlement area.

Ningxia Autonomous Region has a total Hui population of 1,862,500, accounting for 18.9% of the total Hui population in the country. Besides, there are other regions with a Hui population of more than 200,000: Beijing, Hebei Province, Inner Mongolia Province, Liaoning Province, Anhui Province, Shandong Province,

Henan Province, Yunnan Province, Gansu Province, and Xinjiang Autonomous Region.

Looking at the three major regions: eastern China, central China, and western China, western China has the largest Hui population, accounting for 60.75% of the total, followed by the eastern region, the central region is the least. From the north to the south, the Hui people are mainly distributed in the northern provinces of the Yellow River Basin, and the Hui people in the south are relatively small.

According to the fifth census data, among the 56 ethnic groups, the Hui shows a great dispersion of the population distribution by province, district, and city, ranking the third, indicating that the Hui ethnic group is one of the most widely distributed ethnic groups in China.

China's Policy of Hui

China's Hui policies in recent years have mainly focused on the political and economic levels. Politically speaking, the Chinese Communist Party has given China's Hui people more relaxed conditions. For example, China began to implement the one-child policy in the 1980s, but the Hui people were not intervened by these policies and regulations, they have relatively free reproductive rights; economically, the Hui people also enjoy some tax and subsidy preferences. For example, in some Hui autonomous regions, they can receive a subsidy of 10% of their regional income each year.

Specifically, after 1949, China has gradually promulgated the "Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law", "Regulations on Urban Ethnic Work", "Regulations on the

Administrative Work of Ethnic Townships" and other laws to try to protect the rights and interests of the Hui people and to protect the Hui people's education, language, and food and other aspects. From an educational point of view, China has set up subsidies for the minority education and subsidies for ethnic minority areas to ensure the education rights of Hui children. At the same time, China's Ministry of Education stipulates that ethnic minority students shall set separate scores and lower scores when applying for postgraduate. Many Hui people benefited from this policy and were able to enter universities with scores much lower than Han students. For example, the scores of Hui candidates admitted by the Central University for Nationalities will be much lower than other candidates. Hui students can also enter colleges and universities by applying for preparatory classes. Hui students who apply for preparatory classes can be admitted with 80 points lower. Currently, 10% of ethnic minority students in colleges and universities study in preparatory classes. From a linguistic point of view, the Hui has not formed its own language in the long-term development, but some Arabic and Persian languages are still used in their daily life; the Communist Party of China has adopted a more liberal approach towards the language difference, allowing these words to be used in the daily life of the Hui people in the form of regional dialects, which is specifically reflected in the announcement of the mosque and the regional Hui development report and so on. A lot of Arabic transliteration content is used: such as Duositi (friend); Dua (dua) and so on. From the perspective of food and beverage, 16 provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities) including Beijing, Jiangsu, and Xinjiang, as well as many central cities such as Guangzhou, Kunming, and Chengdu, have special legislation to ensure the supply and management of

halal food. The protection of the Hui can guarantee the basic living needs of the Hui people.

Besides, the Chinese Communist Party's political preferential treatment of the Hui nationality is also reflected in the punishment of the Hui's crimes; the Communist Party of China proposed in 1984: "We must insist on fewer arrests and killings' for criminals of ethnic minorities." Regarding the promulgation of this policy, the Hui people have always been controversial. Some Hui people believe that this is one of the methods used by the Chinese Communist Party to destroy the Hui people. By conniving the crimes of the Hui people, it corrupts the reputation of the Hui people.

In recent years, the Chinese Communist Party has gradually undergone subtle changes in its policies towards the Hui group. This change has not been reflected in specific policy documents. Instead, it has carried out considerable reforms in the Hui communities in the name of urban planning. For example, in the Hui restaurant plaque, Arabic characters are forbidden, and the restaurant is required to remove the words of the Hui; and in the Hui architecture, it is required to remove the dome part with Islamic characteristics and change it to a flat-top shape consistent with ordinary buildings. This series of changes were implemented on the grounds of urban construction. On the surface, the Chinese Communist Party has not changed its policy towards the Hui , but it has begun to impose restrictions on all aspects of their lives.

This change has started in 2012. In other words, the Hui policy from 1949 to 2012 was the first-generation ethnic policy, and the Hui policy after 2012 was the second-generation Hui policy. Angang and other scholars from Tsinghua University marked the official beginning of the second generation of ethnic policies,

they published the Second Generation Ethnic Policy: Promoting Ethnic Integration and Prosperity, claiming that the first generation of ethnic policies only applies preferential policy to ethnic minorities. This preferential treatment violates the constitutional spirit of being equal. It creates another kind of inequality and considers it a kind of discrimination towards Han.



1. LITERATURE REVIEW OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND CHINESE HUI MUSLIM

1.1 Literature review of ethnic identity construction theory

To take a deep look into the ethnic identity construction, the first topic that needs to be defined is what is identity. There has been a debate about the meaning of identity for ages. For the word identity itself, there are two main meanings: one is itself, ontology, which is the cognition of who I am; The second is identity and consistency, which is the cognition of things that are identical and consistent with oneself.

After defining the identity, here comes the other topic of human sociality. As a human being, it is impossible to get well separated from other people, the smallest unit of society is family, which means, since we were born, we are on the way of sociality. So before talking about the specific group of people's identity construction, it is quite important to look at him as a normal human first, then we could go to his ethnic social-cultural background.

1.1.1 Identity

The concept of identity has gradually become an important topic in sociological research. It is related to the theories such as categories and roles-behaviors, also it reveals the relationship between individuals and society. At present, the theoretical researches on identity mainly focus on self-identification and social and cultural identification theories.

The concept of identity is actually from the western world, not only sociologists are interested in identity constructions, but also psychologists are deep into the description of self-image and individuality. The word of identity itself has two aspects: the first one is itself, which explains who I am; the other one is consistency, which is about things that are identical and consistent with oneself cognition.

Normally, the cognition of the consistency of one's own group is always accompanied by the cognition of the differences of other groups. Therefore, the study of identity could be understood as the study of the relationship between individuals and society, individuals and collectives.

In the field of sociology, there are five main theoretical lines in the study of identity: Freud and psychoanalytic theory, Mead and symbolic interaction theory, Schutz and the sociology of knowledge, Durkheim and structural functionalism, and Marx and Critical Theory.

Identity was first brought up in philosophical discussions, which refers to the homomorphism in change or the similarity in differences (Shanquan & Yanqun, 2017). Then Erikson first introduced it to social psychology and used it as a term for social psychoanalysis, he believes that acute clinical observations and

formulations could always be seen to be guided concomitantly by several discernible historical processes (Erikson, 1994). Influenced by Freud, Erikson used the term ego identity in his psychological analysis of adolescents for the first time was in the 1940s. From the perspective of psychological analysis, he defines the ego identity as a group psychological phenomenon, all the people from the same group share the same identification recognition. After that, he also made a series of researches on inner identity, identity diffusion, collectives and identity, ethnic identity, identity development through the whole life process, etc. Erikson believes that since modern society is constantly changing, contradictory and uncertain in nature, the identity crisis is already a typical biographical crisis of modern people (Wentao,2012).

Unlike Freud's point of view that people's personality is determined by his own experience in the early ages, Erikson holds the view that personality development is a lifelong process, and each stage of personality development is defined by a different identity crisis, and the stable self-identity stems from the resolution of these identity crises(Yongjiu, 2005).

Nelson Foote's research on identity was greatly affected by Mead's symbolic interactionism theory. He explained human motivation as the result of identification with a certain group. Foote's definition of identity is the appropriation of and commitment to a particular identity or a series of identities(Foote, 1951). Foote believes that identity is a process that is carried out through naming, and the concept of identity is a product of oneself. The process of identification especially emphasizes the opposite group, that is, the recognition of the important other. Strauss's research is crucial to identity becoming a core concept of symbolic

interactionism theory. Strauss made identification a term in social psychology, he believed that identity must be related to the important evaluation of self from oneself or others (Strauss, 1959). Strauss learned the concept of identity from Erikson, but his research is more devoted to the integration of symbolic interaction theory and social organization, and his research focuses on how people connect and get affected through this connection. Strauss believes that identity is an interactive fact (Strauss, 1997), which is composed of the following parts: self-evaluation (from self and others), personal status and evaluation, various naming. Strauss's research has a profound impact on symbolic interactionists, sociologists (such as Goffman), and other social psychologists. The 1960s was a critical period for the development of identity research. Various surging social movements helped to extend the research of identity to a more open area.

As the research of identity is keeping going deeper and deeper, identity has gradually become a comprehensive concept, and the concept of Situation has been introduced into the research on identity as well. Gregory gave a succinct definition of identity: identity is a kind of meaning acquired by individuals in a situation, and identity is constantly changing. This description connects identity with social relations because the situation itself is shaped by the individual's perception of their participation in social relations and membership (Yaqiu, 2010). Goffman continued to analyze the concept of situational self and used it to study stigmatized groups, pointing out that the occasionally precarious and the constantly precarious form a single continuum, their situation in life analyzable by the same framework. (Goffman,2009). Goffman further subdivided identity into social identity, personal identity, and ego identity in his future studies, and used this distinction to define

stigma as the relationship between characteristics and stereotypes, a special relationship.

Besides the theory of symbolic interaction, other various classical sociological theories and phenomenological studies have been introduced into the study of identity as well. For example, Berger believed that his idea of identity was derived from the works of classic sociologists such as Durkheim, Marx, Simmel, and Weber also got affected by Schutz's socio-phenomenological viewpoint. Berger discussed the relationship between identity and role theory, and in a series of subsequent studies, he linked personal identity with social processes and believed that identity and other social meanings are all constructed, and all the types of identity are nothing but social reality. He also pointed out that personal identity is just the social reality that is active in personal experience and embedded in the individuals (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Due to more and more sociologists are keeping discussing identity, it gradually has a place in the general theoretical research of sociology. Parsons believes that the continuous differentiation of contemporary social structure has led to the diversification of social roles (Parsons, 1977), making identity a fashion term.

Robert Bellah discussed the theoretical connection between identity and religion and believed that identity is a basic and universal function of religion (Bellah & Richard, 1992).

In the 1970s, identity research was applied more to empirical research on the one hand, and on the other hand, it was gradually theorized as well. At the micro-level, research based on the theory of symbolic interaction was still prevails. Stryker and his colleagues are committed to studying through the fields of cognition and

behavior, trying to release the description, function, and transformational relationship of multiple identities, and he calls this method identity theory. Identity theory attempts to connect social psychology and sociology, using quantitative research methods.

The research on gender identity is also one of the mainstreams of identity research in this period. At the organizational level, research on institutional identity connects individuals with social structures. Many studies on groups and categories were using identity as an organizational term, such as the study on ethnic identity. The scholars were discussing for a long period the topic of Is ethnic identity a natural, primitive reality, or something that can be recognized in detail?

At this stage, institutional analysis is also applied to religious studies. Mol put forward his point of view that the formation and maintenance of identity is the core function of religion (Mol, 1976). The research of Mol and other scholars who followed his point of view extended the identity-religion connection beyond modern society in the United States. They believe that religion has the basic function of establishing personal identity in any society. Mol defines religion as the sanctification of identity, so identity becomes the core issue of religious theoretical analysis. He believes that at the individual level, identity is a stable position while a person was in a chaotic environment, and individuals can make active defenses against the external environment; at the social level, identity is a basic and widely owned integration of beliefs, norms, and values. In other words, identification is a kind of boundary consciousness.

At the macro level, the discussion of identity was also a hot topic in the mainstream of social theories. Habermas, a critical theorist of the Frankfurt School, tried to

integrate Freud and Marx's theories and clarified the potential similarities between the two perspectives of social evolution and personal development. He believes that social identity has evolved from primary mythology and kinship to contemporary rationality and communication. Habermas merged contemporary psychoanalysis, sociology, and developmental psychology's views on personal identity into a comprehensive view: a meaning of identity is based on communication ability, rationality, and tolerance.

In summary, after decades of development, identification has changed from a term of psychoanalysis to a comprehensive concept of sociological research. Identity is not just a simple personal psychological process, it reflects the relationship between individuals and society, individuals and collectives.

Identity construction is a process that is constantly changing, and the research on identity needs to be in a certain situation. It is necessary to consider all the aspects such as history, culture, current social structure. Identity arises from the relationship with the other, and different relationships produce different identities, and changes in relationships also bring the change of identity. Individual identity is multiple. The management of multiple identities is one of the important tasks of individuals. These multiple identities are hierarchical and will focus on different identities in different situations.

1.1.2 Social Identity Theory

The social identity theory was founded and developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner. They raised this social identity theory during the research of intergroup behavior and intergroup relations. Tajfel defines social identity as an individual's cognition that he/she belongs to a specific social group, and group membership has emotional and value meaning to him/her (Tajfel, et.al., 1979). In other words, social identity is the self-definition of being a group member (Yunlong & Jianxin, 2012). So, we could assume individuals prefer to maintain being a member of a certain group or trying to be the new group membership of a group if they find that certain groups could contribute to their social identity construction.

According to Tajfel's point of view, the definition of social identity is related to the individual's perception of belonging to a certain social group and the emotional and value meaning brought by this group identity. It is precise because of belonging to different social groups that individuals need a social identity to recognize their special position in society (Peilin, 2005).

Social identity theory believes that social behavior cannot be explained solely from personal psychological aspects. To understand social behavior in a more comprehensive way, it is necessary to study how people construct their own and others' identities. People use their own or others' group membership in certain communities to construct their own or others' identity (Wei, et.al., 2008). The identity constructed based on group membership is called social identity, and the

identity constructed based on the individual's unique characteristics is called personal identity.

Social identity is an individual's perception of the similarity between oneself and others (the concept of us) with the same background, as well as the perception of the difference between us and members from other groups (the concept of them). Social identity includes both intra-group similarity and inter-group differences (Hogg, et.al, 1995). The stronger the individual feels belonging to a certain group, the more significant the inter-group differences would be.

Personal identity is an individual's perception of oneself, that is, the perception of one's own consistency in time and space, and at the same time, the perception of the difference between oneself and others (including us and them).

Social identity theory emphasizes the connection between social identity and personal identity. In fact, identity itself is socially constructed on each individual, and it is the adjustment of each social position. Although identification is an ideological construction, it does not mean that it is not real and effective.

Recognition is the guide of individual behaviors and the foundation of social operation. The concept of identity involves the two relationships between the individual and the collective, and the individual and the society, which are often regarded as conflicting or opposite (Green, 2004).

There are three basic assumptions of social identity theory about social identity and social comparison: Firstly, individuals would like to maintain or improve their self-esteem, which means that individuals are always trying to obtain a positive self-concept. Secondly, the social groups and their members' cognitions are all related to positive or negative value concepts. Therefore, according to the evaluations of

these groups, social identity can be positive or negative. And these groups are the source where individual social identity comes from. Thirdly, the evaluation of one's own group is determined by the reference to specific other groups (Kahn & Ryen, 1972).

According to the social identity theories, social identity is composed of three basic processes: categorization, identification, and comparison. Categorization refers to people who prefer to categorize themselves into a certain community or group.

Identification means that individuals believe that they share the common characteristics of the community or group. The comparison is to evaluate other communities with the communities they identify themselves about the strengths and weaknesses, status, and reputation. Through these three processes, people raise their own self-esteem. When the social identity that people identify themselves with is attacked or threatened, people would defend the reputation of the community in their mind or sometimes in actions as well. When members of disadvantaged communities feel that their community is inferior to other communities in terms of reputation and power, to maintain their self-esteem, they will try different ways to defend the community, including imitating the advantaged community in an attempt to strengthen itself, identifying some of the areas where the belonging community is better than the advantaged community, or leaving the belonging community to identify with the advantage community (Yihan, 2009).

Actually, social identity theory provides a useful theoretical framework for the study of identity and identity construction of members of different groups. But at the same time, the whole system of social identity theory is based on Western

society, and the understanding of identity is quite different from that in the Chinese context. The social structure of the West is a group pattern. Groups have certain boundaries, and the boundaries are very clear, that is, the relationship between the group and the self is clear, also in the western world, people emphasize equality and individual rights; and in China, the social structure is a differential pattern. There is no clear demarcation of the relationship between group and self, and human relationship (Guanxi⁴) have particularly important significance.

In the individualistic Western society, different group identities mean different rights and obligations. In the Chinese context, the situation is more complicated. Although with the development of social differentiation and occupational division of labor, certain group boundaries have gradually formed, fundamentally speaking, the relationship between group and self is still blurred. Therefore, different identities may not represent different rights and obligations, and rights and obligations are not clear. Western society is a rights-based civil society. The country, group, and individual each have their own clear rights and obligations. As long as they have certain group qualifications, that is, social identity, they could enjoy the corresponding rights and need to abide by the relative obligations. Its social norms are rigid and general, not focus on the specific person. In Chinese society, it is duty-based, and there is no clear boundary between group and self. The self can be determined, but the group is vague and could be large or small, so the discussions of rights and obligations of the certain group are invalid. In such a society, it is difficult to have general standards and norms. Social norms are

⁴ Guanxi defines the fundamental dynamic in personalized social networks of power, and is a crucial system of beliefs in Chinese culture. In Western media, the pinyin romanization of this Chinese word is becoming more widely used instead of the two common translations of it—"connections" and "relationships"—as neither of those terms sufficiently reflects the wide cultural implications that guanxi describes.

flexible and have different standards for different relationships. Therefore, status does not necessarily have corresponding rights and obligations.

At present, China is in the process of transforming from a traditional society to modern contractual society (Xuegong, 2001). So, it has the characteristics of both traditional society and modern society. Also, the process of social membership identity construction contains both the characteristics of traditional society and modern society as well. Therefore, to study the identity construction of social members in the Chinese cultural context, it is necessary to take a look at Western social theories, but also to take care of the special meaning and role of identity in Chinese society.

1.1.3 Research of Ethnic Identity Construction Theory

The ethnic group is a community based on social and cultural identity construction, and it would be generally recognized as the disadvantaged groups. Ethnic identity construction theory is under debate for a long time in the western world. The difference of the theories and ideas is based on diverse perspectives and points about the basis of ethnic social and cultural identity.

Objective cultural characteristics theory was a popular theory about identity construction in the West before the 1950s and 1960s. The ethnic group is considered to be a group of people with the common physical constitution, language, culture, living habits, social organization, and exclusivity (Barth, 1998). Because this theory emphasizes more on common culture and regards ethnic groups as a social-cultural carrying and distinguishing unit, this classical ethnic group

theory is also called Cultural Theory. This theory is still commonly shared in the talk of identity construction until now. Although it points out the problems that may arise from cultural and behavioral differences in the interaction of a multi-ethnic society, the dilemma it encounters is also obvious: cultural characteristics could only express the general connotation of an ethnic group but cannot explain the ethnic boundaries. And more importantly, based on the Cultural Theory each ethnic group is an isolated and unrelated group defined by a specific culture, and it could give explanations about the issue of ethnic identity changes (Michael, 1965).

It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the theories and methods of defining, classifying, and describing ethnic groups based on objective cultural characteristics were gradually given up by anthropologists. The research paradigm that was objectively described and originated from the researcher's own point of view was gradually replaced by the local people's own point of view. For example, Leach pointed out after studying the Kachin people in the highlands of northern Myanmar: The difference between the Kachin and the Shan⁵ lies in the subjective perception from the Kachin, rather than the objective difference between them and the Shan (Leach, 1954). Cultural difference, in other words, the social identity construction is formed in the process of people's subjective recognition, and in fact, it has no necessary connection with the objective cultural differences observed by bystanders. After World War II, with the total collapse of colonial rule, the rise of third world nation-states, and the ethnic or ethnic issues within these emerging nation-states, the complexity, and variability of ethnic identity have been highlighted. As a result, ethnic groups or ethnic theories that focus on subjective identification have attracted more and more attention.

⁵ Shan State is a state of Myanmar with many ethnic groups, is home to several armed ethnic armies.

Barth's Ethnic Boundary Theory is a new milestone in identity research. Barth believes that ethnic group is a category identified by its constituent elements, and the most important thing that causes an ethnic group is its boundary rather than its connotation including language, culture, and ancestry; the boundary of an ethnic group does not necessarily mean It is the geographic boundary, but mainly the social boundary (Barth,1998). In the ecological resource competition, a group of people emphasizes specific cultural characteristics to limit the boundary of their own group to exclude others.

Barth and another subjectivist Moerman believe that the distribution of objective cultural characteristics in different ethnic groups often presents many partially overlapping but different categories. Therefore, objective cultural characteristics cannot accurately define the boundaries of an ethnic group. Chinese historian Mingke, who has long studied ethnic phenomena, believes that although physical and cultural characteristics are not the criteria for objectively dividing ethnic groups and the objective conditions for defining a group of people, physical and cultural characteristics are tools that people use subjectively to divide groups and express subjective ethnic group identity (Mingke, 1997).

Although subjective identity theorists do not completely overthrow the viewpoint of objective theory, the transition from objective theory to subjective identity theory is an inevitable development trend of ethnic group identity theory research. Because ethnic groups are not only a collective phenomenon but also regarding the individual's experience and will choices in the real social environment. Without emphasizing ethnic group boundaries, it is impossible to study the topic of ethnic identity change. And ethnic groups are not only limited by the objective

characteristics of ethnic groups, it is more related to the maintenance and change of ethnic boundaries in daily life experience. Professor Stevan once pointed out that the most important thing in the definition of an ethnic group awareness and identity, which includes self-identity and other-identification. That is the agreements within the group and boundaries outside the group (Hai, 2002).

Of course, there are also different views on ethnic identity within subjective identity theory. There were two main theoretical schools of primordialism approach and the instrumentalist approach from the 1970s to the mid-1980s. Geertz believes that ethnic identity is a kind of primary emotional issue, which mainly comes from primary and fundamental emotional connections and bonds. A person grows up in a group, so he has consistency with his relatives, friends, neighbors, and religious companions in terms of blood relationship, language, customs, religion, ethnic beliefs, etc., and these are all he has been given. It is precise because of the connection that originated from the primordial bond and the foundation that he is bound and bound to other members of the group. Although primitivists do not define ethnic groups in terms of objective cultural characteristics, nor do they emphasize that biological inheritance is the cause of ethnic groups, primitivism can be further divided into cultural history schools and sociobiological schools. Geertz is the representative of the former, he emphasizes subjective cultural factors. He believes that as far as any individual is concerned, this original bond comes from the facts of subjective cognition passed down from the family and the community and a certain natural relationship with them. And the inheritance of these cultural interpretations is something that cannot be selected and determined by the individual. The originals of ethnic identity are actually in line with Geertz's entire cultural outlook. In his view, a culture is a form of expression of certain life

emotions. It is the meaning that people give to various symbolic signs including behavior. Through them, people communicate with each other, pass on from generation to generation, and develop their understanding, knowledge, and attitude of life. Many people's behaviors are motivated by the pursuit and persistence of a certain outlook on life or symbolic meanings, not entirely for rational or economic utilitarian purposes.

Different from Geertz's emphasis on analyzing people's original emotions attached to their own history and culture or giving them symbolic meanings of history and culture, the representatives of the sociobiological school Edward Shils and Pierre Berghe believes that ethnic groups are the natural unit of human beings, an extension of kinship, and have a long history. Ethnic identity has its biological basis. This seemingly irrational primitive emotion is actually determined by people's genes and is a manifestation or externalization of biological rationality. It is the primitive ties, such as language, religion, race, and land that give these natural units the power and basis for internal rebuke. Although Berghe believes that there is no fundamental conflict between instrumentalism and primitivism, ethnic identity can be changed or used due to actual interests, but in the essence of ethnic groups, it still emphasizes its primitiveness, that is, biological blood relationship. Ethnocentrism is deeply rooted in people's biology and will not disappear due to modernization or socialization (Pierre Berghe, 1981).

The contradiction of his theory lies in the fact that he cannot recognize that ethnic identity is deeply influenced by social reality and culture, while also emphasizing the originality of human beings.

Marshall Sahlins had doubts about various theories that use sociobiology to explain the phenomenon of human society and ethnic groups. The ethnic group is an extension of kinship, but it is questionable to regard kinship as a complete biological phenomenon, and it is doubtful to use originality as an absolutely natural feeling to explain the motivation of ethnic identity (Sahlins, 1976). In fact, human kinship is mainly defined by culture. Therefore, the nature of ethnic cohesion and reorganization needs to be re-examined (Witherspoon, et.al., 2009).

Instrumentalism emphasizes the political and instrumental nature of ethnic identity. The theory believes that ethnic identity is generated in power confrontation and competition for limited resources, is changeable, multiple, and can be used. Rather than saying that traditional culture is an objective basis for ethnic identity, it is better to say that it is a tool that people construct, invent, or manipulate to pursue group interests in actual power confrontations. They pay attention to the economic and political reasons that lead to the rise and fall of ethnic identity and regard ethnic groups as an economic, political or social phenomenon.

Although power relations are not the only factor that determines ethnic identification, in the political framework and social meaning system of the same region or country, as long as cultural differences are regarded as the criteria for identifying collective identity, ethnic identification would always be this kind of the product of power relations in the political unit. Anderson pointed out that nation or state is an imaginary community, nation is a kind of modern imagination and the product of political and cultural construction and becomes a model for analyzing nation or state. After the book was published, it attracted much attention, Zanzi believes that the Chinese people's imagination of nation existed long before

modern western nationalism was introduced into China; Shatji believed that although Benedict recognized that nation was an ideological construction, he completely ignored how nationalism constructs the specific political process of national ideology.

In general, the instrumentalist approach overemphasizes the subjective initiative of people, believing that actors can manipulate ethnic identity, construct or cross-ethnic boundaries at will, ignoring the dominant power of national policies.

Because in the context of a centralized government system like China, the individual's initiative is actually greatly restricted. The 55 ethnic minorities, including the Hui, were identified by the government, labeled, and confirmed as a form of classification. Boundary theory over-essentializes the clan boundary, almost treating the clan boundary as an immutable boundary, ignoring the power of state power domination and manipulation, and failing to consider the rise and fall of ethnic consciousness caused by changes in political and economic interest confrontation, and changes in ethnic circles.

Combining instrumentalist theory and boundary theory, we find that ethnic groups have different boundaries in different scenarios. Although ethnic groups usually cannot control and change national policies to define ethnic groups in political terms, ethnic identity, the existence of ethnic boundaries and the expression of maintenance are different from the content of the policy. Taking the Hui ethnic group as an example, the identity of the Hui nationality in the northwestern settlements could be said to be religious. Islam is regarded by the Hui nationality as the fundamental symbol of its identity; the Hui nationality villages scattered in the northern Han area have their ethnic identity achieved through the implementation

of the ethnic internal marriage system (Robert, 1992). For the Hui people who live in urban cities, maintaining the lifestyle and cultural traditions of the Hui is very important; the Hui families on the southeast coast regard the Hui lineage, which completely excludes religious connotations, as the focus of their Hui identity(Zanqi, 2003).

In the past, many scholars' understandings of ethnic groups were basically based on the imagination of an ethnic group, especially the concept of typical ethnic groups. For example, when it comes to the Hui people, scholars talk a lot about the Hui people in the northwest, such as Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai Province, etc. It seems that the Hui people in the northwest are more pure Hui and more like the real Hui people(imagined Hui), while those scattered in other parts of the country's Hui people have no typical characteristics and are regarded as marginal examples and ignored intentionally or unintentionally.

While what about the Hui identity in the scattered and mixed areas in the hinterland of Eastern China? This is what this thesis is trying to be more focused on. Through fieldwork of the Hui community in Cangzhou, Hebei Province, I found that in addition to trying to build a blood relationship, placing it in a broader historical background and ancestral source statement, they also have a more polarized and multi-faceted ethnic identity and culture.

1.2 Literature review of the identity construction of the Hui Muslim

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the national government did not recognize the existence of the Hui nationality, in other words, the recognition of Hui starts from the foundation of the People's Republic of China (1949). Since then, the Hui as an ethnic group has been recognized by the government (Forbes & Forbes, 1986).

The research on the Hui nationality has made great progress, especially since the Reform and Opening-up (1992)⁶ almost 30 years ago. Papers and a batch of high-quality academic monographs were also published, and the research field was continuously expanded during these years of study, but the main focus of the researches was still on the origin of the Hui ethnic group, the role of Islam in the formation of the Hui ethnic group, the Hui uprising, the evaluation of historical figures of the Hui ethnic group, and the local Hui ethnic group. There are few hot topics in the fields of Hui education, Hui economy, Hui culture, and cross-border issues.

There is also very little research on the Chinese Hui in western world academia. In the historical line, the Chinese academia in the study of the Hui has benefited a lot from foreign scholars such as Lippman and Lei Du who study the Hui in China, in

⁶ The Chinese economic reform was the program of economic reforms termed "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" and "socialist market economy" in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Led by Deng Xiaoping, often credited as the "General Architect", the reforms were launched by reformists within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on December 18, 1978. The reforms went into stagnation after the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, but were revived after Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour in 1992.

the fields of Islam development and especially Uyghur studies, but the discussions and researches on the identity of the Hui are still very few.

Moreover, the characteristics of ethnic identity might be influenced by scholars, as they are more inclined to learn from differences in religious beliefs, and they tend to focus on the northwestern region that Chinese scholars consider to be more typical.

As early as 1991, Lei, who had undergone post-doctoral research at Princeton and Harvard, published *Muslims in China: Research on National Nationalism in the People's Republic*. The main focus of this study by Lei is to discuss the diversity of ethnic identity in the Chinese background. Through his observation, he tried to explain what exactly the Hui means in the Chinese context. Because Lei believes that the Hui people are made up of diverse communities that live in different ecological scenarios and experience ethnicity in very different ways. There is no single voice of the Hui that can represent itself, and there is no single community that can represent the entire Hui. Given the ecological differences in the ethnic identity of the Hui in China, he finally chose four completely different Hui communities to convey his fieldwork research: a Sufi village in the northwest centered on a mosque, a suburban village in the north, and an urban worker Hui community in Beijing and a clan community on the southeast coast, trying to examine the differences in ethnic identity throughout the modern Hui ethnic group.

In the study of these four communities, the discussion focused on how the Hui people expressed their identities in different social scenarios due to the huge differences in historical, ecological, socio-economic, and political factors. Lei used different expressions of Hui identity in local social scenes to discuss the issue of

Hui identity in each case, trying to show how Hui identity shapes the difference in Hui life in each community, and how Hui identity affects their lives, lifestyle, work, marriage, and social relations. Finally, it analyzes the emergence of the new Hui identities and national policies through local identity and national interaction in each social scene.

Obviously, Lei was deeply influenced by Anderson. He challenged the imagination of most scholars of Chinese Hui, and at the same time, he explored how the identity of the Hui ethnic group was shaped by these social imaginations at the local social level, as well as the discourse of nationalism and ethnicity in China.

Just like Anderson's discussion of nationalization, Lei believes that the nationalization of the Hui nationality is achieved with the help of the Hui label and compulsory education in official Hui schools. The Hui people, of course, hope to use a larger ethnic group to fight for more political rights (Zhenzhong,2006). They have begun to call for the realization of close unity within their ethnic group.

Lei obviously ignored the inherent rationality of the Hui as a national entity and overemphasized the role of the state. He regarded the Chinese government as an external oppressive force imposed on society and the nation, which was quite one-sided. It is inappropriate for him to apply Anderson's nationalization theory to the study of the Hui ethnic group entirely here. It should be noted that the nationalization discussed by Anderson is the nationalization process of an independent nation-state, which is completely different from the process in which the Hui people are identified.

As is was talked before, the social pattern of China is differential order, and the relationship should be considered in the study of Chinese identity (Ping, 2008);

unlike Western countries, Chinese groups actually have no clear boundaries, so it couldn't be denied that Lei's research has important significance, but it also has certain limitations.

In China, Shouyi Bai talked about the relationship between Islam and the Hui as early as 1960 and emphasized that the two should not be mixed up, they are not the same thing. He researched from the perspective of the history of the Hui and Islam, and it turned out to be that Islam did not have direct contact with the identity of the Hui. In recent years, a new generation of scholars who have received systematic education in sociology have tried to study and explore the identity of the Hui, such as Haiyun, Min, etc., Perhaps the opinions and comments of these newcomers are still immature and imperfect, but what is important is that these attempts are a good start and will inspire more Chinese scholars to conduct fieldwork in sociology and research on Hui identity.

Nowadays, there are five main streams of the Hui identity research: the study of national identity and the definition of Hui, identity and cultural changes, Hui identity and religious belief, Hui identity and ethnic relationship, and Hui identity and changes in lifestyle and marriage customs.

Many scholars have pointed out that the formation process of the Hui in history is the process of the convergence of Islamic beliefs. If the four characteristics of the ethnic group proposed by Stalin are measured by the common region, common economic life, common psychological characteristics, and common language, the Hui cannot be called an independent ethnic group.

It is believed that the consciousness of identity is the driving force for the formation and development of the Hui. The identity of the Hui is inseparable from

the formation and development of the Hui, and it appears to be stronger than other ethnic groups' cohesion.

In "National Identity Consciousness and the Formation and Development of the Hui Nationality", Hong discussed the formation and development of Hui's identity consciousness, Hui's identity consciousness and Islam, and the identity consciousness and the development of the Hui. He pointed out that identity consciousness has an impact on the Hui. Identity played an important role in the formation and development of the Hui. The Hui people show stronger cohesion than other ethnic groups, while the scattered living Hui people need stronger psychological cohesion. This is the importance of identity consciousness to the Hui people. (Hong, 1995).

With the acceleration of China's urbanization process, the phenomenon of urban multi-ethnic culture has become increasingly prominent. As the most widely distributed ethnic group in China, the Hui nationality's living mode in the city is living around the mosques. Therefore, some scholars pay attention to urban cultural changes and Hui identity. The research on the urban Hui people also mainly focuses on the inhabited Hui communities and the changes in the traditional culture of the Hui people in the northwest region, but there is not much research on the scattered Hui people. At the same time, scholars have noticed the dislocation of identity between the inhabited Hui and the scattered Hui, and the difference in regional culture has caused the difference in the identity of the inhabited Hui and the scattered Hui.

Wenjiong and Ying discussed the historical and cultural status of the Hui in Lianyungang City, Jiangsu Province, and analyzed the social composition and

cultural adaptation of the Hui from the west, as well as the social interactions with the Hui in the east. They also discussed the dislocation of the identity of Hui from the west and east. It is believed that the difference of regional culture has caused the distance of identity and cultural estrangement within the Hui, and the dislocation of identity makes it difficult to approach within the Hui community itself(Wenjiong& Ying, 2009).

Dianli believes that because of the common sense of Islamic cultural identity, the Hui people in various places have strong emotions in identity, which promotes the development and prosperity of the Hui culture, and the development and prosperity of the Hui culture, in turn, promotes the Hui identity(Dianli, 2007). Yanming pointed out that in the process of modernization, under the impact of economic development and urban culture, the traditional culture of the Hui people in the northwestern region has undergone significant changes in ideology, economic activities, religious activities, and customs. This change in traditional culture is actually the awakening of a higher level of national self-awareness(Yanming, 2010).

The identity of the Hui people has always been linked to religious beliefs for a long period. Some scholars hold the idea that Islamic culture is the core of the Hui culture and believes that religion is an important part of the Hui people's daily life. Hui residents have realized their beliefs and culture through common religious life. At the same time, the common religious belief has deepened Hui's identification with their own culture. At the same time, scholars have also paid attention to the trend that the identity of the scattered Hui people has changed from a purely religious belief to a diversified identity based on biology and religion.

Shourong believes that for a long time, the common religious life of the Hui community on Shuncheng Street in Kunming City has contributed to their identification with their own culture and maintained the existence of the Hui community. However, under the impact of modern culture, the religious beliefs and religious activities of China have also undergone constant changes. The middle-aged and elderly people are more pious towards Islam and have a stronger sense of cultural identity with their own nation, while the young people go against it. (Shourong, 2003). Xiaochun's fieldwork in Taierzhuang District, Shandong Province showed that among the local Hui people who believe in Islam, there are fewer people who really understand the teachings and practice religious merits. This shows that the scattered Hui people have gradually changed their identification methods, and are changing to the diversified identification criteria such as biological relationship and religion. (Xiaochun, 2008). Shan mentioned that the identity of the scattered Hui is changing from a single religion as the criterion to a diversified direction such as blood, religion, and local culture, and the religious identity is weakened. In this transitional process, the local people have encountered contradictions and ambiguities in their understanding and behavior on the issue of Hui identity. This is an inevitable phenomenon in the process of the Hui nationality's transformation from a religion-based identity to an ethnic classification identity.

Hui identity and ethnic relationships are also important topics in the field of Hui studies. In the current wave of globalization and modernization, the exchanges and interactions of various communities have become more frequent. In this context, the study of identity and ethnic relations in multi-ethnic communities is also the need for the development of ethnology.

Jiuxia believes that in the process of modernization, the politics, economy, society, and culture of all ethnic groups are undergoing rapid changes. In this context, the Hui identity and ethnic relations of the Hui community in Fenghuang Town, Sanya City, Hainan Province have also shown some new situations. For example, the ethnic consciousness has become stronger and has some characteristics of the market economy, and the development of the market economy has promoted the development of ethnic groups. The mutual understanding and cooperation between the two groups and the economic guidance of the government have also promoted the harmonious development of ethnic relations(Jiuxia, 2004). The general acceptance of intermarriage among Hui people in Fenghuang Town is an outstanding manifestation of the harmonious development of ethnic relations.

Along with the process of modernization and urbanization, minor changes have taken place in the ideological concepts and economic conditions of ethnic groups. Jianjun was making a general description and preliminary research on the past and present marriage customs of the Hui people in Xi'an from the perspective of folk culture. He believes that the change of marriage from tradition to modernity depends on social changes and the development of the times. It reflects people's thoughts, economic conditions, and other aspects(Jianjun, 2001).

In recent years, Chinese scholars have made remarkable achievements in the study of Hui identity. They focused on combining literature, field works, case studies, and enriching the researches of Hui and ethnic identity. However, these studies generally focus on the Hui inhabited areas in the west, and there are relatively few studies on the scattered Hui people.

In the existing research on the ethnic identity of the scattered Hui ethnic group, although some scholars are aware of the difference in ethnic identity between the scattered Hui and the inhabited Hui, and believe that the difference in regional culture makes the inhabited and scattered Hui even leads to dislocation phenomenon. At the same time, we have also seen the diversification of the identities of the Hui people living in mixed communities. However, there is no in-depth analysis of what caused the ethnic identity diversity of the scattered Hui people. The scattered and mixed Hui people are an important part of the Hui. In their daily life, how do they express their identity with their own culture? How do the scattered Hui people identify who is the Hui? What caused the change in the ethnic identity of the scattered Hui people? It still needs further discussions here,

1.3 Research purpose of the thesis

It is well-known that China, as an atheist state, doesn't have a shared religion in the whole country. So, for the past few years, there is no doubt that researches about Chinese religions are in a fog. It is not hard to get the information that Buddhism, Muslim, Christian, etc.. are alive in China, but how those religions come to China and how about their development in contemporary are still waiting for a further investigation. So, one of the main topics of this paper is explaining the Muslim development process in history.

As the Muslim belief and norms are quite different from the traditional Chinese culture, it is commonly believed that Muslims do not exist in China, but actually, Muslims have lived in China for a few centuries. Before the ethnic identification in 1953, there was no Hui ethnic group, but this does not mean that the ethnicity of

the Hui ethnic group did not exist before. History clearly shows that there are people called Muslim or Hui in China. Hui did exist all the time, however, before the identification of the nationality, the identity of the Hui ethnic group was local, and it was not fully and clearly stated. The institutionalization and objectification by the government and the more thorough recognition by themselves today have caused a certain shift in their identity dynamics.

And in the process of adapting themselves to this new land, a minority group named Hui was evolved, some of them are the descendants of Muslim immigrants from other Muslim countries, and some are indigenous people who believe in Muslims (Rong, et.al., 2016). Therefore, the Hui people in contemporary China have great diversity, showing different characteristics according to different districts.

From the government report, there is about 10.5 million Hui people living in China⁷, account for approximately 0.7% of the whole population. Compared with the predominantly Chinese (Han) population, Hui Muslims make up a comparatively small amount in this country, so there is no doubt that there are few academic studies about them.

As a Chinese Hui, I was born in a traditional Muslim family but raised in a non-Muslim community, so from my own memory, I spent all of my childhood with my neighbors who are not Muslim, and I didn't feel any difference there. Only my grandma still keeps the norm of praying and visiting the mosque frequently, so sometimes I have the chance to go with her to visit the mosque in some big festivals such as Ramadan. After I entered primary school, under the strong request

⁷ According to the 2010 China Census results.

of my grandma, we moved our home into a Muslim community. And things started to change, because of my experience of growing up in a non-Muslim community, the children in the new community didn't accept me to join as I am the 'fake Muslim', also because of our movement into the Muslim community, my schoolmate started to estrange me as I was living in the Muslim community. Because of this personal experience, there has been a question in my mind for several years: why my grandma insists on moving back to the Muslim community, what's the reasons behind this movement, and also in the contemporary society, would Hui Muslim still share the same idea that they want to live beside each other.

Based on my long-term questions towards myself, I started my observation and research in university and gradually found that the answers differ from person to person, but it has a geographical and generational similarity.

So, this paper is aimed to give an objective description of the Hui Muslims in China in the past few decades and present. An analysis would be made based on the geographical distribution and generational differentiation about Hui Muslim social and cultural identity construction, which could help to understand how the geographical and generational effects the cultural expression and identity construction of the Hui.

According to Barth's definition of the ethnic group to help define the ethnic group in dispute. If we look at his fourth criteria for classifying ethnic groups—ethnic groups are classified from the outside and inside, we find that the Hui people are very stable and sustainable. In China, the political label is very strong and enduring. I think it is likely to affect the sustainability of ethnic groups in a positive

way. Judging from the political organization of the Hui, the Hui label on their ID card has distinguished them from the Han and other ethnic minorities (Zang, 2007).

As a young female, because my ID is written as Hui, even if I share few ethnic similarities, I can easily be integrated into this group. I was born in Cangzhou City, Hebei Province, and grew up among the Han nationality. When I was growing up, in addition to my surname being a typical Hui surname—Zhang, and my parents and I would never consume pork, I don't know a lot about the Hui nationality. If I had entered the same community in Cangzhou 60 years ago, then I would most likely be regarded as an alien. Of course, this is a speculation based on experience, but here we can see the obvious power of political labels.

Barth's second standard is about shared values and codes of conduct among ethnic groups. In an objective sense, the Han people interviewed stated that the Hui people are different from themselves for many reasons, including their religious beliefs, lifestyle, and language. Language is one aspect of Naroll's claim that it is helpful to classify ethnic groups. However, it is well known that the Hui people speak the local Han dialect, and they often say that they exchange greetings in Islamic language (Selam) when they meet (Stewart, 2016).

The older generation of Hui people and imams actually complained to me in the interviews that: although all Hui people should at least use their religious language to say hi to each other, many young Hui people even ignore this. They couldn't say his greetings in Hui's special dialects (mixed Persian and Arabic), and they are getting closer and closer to the life of the Han people.

However, when these young people return to their own communities, they generally get back into the boundaries to make their behavior consistent with their

Hui family and the entire community, hoping to be recognized and accepted by the family and community. There is never a single case that some young people settle outside the Muslim community and form their own small families, they will often return to their original communities and act according to expected standards. As far as they see, it is a very important and logical thing for them to do so because their mosque-centered community can provide them with a strong social support network, not just their relatives, but also neighbors, or even strangers living in the same community. It seems that people are gradually accepting this way of acting as a Hui in some areas, “ One Hui is couldn't be Hui, only when there are more than two Hui, Hui are Hui (一个回回不是回回，两个回回才是回回) ”

For the Hui people in the Cangzhou Hui community, sometimes their economic life is similar to that of the Han people, although the Hui people are always regarded as business savvy (sometimes it is said in a negative sense). But the fact is true: most of the Hui people are doing small businesses; there was an old saying in the past years which refers to the Hui people: One burden has two knives, one knife slaughters cows, and one knife cuts cake. Of course, except during the special period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)⁸, the Hui people never raised pigs or consume pork. Many people are unwilling to talk about this sensitive topic and seem to have some concerns, worrying that I might report their ideas to the government. Nevertheless, an old man described to me how the Hui people were forced to raise pigs during the Cultural Revolution. But because they have no affection for pigs and don't take good care of them, they often raise pigs to death.

⁸ The Cultural Revolution, formally the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was a violent sociopolitical purge movement in China from 1966 until 1976.

He also described how some Hui activists who joined the party were pressured to eat pork and became progressive Hui members within the party.

Also, at first glance, it seems that some educational choices for Hui children contradict Barth's second criterion because many Hui families will not choose to send their children to Hui schools for a simple reason, that is, not only Han people, but also most Hui parents think that the Hui specialist school's quality of educations are very poor⁹. Therefore, many Hui families would rather send their children to Han schools to receive education, so that their education will be more recognized than in Hui schools, and they are more likely to be recognized by Han and even Hui bosses when they are employed. More competitive in society while the process of searching for a job. However, this does not conflict with being a Hui, because these Hui families let their children go to Han schools just to hope that they will have a more successful future. This is just a way of practicing their human nature, the ethnicity of the people, but they still maintain the Hui values and codes of conduct in their own communities.

All the Hui people in rural China, including the community where I did field research, are basically biologically self-sustaining. That is to say, for the Hui people, of course, they would prefer the Hui people as their spouses, but in real life, due to the constraints of objective conditions, it is difficult for the Hui people in scattered areas to find a marriage partner from the same ethnic group. The long-term coexistence of the Hui and Han people has made the Han people gradually

⁹ The Hui specialist schools are completely consistent with the Han schools in the school curriculum and textbooks, and there is no special curriculum related to the Hui culture. Since the enrollment target is mainly for the Hui, holidays are set up during traditional Islamic festivals, such as the Gurban festival. However, in the long-term historical development process, because Hui specialist schools mainly rely on local government subsidies, teachers' levels and educational resources have received certain restrictions. Most Hui specialist schools have the characteristics of being weaker than Han schools in terms of education quality.

understand and respect the Hui people, which has also made it possible for the Hui and Han to marry and be accepted by the society. If the Hui side chooses a Han spouse, it tends to bring the Han into the big family of the Hui group. Generally, the Han is required to follow the Hui, which of course includes the living habits of the Hui. Inevitably, the Han people will sometimes sneak to own their parents' house to eat pork, but they will follow rules when they return to the Hui community. Unfortunately, some young Hui people have gradually moved away from their communities for their work and career. Sometimes they are forced to do so. After all, they are pressured by their peers because the Han people are in the majority in the city, but they still maintain frequent contact with their original communities.

From the perspective of the boundary separating the Hui from their neighbors, perhaps the most important aspect of Hui's identity is structured community life. This reflects the original and internal boundary of the Hui. Different from the Han, this boundary is not only a geographical boundary, but also social and cultural. Although some young Hui people's disorderly behavior is contemptuous by imams, the Hui people are still somewhat abstractly or more specifically different from the Han nationality.

The Hui people have their own mosques and are expected and required to worship there and make some donations (Nietie¹⁰). Interestingly, there would be someone from the Mosque Management Committee, keeping down the amount of donation that people make, and they would make a public announcement according to the record (Peilun,1991). Perhaps it is this special way that makes people feel ashamed of too few donations, and it help the mosques to issue the salary for the imams as

¹⁰ Nietie comes from the concept of Niyah, it is an Islamic concept: the intention in one's heart to do an act for the sake of Allah.

well. Obviously, the number of donations in recent years has increased year by year with the growth of the economic conditions of the community, also because of the wide usage of social media and social network, the announcement of donations are reaching more people, forcing the young generation to do the donations as well.

Moreover, the Hui should not eat in non-halal restaurants, which separates the Hui from the Han on a material level. This characteristics of the structured community life of the Hui as an ethnic group are not only obvious to the government but also easy to distinguish between the people living inside and outside the Hui community. Nevertheless, I have also heard about the young Hui people not strictly following the halal lifestyle. In the eyes of the elder people, the Hui and Han are different because they are Muslims, they do not eat pork, they only eat halal food, and they have different lifestyles. If anyone violates these rules, they will be punished.

According to Barth's ethnic boundary theory, he believes that the greater the difference between the two ethnic group standards, the more restrictions and constraints would be on the interaction between ethnic groups. That is to say, if an individual violates the rules of the ethnic group, he is easily noticed and punished. However, since the Hui was identified as one of the 55 ethnic minorities, this national classification has been recognized by the people of all ethnic groups, including the Hui. Therefore, once the ethnic classification system is established in the framework of national policies, its ethnic identity and status will be stabilized, and the original cultural characteristics and content of its ethnic group will no longer be static. Some of them are not worried about the substantive impact on their ethnic identity caused by the derailment of their behavior, their ethnic identity has been confirmed and protected by the state.

In the past, a person could be Hui because he was a Muslim. He went to worship in a mosque. He did not eat pork and maintained a halal lifestyle. Anyone who is willing to be Muslim can go to the mosque and be accepted by the Hui community. This is why people are used to calling Islam. Until now, there are still non-Hui people who are willing to join Islam. They can become Muslims, but they can no longer become Hui. On the other hand, he is already of the Hui nationality. Even if he no longer believes in Islam, does not worship in a mosque, or even lives in a halal way, he is still a Hui.

In many respects, Chinese Muslims no longer accept the term Islam for the simple reason that the Islam they believe in is the world religion, and calling Islam is disrespectful.

So how is the Hui nationality defined? The National People's Commission, the Ministry of Public Security, and the State Council's Fourth Census Leading Group jointly issued the Regulations on the Determination of the Ethnicity of Chinese Citizens on May 10, 1990, which clarified that children of citizens of different nationalities will be married or adopted. For children of other nationalities (confirmed by the notary department for adoption), their nationality shall be determined by their parents or adoptive parents before they reach 18 years old. Those who reach 18 years old are decided by themselves. Those who reach 20 years old could not change their nationality. In some respects, such as myself, I can choose to be a Hui nationality or not before I turn twenty. When I was born, I was chosen as the Hui nationality by default, and I did not ask for changes when I was 18 years old, so I am a Hui nationality. It doesn't matter whether I follow the halal lifestyle or go to a mosque in my life. Therefore, ethnic identity is a dynamic

process. In China, this has been affected by the state's institutionalization and politicization of nations. I will try to show the changes in this research.

Obviously, this change of Hui identity has already occurred in my field point in Cangzhou, Hebei. Moreover, we can see that the expressions of Hui identity in the eastern region show multi-dimensionality, diversity, and multifacetedness, and not only adhere to religion as a symbol of ethnic identity, but religion can also even cease to be the core part of Hui identity. The continuous interaction with the surrounding main ethnic group, the Han nationality, also enables them to have their own understanding of the historical self-other relationship. With the enhancement of the significance of the political concept of the Hui as a nation-state system, the expression, and display of the Hui identity has also developed from multiple sides and angles.

Coupled with the characteristics of the Hui people living in small groups in the Central Plains, where they live in large numbers, their ethnic identity tends to be more diverse and multifaceted. Moreover, today's Hui people, especially the younger generation of Hui people, present a scene-based ethnic identity in some aspects. As a Hui nationality, they want to get preferential treatment and care in the government's policies for ethnic minorities, and at the same time get the care and support of their communities. Despite this, they are willing to live a more open life without some traditional restrictions.

Through reading the literature and my own observation of the Hui community, here comes my questions about Hui's social and cultural identity construction. Firstly, how do the Hui express identity in their daily life, is there any intergenerational changes in the process of social development? Secondly, what factors affect the

identity construction of the Hui, and how it affect the identity construction of Hui?

Thirdly, is there any changes in the Hui's identity construction from the past to the modern society, if so, what are the changes?



2.RESEARCH METHODS

In the process of this research, I mainly used research methods of fieldwork research, sampling, focus group research, structured interview and semi-structured interview.

At the beginning of the research, I used the literature research method. Literature research is a way to explore and analyze various social behaviors, social relationships and other social phenomena by collecting and analyzing existing literature in the form of words, numbers, symbols, pictures, and other information.

In social research, researchers make full use of various forms of literature to explore and analyze the structure, relationship, group, and other social forms of various societies.

In fact, my initial thoughts on this research came from my personal experience. As a Hui who grew up in a Han community, I experienced many self-identity struggles in my childhood and adolescence. This is also my original idea about doing a research about the social and cultural identity construction of the entire Hui community. From the sociological point of view, personal experience is the basic perspective and starting point for people to observe various social phenomena.

Therefore, social surveys aimed at observing and understanding social phenomena

are also inseparable from the help of personal experience and experience. Our own experiences, and feelings in social life are often the first source of many social survey topics.

Many scholars have given objective descriptions of the origin, history, and lifestyle of the Hui in China. This has given me considerable help in reviewing the history of the development of the Hui in China, allowing me to understand this formation and development of Hui from an objective perspective. The At the same time, the comparative reading of Chinese and English documents gave me a different perspective on the Hui people.

However, these existing documents basically focus on the Hui people living in Northwest China, and even a certain stereotype has been formed: that is, only in the northwest of China do the Hui people live; on the other hand, based on the distribution of the entire Hui population. , the vast majority of the Hui population are actually scattered in various regions of China, and they have formed unique living habits and ways of expressing themselves.

Therefore, while literature research helps me clarify the research direction and historical context, it also has certain drawbacks. At the same time, due to the influence of the Chinese government's policies on the Hui in recent years, most of the published Chinese literature has avoided the self-recognition direction of the Hui and more discussed the Hui's education, economy, and culture. At the same time, due to the result of the wars and the Culture Revolution that took place in the early 20th century, there were a large amount of historical literature was lost in the process of migration.

Synthesizing the development of the Hui in China and the status of the Hui in China, as well as my own observations on the Hui community obtained in the literature research, I finally focused my research on the construction of the social and cultural identity of the Hui in China, trying to explore The identity construction process and influencing factors of the Hui nationality.

After confirming my research question, I used field research to observe the community where I grew up and conducted my interview here. Field research is a kind of social research method that goes deep into the life background of the research object and collects data by participating in observation and unstructured or semi-structured interviews and field research understands and explains social phenomena through qualitative analysis of these data. This kind of research method is derived from anthropology and used by anthropologists to study non-national culture and relatively primitive research. It has been used by sociologists to study national culture and modern society gradually. As W. Lawrence (2017) have noted, “ Field research requires directly talking with and observing the people being studied. Through personal interactions over months or years, you learn about these people and their life histories, hobbies, habits, hopes, fears, and dreams. Meeting new people and discovering new social worlds can be fun. Field research is also difficult, intense, time consuming, emotionally draining, and sometimes physically dangerous.”

During the fieldwork research, I also found some family based historical records about Hui and Islam in China, they are more into a family perspective, such as the ancestors of the family, their migration reasons and family status. Hui Muslims prefer to keep it as a personal or family memory other than share it in a public area,

“This is just my family history, I don’t want to share it to the public, who knows whether the government would pay attention to it. As you know, ethnic identity is so sensitive, if you are doing good, you could live well, but if you emphasize on your Hui identity too much, you would be invited to the have a tea with the governors¹¹. I want to live a peaceful life”.

During my process of the field research, a semi-structured interview method was used to collect more information from the interviewees, the questions were about the Hui Muslim’s personal experience, their daily activities and their ideas about being a Hui.

There is a long tradition in social science research in which negotiations are regarded as "purposeful dialogue" (Robert G. Burgess, 2004). According to W. Lawrence (2004)“ Field researchers use unstructured, non-directive, in-depth interviews, which differ from formal survey research interviews in many ways. The field interview involves asking questions, listening, expressing interest, and recording what was said. It is a joint production of a researcher and a member. Members are active participants whose insights, feelings, and co operation are essential parts of a discussion process that reveals subjective meanings”.

The field work research is divided into three phases due to the pandemic suddenly broke out in China in the beginning of 2020: The first phase was the pre-survey, it was from July 26 to December 5, 2019. Some adjustments and modifications of the interview outline was made, based on the observation of the research objects, mosque activities and research conditions. The second phase was carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic (January-June 2020), which made it possible for all the people quarantined at home. So, thanks to the neighbors, it was possible for me to

¹¹ Invite for a tea by the governor is a oral phrase in the daily expression, it means that the government would do some research about you.

do some online interview and face to face interviews in certain areas as well. At the same time, since the pandemic in China was basically under control in June, mosque activities began to normalize during Ramadan. So, I could be able to have a look at the Hui's activity in Ramadan as well. The third phase was the supplementary investigation of the interviewees during the writing of the paper (October 2020-January 2021). In this period, I have already returned to Istanbul. In addition to conducting supplementary investigations on the mosques and temples, I also investigated some of the government-conducted online interviews.

In order to have a more accurate understanding of the historical changes in the study area and the psychological changes of the residents, a comprehensive interview was conducted with relevant interviewee through the design of an interview outline. In the end, 26 interviews were completed, all of which lasted more than 30 minutes. In particular, I conducted more interviews with the elderly living in the Hui living area and the mosque imam. Using content analysis, I could quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such certain words, themes, or concepts.

In particular, the survey time was selected during Ramadan, a major Hui nationality festival. I observed and experienced the process and methods of Cangzhou South Mosque's activities during the Ramadan. Also, focus group study was conducted in this period of my research as well. Focus groups are a special qualitative research technique that allows people to conduct informal "interviews" in group discussions. The procedure is for researchers to gather 6-12 people in the room, and the moderator discusses some issues. Most focus groups last about 90 minutes (W. Lawrence, 2004). In this field research, I collected a large amount of first-hand

information, and these first-hand information have become the data source for writing this paper. W. Lawrence (2004) also mentioned that “The right way to write a review is to organize common findings or arguments together. A well accepted approach is to address the most important ideas first, to logically link statements or findings, and to note discrepancies or weaknesses in the research.”

After sorting out the interview data, I found that there is actually a certain degree of intergenerational change in the identity of the Hui nationality, and this has not been specifically reflected in the quantitative research.

As a Hui, I seem to be very easy to enter my field research. These Hui groups easily accepted me to participate in their gatherings or visits to the mosque. Because my grandfather used to work in the mosque for a short time, it was quite convenient for me to ask for some interviews with the local people; but as my research progressed, I gradually discovered that my interviewees were not very willing to share their opinions with me, they are only willing to roughly describe their daily life as a Hui ethnic group, and as to how they recognize their Hui ethnicity, many respondents chose to remain silent.

In subsequent interviews, I gradually learned that it was my educational background that made them choose to be silent. As I am graduate student in Turkey, they were very afraid that I am working for some religious terrorist organization. Due to the 5th May Coup in Xinjiang, China and the 2014 terrorist attack on the Kunming Railway Station, many interviewees were worried about being involved in a terrorist organization, it will bring great trouble to their lives and work, as well as great trouble to their families. Therefore, in the follow-up interviews, I briefly

introduced my life experience in Turkey, indicating that my research has nothing to do with religious organizations, and this trust crisis was gradually relieved.

But at the beginning of 2020, the sudden outbreak of COVID 19 epidemic in China forced me to suspend face-to-face interviews and move all interviews online. This change in interview methods has brought many interesting changes to my research. Due to the implementation of the quarantine policy, many interviewees have a lot of free time, which makes their desire for communication stronger; at the same time, due to the COVID 19 epidemic, the mosque has suspended all activities, and at the same time, commercial behaviors in the Hui business district has been completely banned. Some interviewees have begun to reflect on the importance in the mosque in their life and what the Hui community in their lives means, and they put forward some new ideas and ideas.

At the same time, due to the impact of the COVID 19 epidemic, the interviews need to be arranged on the Internet. This kind of non-face-to-face communication may easily bring about inaccuracy in information, and may eventually lead to some deviations in the research results. This is the limitation of this research; At the same time, due to the COVID 19 epidemic, the activities of the mosques and Hui business districts have not been fully opened and are still under control. This is one of the reasons why this study may have under-observed.

During the interview, some recordings and photographs were carried out. The photos can more intuitively and clearly show the internal environment of the mosque and the way of personnel participation, and the interviewers were sorted and coded.

In addition to the first-hand information obtained from the interview, this article also obtained some textual data on the development of the Hui people in Cangzhou with the help of the Cangzhou Hui Association. It records the source of some Hui people in Cangzhou and the changes in the population of the Hui people in Cangzhou, as well as the mosques in Cangzhou City.



Serial number	Age	Gender	Descriptions
1	86	Female	A retired teacher, worked as the director of a primary school.
2	78	Female	A retired teacher, worked as a normal teacher in the Hui Muslim middle school (Cangzhou 6 th Middle school).
3	22	Male	Studying in university as the senior grade.
4	45	Female	Owner of a Muslim shop nearby the mosque.
5	36	Female	Work mainly on raising sheep and make profits through it
6	14	Female	Middle school student in the normal Middle school
7	33	Male	Working in the government.
8	40	Female	Working in the government.
9	60	Male	Retired as a worker in the factory.

10	63	Female	Retired as a worker in the factory.
11	52	Male	Working as a guard in the community
12	48	Female	Working as an accountant in the factory.
13	73	Male	Worked as a farmer before.
14	66	Male	Retired as a seller of Hilal food in the factory.
15	25	Male	Restaurant owner.
16	26	Male	Cook in a small restaurant.

Serial number	Age	Gender	Descriptions
17	30	Male	The owner of the dining car.
18	33	Male	The owner of the dining car.
19	42	Female	Working in the government.
20	53	Male	Retired as a worker in the factory.
21	56	Male	Owner of a burger restaurant.
22	46	Male	The owner of the dining car.
23	75	Male	Worked as a sheep keeper before.
24	82	Female	Retired as a worker in the factory.
25	36	Female	Seller in a shopping mall.
26	18	Female	Seller in a shopping mall.

Form 1 The List of Interviewee

Source : own

3. ANCESTORS OF THE HUI NATIONALITY IN THE TANG AND SONG DYNASTIES

The races of the ancestors of the Hui people were mainly Arabs and Persians in the Tang Dynasty. By the Liao, Jin, Xia, and Song dynasties, Turkic Muslims were also joining as the ancestors of the Hui, as most of the Turkic speaking communities in Central Asia and Karahan dynasty were Islamized.

Also, some regions of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Eastern Africa were gradually achieved Islamization. Most of the Kunlun slaves and black slaves¹² appearing in Chinese history books refer to Muslims are most referring to that part of foreigners.

After settling in China, these Hu merchants and Fan merchants¹³ continued to multiply, and were known as native Fan merchants, fourth Fan merchants¹⁴, and fifth Fan merchants. Throughout the Tang and Song Dynasties, although many Fan merchants and their descendants have lived in China for several generations, and some even works an governor in the government at the time, but they are still Fan merchants and merely legally foreign citizens, not Chinese citizens. This is one of the biggest differences between the Hui ancestors and the Huihui in Yuan Dynasty.

¹² Kunlun slaves and black slaves refer to black slaves from Southeast Asia in Tang Dynasty China. The majority of Kunlun slaves were dark-colored people captured in Southeast Asia, and some of them were Africans bought from Arab merchants who captured them in Africa.

¹³ Among these foreigners who came to China, in addition to studying, traveling, religious activities, and official dispatch, a large number of them came to do business. They are called "Hu merchants" or "Fan merchants" by the Chinese.

¹⁴ Fourth Fan merchants refers to the fourth generation of the Fan merchants who settled down in China.

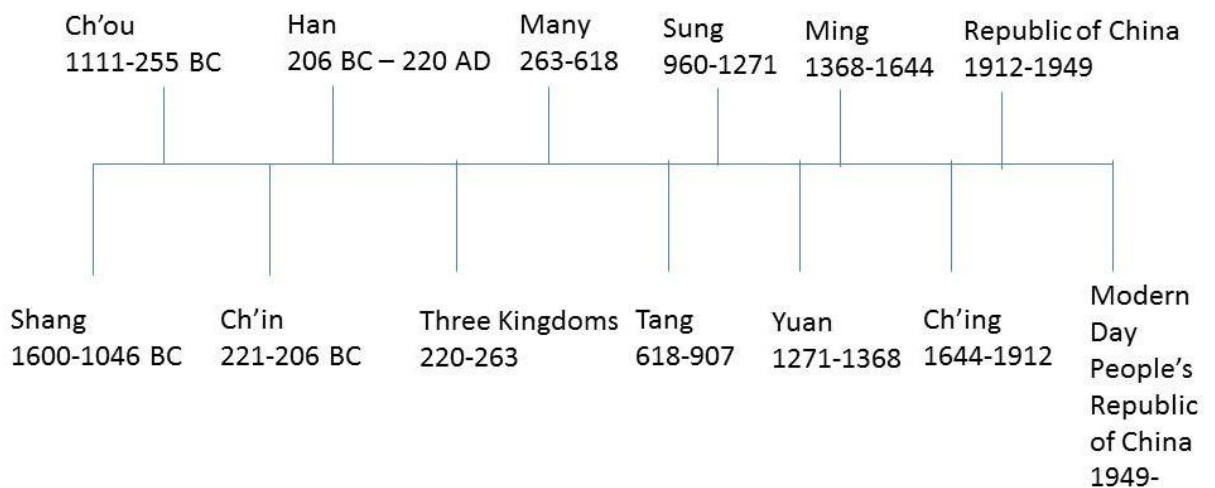


Figure 1 The Timeline of Chinese Dynasties

Source : Adapted from website

3.1. Tang Dynasty and the Ancestors of the Hui Nationality

The development of the Tang Empire and the Arab Empire made the communication and interaction between each other more intensive . Frequent political, economic, cultural, and religious exchanges have promoted the further transportation between China and the West as well. The population of Arabs, Persians, and other regions who believe in Islam from the West increased at that time . Tens of thousands of Hu merchants and tourists have appeared in Tang.

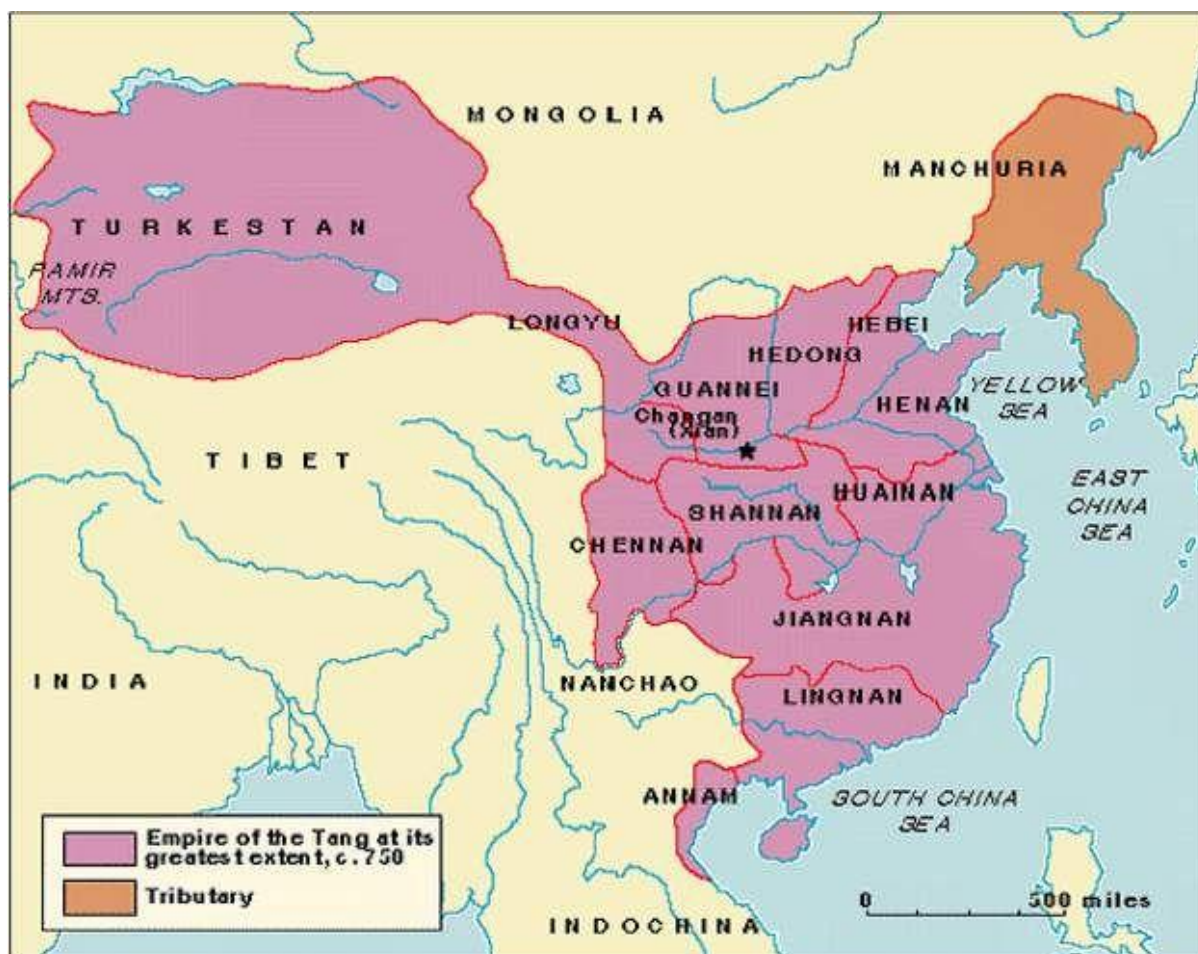


Figure 2 The Map of TANG Dynasty

Source : Adapted from website

But it is worth noting that Fan Merchant, Hu Merchants and Muslims cannot be equalized here, in addition Fan Merchant and Hu Merchant are not exactly equal to the Hui people as well (Shusen. ,1996.).

First, not all Fan merchant and Hu merchants in the Tang and Song dynasties were Arabs and Persians who believed in Islam. In fact, China referred to all the merchants, artisans, and missionaries from Western Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, and even Europe and Africa as Fan merchant. Although most of them believed in Islam, but there are still many of them believed in Manichaeism, Judaism and

Buddhism. Secondly, until the Fan Merchant and Hus Merchant formally recognized as the Huihui in Yuan Dynasty, they were treated as diaspora in Tang and Song Dynasties. Although many people have already set up their own businesses in China, even they worked in the governments, but still, quite a few of the Fan merchant and Hu merchants were highly mobile. They travel back and forth, and they were real businessmen. They return to their own countries after completing business in China.

Therefore, we could set a scope for the ancestors of the Hui, that is, Muslims and their descendants who believe Islam and settled in China during the Tang and Song dynasties.

Most of the Arabs and Persians who come to China were doing business, and many of them become wealthy merchants in the end, they are the first group of businessmen who created the international business in China. China also has specialized merchants to deal with them. Most of the goods shipped by Fan merchant and Hu merchants to China for sale and goods intended to be shipped overseas are mostly concentrated on several major commercial ports, with Guangzhou as the first place. The Tang and Song governments needed these Arabs and Persians who came to China to import a large amount of spices, jewelry. And at the same time, to increase fiscal revenue from foreign trade, so they adopted a protection and preferential policy for Fan merchant and Hu merchants.

The Tang Dynasty government also adopted a series of management measures on the Fan merchant and Hu merchants: first, the Fan merchant and Hu merchants had to pay taxes when they entered China; then the government (especially referring to the court) would be the first one to select goods, but this sometimes would become

a forced possession. In addition, Fan merchants also need to take out some precious products from their own goods to dedicate to the court and government and become Jingong¹⁵ (tribute). After completing these series of issues, the Fan merchants and Hu merchants can conduct business transactions with merchants on shore.

After the Fan merchants and Hu merchants entered China, due to the needs of business, they were mainly active in coastal port cities. Some Fan merchants and Hu merchants gradually expanded into the mainland with the expansion of their business. Many of them settled down in China because of this. A considerable part of the Fan merchants and Hu merchants lived in China in the Tang Dynasty lived with the Chinese and were in a state of diaspora. On the one hand, they were engaged in business activities, and on the other, they are trying to accumulate funds to prepare for long-term settlement. Later, the government of the Tang Dynasty adopted corresponding management measures for marriage and purchasing real estate in China: Fan merchants and Hu merchants were forbidden from marrying with Chinese, they were not allowed to live with Chinese, and they were not allowed to have their own real estate. Since then, a relatively concentrated residential area has gradually formed for Fan merchants and Hu merchants. The coastal areas of Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Yangzhou, Mingzhou, and the capitals of Chang'an, Kaifeng, and Hangzhou¹⁶ are the main settlement areas of Fan merchants and Hu merchants. In some cities, such as Guangzhou and Quanzhou, Fan merchants and Hu merchants residential areas and social organizations have been established. The Chief Minister was set as well, responsible for litigation, religious activities, and education of Muslims in the region.

¹⁵ Jingong means tribute in this condition. A tribute is wealth, often in kind, that a party gives to another as a sign of respect or, as was often the case in historical contexts, of submission or allegiance. Various ancient states exacted tribute from the rulers of land which the state conquered or otherwise threatened to conquer.

¹⁶ Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Yangzhou, Mingzhou, Chang'an, Kaifeng and Hangzhou are all names of the cities.

According to historical data, as early as Tang Taizong's Zhenguan years¹⁷, Muhammad's disciple, Waqqas had arrived in Guangzhou to engage in missionary activities already. Since then, Islam has been introduced into China, and mosques had been established in Muslim-populated areas in China, and religious activities have proceeded normally. Although the ancestors of the Hui nationality lived surrounded by the Han nationality, they still retained the living habits and religious beliefs of Muslims. This is an important reason for the ancestors of the Hui nationality to remain intact.

3.2 Ancestors of the Hui Nationality in the Song, Liao, Xia, and Jin Dynasties

In the Song, Liao, Xia, and Jin dynasties, many Turkic Muslims entered the Central Plains¹⁸ due to the spreading of Islamic culture of the Turkic peoples from Central Asia, and the source of the ancestors of the Hui people also changed according to that.

¹⁷ Zhenguan (627–649), era name used by Emperor Taizong of Tang

¹⁸ Central Plains, also known as Zhongyuan, is the area on the lower reaches of the Yellow River which formed the cradle of Chinese civilization. It forms part of the North China Plain.



Figure 3 The Map of SONG Dynasty

Source: Adapted from website

2.2.1 Relationship between Karahan Dynasty and Song, Liao, Xia and Jin Dynasties

Turks are an ancient people in northern and northwestern China. Its ancestors called Ding Ling, Tie Le, etc., are all transliterated from Turk. During the Sui Dynasty, Tie Le with nine surnames had been formed. The Tie Le divisions mainly lived in the Tular River Basin, Tianshan, and Jinshan areas; by the Tang Dynasty,

there were 13 surnames formed, and these people were surrendered to Turkhan nation. According to Ibn Akhir's History record, in the 960 AD there were 200,000 Turkic people in the Karahan dynasty¹⁹ who accepted Islam, so Musa officially declared Islam the state religion. This year coincided with the establishment of the Northern Song Dynasty. After the Islamization of the Karahan dynasty, the society continued to develop and its power gradually increased at the same time, which played a significant role in the spread of Islam among the Turkic languages (Shusen,1996).

(1) Communication between the Song Dynasty and the Karahan Dynasty

Although the Song Dynasty and Karahan Dynasty did not border each other, their relationship was extremely close indeed. The development of the relationship between the Song Dynasty and the Karahan Dynasty was inextricably linked to the threat of Western Xia²⁰. Trade between the Song Dynasty and the Karahan Dynasty also developed smoothly. Although the two dynasties were far apart and there was the interference of Western Xia during the journey, the ambassadors and businessmen of the Karahan Dynasty were not afraid of danger and entered the Song Dynasty trade continuously. The products they bring are mainly local handicraft products and products from West Asia and India. The Song Dynasty adopted protection and preferential policies for the Karahan Dynasty caravans, making them profitable. Even if the goods on the way were swept by Western Xia, they were often compensated by the Song Dynasty. Also, the imported clothes,

¹⁹ The Karahan dynasty was established by Vijaque Kadir, with its capital located to the east of Kyrgyzstan city Tokmak right now. The empire of the named Karahan, so the dynasty was called the Karahan Dynasty.

²⁰ The Western Xia or Xi Xia was an empire which existed from 1038 to 1227 in what are now the northwestern Chinese provinces of Ningxia, Gansu, eastern Qinghai, northern Shaanxi, northeastern Xinjiang, southwest Inner Mongolia, and southernmost Outer Mongolia, measuring about 800,000 square kilometers (310,000 square miles).

silverware, and silver coins from Song Dynasty.

(2) Communication between Liao and Karahan Dynasty

The relationship between the Liao Dynasty and the Karahan Dynasty has always been relatively friendly. As early as the reign of Emperor Taizong of Liao²¹ Dynasty, Karahan Dynasty sent envoys to Liao to show their friendship. After the Karahan dynasty sent its first mission to Liao, Taizong of the Liao Dynasty attached great importance to the relationship with the Karahan dynasty, and sent envoys to Karahan as well. According to the Liao History record, the Karahan Dynasty sent a total of 16 missions to the Liao Dynasty, which shows that the Liao Dynasty has always maintained friendly relations with the Karahan Dynasty.

It is certain that Muslim activity was active within the jurisdiction of the Liao Dynasty. It is possible for the envoys and merchants of the aforementioned Islamic countries and regions to stay in China after coming to China; the descendants of the ancestor of Hui people who lived in Central Plain during the Tang Dynasty were still living in northern China. These led to the construction of the Niujie Mosque²² in Beijing by the Liao Dynasty.

In 1124, the Liao Dynasty was about to perish. Yelu Dashi²³ led his troops to leave the Liao Dynasty and established Western Liao. Muslims in Western Liao were an important source of Huihui people in the Yuan Dynasty. The ruler Yelu Dashi of Western Liao believed in Buddhism, and he led his troops to the area occupied by

²¹ 933 AD

²² The Niujie Mosque is the oldest mosque in Beijing, China. It was first built in 996 during the Liao Dynasty and was reconstructed as well as enlarged under the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661–1722) of the Qing Dynasty.

²³ Yelu Dashi, also known by his temple name Emperor Dezong of Liao, was the founder of the Qara Khitai, also known as the Western Liao dynasty.

mainly Islamists. The rulers of Western Liao adopted a more enlightened religious policy, and all religions were protected. Islam was the state religion during the Karahan Dynasty, although Western Liao still respected Islam, it lost its exclusive status. Seeing this serious situation, some educated Islamists started to push for religious reforms, simplifying canons and rituals, absorbing certain religious practices of the local people, and expanding the population of Muslims.

The main contents of the reform had two aspects: Firstly, abstinence. That is to oppose luxury enjoyment and promote hardship and simplicity. Secondly, respectfully. That is, the education of basic Islam concept of obedience. The education of Islam in Turkic nomadic tribes was extremely successful. By the end of the twelfth century, most Turkic tribes in Central Asia had basically achieved Islamization. Many of the Huihui who entered the Central Plains during the Yuan Dynasty were original the Muslims from the Western Liao.

(3) Exchanges between Western Xia, Jin and Karahan Dynasty

Western Xia initially maintained a good relationship with the Karahan dynasty, but due to territorial disputes, the relationship between Western Xia and the Karahan dynasty gradually deteriorated. There is no direct information on the situation of Muslims in Western Xia, but it is certain that some Muslims still exist in the former Western Xia.

There was trade between the Jin Dynasty and the Karahan Dynasty, and Muslims of the Karahan Dynasty settled in the Jin Dynasty. The handicraft products of the Jin Dynasty were also continuously imported into Central Asian countries through Muslim merchants.

2.2.2 Relations between the Arab Empire, Persia and the Song, Liao, Xia, and Jin Dynasties

The Arab Empire and Persia have established good contacts with China since the Tang Dynasty, and this contact is still passed on in subsequent dynasties.

(1) Contacts of the Song Dynasty with the Arab Empire and Persia

The interaction between the Song Dynasty and the Arab Empire was quite close.

As early as fourth year of Song Taizu²⁴, Taizu sent envoys to visit Dashi to show the kindness and respect towards the Arab empire. However, during this period, the Arab empire had already fallen, and each nation were conducting themselves independently.

As the official representative, the envoys who was sent to China in the Song Dynasty was also hoping to establish a good political relationship with the Song dynasty, besides that, the main purpose of the visits were for business and trade. So, the envoys were not only nobles, governors, but also businessmen. They were all recorded as Fan merchants or Hu merchants in historical records. These businessmen who are envoys were naturally doing their business in China, which was one of the reasons why the lords of the Arab Empire sent more businessmen as envoys in the end. The Song Dynasty showed a positive attitude towards the envoys of the Arab Empire and Persian countries, and often gave them extremely high courtesies, rewards, and preferential treatment. It is precisely because of these rewards, preferential treatment and protection policies that the Song Dynasty's exchanges with the Arab and Persian countries had been further strengthened, attracting more and more Arab and Persian businessmen traveling to China, doing

²⁴ 966 AD

business and even settle (Harrison,2006).

Because China and the Arab countries' business trades were mostly relied on shipping for transportation. In May or June each year, the sailing boat sails north to enter China's coastal ports , until November and December, it sails out to the south to go back to their own hometown. In this way, in May and June each year, the Fan merchants would stay in China until the winter. If they miss the winter trade wind, they have to wait until the next winter. Therefore, it is commonplace for Fan merchants to temporarily live in China. In order to avoid the bumps in the journey and to facilitate transactions and business operations, some businessmen from the Arab and Persian regions directly settled down in China without returning back. They use ships to travel back and forth, carrying cargo, and they themselves specialized in their business in China.

Most of the Fan merchants in China lived in coastal ports, which is directly related to the fact that Arab, Persian and other businessmen travel to China by sea. With the expansion of the business activities and scope of Fan merchants in China, the places where they lived gradually appeared in important commercial port cities in the mainland of China, and then they continued to extend to the inland. During the Tang Dynasty, the government had no special regulations on the place of residence of the foreign merchants, and the Song Dynasty imposed restrictions on it. The foreign merchants were not allowed to enter the city wall and live together with the Chinese citizens. For a considerable period of time, the Fan merchants had to find and build residences outside the city wall, gradually formed the pattern of Fan Merchants and citizens separated .

In the Song Dynasty, the use of Fan Merchant were still referring to foreign

businessmen who came to China for trading. However, since the Arab and Persian businessmen who entered China during this period accounted for a large proportion of foreign businessmen. Therefore, Fan merchants in the Song Dynasty had mainly referred to businessmen from the Arab and Persian countries.

(2) Contacts between the Liao Dynasty and the Arab Empire and Persia

The Liao Dynasty was established by the Khitan²⁵ of the one northern communities in China. Although the regimes in Central Asia, West Asia and Northwest China have changed frequently, the contacts between the Liao and various Islamic countries and regions had never been interrupted. It was only eight years after the founding of Khitan, the Arab Empire sent envoys to Liao for the further relationship. During the reign of the Liao Shengzong²⁶, the Arab Empire established a marriage relationship with the Liao Dynasty.

At the same time, Liao's business contacts with Islamic countries and regions are also frequent. The Liao Dynasty introduced two famous West Asian and Central Asian products through its contacts with Uygur: one was Uygur bean²⁷ and the other was watermelon.

(3) Western Xia's Contacts with the Arab Empire and Persia

Western Xia actually controlled the Silk Road linking east and west traffic, and it was also the only road way for Arab and Western businessmen to enter Song and Liao. Therefore, the Western Xia also took the opportunity to collect commodity taxes. In addition to taxation, in the trips, the business often received plunders from

²⁵ In 916 AD, the leader of the Khitan tribe, Yelu Abaoji, proclaimed the emperor, and the country was named Khitan.

²⁶ Yelu Longxu (January 16, 972-June 25, 1031)

²⁷ Uygur bean: pea

Xia people as well. Therefore, Song Renzong asked the envoys of the Arab Empire and other Western countries to enter Song by sea. Since Song Renzong's request, Arab and other Central and Western Asian businessmen came to China by sea, but the land transportation had not been completely terminated. In the early Yuan Dynasty, Western Xia rhubarb²⁸ was marketed around the world. So, it was interfered that Arab and other merchants in Central and Western Asia had close commercial activities with Western Xia for a long time.

3.3 Hui people in Yuan Dynasty

At the beginning of the 13th century, Genghis Khan unified Mongolia. He conquered the countries of West Asia and Central Asia and opened the way for East-West communication. A large number of Arab, Persian and Islamized Turks were brought into China by the Mongolian army as craftsmen and sergeants.



Figure 4 The Map of YUAN Dynasty

Source : Adapted from website

²⁸ A kind of medicine

3.3.1 Hui Muslim moving into the eastern China

The Yuan Dynasty was an open dynasty, and the Muslims who came to China were far more than the Central and Western Asians who came through the Silk Road.

Due to the development of maritime transportation, in addition to Arab and Persian businessmen and missionaries, Muslims from South Asia, Southeast Asia and even Africa have also continuously entered China from the maritime transportation.

During the Yuan Dynasty, Muslims who came to China from all over the world were called Huihui. The descendants of Fan merchants and Hu merchants who came to China during the Tang and Song Dynasties had almost adopted the Chinese culture. At that time, they were members of the Huihui team as well.

Compared with the ancestors of Hui people in the Tang and Song dynasties, Huihui people who came from the west in the Yuan Dynasty had the following characteristics: First, most of them were sergeants, craftsmen, women and children who were forced to transported themselves from Mongolia. Secondly, most of them came to China as a group, so they have the group characters. Third, every time the Mongolian army occupies a land, except the slaughtered, the rest are plundered or coerced into slavery, in every city there were often tens of thousands of people, so the Huihui comes to China at that time were mostly Islamized Turks residents of the Karahan dynasty. It made the amount of population greatly surpassed the number of the ancestors of the Hui. Fourth, as a result of Huihui's involvement in the Mongolian conquest war, many Huihui have made great achievements in the war, so some Huihui became senior governors of all levels in the Yuan Dynasty.

They had a relatively high political position; Fifth, as early as Yuan Taizong established his household registration system²⁹, The Huihui officially became citizenship the Yuan Dynasty, marking the end of the Fan merchants status of the ancestors of the Hui, and Huihui had become a official member of China. In short, the Hui people in the Yuan Dynasty were an important stage in the formation of the Hui people.

After Huihui people from the west came together in China, in order to survive in this entrenched Confucian culture, they continued to absorb the Han culture on the basis of maintaining their religious beliefs and cultural practices, gradually changing their languages, letters, and surnames. The sinicization of Islam began to emerge at this time. All in all, the Huihui in the Yuan Dynasty laid the foundation for the formation of the Hui community in terms of economy, culture, religion, and customs.

The races of Hui people in the Yuan Dynasty were very complicated. They include the vast majority of Islams in the world, but the main ones are Arabs, Persians, and Islamized Turks. Quantitatively, there are more Turks than Persians than Arabs. In addition, there are a certain number of Muslims from South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa. The Hui people had strong cohesion. Some Jews and Gypsies people who do not believe in Islam had gradually integrated into Huihui.

According to the fourth-class system³⁰ and the household registration system³¹ of the Yuan Dynasty, Huihui is a second-class person and belongs to Huihui in the household registration system. As a result, the concept of Huihui has gained the

²⁹ 1235 AD

³⁰ The four-class system is divided people into four levels according to their race.

³¹ The household registration system divides residents into many categories based on occupation (including religious occupation) and race.

meaning of race in the end. It because a overall name of the races that have the colored eyes.

3.3.2 Hui Muslim's Political Activities

The Islamic countries and nations of Central Asia and West Asia live in the central part of Eurasia. Muslim businessmen and travelers have a deep understanding of the West and the East with their wide range of activities. Therefore, the geographical knowledge of Arabs and Persians is Very rich. So Muslims in Central Asia have a better understanding of the world than Mongolians who have not yet stepped out of Mongol. Mongolians need to understand the world and establish political and economic contact with surrounding countries and regions. Huihui was the best medium. Therefore, Huihui people played a huge role in helping Mongolia's unification and outward expansion.

At the same time, after the Mongols successfully established the Yuan Dynasty, they provided an opportunity for Huihui politicians to exercise their financial management and country management skills. For a small number of Mongolian nobles to rule the China Empire effectively, they must rely on the power of the upper nobles of various ethnic groups, so the Hui people, mainly with colored eyes, were put into the significant positions in the court. In the Yuan Dynasty, the number of Huihui governors was unprecedented, and some even served as the prime ministers of the China.

In the Yuan Dynasty, the four-class system of ethnic oppression was took into action, and Mongolians and people with colored eyes enjoyed many privileges

politically and legally. However, in the eyes of the Supreme ruler of the Yuan Dynasty, Huihui were slaves as well, they could only serve the Mongolian aristocracy, and they could not disobey the Mongolian master's will.

Therefore, the Yuan Dynasty government's policy on Huihui was changeable. When Huihui lost their power, policies that favored Huihui were often banned, which in turn had many restrictions on Huihui. Among the Hui Hui, the only a small number of businessmen became the wealthy in the end, . As the war came to an end, the sergeants and artisans who were Huihui had to turned to farming or handicraft production, they have been working hard, but barely maintained their livelihood. There is also a record in the historical records of the Yuan Dynasty that people with colored eyes became slaves because of bankruptcy.

3.3.3 Hui Muslim's economic life in YUAN

The ancestors of the Hui people who entered the Central Plains before the Yuan Dynasty were mostly merchants, envoys, missionaries, etc. They were mostly concentrated in coastal towns and some Central Plains cities. Although some envoys and their entourages were resettled in urban suburbs, they may engage in agricultural production. There were also some merchants who bought houses, but few of them were agricultural producers.

In the Yuan Dynasty, things began to change. The Huihui from the west were mainly sergeants, craftsmen, businessmen, and missionaries. A large number of Huihui farmers and herdsmen passed the Silk Road to the Xinjiang region to Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia Provinces. After about the middle of the Yuan

Dynasty, Huihui's agricultural economy had formed. The agricultural economy of Huihui in the Yuan Dynasty was mainly formed in three ways: one was through military and government arrangements; secondly, governors or soldiers were allocated land by the government; and the third was to buy farm for agricultural production.

At the same time, the handicraft industries of the Islamic countries and regions in Arab, Persia and Central Asia were very developed and with a long tradition. Since Mongolia's commercial relations with Islamic countries and regions were established, the commodities of Islamic countries have become the preferences of Mongolian nobility. After the Huihui artisans came to China, they brought the categories of handicrafts and products that were not in China before. They were summarized in the following categories: first, the silk and wool textile industry; second, the brewing industry and vinegar and wine products; third, Sugar industry.

It is worth mentioning that after the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty, the monarch and aristocrat of Mongolia, who had huge wealth, entrusted the Huihui businessmen to set the usury loan with high interest. The activities of these Huihui merchants engaged in the usury industry are linked to the interests of the nobles, so they enjoy various privileges, and the nobles would help these Huihui businessmen to obtain benefits. Although this usury is an important means of making money for Huihui merchants, it is contrary to the purpose of Islam, because Islam prohibits the use of money to generate interest. It can be seen that the secular tendency of Huihui merchants at that time was very serious.

In short, the business activities of Huihui merchants in the Yuan Dynasty had both positive and negative aspects. In international trade, they traffic commodities

imported from abroad to major cities such as the capital, and transport grain from the south to regions lacking grain in the north. They have made a certain contribution to economic prosperity and the promotion of material exchange. However, some Huihui businessmen were relying on power and property to extort civilians and even the government, leaving a bad impression on the society at the time. In particular, helping the nobles and aristocracy to issue usury loans became an important means for the Yuan government to exploit the people, and it was also one of the sources of the sharp social contradictions in the Yuan Dynasty.

3.3.4 Literature, Art and Science and Technology

Religious culture and secular culture of Huihui people are important heritages of ancient Chinese culture. The Huihui people brought valuable knowledge such as astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, and botany from their homeland, brought in many species that did not exist in China, and introduced many textile, brewing, construction, and engineering technologies.

The Yuan Dynasty was a gathering stage for Huihui people. A large number of Muslims from Central and Western Asia came to settle in China. These Muslims live and develop their own business in China, because they gradually accepted the Han culture. After they came to Central Plain, they quickly grasped the Chinese language and Chinese culture. Since the second and third generation of Huihui people, many outstanding poets, songwriters, Confucianists, historians, and painters emerged from Huihui people in the Yuan Dynasty.

In addition, since the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, there had been records of

Arabic calligraphy in Huihui people, and it had gradually developed into a unique calligraphy art in China, which was called calligraphy painting or Arabic calligraphy. It absorbed the characteristics of Chinese characters and the form of Chinese calligraphy.

3.3.5 Religious activities and social customs

After a large number of Huihui people entered the China with the Mongolian army, they continued to battle from the North to the South and did not have the opportunity and time to settle down to study and learn Chinese culture. As the war subsided, for this generation of Huihui children, mastering culture, especially Han culture, became a necessary condition for survival. Reading and mastering the Han culture must be in contact with Confucianism, so Confucianism was widely spread among Huihui people. Therefore, in order to adapt to the environment, attempts to interpret the Quran by Confucianism have appeared since the Yuan Dynasty.

The Huihui people in the Yuan Dynasty had various races and different languages, but under the title of Huihui, they used Islam as a bond to loosely group people of various beliefs in Islam. Coupled with Huihui people's footsteps in almost all parts of China due to their employment as governors, soldiers, and businessmen. This loose combination is maintained by powerful religions and customs as a cohesive force. At that time, Muslim activities showed the following characteristics: First, they enjoyed full freedom of belief, and Islam received official support. Second, since the Huihui in the Yuan Dynasty spread almost all over China, so there were also many mosques. Third, the strict education of Islam customs and rules. The Huihui people scattered throughout the country, but the education remained

unchanged. For thousands of years, from the ancestors of the Hui people to the Huihui people in the Yuan Dynasty to the Hui people (after the formation of the Hui community in the Ming Dynasty), one of the important reasons for the adherence to the Islamic rules and customs is the fear of being abandoned by their kind. This kind of psychology promoted the Huihui nationality to stay together, and the cohesion has gradually increased. Fourth, the interpretation of Islamic teachings and methods has become Confucianized. They generally accepted the Han culture, and the surname and language began to be Chinese. They also believed that only certain points of Confucianism could be used to interpret Islamic education, so that Islam could be more widely accepted by Muslims and non-religious people.

At the same time, the government-run Huihui Cultural School appeared in the Yuan Dynasty. Its purpose was to specifically train Huihui translation talents for government department for the further choose, but students who could enter Huihui Cultural School were only a small part. When the mosque had not been established yet, the education of Muslim children were mainly completed in the family.

3.4 The Hui Nationality in the Ming Dynasty

The Ming Dynasty was a historical period in which the Hui national community was finally formed. The Hui nationality formed a community through a long historical process. The Muslims who settled in the Central Plains before and after the Yuan Dynasty were the basis for the formation of Hui groups. The Muslims in the Western regions of the Ming Dynasty continued to move inward. Through long-term marriages, the Hui community absorbed many members of the Han, Uyghur, Mongolian and other ethnic groups, which further strengthened the Hui group.

3.4.1 Formation of Hui Nationality

The more enlightened western region policies of the Ming Dynasty not only promoted frequent exchanges between the East and the West in the Ming Dynasty, but also attracted a large number of population from western regions to settle down in China. Almost from all western regions and areas that had contacts with the Ming Dynasty, there would be the Hui move and settle in the mainland of China, In the Ming Dynasty, in addition to the continued inward migration of Huihui, many other ethnic members continued to join the Hui community, which gradually strengthened the Hui people. There were two main forms of joining: one was through marriage, and the other was changing from other ethnic groups to Islam. In fact, whether it was the Huihui who migrated eastward in the Yuan Dynasty or the Huihui who arrived in the Ming Dynasty, after all, it was a minority who brought their wives or families when they first came, and most of them were single at the time.

In order to survive and develop, they must marry a wife and start a family. The Hui, as Muslims, paid close attention to Islamic rules and their own customs. In a male-dominated clan society, members of other ethnic groups married to the Hui would naturally obey the husband's religious beliefs and customs, so that they also become Muslims. This phenomenon had occurred in large numbers in history, especially the Han nationality. Of course, Muslim women were also married to Han or other ethnic groups, but the number was very small. And most of these non-Muslim members who were married to Muslim women follow their wives and

believed in Islam, making themselves and their descendants Muslims.

However, after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, Hui people have been reduced from a higher-ranking group to a lower-ranking group. The tide of rejection of Hui in the southeast coastal areas in the late Yuan Dynasty made Hui people feel that they were in an oppressed and discriminated position. Therefore, they had a feeling of separation and distrust towards other ethnic groups, and were extremely disgusted with actions that harm their national dignity.

The Hui people, who were originally composed of various ethnic groups, had to unite in order to adapt to the new social environment. The various ethnic and religious policies of the Ming Dynasty and the constant adjustment of the western and extraterritorial policies have strengthened the cohesion and common national feelings among Hui people. Throughout the Ming Dynasty, the ruling class always wanted to assimilate Hui and other minorities, which made Hui people very anxious. The care among the same ethnic group has strengthened the Hui nationality's strong sense of identity. This kind of national sentiment had always evolved into the common memory of the whole Hui society.

One of the main signs of the formal formation of the Hui is the formation of the common national psychological feeling³² of the Hui, and the formation of the Hui common national psychological feeling is closely related to the Islam religion that Hui believes and its related customs. It could be said that the final formation of Hui's common religious beliefs and customs indicates the final formation of the

³² The common national psychological feeling, also known as national character, refers to a psychological state formed in the historical development of a nation. The main content of this psychological state includes unique personality, sentiment, hobbies, and other psychological characteristics that are different from other nations. Although it will change with changes in historical conditions, in general, it has great stability. Once formed, it is difficult to change. Therefore, people often regard it as one of the main signs of the formal formation of a nation.

Hui's common national psychological feeling. Religious belief in Islam and the suppressed social status of the people with colored eyes in the Ming Dynasty played a very important role in forming the common psychological feeling of Hui people, and this common psychological feeling was finally reflected in the Hui culture.

In fact, in the early Ming Dynasty, the customs and habits of the Hui people were largely determined. Because the Hui nationality believes in Islam, its customs and habits are greatly influenced by Islam. Except for the religious provisions stipulated in the doctrine and religious rituals such as worship, chanting, prayer, and meditation, many Islamic procedures have been transformed into the Hui nationality. At the same time, because the Hui scattered across the country, their customs and habits were affected by other groups and nations, especially the Han nation. The Confucian ethics generally followed by the Han people were also accepted by the Hui people. Therefore, in the formation of the customs of the Hui people, certain customs of the Han people are naturally incorporated into it.

Coupled with the Ming Dynasty's implementation of the Han ethnic assimilation policy, the Mongolian, Hui and other ethnic minorities living in the territory were prohibited from wearing their own national costumes, using their own national names, and not allowing marriage within their own ethnic groups alerted the evolution of customs.

The formation of a common language is another important sign of the formation of a nation. In the Ming Dynasty, Hui people only kept a small amount of foreign languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages and their transliteration in religious education and daily life. In most cases, Chinese was widely used as a

communication tool. Chinese has become its own mother tongue, which has played a good role in promoting the Hui people's development and inter-ethnic communication. Sinification, including language, clothing, and customs, is needed for the survival and development of the Hui people.

Whether the Hui were Fan merchant who came to China during the Tang and Song dynasties, or migrated eastward during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, after they settled down, for the convenience of religious life and marriage and funeral, they must first build mosques. For the Muslims come later, for the same reason, they also settled around the built mosque. Over time, the Hui community has naturally formed around the mosque.

Since the Yuan Dynasty, the Hui people's living distribution has been characterized by living together over vast areas while living in concentrated communities in small areas. In the Ming Dynasty, due to the enhancement of national consciousness and the influence of factors such as migration, war, famine, and business, the Huihui in the Ming Dynasty had largely dispersed in the whole country and live together in concentrated communities in small areas, and the characteristics of their ethnic residence were fully formed and tended to be stereotyped. The large dispersion is an objective trend. The people are unable to change, but Hui people try their best to gather together to form some large communities. This is a manifestation of the Hui's maintenance of internal relations, so that its own group would not be drowned out by history and self-reliance. After continuous migration and combination, in the Ming Dynasty China has formed the following five large Hui settlements: (1) Northwest settlements (2) Yunnan settlements (3) Central Plains settlements (4) North China settlements (5) Jiangnan

settlement. The formation of the Hui community in the Ming Dynasty is a change in the national pattern in China.

3.4.2 Social and Economic Status of the Hui Nationality

Since most Hui people are concentrated in rural areas, their economic activities are mainly engaged in agriculture, and the agriculture and animal husbandry economy has gradually become a solid foundation and subject of the Hui economy and society. Immigration and reclamation were important reasons for the agricultural development of the Hui nationality in the Ming Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty, it was a common practice for the government to relocate the Hui to the northwest, central plains, and southeast provinces and requested them to engage in agriculture. In addition to farming, Hui peasant families also raised cattle and sheep. For some Hui people in mountainous areas, shepherding was an important source of life.

The development of Hui's agricultural economy in the Ming Dynasty promoted the greater development of the Hui's handicraft industry. Information on the handicraft industry of the Hui nationality in the Ming Dynasty was rare. However, it still has a certain scale and characteristics in the slaughtering, leather, pharmaceutical, and fragrance manufacturing industries. Among them, slaughtering and leather processing are traditional industries in the Hui handicraft industry, and they are also the main business parts, which have continued to the present.

Compared with the Yuan Dynasty, the Hui's commercial economy in the Ming Dynasty has undergone great changes in many aspects, and new characteristics have emerged, especially its own national characteristics. First, in the domestic

trade, the Hui merchants in the Ming Dynasty had a wider range of activities and reached villages and remote areas. Second, in terms of the scale of business activities, although large-scale business activities still exist, their number and influence were far less than that of the Yuan Dynasty, and small and medium-sized businesses commercial activities appeared in large numbers and occupied the dominant position of Hui commercial activities. Third, for the types of goods that were traded, although there are still traditional industries such as jade, jewelry, spices, medicinal materials, etc., they were more engaged in the cattle and mutton sales industry, the catering industry, and the short-distance fur trade, horse trade, as well as agricultural and handicraft products such as food, cotton, sugar, salt, and tea.

3.4.3 Development of Islam in Ming Dynasty

Ming rulers adopted a policy of utilization and protection of Islam. After the middle of the Ming Dynasty, due to the society was relatively stable, the population grew rapidly, and the population who believed in Islam also increased, including many Han and other ethnic people who married the Hui, the Hui people themselves had been living in the Han group for a long time, and their language and clothing had been greatly influenced by the Han people, so the Hui people's own cultural consciousness was in danger of disappearing. In addition, many people also received the education of the Han Confucian traditional culture, which means the Hui was also losing the education opportunity for the young generation as well .

Islam is the religion of the Hui people's belief, and it is also the bond that maintains the Hui people scattered throughout the country. However, after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, although the Hui community was gradually formed, as the

language and clothing of the Hui ethnic group gradually became Chinese, religious consciousness was gradually weakened, and the number of imams decreased, and Islam tended to decline. At that time, due to the decrease in interaction with western Muslims and China's ignorance of the development of Islamic books in the world, the teaching staff of Imam and others also decreased sharply. Even with the continuous introduction of Western Islamic books, the vast majority of Muslims can no longer understand Arabic, Persian.

At this moment, a scholar named Dengzhou Hu in Shanxi Province introduced western Islamic books, founded mosque education, trained a large number of imams and scholars of Confucian classics, and the northwest region's school system had further formed. Chinese Islam was in a new history.

The Mosque education that appeared in the Ming Dynasty and the communities in the Tang, Song, and Yuan Dynasties showed significant differences. Because the Ming government adopted a strict distinction between the Hui ethnic group and foreign businessmen who came to China to trade abroad, foreign businessmen were strictly prohibited. After entering the city, the Hui people in the territory were planned into the city management, but because the Hui had their special religious life, a special organization was eventually formed.

Generally speaking, it has the following characteristics: First, the Mosque education only manages the religious activities, folklore, and educational activities of Hui Muslims, and does not involve administrative or legal matters. Second, the education center is often centered on a mosque, and its scope is quite limited. Muslims in the square, except for the local administrative organs in charge of administration, justice, etc., all other civil and religious activities such as weddings

and funerals, birthdays, fasting, and mediation of civil disputes that do not violate criminal laws, are taught by the Mosque education. These systems continued until the present when they were replaced by the mosque management committee.

3.5 The Hui Nationality in the Qing Dynasty

The Qing Dynasty was a historical stage after the formation of the Hui community, which further developed and transformed into modern society. During this two-hundred-thousand-year historical period, the situation of large numbers of Muslims coming to China from the Yuan Dynasty to the Ming dynasty had come to an end. The Hui ethnic group has reached a population of more than two million through self-reproduction. It showed that the Hui community is consolidating and developing continuously. The national consciousness and national cohesion of the Hui people are further enhanced.



Figure 5 The Map of QING Dynasty

Source : Adapted from website

3.5.1 Cultural Identity of Hui Nationality in Qing Dynasty

Since the Yuan Dynasty, Hui people coming from the west were mostly coming from Islamized Turkic regions in Central Asia. A large number of Hui people who entered China in the Ming Dynasty were mainly Turpan and Hami³³ people who moved from the northwest border. The central and southeastern coastal areas were densely populated. So, if the Hui people wanted to gain living space, they had to

³³ Turpan and Hami: cities in Xinjiang Province

settle in the relatively barren and sparsely populated areas such as Gansu, Ningxia, Shaanxi, and Qinghai in the northwest for development. At the same time, the Qing government often imposed high taxes and fees on the Hui nationality, and often provoked internal sectarian disputes and the Hui-Han struggle. Therefore, the history of the Hui people in the Qing Dynasty has always been accompanied by the Hui uprising.

There were widespread ethnic inequality and ethnic oppression policies in the Qing Dynasty. Preventing the resistance of the peoples of all nationalities was the fundamental purpose and core of the Qing ethnic policy (Atwill, 2005). From this perspective, the ruler adopted a two-handed strategy of suppression and draw down on various ethnic groups, showing two faces at different times. However, whether it is suppression or rapprochement are just different manifestations of its national oppression policy.

Compared with the Ming Dynasty, the Hui people's political status in the Qing Dynasty dropped significantly. The Qing Dynasty, as a political power established by other ethnic minorities, was very afraid of the unity of various nationalities in the country. Dividing and governing each nationality was the basic principle of its national policy.

Therefore, the Qing government took a precautionary attitude towards the Hui people. The specific contents were mainly as follows: First, the Hui nationality was subject to strict feudal dictatorships and the government suppressed the nationality of the Hui nationality. Except for religion and living customs, it did not consider the Hui nationality to have any particular characteristics at all, so its policies towards the Hui nationality were basically the same as its rule over the Han

nationality. Second, recognize the legitimacy of Hui religion and customs.

Although the Hui nationality opposed the Qing in the early Qing Dynasty, the Qing government did not associate this struggle with Islam and made no special provisions on Islam. According to various literature, the Qing government adopted a policy that neither prohibits nor encourages Hui Muslims, and is indifferent to Hui religious attitudes. Their focus was to use political methods instead of religious methods to achieve Hui rule. Third, the Hui people are encouraged to take imperial examinations to enter government for working. In fact, the Qing government did not exclude and discriminate against the Hui nationality in selecting governors, but this did not indicate that the Qing government and the Hui nationality formed a political alliance. Because the Hui nationality taking the imperial examination to enter the government work had no direct connection with the Hui society, which means that they entered the Qing Dynasty as individuals rather than national representatives, and did not reflect the requirements of the Hui society. The forces that grew up within the Hui society were not valued by the Qing government and were not included in the Qing political system. Therefore, although many Hui people are officials, the national requirements of the Hui society cannot be transformed into political aims of the government.

The Hui nationality in the Qing Dynasty has ended the previous state of population movement and entered a period of self-reproduction and growth of the national population. At this time, the extra-territorial population moving-in generation was basically over. Although members of the Hui and other ethnic groups still existed, they were no longer the main form of population growth. The self-growth of the Hui population has become the dominant way. The significance of this change in population development was not limited to the population itself. It had a profound

impact on the religion, ethnic consciousness, and social relations of the Hui society.

During the centuries' integration of the extra-ethnic population, populations of various constituents were united by the cohesion of Islam. However, there are many differences in the cultural consciousness and psychological feeling of the population from different nationalities, so national consciousness is still being formed. With the stability of the Hui's economy and population, the members of the Hui ethnic group have become more consistent in terms of cultural and psychological ideology, and national consciousness has gradually formed. Mutual identification and self-identification of national members have reached a consistent standard, and common religious beliefs have risen to a common national consciousness.

The enhancement of national consciousness is manifested in the conscious construction of the Hui national culture, such as Mosque education. The fusion of Islamic culture and Chinese traditional culture is an important step for the nationalization of Hui culture. Explaining Quran with Confucianism and Education through Confucian Classics have enabled the Hui people to have a common national psychological and cultural support. While blending with traditional Chinese culture, it created an independent system of Hui culture. Through this cultural system, the majority of the Hui people have maintained the uniqueness and independence of their national thought and psychology. Due to the particularity of the Hui nationality's blood and language, cultural identity is of special significance to the Hui nationality.

At the same time, the religious and cultural movement has promoted the convergence of Hui society. Religious reforms have enabled the majority of Hui

people to establish a universal national cultural awareness. The Hui people in various places have become more connected due to cultural identity. The Hui community is linked and organized through a religious Mosque education system. The religious movement led to the organizational development of the Hui society and strengthened the political integration within the Hui nationality. This formed the political basis for the continuous development of the anti-Qing struggle of the Hui people in northwestern China

3.5.2 Social and economic development of Hui Muslim

The economy of the Hui nationality in the Qing Dynasty was dominated by agriculture, with operations in animal husbandry, handicrafts and commerce. The agricultural methods, production relations, and farming techniques were basically the same as those of the surrounding Han and other agricultural nations. Animal husbandry was dominated by cattle and sheep. The handicraft industry was mainly slaughtering, tanning, agricultural product processing, embroidery, etc. The Hui people in Yunnan and Guizhou also operate mining. The Hui commerce in the Qing Dynasty not only inherited the traditions of the past, but also had significant development and breakthroughs in terms of scale, region, and variety of operations compared to the Ming Dynasty. The small businesses run by the Hui nationality spread throughout the regions where they live, and some well-known Hui business groups have also emerged, becoming an important force in China's commercial activity. According to literature records, in the cities of all sizes in the Qing Dynasty, almost all Hui commercial and economic activities were prosperous.

Generally speaking, the commercial activities of the Hui people in the Qing dynasty showed the following characteristics: First, the commercial and economic

activities of the Hui people in the Qing dynasty were very extensive, not only exceeding the distribution of commercial areas in the Yuan and Ming dynasties, but also exceeding the Qing dynasty's herdsmanship. Secondly, the Hui people were good at business and willing to do business. It is both a need for life and a national character. Thirdly, Most of the Hui businessmen often operated the same business industry and commodity types, that is, they had common national characteristics, such as most of the cattle and sheep shops as the main content. However, Hui merchants in various places had adapted to local conditions to engage in various industries and operated local specialty products. Fourthly, the scale of the commercial and economic activities of the Hui people in the Qing Dynasty exhibited distinctive characteristics of having both huge size and small sizes.

3.5.3 Cultural Education and Science and Technology

The cultural undertakings of the Hui nationality made great progress in the Qing Dynasty, and a number of scientists, writers, and painters were born. The development of Islam is particularly prominent, and a movement of Chinese translation of Islamic classics has emerged. A number of Chinese translations of Islamic classics have been published, which has effectively improved the level of Hui Islamic theory.

At the same time, Mosque education expanded to a wider area and formed three schools in Shaanxi, Shandong and Yunnan, marking the development of Hui education. The development of the religious cause has further strengthened the relationship between Islam and the Hui nationality. The religious system has changed the decentralization of the Hui nationality to a certain extent, and has played a central role in the struggle against the rule of the Qing government.

4. OVERVIEW OF FIELD RESEARCH --THE COMMON HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE HUI IN NORTH CHINA: CANGZHOU

4.1 Shared historical memory and common social experience

The earliest Hui people in Cangzhou can actually be traced back to the Yuan Dynasty. Due to frequent business contacts and unique geographical conditions, Cangzhou has become a favored port city for many Muslim merchants in Central Asia and West Asia. At the same time, due to many political factors in history, the Hui people in many other regions in China also migrated to Cangzhou or from Cangzhou, but during thousands of years of interaction and exchanges, the Hui people in Cangzhou have already formed their own unique shared historical memory and common social experience.

4.1.1 The formation and distribution of Hui people in Cangzhou City

Cangzhou City(in northeast China) is an area where Hui people live in concentrated communities. The total population of Hui people in the city is about 170,000, accounting for 34.7% of the total population of Hui people in Hebei Province. It is the city with the largest population of Hui people in the province and even in North China.

The Hui ethnic group has a long history among the 41 ethnic minorities in Cangzhou. However, due to various reasons, the ethnographic history has never

been kept. In addition, in the early Ming Dynasty, because of the Jingnan Rebellion³⁴, the bloody massacre of the people in Cangzhou caused a historical disconnection and made people's migration origins of the Hui people in Cangzhou more blurred.

In recent years, because the historical literature is missing, in most of the academics, scholars prefer to call 1404 AD which is the year after the Jingnan rebellion, as the starting point for the migration of the Hui people in Cangzhou. However, this statement is not accurate, the emergence of Hui people in Cangzhou City can be traced back to the Yuan Dynasty.

During the Yuan Dynasty, Cangzhou, located in the hinterland of North China, was not only the largest salt industry base of the country (Changlu Saltworks), but also nearby the metropolis Beijing. It could be said that it enjoyed both excellent politics and abundant commercial resources, and was naturally well-versed in business, favored by foreign merchants mainly Muslims from Central Asia and West Asia.

At the same time, Cangzhou is also a city along the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal, which runs through Cangzhou and directly leads to Beijing. There are many piers, which have the natural conditions for Muslims to do business and settle down.

According to the "A Brief History of Ancient Land Transport in Hebei Province", in the heyday of the Tang Dynasty, Cangzhou was rich in silk and was an important silk exported port to foreign countries through the Silk Road. It could be said that since then, Cangzhou has had direct or indirect connections with Arab countries. At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, there was a saying that Huihui people are

³⁴ The Jingnan rebellion was a three-year civil war from 1399–1402 in the early years of the Ming dynasty of China. It occurred between two descendants of the Ming dynasty's founder.

everywhere in the world, Along all roads to Beijing, there are more than ten thousand mosques. According to historical data, there was a mosque in Shaheya Village in Cangzhou in the early years of the Ming Dynasty. So it could be inferred that the Hui people had already formed a certain scale in Cangzhou during the Yuan Dynasty.

In the early Ming Dynasty, a large number of Hui people moved into Cangzhou. Cangzhou was favored by Muslim merchants in the Yuan Dynasty and finally formed a region where some Hui ancestors lived. However, with the beginning of the war in the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, Cangzhou, as the main traffic artery, was naturally severely devastated by the war. In the Mengcun County Annals, in the 27th year of 1367AD, Zhu Yuanzhang³⁵'s military general Chang Yuchun³⁶ (returning) went northward to defeat the Yuan Dynasty, and went all the way along the Grand Canal to Beijing. He once set up accounts in Taiping Village (now Cangzhou), most of its subordinates were of the Hui nationality. After the war, the Hui soldiers, who died after the war, were buried in the south of Yinzhuang Village, Cangzhou, which is known as the Huihui Tomb now. The deaths caused by the war caused a sharp decline in the overall population of Cangzhou at that time, and the Hui population also suffered serious losses.

Based on this background, the empire Zhu Yuanzhang, who became the country leader, began to carry out large-scale immigration activities, synchronizing with the famous Big Locust Tree immigration³⁷. According to the History of the Ming

³⁵ Zhu Yuanzhang (Chinese: 朱元璋; Wade-Giles: Chu Yuan-chang), was the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty, reigning from 1368 to 1398.

³⁶ Chang Yuchun (1330–1369), was a Chinese military general of the Ming dynasty. He was a follower of Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty, and contributed heavily to the establishment of the Ming Empire.

³⁷ The Hongtong Dahuaihu, or the Big Locust Tree, is where many Chinese people both in and outside the country believe their ancestors started their long trek of immigration during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

Dynasty, TaiZuJi, in the fourth year of Hongwu in the Ming Dynasty (AD 1371), In June, migrating people living nearby Mountain (now the mountain rear from the southeast of Xuanhua to Liaoyang) 35,000 households to the inland and moving 32,000 household from the Desert to Peking. Migrants from Mountains and the Desert were both areas with a large number of Hui people at that time, the immigrants naturally occupied a certain proportion of Hui ethnicity. For example, the people whose surnames are Han in Hanshiqiao Village in Cangzhou were derived from Mountain. His ancestor's genealogy contains: My great ancestor came from West, moved to the east of town. According to legend, the hometown is the mountain.

In the first year of Jianwen of the Ming Dynasty (1399 AD), Zhu Li, in order to seize the throne, raised troops to Jing Nan Rebellion, Cangzhou city couldn't survive in that rebellion, and 40,000 were buried at that time. After Zhu Li came to the throne, he decreed to migrate the people. According to the genealogy records of many Hui people, most of its ancestors migrated from Shanxi, Shandong, Zhejiang, Shanghai, Anhui, Hubei and other places on order in the second year of Yongle in the Ming Dynasty (1404 AD). Most of them moved from Nanjing. For example, the family tree of the Liu family in Niujin Zhuang states: The ancestor of our family originated from Nanjing, and moved here in the second year of Yongle. The family of Wu in Mengcun Town wrote: The origin is from Anhui Province, and moved to the north during the Yongle period of the Ming Dynasty. The family tree of the Ma family: The first ancestor Ma Gang was a general of the Hui nationality, and the King Zhu Li swept the north. He led his three sons to Cangzhou from Nanjing. Later the eldest son Ma Guangqing settled in the southeast village called Benzhai of Cangzhou. It could be said that Zhu Li's immigration is a choice for ethnic

regions for the political purpose, and it is also the foundational event that contributed to the gathering of Hui people in Cangzhou today. When the Hui people from the southern provinces came to the north for the first time, they would naturally choose Cangzhou, which has the same ethnic group's regional attributes, to live together. With the historical foundation of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, under the psychological leadership of the Hui nationality's own Huihui people are all in one big family, the Hui population who came to Cangzhou for various reasons in the following hundreds of years increased day by day.

In addition to the above-mentioned circumstances, the ruling class and oppression of the past dynasties has also forced some non-local Hui people to escape to the area of Cangzhou, which has become one of the sources of Cangzhou Hui people. For example, in the last years of the Ming Dynasty, Li Gelao from the Shandong Province, relied on his power, forcing Hui people to avoid living in the surrounding 40 miles. Many Hui people were forced to flee from Shandong to Cangzhou. The current Hui people surnamed Tie in Cangzhou is one of the families that escaped and settled in that looting.

In one word, the migration of Hui people in Cangzhou could be roughly divided into the following six reasons: Firstly, war: that is, through wars with foreign countries, Arabs and Persians from Middle and West Asia entered the Peking areas(including Cangzhou); through civil wars, Hui soldiers from different regions in China settled in Cangzhou. Secondly, business: Cangzhou's superior business conditions and the Hui's characteristics of being skilled at doing business determine that Cangzhou is an ideal place for Hui merchants. Thirdly, being the governor. There were some Hui military generals who came to settle down as an official

governor in Cangzhou. Fourthly, immigration: Among the immigration, there were three situations, the first one is to move to work as a governor and set up new villages by decree; also because of the social status in that period, most governors have their own servants, so when they were immigrating into the new cities, their servants would follow with them, that the second main resource of the immigrants to Cangzhou; the third part of immigrated people are convicted ones. Fifthly, escape for life. They were trying to flee from famine and refuge. Sixthly, getting together with their relatives. That is, because of various reasons, they come to live together with their relatives and friends.

After moving to Cangzhou, all households from different locations at different times were linked to each other, forming a Huihui relative in blood relationship and a strong cohesive Huihui Family community in terms of customs and shared memories. After hundreds of years of reproduction and evolution, it continues to grow and develop. Due to the generations of multiplication, the original village capacity is saturated, forcing some Hui people to set up new villages and find more places to settle down themselves.

According to the investigation of some local Hui ancestry: After the first ancestor of the Liu family moved from Nanjing, he first built a village in the northeast of Mengcun called Niujinzhuang, and then sent his two sons to build Xizhaohe Village and Nanpi village. So far, it has developed into more than 10 villages with the surname Liu. After the ancestor of the Wu family moved from Anhui Province, he returned to his place of origin, but his two sons settled down in the town of Cangzhou City. There are now more than 10 villages surnamed Wu as well.

Also due to the long-term residence of the Hui people together with the Han people, more intensively social communication, and various historical opportunities, the Hui and Han people in Cangzhou have formed a harmonious relationship. It is mainly manifested in two aspects: Firstly, marriage between Hui and Han people. In the past, this situation merely occurred in poor families only. In order to maintain their own customs and habits, in the Hui community, only males are allowed to marry non-Hui females, but females couldn't marry non-Hui males. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, with the improvement of people's life quality and the promulgation and implementation of the Marriage Law, intermarriage between Hui and Han was more acceptable than before. There were more and more free marriages between Hui and Han people. Secondly, Hui Identify verification changes: There are three forms of Hui Identify verification changes: (1) The Han nationality change to Hui. That is, the Han people changed their ethnic composition to join the Hui for some reason. The famous Hui hero Wangwu in the late Qing Dynasty was born in the Han family of the Wang family in Cangzhou. Since he was fond of martial arts since childhood, he wanted to worship Li Fenggang, a Hui martial artist with double swords, as his teacher. Because Li refused to accept non-Hui students, so Wangwu knelt in front of his mother and was allowed to leave home to convert to Islam and learn art from Li. All Wangwu's descendants have changed to the Hui ethic since then. (2) The Hui nationality changed to Han. That is, the Hui people changed to Han for some reason. The Liu surnamed Han people, is a branch of the Liu surname Hui; they changed to Han due to their work as a governor, their customs and habits have changed, and they have gradually followed the Han people. (3) The Hui nationality changed to Han and back again. In some small villages, because of the poor life, some Hui people

couldn't afford to invite imams for performing religious customs, and the frequent marriages between the Han nationality, so they gave up their Hui identity for a short while. With the improvement of people's living status and the implementation of ethnic beneficial policies, those part of people chose to pick up their Hui identity back ;

For hundreds of years, due to wars, fleeing famine, earning a living, doing business, and relocating jobs, the Hui people in Cangzhou have migrated out of the country and spread to all provinces and parts of the province as well. According to relevant records, in the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, in order to strengthen the work on ethnic minorities across the country, a large number of Cangzhou Hui leading cadres were sent to Yunnan, Ningxia and other ethnic minority areas as leaders at all levels. Right now, the Hui people in Cangzhou have become the second largest ethnic group in the city. According to statistics, the Hui people in the city have 56 surnames including Ding, Yu, Wan, Ma, and Wang, and there are about 170,000 Hui people in total in Cangzhou city. Formed its own characteristics in residence and population distribution.

4.2 Space boundaries-- mosques and the living mode of surrounding mosques

In the long-term historical development of Cangzhou, the Hui nationality has formed a fixed settlement area. This area is centered on the oldest Cangzhou North Mosques, and gatherings by Cangzhou North Mosques, Cangzhou West Mosques, Cangzhou East Mosques, Cangzhou Female Temple, and Jianguo Mosque. Due to this area located in the southeast of Cangzhou City, Hui people prefer to use the

expression Southeast Head³⁸ to show their sense of belonging as a Hui people. So when being asked for accommodations, one elder Hui person proudly said that I live in Southeast Head, my whole family lives there, since my grandpa, we were living there. Nobody knows better than me about this area.



³⁸ Southeast Head, in the local expression, it sounds more like they are occupying this area, and the area is the best part of the city.



Figure 6 Cangzhou North Mosque

Source : Adapted from website

For the Hui people who gather in the southeast corner of the city, there is actually still a class distinction. As the center of the Hui community, Cangzhou North Mosque is this dividing line. In the old days, Cangzhou still had a city wall. The North Mosque of Cangzhou was built just outside the city wall. Many Hui people live outside the city. My family's conditions are much better than theirs, because there is somebody working in the government, so we can live inside the city. The Hui people who live outside the city moved to Cangzhou later or their ancestors were servants. They didn't have much money, so they could only live there. When we were young, we did not like the Hui people who lived outside the city. We don't have a lot of communications with them as well. It was later that the city wall was

demolished and everyone lived together, so we began to have more connections in our daily life. But now if you say you were living inside the city (Chengli), it is still different.³⁹



Figure 7 Cangzhou Female Mosque

Source : Adapted from website

In fact, in recent years, due to the needs of their children's education and work requirements, many young people have bought real estate in other areas of the city. Another interviewee of mine is an example of this. He bought a house in the west of the city. We have no choice, the education for children here is better than in the Hui area. For the future of my son, we can only choose to move out. But when we need to buy some beef and mutton, or other food, we would definitely go back, and sometimes we go back to Hui area to have breakfast when we are not busy. My parents still live in the Hui area, and we are willing to go back, but there is no way,

³⁹ This interviewee was an 85 years old female.

everything is developing, and we have to think about the future. Now we will go back to my parents' house during most of the festivals, same with my brothers and sisters, and their children, we are all together. We all have a very good relationship. When we return to the Hui area, we feel like we are at home. We all know each other. When you go on the road, you have to stop and say hello after a few steps, feeling that you are in a big family and people care about you a lot.⁴⁰

From a geographical point of view, although Cangzhou and the Hui and Han people live in harmony, there is still a clear boundary between the Hui and Han—the southeast head. Within the southeast head, there is a settlement area for the Hui people. Outside the southeast head is the Han nationality's area of life. Although many young people have gradually separated from the original Hui community due to various reasons, they still maintain close contact with the original community.

Also in some rural areas, Hui people tend to live together with the same surname and divide the surname by district. Since more Hui people in Cangzhou were immigrating in after the Jingnan Rebellion in the early Ming Dynasty, they moved to establish villages by using empty land, so the villages built were mostly using single surnames. Although they have undergone generational changes, this type of settlement mode is basically unchanged. Because their ethnic origin is mostly in the south, most immigrants travel north along the canal and settle on both sides of the canal. Over the years, although there have been migration changes, the differences in surnames in different regions are still obvious. In addition to the Hui surname area divided by the canal, many small areas and small areas also have different surname characteristics.

⁴⁰ This interviewee was a 35 years old male, working as a teacher in primary school.

4.3 Common Social and Economic Life Scenes

Like many regions in China, the Hui people in Cangzhou, were successfully recognized by the government at the early stage of ethnic identification. Based on the origin and history of the Hui people in Cangzhou and the interview data with local Hui elderly people, it is obvious that they had easily won the government's recognition of their Hui status by relying on their religious beliefs and halal lifestyle. As many Hui historians have pointed out, the Huis are not identified based on language or region. The Chinese government has identified 10 Muslim ethnic groups that believe in Islam, including Hui, Uyghur, and Kazakh. Hui ethnic group refers to those Muslims who do not have their own unique language but share the Han dialects of different places. The Hui people are often referred to as Chinese Muslims because their language and other cultural characteristics are closer to Han than Turkic Muslims. Therefore, if the ancestors of Huihui exist in one form, then the state recognized it by its institutionalization and immobilization and gave it the name of Hui, which facilitated and clarified Huihui's reification of its own national identity.

Because the Hui people are skilled at doing business, the Hui people in Cangzhou mostly choose to live in a place where the transportation is developed, and the commerce is prosperous. Among all the districts in the city, there are 7 areas with a Hui population exceeding 10000, among them 6 are ancient post stations and 5 are near the canal. Even in counties and cities with a small Hui population, Hui people live mostly in big towns or towns where businesses are prosperous. The Hui people living in cities and towns often choose to live in prosperous streets and areas to

form the characteristics of living for business and living for business. Cangzhou South Street, Botou Shengli Street, Hejian Chengguan, Lianzhen Street, Suning Main Street, Miao Street and other counties and cities in the prosperous business districts are all Hui communities.



5.INTERGENERATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND AFFECTING FACTORS

5.1 Descriptive Statistics of the Hui Muslim's Intergenerational Identity

Based on the data of CGSS 2015⁴¹, here comes the descriptive statistics analysis of the Hui Muslim's intergenerational identity constructions. As we could see the chart below, among all the 10,350 samples participated in the CGS survey, there were 216 Hui Muslim, the ages range from 24- above 73.

5.2 Statistical Model and Research Results

Among the 216 samples, the majority of Hui people believe that they are Muslims with Islamic beliefs, but among them, this proportion has dropped significantly among the 40-60-year-old population. Judging comprehensively based on political factors, this part of the Hui population is For a long period of time, forced to abandon their religious customs, even forced to Sinicization, have a certain relationship. Many Hui people have been out of self-protection habits and claim that although they are Hui, they are not Muslims.

⁴¹ The China religious survey (CRS), launched in 2012 with continued support from the scientific research foundation of Renmin University of China, has made the site of religious activities the subject of the first phase of the survey.

If we perform linear regression analysis on all the sample data, we can clearly see that the correlation coefficient $r=0.23$ between the Hui identity and the self-identity construction as Muslims is not a significant positive correlation. So we could draw a conclusion here, the self-identity construction of the Hui is related to its hereditary religious beliefs, but it is not the only decisive factor. There are other important factors that affect the self-identity construction of the Hui.



Age	Sample	Number of define himself as a Hui Muslim	Number of define himself as a Hui Muslim	Attendance of religious activities per year
24	5	5	5	6
25	2	2	2	3
26	5	5	5	5
27	7	7	7	3
28	3	3	3	5
29	5	4	4	4
30	3	3	3	7
31	3	3	3	2
32	2	1	1	3
33	1	1	1	8
34	3	2	2	2
35	7	6	6	3
36	3	3	3	4
37	1	1	1	4
38	3	3	3	5
39	4	4	4	4
40	6	6	6	4
41	3	3	3	7
42	6	5	5	5
43	3	3	3	5
44	2	2	2	4
45	2	2	2	6
46	8	8	8	5
47	4	4	4	6
48	5	5	5	5
49	2	1	1	1
50	4	4	4	4
51	6	6	6	6
52	2	2	2	5
53	4	2	2	2
54	5	4	4	4
55	7	7	7	7
56	5	5	5	5
57	9	7	7	4
58	2	2	2	7
59	2	2	2	6
60	3	3	3	6
61	5	5	5	5
62	2	2	2	5
63	4	3	3	6
65	2	2	2	5
66	1	1	1	3
67	2	2	2	7
68	7	7	7	3
69	3	3	3	6
70	4	4	4	6
71	3	3	3	4
72	3	2	2	5
73 and above	31	26	26	66
Total	216	197	197	4.513888889

Figure 8 Descriptive Statistics of the Hui Muslim's Intergenerational Identity

Source : Own

6. CULTURAL EXPRESSION AND ETHNIC CONSTRUCTION SYMBOLS OF THE HUI MUSLIM

The identity construction of the Hui people is reflected in all aspects of daily life. Located in the hinterland of the Central Plains, which is far from the Islamic center, the Hui people in Cangzhou have their own special way of expressing their national identity.

As we all know, Islam is the cultural breeding factor of the Hui ethnic group. Although the basic characteristics of their organization have not been so obvious, and marketization and urbanization have led to the weakening and major adjustment of the original Hui ethnicity's geographical borders, it is surrounded by the majority of Han. This is especially significant in the Hui communities in the lower class, and even religion can no longer be the core and only factor of Hui identity.

However, instead of weakening, their symbolic boundaries have been strengthened. Mingke pointed out that people with ethnic identity crises need to emphasize the same ethnic cultural characteristics(Mingke, 1997). The Hui people in the scattered and mixed areas are not considered to have a crisis of identity and construction, but at least compared with the ethnic core in the northwestern settlements that are regarded as typical Hui, they belong to the marginal in a relative sense. They are

adapting to changes, social scene and one's own unique characters were widely used in the process of interaction with the main Han and mainstream culture. Hui prefer to practice their own ways to express themselves and maintain ethnic identity, using the existing or historical identity concepts and symbols shared by their own ethnic groups to maintain ethnic boundaries. The Hui identity is in the process of changing from a single religion as the criterion to a diversified direction such as blood, national citizenship (Hukou), religion, and local culture at the national and social levels. At the same time, the local people have encountered contradictions and ambiguities in their cognition and behavior on the issue of Hui identity, which is also a common dilemma in contemporary social identity.

6.1 Visiting Funeral and Grave

The self-identity construction of the Hui people is inseparable from their family identity. In the eyes of the Hui people in Cangzhou, going to the grave is a kind of link with both of their ancestor and their family members, which not only provides themselves a chance to talk with their departed relatives, but also could grab an opportunity to have some communications with their families.

“Our family will go to the grave three times a year, once during the Chinese New Year, once on the birthday of our deceased family members, and the last would be on the day of their death; especially during the Chinese New Year, the Han people will actually go to visit the grave as well, so we go on a different day from them, they normally go on the day before the new year, and we go on the second day of the new year, so we are different from them.

You see, when Han people go to the grave, they burn paper money, but our Hui people don't. We all ask the imam to read the Quran. Generally, when the children are free, we will go with the whole family, so that the children can better realize that they are Hui, otherwise when they are asked why are you Hui, do you think you are Hui? They don't know anything. .

So going to the grave is actually very important for young people. You have to remember your ancestors before you know who you are.”

During my fieldwork research, there were several interviewees told me same idea that visiting their ancestors' graves frequently helped themselves to feel more about being a Hui. Also the young generation was impressed by the funerals:

“Because I went to a Han school since I was a child, my classmates are all Han. One day my friend's grandma passed away, and he said his grandma was going to be cremated. I asked him what cremation is, and he said cremation is human Burn people to ashes after death. At that moment, I realized that we Hui people have never been cremated. That was the first time I clearly felt that we were different from the Han people. Everyone always says that we don't eat pork so it's different, but because everyone usually eats in their own homes, they don't have a particularly deep experience. This time I realized that our culture is different from theirs.

Later, I asked my friends if you can choose not to be cremated. My friend said no. The government stipulates that all people must be cremated after death.“

Therefore, to a certain extent, whether it is from the family level or the government policy level, funerals and graves have constituted an important source of Hui people's perception and identification of themselves.

In many cases, due to the lack of contemporary Mosque education and Islamic cultural education, many young generations of Hui people no longer understand the reasons behind these customs and habits, but as a culture, these customs and habits have been passed down continuously and been adopted the Hui people from all generations as part of the culture. In my interviews, I also met with many interviewees that they do not think they are Muslims, but they are actually practicing the Islamic norms as the family regulations. Compared with being called are Muslims, they are more willing to admit that they are a Hui nationality, a Han nationality with a special cultural habit .

6.2 Expressions in life: Hui Muslim language, clothing, food, housing and marriage choices

It is well-known that Hui people use Chinese as their native language, but they still retain their own characteristics in terms of religion and some daily life, and still use some Arabic or Persian vocabulary. For example, the most familiar word Allah is the transliteration of Arabic. Here is some of the frequently used phrases:

Hui Muslims call their faith Imani; they call their prayers Dua, they call the imam's teachings as Jiedua; the funeral to see off the dead is called Zhe Na Zai; students in the mosques are Hailifan; they greet each other with Sailiamu, calls his Hui friends Duositi, and Aminai to bless each other, these all reflect the Hui people's feelings for their own language origin (Mingmin, 2009),and at the same time, it is also the embodiment of Islam in the daily life of Hui, maintaining the traditions of the ethnic group's diet, clothing, language, etc. (Meixiang, 2009), strengthened the Hui nationality's recognition of identity.

Accepting and integrating traditional Chinese Confucianism while taking care of itself, the Islamic culture with national characteristics has become an integral part of Chinese culture.

Secondly, in terms of ethics, the ethics of Islamic culture and the traditional Han ethics blend. I learned from the fieldwork that Cangzhou is a famous historical city in ancient times and one of the more typical cities with traditional Confucian culture. Therefore, the ethics of Cangzhou Hui are greatly influenced by the local Han Confucian ethics. For example, the Confucian Chang Wu attaches great importance to benevolence. The Hui in China also regard benevolence as the basic principle of life, which is embodied in the four aspects of loving the Lord, loving others, loving oneself, and loving things.

Muslims' thoughts about human kindness are based on the equality of human beings. Muslims not only love and live in harmony with each other but also show love to non-Muslims. The righteousness in the Confucian also contains justice, honesty and fairness. No matter what they do, they emphasize fairness and justice. If the whole society is enveloped by an atmosphere of lying, trespassing, breach of contract, and suspiciousness, people will be in extreme anxiety and crisis. The more civilized a society is, the more people value the honesty of words and actions, and the more persistent they are in the pursuit of honesty and trustworthiness.

Confucianism advocates forgiveness and advocates do not do to others what you do not want to do. Muslims also advocate tolerance and raise tolerance as a principle of life, advocate forgiveness, and repay grievances with virtue, and believe that tolerance is the external manifestation of a kind heart and is a kind of nature. Only a wise person can suppress anger and forgive others.

Muslims also advocate the righteous thought, emphasizing the balance between material and spirit, individual and group, and the righteous and balanced ethics enable Muslims to better handle various relationships.

Confucianism advocates being cautious attaches great importance to the cultivation of personal moral standards, and values personal ethics. Caution means being cautious and on guard at all times; independence means being alone and acting alone, it means to consciously control one's desires, regardless of whether it is supervised or not. Muslims also have similar thoughts. They believe that there are two forms of moral practice: one is to restrict one's behavior following the ethical norms when coexisting with others, and the other is to restrain oneself following the ethical norms when one is alone (Xueqiang, 2009). And the devout Muslims of the Hui nationality believe that whether it is behavior in an environment where others do not know but oneself knows or behavior in an environment where they are not alone, they all abide by ethics, and there is no difference in nature between the two.

Therefore, for the Hui people, their integration of Confucian culture and Muslim culture did not bring about identity confusion. On the contrary, Islamic culture and Confucian culture have many similarities on many occasions, and this is also invisible Confucianism help the Hui people to construct their own identity.

6.3 Common Cultural Heritage: Wushu

The main place of activity for the Hui people is the mosque. People worship and study scriptures in the mosque, so the mosque is the place where Muslim culture

spreads. Cangzhou Mosque North Mosque is an ancient temple with a long history and the birthplace of the first Chinese translation of the Quran.

In addition to be an important place for Muslims' religious activities and life, Cangzhou North Mosque also has another name called China Cangzhou Muslim Martial Arts Hall. The Hui people practice martial arts, and they will practice martial arts in the courtyard every time they pray in the main hall to strengthen their bodies (Xian Yunlong. ,2002, An analysis of the characteristics of the traditional sports of the Hui nationality in China). There are still many Hui martial arts enthusiasts in the Peking University temple. This habit is inseparable from the hadith of the Hui people. The Hui people are very pious for the hadith worship. The hadith advocates that people should pay attention to their physical condition and advocate health. It is in the consciousness of the Hui people, so they have maintained the habit of martial arts. Muhammad is the prophet of Islam, has a great influence among the Hui people, and has a high status. According to legend, Muhammad was a master of swordsmanship and had a certain influence on martial arts. In Muslim culture, martial arts was regarded as a sunnah and an idol worshipped by the Hui people. His behavior was imitated by the Hui people. With a relatively high position in the event, Mohammed, who has leadership and extensive influence in martial arts, also promoted the development of Hui martial arts.

6.4 The revival of Islam drives the revival of communities

In fact, since China began to identify the Hui nationality, mosques affected by the Cultural Revolution have also been reopened. The mosque received new funding

for reconstruction, and some halal restaurants began to resume business; in this process, some Hui people regained consciousness sense of identity.

“When we were young, we just caught up with the Cultural Revolution, and then the country asked us Hui people to raise pigs, which bored us to death. So we didn't raise them well, so a lot of pigs died. The country couldn't do anything about us. We didn't eat pork, and it didn't matter if we were raised dead. But you know that pigs are really disgusting and smelly. We were annoyed when we woke up in the morning. But there is no other choices, you have to survive.

At that time, the government did not allow us to have religious activities, so we could only pray secretly at home, and we had to prevent others from getting reported. I had a friend, he was reported. Later, he was persecuted to death. We all felt special sorry about that. We prayed to the Allah every day, hoping that the Cultural Revolution would pass quickly and we could return to normal life.

Later, the Cultural Revolution really passed. The government gave us money to let us rebuild the mosque. At that time, I was scared. Who knew that this was not a complete set. We never dared to rebuild the mosque on a large scale. We actually started Redevelopment in the 1990s . Many imams in the past also removed to other areas in the Cultural Revolution, and some of them died . It was only these years that they slowly recovered.”

When I was conducting the interviews, there was a significant differences between the generations, the generation who experience were more likely to hide their Hui identity, while the young generation seems more open-minded and talkative about their Hui identities.

Actually it would interfered easily that the policy have a really important significance during the construction of identity of Hui people, only in a generation which is region-free, the ethnic groups could have the ability to express their our characters and ideas.



7. CHANGE AND ADAPTATION: CONSTRUCTION OF HUI'S SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

From a historical point of view, the Hui ethnic group is actually a new ethnic group formed by people from different regions and different ethnic origins. With the formation of the Hui, the Hui culture with the characteristics of the original ethnic group took root in China and became a new type of ethnic group. From the perspective of the development history of the Hui, it is neither an inherent nation of China nor a purely foreign nation, but under the great cohesion of Islam, it integrates people from different countries and nationalities.

Most of the Hui ancestors rooted in China have gradually distributed and lived in different regions of China due to business or warfare reasons. The Hui people scattered in various regions face different living environments and survival areas.

Domain, in dealing with the surrounding main national cultural atmosphere dominated by Han culture, it is inevitable to change and adapt to its culture and identity. In the investigation of the identity of the Hui people in the Cangzhou area, I found that the local Hui people have deep feelings and are extremely sensitive to their own cultural traditions and customs. In the process of communicating with other local ethnic groups (especially the Han ethnic group), the Hui people often judge and handle the relationship with other ethnic groups based on whether their ethnic culture and customs are respected. In the course of thousands of years of development, the Hui people in China have changed from a religious-based identity

basis to a diversified identity basis based on national and ethnic identity standards based on religion, blood, and household registration.

7.1 The status of Hui Culture and Social Identity construction

Among the existing administrative regions in China, the Hui people are living in 96% of all the regions. According to data from the Fifth National Census, the total population of Hui people is 1.05 million, accounting for the fourth place in the total population, and the third in the minority population. Among them, the total Hui population in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region accounts for 19% of the national Hui population, and the rest of The Hui population of China is scattered all over China.

Due to the different natural resources and economic conditions in various parts of China, the environment and challenges faced by the Hui people scattered throughout the country are also different. Culture and social identity will inevitably be affected by the pressure of cultural adaptation, and will gradually be assimilated and adapted in a strong cultural background. In different natural and economic and social environments, the Hui people are devoting their efforts to integrate into the local main culture, the degree to which they absorb other cultures and weaken their own cultures is not the same.

As for Cangzhou City, The local Hui people have very frequent contacts with the Han people, so the local Hui people's expression of the Hui culture and social identity in their daily life seems to be so invisible, only could be seen on certain occasions. In general, the cultural and social identity construction of the Hui people presents a distinction in gender, age, and education. In the younger generation of

the Hui, the construction of culture and social identity shows the trend of diversification. Government policy factors are becoming more and more important in the construction of Hui's identity. At the same time, compared with males, females' cultural identity construction process presents a stronger systemic state. Finally, the higher the level of education, the more obvious the struggles encountered in the construction of Hui's social and cultural identity.

7.2 The factors affects Hui Cultural and Social Identity construction

In the observations and interviews of the Huis in Cangzhou, government policies, gender, age, and education are the main factors that show significant effects on the the construction of the Huis' cultural and social identity.

7.2.1 Government policies affect Hui Cultural and Social Identity construction

Historically, the Hui is a long-term integration of people from different countries and races under the connection of Islam. The Hui people from different regions and different nationalities are largely linked by Islam, forming the Hui community. In the history of the Hui, the national consciousness has strong religious characteristics. In the formation process of the Hui, Islam constituted an important aspect of the Hui's psychological consciousness. In future development, it has always been the cultural basis of the national consensus.

“During the Cultural Revolution a few years ago, we dared not say that we were of the Hui, for fear that we would be arrested and criticized. At that time, when my child was registering as a resident, I wished to register him as Han. If this is the case, it will be much more convenient when he goes to school and work in the

future. But now it is different. Now the Hui can even get extra points in the college entrance examination, and many Han are trying to register as they are Hui. The child of my neighbor's family was written as Han when he went to the registration before, but they finally changed it to Hui for the privileges. Now there are many preferential policies for the Hui, so we are not afraid to tell others that we are the Hui.”

Through my interview with the local Hui people, there were quite a number of the elder people who mentioned the cultural revolution that happened in 1966-1976, they were forbidden from religious life and forced to give up all of their unique living habits. But for the young generation, they are giving different answers towards their Hui identity:

“I am now working in the government. My parents thought this job was decent and it was much easier than doing a small business. After I got my current job, I discovered that my Hui identity actually helped me a lot. For example, when attending some important meetings, the government required that the Hui people should appear. I was the only Hui among these colleagues, So in many important conferences leaders will send me to attend, and my career development is relatively stable because of that. I really appreciate my Hui identity, and I have benefited from it.”

From the other interviewees, I also learned that in the process of recruiting governors, the government will reserve certain positions for the Hui as part of the policy. For example, in the recruitment examination in Cangzhou, one of the posts in the Religious Affairs Bureau needs to be of Hui. But this kind of preferential treatment also brings certain disadvantages to a certain extent.

“I am now in my junior year, and some of my classmates have begun to join the party one after another, but my application to join the party has not been accepted. I also know that the number of places to join the party is limited, but my academic performance is top in the class. I have this qualification to apply; but my teacher said that the Hui people have religious beliefs, but the Communist Party is atheistic, so my request cannot be accepted. Every year, Hui students who can apply to join the party are strictly screened. These students will eventually enter the government. Otherwise, they will not recommend Hui students to join the party. I was thinking at that time, if I were not of Hui nationality, my application would have been accepted, so from then on, I began to be reluctant to tell others that I was of Hui nationality. I felt that the policy was unfair.”

In general, national policies have different influences on the cultural and social identity of Hui individuals. However, from the historical development trend, the more favorable the state’s policy towards the Hui people, the more the Hui people’s identity construction tends to affirm both the state and Hui’s identity; when the state policy is not good for the individual, the individual tends to temporarily hide Their own Hui identity, but this does not mean that they have completely abandoned this identity. When the social environment changes, this invisible Hui identity will become dominant again.

7.2.2 Gender affect Hui Cultural and Social Identity construction

For a long period of time, the important role of gender in the identification of Hui nationality has been neglected. In fact, in most Hui families, intermarriage

with Han is still unacceptable, because in Hui families, it is still common for women to obey the husband after marriage. So once this part of the Hui girls married to a Han, it meant that they had to leave their Hui family and start learning the habits of the Han, which is not acceptable for many Hui families.

“I had a boyfriend of Han when I was in college, but my family disagreed. They felt that after we were together, I would start eating pork and leave my family. At that time, I quarreled with my parents and felt that they were making trouble without reason, but I still did not change their minds. Later, my cousin found a Han girlfriend, and the family didn't agree at first, but my cousin was very persistent. Later, our family said that as long as the girl cuts off contact with her family, and if she will follow our family customs in the future, they could let them get married. Boys and girls are so different in marriage. We have been taught since we were young that we must marry a Hui because once you marry a Han, you are not a Hui, but boys are not always the same. If they marry a Han wife, they can ask your wife to follow the habits of the Hui nationality.”

From the interviewee's argument, men and women have been distinguished from their childhood in educating the concept of marriage. At the same time, in my interview, another interviewee also mentioned a story about women's gatherings.

“Over the years, the mosque has been providing us with a meeting place for free, and it will also teach us the knowledge of Arabic. Whether you are young or old, you can come to our gathering at any time. Sometimes young girls would come with their children, we will help with taking care of the children,

and gradually everyone will be familiar with each other, and help each other if there is anything.

Everyone is of the Hui. We will help introduce people to get married as well. We will help match up the suitable boys and girls. We even won the prize last time because of this. We all think that our women's gathering is particularly good, because many of us have little contact with society, so we just get together and have a good time. Everyone is of the Hui, and it is much easier to communicate."

So, compared with males, females' cultural identity construction process shows a stronger community background. All the human beings are living in the society, so they need to be connected to a certain group. Under this circumstances, we could see the clear differences between male and female in the process of identity construction. Although they are all in the big Hui Community, there are still different groups which helps to make the female's identity construction in a more systemic way.

7.2.3 Age affect Hui Cultural and Social Identity construction

From the Chinese Social Survey Report released by Renmin University of China, it seems that the Hui's identity construction is not affected by age, but from my own interviews, Hui people of different age groups have distinctly different views on their Hui identity. .

For the older Hui people, they have experienced a series of religious suppression and formed a shared memory about that. Therefore, for them, on the one hand,

the identity of the Hui is what they try to hide, but on the other hand, they have a strong sense of the Islamic culture behind the Hui identity.

“Young people nowadays don't fast or pray. They don't know what Islam is, let alone learn Arabic and the Quran. When we were young, we followed our parents to learn to pray. Every Friday, no matter what happened, we would go to the mosque. Children nowadays are different. They have to go to school every day and when they finally take a break, their parents will not force them to go to the mosque. Gradually, they forget all these cultural traditions.”

In my interviews, I also tried to ask many young people about the basic knowledge of Islam, but young people generally said that they have no memory of this aspect. So even though the quantitative research didn't clarify the intergenerational differences in the identity construction of Hui, but the differences are existing already and would affect the whole Hui community.

“Rather than saying that I am a Muslim, I am more inclined to say that I am a Hui because since I was a child, I felt that I actually have no religious beliefs, but my family's living habits are somewhat different from those of others. For example, during the Spring Festival, my grandma always said that the Hui don't celebrate Spring Festival, but in fact, we still have some gatherings during the Spring Festival, but our family does not necessarily have to eat dumplings, so we are generally the same with the Han. I don't usually go to a mosque to pray, so I really don't think I'm a Muslim, I'm just of Hui.”

In the mind of many young people, they have made a detailed distinction between the Hui and Islamic beliefs. They recognize their unique culture and

living habits but they do not recognize their beliefs. This is one of the major turning points in the identity of the Hui in recent years.

7.2.4 Education affect Hui Cultural and Social Identity construction

Education is an important part of the process of individual socialization.

Individual education mainly comes from three aspects: family education, school education, and social education.

As far as family education is concerned, individuals of the Hui have acquired the original concept of the Hui in the family. Under normal circumstances, from the time of birth, the Hui family will give the newborn an Arabic name, which represents its Hui identity. However, in actual life, this Arabic name will not be widely used. The Hui people are more inclined to use Chinese names in their daily lives due to the extensive use of Chinese. But the family education of the Hui nationality's identity has already begun at this moment.

“My Arabic name is fatma. I only found out that I had an Arabic name after I went to elementary school. I also used this to joke with my classmates. As far as I can remember, I have known that I am a Hui. My parents kept telling me that we can't eat pork and we have faith. This is my initial conception that I am a Hui. If I have my own children in the future, I would do the same”

As another component of individual education, the school education of the Hui nationality has undergone tremendous changes. In the 1990s, China opened a large number of Hui schools for the Hui people to receive school education.

However, in recent years, due to their insufficient level of education, many Hui

people tend to send their children to Han schools for education. This has brought many Hui children's doubts about their identity in elementary school.

At the same time, with the improvement of education level, students devote more time to curriculum arrangement, which led to the decrease of their time about learning their own traditional culture, which also directly led to the difficulties of young people's understanding of Hui culture and social identity construction.



8. CONCLUSION

Since Tang dynasty, there has been a long history of the ancestors of Hui living in China for various reasons. Most of the ancestors of Hui in Tang and Song dynasties were from Arab, Persian and Turkic language speaking regions in central and western Asia. In Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, the Hui community was gradually established and formed. At that time, the Hui's cultural and social identity construction was mainly based on their biographical bonds and their shared Islamic belief. From historical documents and local ethnography, it is not difficult to find that the formation of the Hui from the Tang Dynasty to the Song Dynasty, or even until the Qing Dynasty was still relied mainly on factors such as blood relationship and family. This coincides with Geertz's idea that ethnic identity is more related with emotional issues, which mainly comes from individual's natural emotional connections and bonds with his own community. A person grows up in a certain community, so he naturally share some consistency with his relatives, friends, neighbors, and religious companions in terms of blood relationship.

When it comes to the contemporary society, the natural biographical characters have less and less significance in the Hui's cultural and social identity construction. The Hui's identity construction are more related to their living norms and shared memories. Also the politics are playing a more important role in the Hui's identify construction as well, as it is human nature to acquire more social privileges.

In my fieldwork, through interviews with the Hui people in Cangzhou City, Hebei Province, I found that age and gender are also one of the important factors affecting the identity construction of the Hui people. For most older people, they have collectively experienced the oppression of the Cultural Revolution era, thus forming the common experience of their generation, so they are more inclined to recognize themselves as a whole Hui community with a shared future. Although many of them are reluctant to share their cultural identities openly and proactively, when asked about their identities, the elder generation is more inclined to call themselves a Muslim and their culture is a Muslim culture. But for most young people, they are more accustomed to being called Hui than Muslims, and make a clear distinction between Hui and Muslims. In the cognition of these young Hui people, the Hui is an identity tag or a living habit inherited from their family, not a belief. Against the background of China's long-term atheism education, the younger generation is more inclined to deny the existence of God and believe that faith is useless. Therefore, in this context, the cultural and social identity construction of the Hui in contemporary China reflects obvious Chinese characteristics. China is a relational society, not an institutional society; therefore, in order to maintain its connection with the original community and gain more benefits in an atheistic society, contemporary young Hui people have separated the Hui identity from the Muslim culture, acknowledging their cultural attributes rather than religious attributes.

Because part of our interviews were conducted during COVID-19, many young people also mentioned their thoughts on returning to the Hui community during the conversations; due to the rapid development of China's social economy, people have paid more attention to gaining more wealth and improving their social status

for a long time. At the same time, the convenience brought by the rapid economic development makes the isolation between the Hui people and their native communities seem insignificant. However, due to the occurrence of the global epidemic, China's lockdown policy made the young generation of the Hui to think about returning to their Hui family and community relations in a short period of time, seeking more spiritual support. However, because COVID-19 is still in progress, the impact of the epidemic on the construction of the Hui community in China, as well as the construction of the Hui culture and social identity is not very clear, and we need to continue to pay attention in the future.

In fact, there are still many topics that can be discussed about the Hui people in China, such as the identity of the Hui people, the education and economic models of the Hui people, etc. These are all worthy of further exploration. In addition to the Hui, China also has many ethnic minorities who believe in Islam, such as the Uygur and Kazakhs; the survival and development of these ethnic groups in China are worthy of our observation and discussion as well.

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风物长宜放眼量.

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