# DRU C. GLADNEY

# dislocating China

Reflections on Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

# CONTENTS

Pre	Preface and Acknowledgments	
1.	Introduction: Locating and Dislocating Culture in Contemporary China	1
	Part I. RECOGNITIONS	
2.	Cultural Nationalisms in Contemporary China	6
	Ethnic identity in China .	6
	The politics of ethnic identification	9
	The politics of Han nationalism	13
	The politics of ethnic separatism	' 17
	Population politics: 'coming out' in the 1990s	20
	The politics of unofficial' ethnicity •	23
	The disuniting of China? • ••	26
3.	Mapping the Chinese Nation .	28
	Mapping nations, mapping peoples	28
	Path dependence: derivative discourses of nationalism	29
	The Polynesian Cultural Center: a proto-path?	'31
	Mixed media, blurred genres, and derivative discourses	34
	Mapping the Chinese Ethnic Culture Park	39
	Path dependence and the seductweness of theme parks	46
	Scrambling and unscrambling paths	47
	Breaking path dependence	49

#### Contents

## Part II. REPRESENTATIONS

4.	Making, Marking, and Marketing Identity	'	51
	Representing identity		51
	The display and commodif cation of the minority other in		i
	China '		54
	Essentializing the Han		59
	Han modernity and the construction of primitivity,		60
	Exotitizing and eroticizing minorities in China		64
	Painting minorities: the invention of the Yunnan School		69
	Marginalizing the center of Chinese film		74
	Contesting and coopting otherness: eroticizing (even) the		
	Muslims		78
	Women as minority and other in China		81
5.	Film and Forecasting the Nation .		85
	Tlie Fifth Generation <		85
"'	Horse Thief and its critics		88
	Minority representation in China		89
	The background to minorities film		92
	Borderless crossing: exoticization in Chinese film		92
	Representing Horse Thief's minorities		95
	Majority agendas, minority subjects		96

#### Part III. FOLKLORIZATIONS

6.	Enmeshed Civilizations	99
	Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' in China	99
	Creating hybridity: human and Hui origins	103
	Legitimating hybridity: imperial imprimatur	107
	Maintaining hybridity: marriage and miscegenation	111
	Betwixt and between	116
7.	Localization and Transnational Pilgrimages	120
	Defining the Hui	120
	Historic tombs and international prominence	121
	Sufi tombs and transnational networks	125
	Local tombs and communal interests	139

Contents	vii
Local gongbei and ethnic folklore	143
Tombs and Hui ancestral tradition	147

#### Part IV. ETHNICIZATIONS

	Dialogic Identities'	150
	Ethnic dialogues	150
	The enigmatic Hui: in search of an ethnic group	152
	A northwestern Sufi community	153
	A Hui community' in Oxen Street, Beijing	154
	A Hui community on the southeast coast	155
	Hui communities in China's minority areas	156
	Hui identity and state recognition	156
	<i>Ethnicity and the nation-state</i> i'	158
	The dialogical nature of ethnic identity	159
	Ethnogenesis of a Muslim minority: from Huijiao to	
	Huimin	160
	The social life of labels -	165
	The local expression of Hui identity	167
	Tlie rise qfpan-Hui ethnic identity	169
	State definition, minority identity, and Han nationalism	170
	The dialogue and contestation of ethnicity in China	173
9.	Relational Alterities	176
	The re-emergence of the 'tribe'	176
	Three families, three'nations' •	181
	The Muslim Chinese: making hybridity	187
	Relational alterity and oppositional identities	189
	The Uyghur: indigeneities of place, space, and state	
	recognition	193
	The Kazakh: nomadic nostalgia and the power of genealogy	195
	Unscrambling overstructured identities	200
	Relational alterities	202

#### PartV. INDIGENIZATIONS

10.	Ethnogenesis or Ethnogenocide?	205
	Tlie Uyghur: old and new	205

Ethnogenesis and the nation-state	208
The ethnogenesis of the Uyghur	210
Twentieth-century Chinese expansion and Uyghur identity	216
The incorporation of Xinjiang and modern Uyghur identity	219
Uyghur identity and the Chinese nation-state	225 1
11. Cyber-Separatism	229
•Reconstructing Uyghur identity	229
The transnationalization of the Uyghur: Salman Rushdie	
and trans-Eurasian railways	231
Islamization and Chinese geopolitics	235
Cyber-separatism: virtual voices in the Uyghur opposition	238
Contesting otherness	257

## PartVI. SOCIALIZATIONS .

12.	Educating China's Others	260
	Making Muslims •	260
	Education and China's civilizing mission	261
	Representation of Muslims as minority nationalities	264
	Muslim self-representation	265
	Chinese education of Muslims	266
	Post-1949 Chinese education of Muslims	269
	The gender gap: male/female education discrepancies among	
	Muslim nationalities	275
	The rise of Islamic education and its influence on Chinese	
	education	277
	Public and private discourse on Islamic knowledge in China	280
13.	Subaltern Perspectives on Prosperity	282
	Cell phones and beepers: capitalism comes to the Hui	282
	Muslim nationality, Chinese state - •	285
	Ethnoreligioiis revitalization in a northwestern Sufi	
	community	288
	• Hui economic prosperity and ethnic reinvention in Fujian	294
	Reflections on Hui prosperity, north and south ,	298
	Han capitalism in socialist China	299
	Han and Hui market perspectives: contrasting moralities	309

#### PartVII. POL1TICIZATIONS

14. Gulf Wars and Displaced Persons .	312
China and the Middle East	312
Transnational Islam and Muslim national identity in China	315
Islamic* movements and revivalism in China >•	319
The first Gulf War and China's Muslims: dividing lines	322
Mutual withdrawal and a 'peaceful resolution'	324
Colonialism under different masters •	328
But what about the cost of lamb?	329
The war on Iraq: a war on Islam?	331
Open doors, guarded expressions	334
15. Bodily Positions, Social Dispositions	336
Images of Tiananmen \'	336
Tiananmen requiem -	339
Bodily efficacy and River Elegy	344
Bodily dispositions and Tiananmen	348
Bodily occupation of the public sphere	357
16. Conclusions -	360
China after 91'11 >	360
Subaltern perspectives on the Chinese geo-body ,	362
Chinese nationalism and its subaltern implications	363
Subaltern separatism and Chinese response	364
China's expanding internal colonialism	366
Bibliography ,	368
Index	402