



## Kyoto-Hawai'i Workshop on Plural Coexistence and its Discontents

A joint activity of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies,  
Kyoto University and the School of Pacific and Asian Studies,  
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Sponsored by the “Southeast Asian Studies Toward  
Sustainable Humanosphere” Research Program of the  
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Plural coexistence has often been held up as both ideal and goal in managing political and social relations between states and in avowedly multiethnic and multireligious societies. But how do specific strategies of classification, negotiation, contestation, mobilization, and redistribution bring “plural coexistence” into play and, just as important, into question? This workshop focuses on how “plural coexistence”—particularly in its ethnic and state-mediated

dimensions—is operationalized (to use Cathy Clayton’s phrase) across East and Southeast Asia. What happens when “difference”—and the capacities, resources, networks, and circulations (whether human, material or ideational) it indexes and taps—is codified, institutionalized, and enforced by a variety of so-called “stakeholders”, including the state, ethnic groups and their representatives, the organizations that act on their behalf, and individuals? How are “differences” (in religion, ethnicity, and literacy, for instance) overlaid, intentionally or merely by consequence, towards mutual articulation or mediation? In what ways do the concept and practice of “plural coexistence” travel and circulate; simultaneously unify and fragment populations; erase divisions while producing new ones or deepening existing chasms; provide the terms not only for empowerment, resistance, accommodation, and evasion, but also for reproducing relations, often asymmetrical, at different geographical and social scales; create new—or reconfigure historical and existing—connections across borders; and engender a variety of cultural, political, religious, and social visions for (re)thinking and (re)making particular communities and the world?

The workshop is a joint activity of Kyoto University’s Center for Southeast Asian Studies and University of Hawai’i’s School of Pacific and Asian Studies, and is sponsored by the “Southeast Asian Studies toward Sustainable Humanosphere” Research Program of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University.

## PROGRAM

9:30-9:45 Opening Remarks by Hiromu Shimizu (Director, CSEAS) and Michael Aung-Thwin (Chair, Asian Studies Program, UH-Manoa)

9:45-11:45 SESSION 1: Operationalizing Ethnicity

Chair: Hiromu Shimizu

China's Portuguese Minority? On the Limits of the Chinese Nation  
Cathryn H. Clayton

The Politics of Ethnic Classification in Vietnam  
Masako Ito

Performance and Representation of National Minorities in Chinese  
Ethnic Music  
Frederick Lau

11:45-13:00 LUNCH BREAK

13:00-15:00 SESSION 2: The Power of the Word

Chair: Junko Koizumi

"Come Home, Come Home!" Chineseness, John Sung and Theatrical  
Evangelism in 1930s Southeast Asia  
Barbara Watson Andaya

Travels by Early Karen Evangelists and the Formation of an Ethnic  
Church in Burma  
Yoko Hayami

Literacy among the Highlanders of Mainland Southeast Asia: Literacy  
and the Local Concept of Power of the Lahu  
Tatsuki Kataoka

15:00-15:15 COFFEE BREAK

15:15-17:15 SESSION 3: Inter-State and Transnational Connections  
and Tensions

Chair: Fred Lau

The Battle over Imported Spirituous Liquors in Siam in the Late 19<sup>th</sup>  
Century  
Junko Koizumi

Entangling Alliances: Elite Cooperation and Competition in the  
Philippines and China  
Caroline S. Hau

The State vs. the Smuggler-Chinese-Alien-Communist Tomas Liamco  
Patricio N. Abinales

## ABSTRACTS

### The State vs. the Smuggler-Chinese-Alien-Communist Tomas Liamco

Patricio N. Abinales

In the first two decades of the Philippine Republic, the government waged a frenzied campaign to stem the flow of “smuggled commodities” into the country. A coalition of agencies – from the Bureau of Customs to the Department of Finance to the three major services of the military – joined with ad-hoc presidential task forces to end smuggling. Interdiction and prosecution were the most preferred weapons. They were deployed mainly against the main purveyors of the illicit trade, which also turned out to be two of the most “unreliable” minorities of the body politic: the Muslims and the Chinese. The “war on smuggling” therefore was not just about commodities; it was also about control of segments of the population who represented what was illicit. This paper tracks these efforts and examines why they failed in stopping smuggling but also asserting state mastery over these unruly minorities.

Patricio N. Abinales is professor at the School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i-Manoa. Before he moved to UH-Manoa, he spent ten fruitful years as a member of the research staff of Kyoto University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies. Three of his books – *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), *State and Society in the Philippines*, co-authored with Donna J. Amoroso (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), and *Orthodoxy and History in the Muslim Mindanao Narrative* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2010) – were written while he was in Kyoto. His current research is on the political economy of American economic assistance to the war zones of Muslim Mindanao, the southern Philippines, and fraternity violence in Philippine schools.

## **“Come Home, Come Home!”: Chineseness, John Sung and Theatrical Evangelism in 1930s Southeast Asia**

**Barbara Watson Andaya**

The association between “Orang Cina” and Christianity has cast a long shadow in the Muslim-majority countries of Indonesia and Malaysia. In considering the historical interaction between religion and ethnicity, this paper will examine developments in the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya during the 1930s, when a greater sense of Chineseness was generated through new Pentecostal-style expressions of Christianity. The focus will be the missiology methods adopted by the evangelist John Sung (1901-44), who had studied in United States in the 1930s but was disenchanted with Western theology. His remarkable appeal among overseas Chinese communities was fostered by economic uncertainties and by the anti-Chinese undercurrents inherent in Indonesian and Malay nationalism, but also by developments in China and by religious influences from Europe and the United States. There is no doubt that Sung’s largely Chinese audiences were attracted by his reputation for omniscience and the belief that he could heal the sick and expel evil spirits. This paper, however, will give particular attention to Sung’s novel teaching methods, his innovative theatrical style and his compelling presentation of the evangelical message in a manner that engaged specific Chinese concerns. Most scholars are now agreed that this period laid the ground for a major expansion of Christian Chinese populations in Southeast Asia. In the evolving history of ethnic relations in Indonesia and Malaysia the evangelism of John Sung thus deserves attention because religious difference has proved to be so critical in determining the degree to which “co-existence” can truly operate.

Barbara Watson Andaya (BA Sydney, MA Hawai‘i, Ph.D. Cornell) is Professor of Asian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i. Between 2003 and 2010 she was Director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies and in 2005-06 she was President of the American Association of Asian Studies. In 2000 she received a John Simon Guggenheim Award, and in 2010 was awarded a University of

Hawai'i Regents Medal for Excellence in Research. Her specific area of expertise is the western Malay-Indonesia archipelago, but she maintains an active teaching and research interest across all Southeast Asia. Her most recent book is *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (2006). Forthcoming (with Leonard Y. Andaya) is *A History of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Her present project is a history of Christian localization in Southeast Asia, 1511-1900

## **China's Portuguese Minority? On the Limits of the Chinese Nation**

**Cathryn H. Clayton**

In the decade after Macau's transfer of sovereignty from Portugal to China, the question of how to protect the rights, interests, and "cultural patrimony" of the Macanese, Macau's tiny mixed-race Eurasian minority, became a question of national interest across the PRC. The idea that the Macanese—the paramount symbol and legacy of European imperialism in China—should be officially classified as a new "ethnic minority," on a par with some of the most visibly marginalized peoples in the Chinese nation-state, gained popularity in the blogosphere and was debated more seriously in academic literature. In this paper, I consider the ramifications of this proposal from two perspectives: first, as an example of the problems that can arise when states try to legislate (and academics try to operationalize) "plural coexistence"; and second, as an exploration of how "China's rise" may be inspiring a new frameworks for thinking about China's past and its Others: frameworks that eschew agonistic narratives of China vs. the West in favor of more pluralistic, though not necessarily less nationalistic, attempts to "provincialize Europe."

Cathryn H. Clayton is a cultural anthropologist of China and Associate Professor in the Asian Studies Program at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Her book *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness* (2009, Harvard) won the 2010 Francis L. K. Hsu Prize for best new book in East Asian

Studies from the Society for Cultural Anthropology. Her current research projects include a collection of oral histories of Macau in the 1960s, and an ethnography of international, inter-ethnic families in Guangzhou, China.

## **Entangling Alliances: Elite Cooperation and Competition in the Philippines and China**

**Caroline S. Hau**

This paper looks at the impact of China's economic cooperation and the transnationalization of mainland Chinese enterprises on Philippine politics and society. The forging of transnational alliances between Chinese state-owned/linked enterprises (including those managed by so-called "princelings"), on the one hand, and Filipino political-cum-business families, on the other hand, has introduced a new but highly volatile element into the process of elite circulation and competition in the Philippines, a process that had historically depended on the selective inclusion and exclusion of the ethnic Chinese. Not only are such transnational alliances making themselves felt in the Philippine economy, but they figure as well in contests among Filipino elite families for state power and state-generated resources. The paper will focus on the controversial ZTE Broadband and NorthRail projects to illuminate the political risks incurred by these new transnational alliances, the racially-charged politics that came into play as details of their inner workings were publicly exposed, and their implication for China's economic cooperation in Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

Caroline S. Hau is Professor at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. Her forthcoming book is *The Chinese Question: Ethnicity, Nation, and Region in and Beyond the Philippines*.



## Travels by Early Karen Evangelists and the Formation of an Ethnic Church in Burma

HAYAMI Yoko

The wave of conversion among Karen in early nineteenth century Burma is a famous success story in the history of Protestant missions. An alternative story condemns the missionaries for having aroused ethnic consciousness among Karen leading to later long-lasting conflict. However, reading missionary and other records closely, we find that local converts themselves constituted a crucial part of the missionizing effort. For example, several years after the first Karen convert, missionary record claimed that there were requests from the Siam side to send teachers over there, and that some Karen converts were eager to visit their “brethren” on the other side of the border, although it was not until the 1880s that systematic attempts succeeded in sending Karen evangelists to Northern Thailand, and founded some churches there. Also, records show that missionary trips into the mountains, which brought the early waves of conversion, were undertaken with Karen “disciples”, who undoubtedly translated the missionaries’ words, and took care of the communities after the missionaries’ departure. The widespread founding of churches in the area could not have been possible without their role.

Yoko Hayami is Professor at Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. As an anthropologist, I have worked among minorities, especially Karen, in Thailand and Burma. Topics of interest include religion, ethnic minority, the hills and plains dynamics in Mainland Southeast Asia, gender and family, all against the background of national as well as global changes in the region. Major publications in English: *Families in Flux in Southeast Asia: Institution, Ideology and Practice* (Co-edited with Junko Koizumi, Ratana Tosakul, and Chalidaporn Songsamphan) Silksworm Press and Kyoto University Press 2012. *Between Hills and Plains: Power and Practice in Socio-Religious Dynamics among Karen* Kyoto University Press and Trans Pacific Press 2004. “Pagodas and

Prophets: Contesting Sacred Space and Power among Buddhist Karen in Karen State” *Journal of Asian Studies*.Vol.70 No.3.2011.

## **The Politics of Ethnic Classification in Vietnam**

**ITO Masako**

Officially, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has a total of 54 ethnic groups, including the majority Kinh and 53 ethnic minority groups.

The ethnic group determination operation was initiated as part of the country’s national integration policy, but at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, twenty to thirty years after the operation began, increasing numbers of ethnic minority subgroups demanded separation from their current ethnic groups to form official new ethnic groups. The state responded to these demands by launching the ethnic group composition review, but as it gradually realized the political implications, it became wary of the danger of national disintegration.

Since the beginning of Doi Moi, being recognized as official ethnic minority groups has provided political and economic benefits. Although ethnic minority subgroups peacefully voiced their demands to the state, the state thought that the “revival” of ethnic self-consciousness should be guided by the Vietnamese state. Hence community-initiated campaigns were frustrated and the state began to close this issue, quietly but without resolution. First is that the state defines “ethnic groups” from above based on the creation of the individual’s “self-consciousness”, which is hard to objectify. Second, is the way the post Doi Moi ethnic minority policy has become preoccupied with distributing material and monetary benefits to ethnic minority groups, in the interest of greater equality. Vietnam’s ethnic minority policy of ethnic group determination has hit an impasse.

Masako Ito is Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Asian and African

Area Studies (ASAFAS), Kyoto University, and specializes on Vietnamese contemporary history. Her publications include *Politics of Ethnic Classification in Vietnam* (Kyoto Area Studies on Asia, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University Press & Trans Pacific Press, 2013), and *Creation of “Ethnicity” and the Nation-State in Vietnam: Modern History of the Tay & Nung Ethnic Minorities in the Sino-Vietnamese Border Area* (in Japanese, 2003; Sangensha [Award of the Japan Society of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004]).

## **Literacy among the Highlanders of Mainland Southeast Asia: Literacy and the Local Concept of Power of the Lahu**

**KATAOKA Tatsuki**

Literacy (or the consciousness of illiteracy) of the highlanders of mainland Southeast Asia has long attracted academic attention. Many highland groups of the area have mythical stories of the “lost book” and such legends have activated a series of messianic movements. These topics have been discussed in two ways. One such discussion presents the highlanders’ concept of literacy as an expression of their longing for their own writing system, and another approach focuses on the function of illiteracy as a strategy to counter the lowland states and civilizations. However, both approaches provide one-sided images of the highlanders’ concept of literacy. The highlanders are not always satisfied with their illiteracy, but the legends of the “lost book” can be narrated out of the contexts of Romanization of ethnic languages. These facts imply that their narratives of literacy and illiteracy have something beyond a simple desire for Romanized scripts and antithesis to the lowland civilization. In this paper, taking the Lahu case into account, I will present alternative view on their concept of literacy in terms of their quest for magico-religious power.

Tatsuki Kataoka graduated from Tsukuba University (Bachelor of Social Sciences) before he obtained his Masters’ Degree from Tsukuba and Kyushu University, and Doctoral Degree from Kyushu University. He has conducted

fieldwork among the Hill Tribes and the Chinese immigrants of Thailand for the study of culture and religion. Currently he is interested in re-consideration of Southeast Asian nation-states from the viewpoint of state's periphery.

## **The Battle over Imported Spirituous Liquors in Siam in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

**KOIZUMI Junko**

After the return of the Siam's "last" tributary mission to Qing China in 1854, Siam and China had neither tributary nor treaty relations for almost a century, between 1854 and 1946. However, Siam's growing economic relations with China from the mid-nineteenth century raised various problems that the Siamese government had to solve without a formal channel through which to directly negotiate with China. One such problem was the increase in the import of cheap Chinese spirituous liquors. From the late 1870s, the influx of liquor brought by the Chinese who, sometimes falsely, claimed to be under the protection or jurisdiction of European powers, such as the Portuguese, British, and Dutch, resulted in great losses for the Chinese tax farmers who monopolized the distillery and sale of spirituous liquors in Siam. As a result, many conflicts occurred between the tax farmers, who forcefully confiscated the imported liquor as illegal, and those Chinese who brought the cases of confiscation to the court. A report by a Portuguese consul, for instance, claimed that there were "above 200 cases of spoliations, between 1885 to [sic] 1887 committed by the spirit farmers against the Portuguese subjects." How did the Siamese government cope with such a situation? By looking at the example of the import of Chinese spirituous liquors into Siam from the late 1870s, this paper intends to examine how Siam tried to regulate and control the growing maritime trade flow of Chinese commodities without any formal arrangement on tariffs and duties by a treaty of friendship and commerce with China and to reveal the complex broader issues that China issue had to entail beyond the bilateral frame of China and Siam.

Junko Koizumi is a historian working on Thai history from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early

20<sup>th</sup> centuries and Professor at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. Her publications cover issues such as taxation, gender, and diplomatic relations.

## **Performance and Representation of National Minorities in Chinese Ethnic Music**

**Frederick Lau**

In 1949, the People's Republic of China announced that China, as a multi-ethnic nation-state, officially recognized 56 nationalities, including the Han majority. To secure the perspective that China is multi-ethnic, state policies were put in place by the Han-dominated government to ensure the visibility of national minorities across the country. In addition to news report and official stories about the positive impact of Communism on the lives of the national minorities, performances of national minorities music and dance were frequently used to bring home the message. For example, in 1953, the government sponsored the "National Music and Dance Performance of all Ethnicities," and in subsequent years, music academies focused on minority music and dance were established in many regions.

On the surface, state sponsored ethnic minority stories portray a unified family in which all groups happily co-exist. However, a close look reveals the contrary. In this paper, I focus on four case studies of national minority performances. By focusing on the presentation, performance style, musical language and overall presentation of this genre, I show that national minorities were in fact subjected to the exotic gaze and biased treatment of the Han majority, a reality far from the ideal of a harmonious co-existence presented by the state. Using music and performance as a window, I argue that the official recognition of Chinese minority groups has sinicized their expression and subtly reduced them to stereotypes and exotic others, thereby inscribing their existence into the national discourse of ethnic harmony and unity.

Frederick Lau is an active ethnomusicologist whose scholarly interests include a wide range of topics in Chinese, Western, and Asian music and cultures. He has published widely on traditional Chinese music, music and politics, music and nationalism, Chinese music in the diaspora, as well as issues related to 20<sup>th</sup> century Western *avant-garde* music. He is author of *Music in China* (Oxford University Press 2008) and co-editor of *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Wesleyan University Press 2004).

*Vocal Music and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Music: Unlimited Voices in East Asia and the West* (Routledge 2013). Currently, he is the chair of Ethnomusicology and Director of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.