

RELIGION, SECULARITY, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Co-sponsored by Asia Research Institute, NUS
and the University of Tokyo, Center for Philosophy,
Contemporary Philosophy in the Age of Globalization

7 ~ 8 March 2013

Asia Research Institute, Seminar Room, Tower Block Level 10



Registration:
Please visit www.ari.nus.edu.sg for more information or
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The on-going debate about the secular public sphere reaches to the core of the issue of the foundation of modern political power. Scholars upholding liberal democracy insist on a normative, privatized definition of religion in their efforts to sustain the secular, rational public sphere. Critiques of this approach call into question the viability of the distinction between the religious and the secular, and argue the public sphere, far from a free space for rational political discussions, is the very terrain where the public power of the state is deployed to ensure the proper formation of its national-citizens by shaping what they believe as truth. This debate reflects a primary concern with religion and the state as manifested in European and North American context. This conference is an attempt to engage the conversations on religion, secularity and the public sphere from the specific sites of East and Southeast Asia. The goals are to problematize social-political conditions and generate new ways to understand state-society relations in these regions.

Two anchoring points ground the more specific discussions of each paper. First, the “religious” and the “secular” are categories of performativity that have been instrumental in constructing distinctions of the private and public, belief and reason, distinctions central for the operation of the power of modern nation-state. We seek to examine these performativity moves of the categories of the religious and the secular through specific case studies of East and Southeast Asia. Second, the secular public sphere will be rethought. It operates upon the premise of exclusion of what is defined as religion. Questioning the “secular” nature of the public sphere requires interrogations into such notions as public good, citizenship, minority, ethnicity, freedom, and fundamentally the relation of the individual with the public authority of the state. Instead of the liberal democratic public sphere, we propose the possibility of envisioning an alternative one that is unbound, inclusive, and embodied. The conference seeks in the past and present of East and Southeast Asia alternative conceptions and practices of that which can be called a public realm.

We pursue these issues while addressing specific questions of:

- In what ways are ongoing discussions on religion, secularity and the public sphere relevant to E/SE Asia?
- How were these ideas shared, borrowed, understood and experienced in this part of the world?
- How were/are the pre-modern or indigenous conceptions, such as *gōnggòng/kōkyō* 公共 (public) or *maslaha* (public good), transformed in modern nation-state building?
- How did the diverse populations of Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and adherents of other religions in Asia pursue “public good”?
- How did the definition of religion relate to constructions of nation-states and of modern scientific knowledge in Asia?
- How did the secular become constitutive of modes of representations of the state in the diverse Asian contexts?
- How the principles of religion-state separation and religious freedom were/are legally and politically instituted and practiced? What tensions and problems were generated in the process?
- How and in what sense do the religious revivals in Asia challenge the very ideas of the public sphere and the nation-state, and why?

Workshop Convenors:

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7 MARCH 2013 (THURSDAY)	
08:30 – 09:00	REGISTRATION
09:00 – 09:30	WELCOME / OPENING REMARKS
	<p>Michael FEENER <i>Religion Cluster Leader, Asia Research Institute and Department of History, National University of Singapore</i></p> <p>NAKAJIMA Takahiro <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i></p> <p>ZHONG Yijiang <i>National University of Singapore</i></p>
09:30 - 10:30	KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Chairperson:	Michael FEENER , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
09:30	<p>European Syndromes and Eurasian Entanglements: The Islamic Exception between 'Europe' and 'Asia'</p> <p>Armando SALVATORE <i>Humboldt-Universitat zu Berlin, Germany</i></p>
10:15	Discussion
10:30 – 11:00	TEA BREAK
11:00 – 12:30	PANEL 1
Chairperson:	LIANG Yongjia , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
11:00	<p>Religion and State in Modern Japanese Philosophy</p> <p>NAKAJIMA Takahiro <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i></p>
11:20	<p>Transgressing Memory across the Dichotomy of Public and Private: Challenge of the Contextual Theology of the Cross</p> <p>MIYAMOTO Arata <i>Japan Evangelical Lutheran Hakata Church</i></p>
11:40	<p>Hannah Arendt and the Possibility of Creating a Space for Religion in the Philippine Public Sphere</p> <p>Rowena Anthea AZADA-PALACIOS <i>Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines</i></p>
12:00	Discussion
12:30 – 13:30	LUNCH

13:30 – 15:00	PANEL 2
Chairperson:	Manjusha NAIR , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
13:30	Governing Religious Corporations: Legal Regulations of Religious Organizations and the Religion-state Relationship in Prewar Japan SHIMIZU Takashi <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i>
13:50	The Rise of the “Religion Sector” (<i>zongjiaojie</i>) in Modern China Adam Yuet CHAU <i>University of Cambridge, UK</i>
14:10	Integration of Non-Muslims into the Islamic Public Sphere: Islamization and Repulsion in Malaysia after the 1990s SHIOZAKI Yuki <i>Doshisha University, Japan</i>
14:30	Discussion
15:00 – 15:30	TEA BREAK
15:30 – 17:00	PANEL 3
Chairperson:	Julius BAUTISTA , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
15:30	Tombs and Culture: the State's Control Over Extravagance in Religious Activities and People's Reactions toward It in Vietnam KATO Atsufumi <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i>
15:50	Evangelical Counterpublics of Southeast Asian Highlanders: Use and Abuse of Protestant Modernity among the Kachin People of Myanmar IMAMURA Masao <i>National University of Singapore</i>
16:10	When the Village Became “Hollow”: Temple Restoration in Southwest China LIANG Yongjia <i>National University of Singapore</i>
16:30	Discussion
17:00 – 17:10	TEA BREAK
17:10 – 18:10	PANEL 4
Chairperson:	Arun BALA , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
17:10	The Colonial Public Sphere as Metaphor YUN Hae Dong <i>Hanyang University, South Korea</i>
17:30	Secularism in a Buddhist State: The Case of Cambodia Ian HARRIS <i>University of Cumbria, UK</i>
17:50	Discussion
18:10	END OF DAY ONE
18:30	WORKSHOP DINNER (For Speakers, Chairpersons & Invited Guests Only)

8 MARCH 2013 (FRIDAY)	
08:30 – 09:00	REGISTRATION
09:00 - 10:00	KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Chairperson:	Michael FEENER , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
09:00	Visions of Post-Secular Society after Fukushima: Plurality and Exclusion ISOMAE Jun'ichi <i>International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Japan</i>
09:45	Discussion
10:00 – 11:00	ROUNDTABLE
Chairperson:	AISHIMA Hatsuki , <i>University of Manchester, UK</i>
	Armando SALVATORE <i>Humboldt-Universitat zu Berlin</i> ISOMAE Jun'ichi <i>International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Japan</i> Prasenjit DUARA <i>National University of Singapore</i>
11:00 – 11:30	TEA BREAK
11:30 – 12:30	PANEL 5
Chairperson:	KUSHIMOTO Hiroko , <i>Sophia University, Japan</i>
11:30	Secularism and Modernity: Europe, Turkey, and Indonesia, 1920s-1940s Chiara FORMICHI <i>City University of Hong Kong</i>
11:50	Religion, State, and Local Population: Rise and Fall of a Quasi-religion in North China, 1932-1948 CHAE Jun Hyung <i>University of Chicago, USA</i>
12:10	Discussion
12:30 – 13:30	LUNCH

13:30 – 15:00	PANEL 6
Chairperson:	Robin BUSH , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
13:30	Between Public and Private: Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia Amelia FAUZIA <i>State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia</i>
13:50	Interrelating Public and Private Spheres: Legal Regulation and Individual Activities on Ethnicity and Nationality in Vietnam ITO Miho <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i>
14:10	“Primitive” Pluralism: Public Space in Multi-ethnic and Multi-religious Villages of Southwest China WU Keping <i>National University of Singapore</i>
14:30	Discussion
15:00 – 15:30	TEA BREAK
15:30 – 16:30	PANEL 7
Chairperson:	Philip FOUNTAIN , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
15:30	The Formation of the ‘Secular Domain’ in Modern Korea JANG Suk Man <i>Research Institute of Religious Culture, South Korea</i>
15:50	Maruyama Masao, Religion and Democracy WANG Qian <i>University of Tokyo, Japan</i>
16:10	Discussion
16:30 – 17:30	PANEL 8
Chairperson:	Andrew HARDING , <i>National University of Singapore</i>
16:30	Reconfiguring Religion-State Relations and Religious Freedom in Post-New Order Indonesia: Liberal Muslim Voice and Its Limits Supriyanto ABDI <i>University of Melbourne, Australia</i>
16:50	A Comparative Study of Private Religion and Public State in Japan and France ZHONG Yijiang <i>National University of Singapore</i>
17:10	Discussion
17:30 – 18:00	CONCLUDING REMARKS
	Michael FEENER <i>Asia Research Institute and Department of History, National University of Singapore</i> ZHONG Yijiang <i>National University of Singapore</i> LIANG Yongjia <i>National University of Singapore</i>
18:00	END OF WORKSHOP

RELIGION AND STATE IN MODERN JAPANESE PHILOSOPHY

NAKAJIMA Takahiro

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Facing western modern notion of religion, modern Japanese philosophy tried to transform its traditional thoughts into modern religion and build up nation state as modern public sphere. In this project, a notion of “personality” played a big role to combine religion and state. Nishida Kitaro who was a founder of modern Japanese philosophy was deeply involved in this project from his first publication *Inquiry into the Good* to his last writing *The Logic of Place and the Religious Worldview*. It is interesting enough that his definition of new religion led us to think of Chinese ritual as one of the representative images of new religion. In other words, Confucian teaching was regarded as “world religion” that gives a profound foundation to state. In this paper, I will analyze Nishida’s thought in a wider context of modern Japanese philosophy. Concretely speaking, I will compare it with Inoue Tetsujiro who was another founder of modern Japanese philosophy. Inoue insisted that we need morality rather than religion in order to give a strong foundation to nation state. Eventually he became one of the prime movers of “National Morality.” Paying attention to the difference between Nishida and Inoue, we will be able to understand the characteristics of modern Japanese philosophy. In addition to that, I have to examine modern Japanese interpretations of Confucianism, because Confucianism is a touchstone for the understandings of religion in Nishida and Inoue. In this respect, I will introduce the discussion of Hattori Unokichi, a colleague of Inoue, who leads a moralistic interpretation of Confucianism rather than religious one. Finally, I will conclude this paper by pointing out other possibility to think of the relationship between religion and state in contemporary situation.

NAKAJIMA Takahiro is Associate Professor of Chinese Philosophy (Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia). After he graduated from the department of Chinese Philosophy at the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, the University of Tokyo in 1991, he was nominated as assistant professor at the University of Tokyo (1991-1996), followed by lecturer and associate professor at Ritsumeikan University (1996-2000), and now associate professor at the University of Tokyo (2000-present). Since 2001, he has been a member of UTCP (University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy) and now the executive director of UTCP and the director of CPAG (Contemporary Philosophy in the Age of Globalization). His publications include *The Philosophy of Evil: Imaginations in Chinese Philosophy* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2012), *Practicing Philosophy between China and Japan* (Tokyo: UTCP, 2011), *Praxis of Co-existence: State and Religion* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2011), *Deconstruction and Reconstruction: The Possibilities of Chinese Philosophy* (Tokyo: UTCP 2010), *The Zhuangzi*, (Iwanami 2009), *Philosophy in Humanities* (Tokyo: Iwanami 2009), *The Reverberation of Chinese Philosophy: Language and Politics*, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 2007), *The Chinese Turn in Philosophy* (Tokyo: UTCP 2007) . He is now interested in the religio-politico-philosophical structure of modern Confucianism in China and Japan.

TRANSGRESSING MEMORY ACROSS THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE: CHALLENGE OF THE CONTEXTUAL THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS

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Toward A Trilogy Which Transcends the Dichotomy between Public and Private

Public philosopher Naoshi Yamawaki suggested a paradigm shift from dualism to trilogy in discussions of the public and the private. He put forward the idea of the “public-common sphere of people” (*tami no koukyo; public of people*), distinguished from “official-governmental sphere” (*kou*) and “private-personal sphere” (*shi*). The series of contextual theology, which has been vibrant since the second half of the 20th century in global Christianity, resonate with the idea of “public-common sphere of people”. In this paper, I try to respond to Yamawaki’s suggestion of the third public arena, the *public of people*, from the perspective of Christian theology, especially the contemporary contextual theology.

Re-emergence of Christian *Thin Tradition*

Contextual theologies, which are represented by liberation theology in Latin America, black theology in North America, feminist/womanist theology everywhere, emerge from their respective contexts in an unsystematic way, but most of them share the goal in searching for the revolution of the concept of God which is responsive to human suffering. In this, they are different theological players from traditional theologians centered on the Western-white-male. Many of them, paying attention to human suffering and salvation, are willing to take the cross of Jesus rather than metaphysical divinity as the starting point of theology.

The theology of the cross carries polar memories. One is the memory of violence, and the other the memory of “God be with the cross.” They can be distinguishable but inseparable in contextual theology. The cross of Jesus as public event exposes the crosses of people into communal arena, and at the same time, the crosses of people reciprocally recall the theological memory of the cross, “God be with the crucified people.” This theology deals with the traditional understanding of con-science, to know well with God, and simultaneously put it into the radical position of con-science, to know well with people. The contextual theologians of the cross pave into edge between the public and the private in terms of the struggle with the injustice and violence of this worldliness. Accordingly, the third space between the public and the private, if following the theological insight, pays attention to the communal event rather than the specific place. It can say that the third sphere of public takes place where communal event brings about, and vice versa. I explore conscientious objector, Kiyoshi Yabe, as an attempt to shed light on this dual reality of conscience from the perspective of contextual theology.

Kiyoshi Yabe (1884-1935): First Conscientious Objector

A young evangelist, Kiyoshi Yabe, received a call-up paper in 1905 during the Russo-Japanese War. He rejected it, and was condemned to imprisonment for two months. He is memorized as a first conscientious objector by reason of the affair. While we can find the movement that his personal religious belief put out into public arena, we also find his communion with people in conditions to make him of conscientious objector. His personal but communal relationship with people goes beyond boundary between official and private or between religious and non-religious. The communal event is not limited to established community like nation-state, religious organizations, and village community. His communion with a variety of people who live with him in his home village, family, local area, church, town, the world, and so on, are firmly combined with his conscientious objection on the basis of his religious belief. Both are distinguishable but inseparable. Here I find the double dimension of conscience: to know well with God and to know well with people. These are supported by the resource like his letter. His reminiscence that his compassion with a widow's sob for her husband's "heroic death" on battlefield made him decide on conscientious objection, represents communal event between the official-governmental and personal-private experience. That resonating point does not lie in pacifism as theory or religious teaching as dogma, but communal event. Here is also the contact point between religious sphere and public arena. It is neither official nor private. It is personal but communal in which the pacific sensibility is brought about and nurtured and shared with others.

MIYAMOTO Arata graduated from the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago (Ph.D) and is currently a pastor in the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Hakata Church. His publications include *Embodied Cross: Intercontextual Reading of Theologia Crucis* (Eugene, OR: Wipf&Stock, 2010) and a translation of Mark Thomsen's *Christ Crucified: A 21st-Century Missiology of the Cross* which was published in Japanese as *Mouhitotsu no Jyujika no Shingaku* (Tokyo: Lithon, 2010).

STORY-TELLING AND THE EXEMPLAR: THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A SPACE FOR RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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The Philippines, with its Catholic majority, is secular by law, but ambivalent towards this secularism in practice. On the one hand, the Catholic Church hierarchy is often criticized by local pundits for their perceived meddling in political affairs, as was evident in the recent public debates about reproductive health policy. On the other hand, religious language is pervasive in the State's transmission of ideas, and this is not only tolerated but often welcomed by its citizens. This ambivalence towards secularism and religion raises the question as to whether the traditional conception of secularity suits a society where the citizenry itself is not secular.

To make sense of this phenomenon, I mine Hannah Arendt's political thought. Arendt was herself ambivalent towards the place of religion in the public sphere. On the one hand, she vocally warned that religion's absolutist claims to "truth" can destroy the democratic space for discourse. On the other hand, she used religious imagery liberally, and expressed great admiration for certain religious thinkers.

In this paper I draw out the complexity of Arendt's views on religion, something that has not been sufficiently done by her commentators. Specifically, I examine the dynamic between doubt and faith that she explores in her often-ignored essays on the "modern religious man," as well as her reflections on the place of story-telling and the exemplar in expressing the shared principles of multiracial and multicultural democratic society.

Through this, I seek to demonstrate that, her criticism of religion notwithstanding, Arendt's reflections themselves point to some insights as to how religion can participate in public debate without becoming despotic. In so doing, I hope to uncover in Arendt's thought a way of reconciling secularity and religion, and thus, a possible way forward for societies such as the Philippines that find themselves torn between the two.

Rowena Anthea AZADA-PALACIOS is an instructor with the Department of Philosophy at the Ateneo de Manila University, where she has taught Philosophy of the Human Person, Philosophy of Religion, Ethics, and Multiculturalism to undergraduate students for the last thirteen years. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees in philosophy from the Ateneo de Manila, defending a master's thesis on the postmodernity of Hannah Arendt's thought. She has also done postgraduate work in citizenship and history education with London's Institute of Education via the University of London International Programme. Rowena has published academic articles on political philosophy and citizenship education. Most recently, she co-authored (with Pamela Joy Mariano) the entry on indigenous education in the Philippines for the *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*, edited by James Banks; she also co-authored (with Antonette Palma-Angeles, Ph.D.) a commissioned monograph entitled *Medicine Prices, Price Controls and the Philippine Pharmaceutical Industry*. Her current research area explores conceptions of national identity, nationhood and citizenship in multicultural societies. She is working on a project funded by the Ateneo de Manila University Research Council in which she is analysing the construction of the Filipino national identity in the Philippines' Grade 6 history education curriculum and textbooks.

GOVERNING RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS: LEGAL REGULATIONS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE RELIGION-STATE RELATIONSHIP IN PREWAR JAPAN

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This paper is an attempt to investigate the relationship between religions and the state in Japan before World War II. For this purpose, it focuses on the legal regulations of religious organizations, especially those related to the establishment of religious organizations and their legal personality.

The rights of organizing religious entities and of obtaining legal personality (by establishing them as religious corporations) are of great importance for religions. The former means that religions can form their organizations without state intervention, and the latter means a religious organization can behave as an independent legal entity, and also can have the autonomy regarding its internal matters. At the same time, conferring those rights may be harmful to the state, since religious authority often conflicts with state authority. In this sense, regulations regarding those rights reflect the state's attitude toward religions. We thus consider that we can shed some light on the state-religion relationship by focusing on them.

After examining the regulations religious organizations, including decrees and ordinances in Meiji and Taisho era, and Religious Organizations Law (*Shukyo Dantai Ho*) in 1939, the author reached the following conclusion. Though the Japanese government restricted the formation of new religious organizations and was reluctant to confer legal personality to them in general, there was a difference between the regulations to unit organizations (shrines, temples, churches etc.) and those to umbrella organizations (religious sects). Though Japanese government recognized legal capacity of shrines and temples even before 1939, it did not recognize that of sects until 1939 and had been unwilling to recognize it. Other facts also suggest that Japanese government was more cautious about umbrella organizations (sects) than unit associations. The author discusses that one of the reasons was that those sects could be regarded as alternatives to state Shintoism and thus to the political regime of the state. The author also discusses about implications of the conclusion.

SHIMIZU Takashi is an Associate Professor of the Department of Advanced Social and International Studies, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo. His research interests are in organization theory, business and society, business history, and law and economics. His recent research topics include; organizational analysis of legal personality, historical development of legal forms of business and its relationship to economic development, the acceptance of corporate social responsibility in Japan, and comparative analysis of corporate risk management practices. He has written a book and has published several articles in journals including *Benchmarking: An International Journal*, *International Journal of Services and Operations Management*, *Organizational Science*, *Journal of International Business*, *Japan Business History Journal*, *Annals of Business Administrative Science*, *Jurist*, *Japanese Journal of Behaviormetrics*, *Akamon Management Review*, and *Corporate Compliance Quarterly*. He holds a BA, a MA, and a Ph.D. in economics from The University of Tokyo. He also had visiting positions at Yale University and Seoul National University.

THE RISE OF THE 'RELIGION SECTOR' (*ZONGJIAOJIE*) IN MODERN CHINA

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This paper will examine the twin notions of the 'religion sector' (*zongjiaojie*) and 'venue for religious activities' (*zongjiao huodong changsuo*) in Chinese official conceptualisations of religion during the reform era (1980s onward). Specifically, I will look at how these notions have stimulated processes of 'sector-isation' and 'venue-isation' of religion, which are amongst the most interesting new developments in the Chinese religiouscape in reform-era China.

The paper is divided into three sections. First, I will examine the rise of the 'religion sector' (*zongjiaojie*) as a socio-political domain in modern China with the accompanying emergence of categories such as 'religious personnel' (*zongjiao jiaozhi ren yuan*) and 'venues for religious activities'. Second, I present a case study on how a popular religious temple gained the status of 'venue for religious activities' after many years of engaging in the politics of legitimation, i.e. how a supposedly superstitious and illegal institution successfully entered the 'religion sector'. Third, I briefly examine another case to illustrate how certain clusters of religious or semi-religious activities (e.g. *qigong* practices) negotiated their relationship with the religion sector. These cases illustrate how malleable the boundaries of the religion sector can be depending on contexts and circumstances.

Adam Yuet CHAU (PhD in Anthropology, 2001, Stanford University) teaches in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. He is the author of *Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China* (Stanford University Press 2006) and editor of *Religion in Contemporary China: Revitalization and Innovation* (Routledge 2011). He is interested in developing better ways of conceptualising the Chinese religious landscape. One of his career ambitions is to stop people from asking the question 'How many religions are there in China?'. He is currently working on book projects investigating the idiom of hosting (*zuozhu* 做主) and forms of powerful writing ('text acts') in Chinese political and religious culture.

INTEGRATION OF NON-MUSLIMS INTO THE ISLAMIC PUBLIC SPHERE: ISLAMIZATION AND REPULSION IN MALAYSIA AFTER 1990S

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In the independence period in 1950s, the Federation of Malaya was designed as more secular state than contemporary Malaysia. The ruling elites were Western-educated, and their discourse was dominant in the public sphere. The traditional discourse of Malay Muslims based on Islamic discursive resources was marginalized at that time.

Since the late 1960s, the Islamic discourse was restored in the public sphere after the discourse of modern Islamic movement from the Middle East was imported. The ruling party United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and an opposition party Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) vied for Islamic legitimacy. As a result, non-Muslims were alienated from the “Islamized” public sphere. There are voices of non-Muslims such as Christians and Hindus to criticize the escalation of Islamization and alienation of non-Muslims.

This study explores measures of UMNO and PAS for integrating non-Muslims into the public sphere of Malaysia after 1990s. Although the Muslims are majority group – 61% – of Malaysia, support of non-Muslims is decisive in the political competition between UMNO and PAS. UMNO has been attempting to sustain the support of non-Muslims, and emphasizing Islamic character of the party at the same time. The slogans of UMNO such as “Islam Hadhari (Civilizational Islam)” of Abdullah Badawi’s government and “Wasatiyyah (Middle Path)” in Najib Abdul Razak’s government are products of the ambivalent policy. PAS adopted a slogan “Islam for all” after the loss in the general election in 2004. This study examines the trials of two Malay Muslim political parties to integrate non-Muslims into the public sphere, and considers the possibility of multi-religious public sphere in a modern Muslim-majority state.

TOMBS AND CULTURE: THE STATE'S CONTROL OVER EXTRAVAGANCE IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND PEOPLE'S REACTIONS TOWARD IT IN VIETNAM

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The Kinh people, the Vietnamese majority who practice Confucian ancestral worship, believe that the quality of their ancestors' tombs determines the descendants' prosperity. On the other hand, the socialist state has directed people to refrain from constructing luxury tombs, considering it a waste of people's property and land in public cemeteries.

By focusing on conflicts over the cultural policy regarding tombs and cemeteries manifested in the state-sponsored "Campaign for the Construction of Cultural Family" and people's reactions toward it, this study argues two points:

It first examines the dichotomy of public (cong; 公) and private (tu; 私) functions as an ideology to legitimize the state's intervention in people's overspending on religious activities in contemporary Vietnam. Similar to traditional China, the idea of "cong" indicates the realm of universal principles, which is usually embodied by the official government, while "tu" is essentially a negative word related to individualism and selfish interests. This study analyzes the ideological effect of this asymmetrical dichotomy in the discourse of state policies on religious activities.

Second, it analyzes a particular case observed through an anthropological fieldwork study in a village in Ha Tinh province, Central Vietnam, wherein the residents' assembly of the village rejected four households from the recommendation list for cultural families because they had created a luxury tomb for their common ancestor. Paying attention to the local people's flexible approach to ancestral worship in the realm of familial duty and sentiment, which conflicts with the dichotomy of "cong" and "tu," this study reveals the horizon of ordinary people's religious lives, which cannot be divided into public and private lives in either the Western or Vietnamese/Chinese contexts.

KATO Atsufumi is a project assistant professor at the East Asia Liberal Arts Initiative (EALAI), the University of Tokyo, where he is responsible for the Zensho-UT Japan Studies Program at Vietnam National University, Hanoi. He has been conducting anthropological field research on local governance in contemporary Vietnam since 2002. He earned his Ph.D. in Human Sciences from Osaka University, where he wrote a dissertation entitled "Ethnography of Governance and Morality: Villagers of Central Vietnam in the Age of Self-Governance" (2009, in Japanese). His research projects focus on the ideology and practice of participatory democracy through case studies of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), Rotating Saving and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), and village conflicts over the selection of poor households, among others. He has recently edited a volume entitled *Alternative Intimate Spheres for Women in Vietnam* (GCOE Working Papers, Kyoto University Global COE Program for Reconstruction of the Intimate and Public Spheres in 21st Century Asia, 2012).

EVANGELICAL COUNTERPUBLICS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN HIGHLANDERS: USE AND ABUSE OF PROTESTANT MODERNITY AMONG THE KACHIN PEOPLE OF MYANMAR

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This paper analyzes the formation of the counterpublics in Southeast Asia with a case study of the Kachin people in northern Myanmar (Burma). The relationship between the Kachin and the Myanmar government has been antagonistic for the past half century. The Kachin Independence Army, established in 1961, and the government army are still fighting today. Throughout the five-decade period, the Kachin-language mass media have been effectively banned. This paper raises the question: how does the Kachin civilian population create and maintain their own public spaces without mass media? That is, how do they make acquaintances with each other (as fellow Kachins), identify common concerns together, and form associations voluntarily? My findings show that the Kachin publics have been predominantly developed through the congregational spaces of their new religion, Protestant Christianity. The vast majority of the Kachin people are Protestants today, and it is the churches that facilitate and animate their publics in Myanmar.

Protestantism has been useful for the Kachin in restructuring their counterpublics, especially since they found themselves as a minority group in the new sovereign state of Myanmar. During the Socialist era (1962-1988), the Myanmar government took draconian measures to impose its authority over a wide range of organizational affairs; the Kachin responded to this by creating vibrant Protestant counterpublics, skillfully maneuvering the ambiguous distinction between the religious and the secular. I analyze three key features of Protestant modernism that have been effective in the formation of the Kachin counterpublics. Firstly, Protestant vernacularism has facilitated the formation of new ethno-national groups based on linguistic categories. Secondly, Protestant translocalism has enhanced the spatial mobility and fluidity of the Kachin network. And thirdly, Protestant rhetoric of self-representation (especially conversion narrative) has provided the Kachin with useful national historiography.

IMAMURA Masao is a Doctoral candidate in the geography department at the National University of Singapore (NUS). Currently he is writing up his dissertation as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Born and raised in Kamakura, Japan, he studied philosophy at Oberlin College in Ohio and then worked as a librarian at St. John's College in New Mexico. Before joining the NUS, he worked for environmental NGOs in Thailand and also worked at Chiang Mai University and Chulalongkorn University as a researcher. His dissertation analyzes the conversion to Protestant Christianity of Kachin people in northern Burma/Myanmar, based on archival research and fieldwork. Through this study of religious culture, he pursues certain historiographical and philosophical questions about modernity.

WHEN THE VILLAGE BECAME “HOLLOW”: TEMPLE RESTORATION IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

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Telling a story of a temple restoration campaign in a southwest Chinese village, the paper examines the mutual accommodation of the state-sanctioned secularist public sphere and the vernacular sacred publicness. In a state-funded project to attract scattered villagers to relocate back to the old settlement, the villagers set a condition of restoring an old communal temple. However, the secular government is legally unable to fund the temple, which has no formal status of a religious site. After a series of negotiation, the villagers and the state-agents reached an agreement that allows the villagers to raise fund on household basis. The temple site was legally designated as a village road by the state-agents, who fund another small public square in the same village. Ironically, the temple immediately became the venue for public events--wedding, funerals, festivals, while almost no one uses the other square. The paper argues that this mutual accommodation and the use of public space is an instructive example of how religious revivals in contemporary rural China challenge the very ideas of the public sphere and the nation-state: The public sphere is religiously value-laden, involving the very idea of the "household", while the nation-state's promotion of public sphere is a hollow concept in the village.

LIANG Yongjia is a Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He has combined interests in the ethnographic and historical studies of religion and ethnicity of China, world renunciation and kingship. His papers appear on a number of journals, including *Asian Journal of Social Science*, *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* and *Sociological Studies* (Chinese). After two Chinese books, his forthcoming monograph, *Reconnect with Alterity: Religious and Ethnic Revival in Southwest China*, will be published by Routledge.

THE COLONIAL PUBLIC SPHERE AS METAPHOR

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The debate over the colonial public sphere concerns a political metaphor rather than an actual reality. The colonial public sphere is a concept that has been adopted to expand our understanding of political history as well as colonialism as a whole. Our understanding of the formation of colonial society itself needs to be reinterpreted to redefine actively the concept of the colonial public sphere. Furthermore the debates over the public sphere can advance by expanding the debate over the public sphere to the audiences of the mass media and the informal public sphere. Colonial subjects may steal furtive glances into the niches of the dominant public sphere and makes these spaces their own to transcend the dominant discourse (The politicization of the 'social'), appropriate them by twisting them (The consumer public sphere discourse), or submerge them below the surface to make it their own in their everyday life (the formation of the informal public sphere). In addition to these methods, the colonial state as well as the nation-state itself may have countless other ways where the publicity and a discourse of the public sphere may be found.

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SECULARISM IN A BUDDHIST STATE: THE CASE OF CAMBODIA

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The contemporary cultures of Thailand and Cambodia show strong traces of Theravada Buddhist influence. Both countries are constitutional monarchies and both have as their motto the formula: Religion Nation King. Independent Cambodia was forged as a Buddhist state, in the sense that Theravada Buddhism is its established religion. In Thailand there have been a series of recent high-profile, and so far failed, attempts to establish a similar constitutional arrangement.

This paper will focus largely on Cambodia but with some reference to Thailand for comparative purposes. I will argue that that Buddhism was influential in determining the nature of the modern nation and that it has informed the ideology of most modern Cambodian regimes, including the Khmer Rouge.

In order to establish whether it makes sense to talk of a secular realm existing under such conditions I shall examine what it means to be a “citizen” in contemporary Cambodia, with specific reference to the ambiguous position of the Buddhist monk. I shall also examine the significance of the Ministry of Religion and Cults in maintaining boundaries between Buddhism, other religions and the “public sphere”, and the “religious” meaning of state ceremonial, including the February 2013 funeral rites of ex-king Norodom Sihanouk.

Ian HARRIS was educated at the Universities of Cambridge and Lancaster, holding a doctoral degree in Buddhist Studies from the latter. Initially a student of Buddhist philosophy, his current academic interests focus on the modern and contemporary history of Cambodia, Buddhism and politics in Southeast Asia, Buddhist environmentalism, and landscape aesthetics. His most recent books are *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (2005), *Buddhism Under Pol Pot* (2007), *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks under the Khmer Rouge* (2012) and an edited volume entitled *Buddhism, Power and Politics in Southeast Asia* (2007). He is Professor Emeritus at the University of Cumbria and was the Tun Lin Kok Yuen Distinguished Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies at the University of Toronto in 2011-12. He is co-founder of the UK Association of Buddhist Studies [UKABS] and has held visiting positions at the University of Oxford, the University of British Columbia, the National University of Singapore, Dongguk University, and the Documentary Center of Cambodia. He and is currently teaching at the Preah Sihanouk Raja Buddhist University, Phnom Penh.

KEYNOTE #2

**VISIONS OF POST-SECULAR SOCIETY AFTER FUKUSHIMA:
PLURALITY AND EXCLUSION**

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Discourse of postcolonial criticism has problematized the phenomena to repress and exclude others. Postcolonial critics, i.e. Homi Bhabha and Edward Said, criticize homogenous identity which constructs individual identity and nationalism by the “hybrid” nature which insists on the original impureness of identity without authenticity. The recognition of hybrid subjectivity leads us to form the society of “commensurability of the incommensurable” in the web of human relationship.

Society, however, is constituted of plurality. As Hanna Arendt stated, plurality necessarily accompany with the exclusion of others; minority, immigrant, woman and discriminated ethnicity. Plurality does not mean the equality but unevenness of different subject. From this perspective, the postcolonial thinking about “commensurability of the incommensurable” cannot help but insisting on the ideal ethic which is distinguished from the reality of our everyday life. In this point Gayatri Spivak’s famous statement “subaltern cannot speak” is worthy to be considered enough. The terminology of “Subaltern” means the conspiratorial structure of plurality and exclusion which has been called as “the primitive violence” according to Jacques Derrida. Here we are requested our “hospitality” as “the experience of the impossible.”

The existence of “others without sensibility toward others pain,” however, we should recognize regardless of which kind of ethics we envision. Needless to say, it is obvious the public sphere accompanies exclusion both in negative or positive sense, at the same time the private sphere is embraced in darkness of our heart. It is the task of contemporary intellectuals how to shed lights on this dark sphere held in emotion by the light of public reason. As the relationship of religion and politics, people cannot separate the two spheres of public and private spheres as Giorgio Agamben pointed out. How to articulate the relationship of public and private spheres is our duty to be done urgently. It is fact to be recognized reality of everyday life is always elusive from our intellectual grasp of the reality.

ISOMAE Jun'ichi is Associate Professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, Japan, and taught postcolonial theories and Japanese modern religion at University of Zurich, Ruhr University of Bochum and Tubingen University. He gets Ph. D. from University of Tokyo. His research is focused on the hegemony of discursive formation, and plurality and exclusion through the analysis on the dichotomous history of “religion” and “history” in modern Japan. He is the author of *Japanese Mythology: Hermeneutics on Scripture* (Equinox Publishing, 2010) and *Genealogy of Religious Discourse in Modern Japan: The Concept of Religion, State and Shinto* (Brill, forthcoming), and the co-editor of *Overcoming Modernity: East Asian Community and the Kyoto School* (World Scientific Publishing, forthcoming).

SECULARISM AND MODERNITY: EUROPE, TURKEY, AND INDONESIA (1920S-1940S)

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In post-Enlightenment Europe, the paradigm of secularization had become staple of 'modern' nation-building, and even though across the Old Continent the separation of state and church had taken different forms, this was to be treated as an axiomatic model in 20th century Asia.

The first radical implementation of secularization as active separation of religious and political leadership was pursued in Turkey where Mustafa Kemal, in his endeavour to strengthen his nation socially, economically, and politically, reformed what was left of the crumbled Ottoman Empire. Throughout the 1920s Kemal stripped the Caliph of his political authority, abolished Muslim mystical orders, converted the Turkish language from the Arabic script into a Romanized one, and forbade the headscarf for women and the fez for men. Kemalist reforms were deeply rooted in the nature of the Ottoman Empire's weaknesses, a *de facto* monarchy, which abused its authority to ensure its own perpetuation; all justified with the religious argument of *din-wa-dawla* (religion and state).

In the meantime, in the Dutch Indies the early nationalist movement had rallied around Islamic groups. A driving force behind the *pergerakan* in the 1910s and early 1920s, Sarekat Islam was portrayed as 'an association of Muslims working for *progress*', in which Islam was the signifier of nativeness.

This paper will address the question of the transfer of 'secularism' as a vector of modernity in Indonesia, but as an Asian, Muslim, paradigm already explored by Turkey, rather than as a European model of development.

Chiara FORMICHI is Assistant Professor of Asian and International Studies at City University, Hong Kong. She has a BA (Hons) in Arabic language and Islamic Studies (University of Rome 'La Sapienza'), and a Masters in Southeast Asian Studies from SOAS, London. She obtained a Ph.D in History of Southeast Asia (SOAS). Her publications include the monograph *Islam and the making of the nation: Kartosuwiryo and political Islam in 20th century Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV, 2012), and the edited volumes *Shi'ism and Beyond: Alid Piety in Muslim Southeast Asia* (ed. with Feener) and *Religious Pluralism, State and Society in Asia*. Her research interests are modern Islamic political thought, contemporary expressions of Islam and transnational connections between Muslim Southeast Asia and the greater Middle Eastern region (especially Turkey and Iran).

**RELIGION, STATE, AND LOCAL POPULATION:
RISE AND FALL OF A QUASI-RELIGION IN NORTH CHINA, 1932-1948**

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This paper will examine political tensions generated by the emergence and operations of a ‘quasi-religious’ organization—Daoyuan and World Red Swastika Society (DW hereafter)—in the context of early twentieth century state-building projects in North China, generally characterized as involving a process of secularization. While existing literature treats the secularization process as a confrontation between the secular state and religious groups, especially those of institutionalized religions, this paper introduces the relationship between such groups and the local population. How did the absence of strong commitment to religious beliefs by the population shape engagement between the DW and local society? How would groups such as DW gain popular support in such a context? Drawing on sources from municipal archives in Qingdao and Shanghai, the paper is divided into two parts. In the first, I look at the relationship between the state and DW immediately following the establishment of Manchukuo. I juxtapose this relationship to popular criticism against DW by Chinese local newspapers. By so doing, I argue while Japanese officials, Guomindang cadres and local governments wanted to cultivate friendly relations with DW, Chinese local mass media expressed hostility toward the religious charity organization for being a pro-Japanese collaborator. But the both the local officials and the public media naturally saw the religious aspect and the secular aspect—in this case relief works—could be separated. The second part of my paper investigates a post-war legal dispute between a DW branch in the city of Qingdao and tenants of the branch’s property. The lawsuit demonstrates how post-war problems of resource scarcity created conditions of competition between the quasi-religious charity organization and the local population. These conflicts enabled the state to accrue authority by mediating such disputes.

CHAE Jun-hyung is a Ph. D Candidate in history at the University of Chicago. As a native of South Korea, Jun-hyung got B.A. from Korea University, and M.A. from University of Chicago. He is currently finishing his Ph. D dissertation, *Religion, Charity, and Contested Local Society: Daoyuan and World Red Swastika Society in Shandong, 1921-1954*. As a social and intellectual historian of modern China, he is interested in secularization, state-religion relation, and the role of civil organizations in the formation of modern Chinese political authority. In his dissertation, he explores these issues through a lens of a redemptive society in interwar and postwar Chinese context.

BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE: ISLAMIC PHILANTHROPY IN INDONESIA

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Religion does matter for Indonesians—whatever religions or faith they believe; so placing religion only in private area is problematic. Indonesian constitution represents a secular state that acknowledges religion without referring to any specific faith as its ideology. However, there is no doubt that Islam is a significant factor in shaping its nation and its public sphere since the majority of the population is Muslim. Therefore, boundaries between “public” and “private” are different from the tradition found in the European public sphere.

Philanthropy is regarded as activities related to giving, done voluntarily, non-state, for the public good. However, there are many cases where practices of Islamic philanthropy have been contested. For example, some Muslim communities (including countries) observe *zakat* (almsgiving provided to the poor) as state matters, should be given through the state; but some others observe *zakat* as personal matters, given individually by people to the poor. In Indonesia, *zakat*, *sedekah* and *waqf* in some cases have become an object of the contested public good. For example, disbursement of Islamic voluntary donations (*sedekah*) has been contested, depending on what type of ruling state. In the colonial time, the government prohibited the use of mosque funds for supporting public hospitals, while in *Reformasi* period the government received a support in collecting and managing *sedekah* from individual Muslims for public good.

By looking into various cases of practices of Islamic philanthropy, this paper will show that separation between private affairs and public realm, between religious and secular, is narrow and defined depending on social and political context and values. Religious persons will see social and political problems with religious perspectives. This paper argues that the development of “privatisation” and “publicness” under the secular state has been contested and showing a degree of increase of religion in the public sphere alongside the growing Islamic philanthropic practices and democracy.

Amelia FAUZIA is lecturer at the Graduate School and at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta. Her academic specialization is Islamic history and philanthropy in Indonesia. She received her Master degree from Leiden University in 1998 (writing about Ratu Adil movement) and her PhD from the University of Melbourne in 2008. Her PhD thesis, *Faith and the State: a History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia*, is currently being prepared for publication by E.J. Brill. She currently works as Deputy Director of the Research Institute at the State Islamic University Jakarta. Amelia is coordinator and editor for a book publication project on social justice philanthropy in Muslim societies. She was a lead researcher of a research entitled Islamization in the public sphere: Muslim identity and negotiating Indonesian democracy, (published by CSRC, 2011). She and Minako Sakai are publishing an article “Islamic Orientations in Contemporary Indonesia: Islamism on the Rise?” in *Asian Ethnicity*.

INTERRELATING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES: LEGAL REGULATION AND INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES ON ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY IN VIETNAM

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Since 1986, Vietnam has implemented the Doi Moi policy. It was a turning point for the nation not only to seek to economic and social development based on market principles, but also to change relationships between public and private sphere such as state and society, nation and family, secular and religion, and collective and individual. This paper attempts to argue how the relationships between public and private realm have transformed and even knitted each other during the Doi Moi period by focusing on two symbolic cases.

First, the author argues the people's strategic activities to change their ethnicity to receive subsidies for ethnic minorities. As one of the Socialist states, Vietnam has a legal regulation on ethnicity since 1979. Although the civil code prescribed that child's ethnicity should to be inherited from father or mother, in practice, some people slip through the public rule due to achieve priority status for their children to go to higher education easily. As the result, especially in Northern mountainous areas where many ethnic groups settled together, there are ethnic "mosaic" families, which are consistent with members who have some different ethnicities.

Second, this paper focuses on the nationality law, which was revised in 2008. Before the Doi Moi, the State upheld the principle of one nationality and denied Vietnamese people to apply a foreign nationality. However as economic influence of overseas Vietnamese (especially in United States) toward Vietnam had increased, the State implicitly permitted for them to have de facto dual nationalities. And at last, the 2008 revised nationality law included a decree to give Vietnamese citizenship for people who are named as "Vietnam origin", due to stipulate their patriotic emotion to the home country and to absorb their economic power.

After examining these two cases, the author discusses that public regulations and private activities interrelate each other to achieve their own purposes during the transitional period. Such interrelationship suggests that public/private spheres in the East/Southeast Asian contexts should be understood as not antinomy but rather interdependence, which differs from Western one. The author also argues about implications of the conclusion.

ITO Miho is a Research Fellow of the Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo. Her research interests are in relationship between ethnicity and nation-state, education and society in modern history of Vietnam. Her recent research topics include; History of ethnic policy of the Vietnamese state, efficiency of affirmative action for ethnic minorities in multi ethnic country, historical development of relationship between public and private in East / Southeast Asian context. Her major research field is in the Northern part of Vietnam, including some mountainous areas, such as Lao Cai province, Phu Tho province and Lang Son province, where many ethnic minorities live together. She has published several articles in journals and books, including Japanese Journal of South Eastern Asia studies, Asia studies. And also, she has delivered several presentations at international academic conference, including International conference for comparative education and International conference of Vietnamese studies. She holds a BA in Literature from Tokyo Women's Christian University, and a MA and a Ph.D. in Arts and Sciences from The University of Tokyo.

**“PRIMITIVE” PLURALISM:
PUBLIC SPACE IN MULTI-ETHNIC AND MULTI-RELIGIOUS VILLAGES OF SOUTHWEST
CHINA**

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The township of Bingzhongluo in Northeast Yunnan, Southwest China, is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious region that borders Myanmar and Tibet. Its main ethnic groups are the Lisu (around 50%), Nu (around 30%), Tibetan (around 15%), Dulong (around 10%), Bai, Han and Hui (altogether around 5%). The 6,000 residents mostly subscribe to three main religions: Catholicism, Protestant Christianity and Tibetan Buddhism, with some reports of Shamanism. In contrast to many multi-ethnic and multi-religious regions of the world, this township has reported very little conflict resulting from religious or ethnic feud. I argue that villagers there exercise a kind of “primitive” pluralism by frequent intermarriages, multi-lingual interactions, as well as maintaining a public space that transcends ethnic and religious boundaries. Firstly, most ethnic categories are not innate and certain, but a response to state requirement, as well as a strategy to maximize self-interest. Secondly, even though each religion has its own codes of conduct, the boundaries among them are not fixed, but porous – family unity often overrules religious adherence. Lastly, village matters such as weddings, funerals, constructions, Chinese New Year celebrations and elderly associations, aim to transcend segregation created by religious groups. By analyzing practices of each religious tradition, interactions of the four dominant ethnic categories, as well as public rituals in Bingzhongluo, this paper maintains that truly pluralistic societies are possible when group boundaries are soft and conflicts are not essentialized into group differences.

WU Keping got her PhD in anthropology from Boston University (2007). Before joining ARI as a senior research fellow in the Religion and Globalization cluster, she taught at the Department of Anthropology in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her main areas of research are: Charismatic leadership among the Catholic Pentecostals in the United States; Engaged religions and public good in China, Buddhist revivals in Southeast China, and Christianity and religious pluralism among the minority groups of Southwest China. In ARI, she is working with other colleagues collaboratively to explore issues of religion and development in the Asia region.

MARUYAMA MASAO, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

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Maruyama Masao was the most important political thinker of the postwar Japan. As a political philosopher and historian of ideas, his research ranged very broadly. He had studied not only Western philosophy, but also Chinese philosophy and Japanese philosophy. However he was an atheist, he had profound knowledge and insights on religion. His mentor Nanbara Shigeru, the former President of the University of Tokyo and another major political thinker of the 20th century Japan, was a Non-Church Christian. Maruyama was influenced heavily by his mentor on the religious thinking.

Although Maruyama did not study religion as a religious scholar, he wrote many articles and lectures on religious issues. For example, he studied Buddhism, Confucianism, Shintoism very deeply. At the same time, he learnt so much from Christianity, not only through reading books, but also through Japanese Non-Church Christians like his mentor Nanbara and his hero Uchimura Kanzo, the most famous Non-Church Christian in modern Japan. He did admire Christianity.

The purpose of his religious study was certainly not for religion proper, it seems that he hoped to see how religions influenced Japanese people and society, how religion contributed to the mentality of his people. In other words, he took the religion as a very important field of his whole study of Japanese intellectual history.

In this article, I want to discuss the relation between his studies on religions and his political thinking. In the postwar Japan, the earnest task for the liberal intellectuals like Maruyama was to build a modern democratic society. Because Japan had no such tradition of democracy, Maruyama used the concept *Zaikabukkyo* (在家仏教) to explain how to make democracy active in Japanese society. When he talked with Nanbara Shigeru, they even said that Japan needed a new reformation of religion! That's why I think we should not ignore this deep dimension of his political thinking: when he thought about necessity of the ethical modernity for Japan, he also recognized the importance of religion in modern Japanese society.

WANG Qian graduated from Shanghai International Studies University, specialized in Japanese studies, then worked there as a lecturer of Japanese. After coming to Japan, he studied sociology at Hosei University as a visiting fellow, before attending the graduate school of the University of Tokyo, where he specialized in the history of social and political thought, took his master degree, finished his doctoral course (he is currently writing his dissertation for a Ph.D now). He was a fellow at the University of Tokyo Centre for Philosophy (2005.4-2007.3), and then was a cooperative fellow at the same centre(2007.9-2012.3). His major publication is a book (in Japanese): *How China understands modern thought?* (Kodansha, 2011), in which he discussed how Chinese intellectuals introduced and studied modern Western thoughts in recent three decades. He also wrote some academic papers in Chinese and Japanese respectively, included in book form and academic magazines. Now he is preparing his second book which focus on two great political philosophers of the 20th century, Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997) and Maruyama Masao (1914-1996). In the book he will discuss their political philosophy in the context of the century. Enlightenment and liberalism will be two key words of my new book. Now he teaches at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and several other universities as a lecturer.

THE FORMATION OF THE 'SECULAR DOMAIN' IN MODERN KOREA

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The term of 'jonggyo' was first used in November 1883 in Korea, and became widespread in the Japanese colonial period. It has the same Chinese script characters (宗教) as the Japanese word pronounced 'shukyo' and the Chinese 'zongjiao'. It is well known that the term was first coined in Japan and soon adopted by intellectuals in China and Korea. At the same time, the conceptual meaning of 'sesok' (世俗) was also established and came to denote the non-religious domain of reality, which includes a wide range of worldly human relationships. As an umbrella term, it embraces the space of society, economics, politics, culture, art, etc. As the dual term, 'jonggyo-sesok' is a Korean version of a "religious-secular" dichotomy: these two conceptual terms cannot be separated. The secular world was considered to be a non-religious space when the 'religious' domain was formed. The same can be said of the opposite (the religious world as a non-secular space) because both concepts belong to the 'religious-secular' duality.

In Korea, secularism came to be established as a result of the combined effects of several discourses such as freedom of religious belief, the separation of religion and politics, and the separation of religion and education, which were spread widely by colonial regime. After these three colonial policies had been carried out, the distinction between secularity and religion could be firmly established in Korea. Religion was prohibited from interfering in worldly areas such as politics and education, and was required to stay within its permitted sphere of influence. Only then could a limited form of religious freedom be permitted.

Jang Sukman is Researcher of the Korea Institute for Religion and Culture and also serves as Director of Chung Gan Cultural Institute in Seoul. He obtained his Ph.D. in Religious Studies from Seoul National University, and was a Research Fellow of Käte Hamburger Collegium in Ruhr-Universitaet, Germany, 2010-2011. His recent articles are: "Religion and Animal" (2012) and "The Concept of Religion: Why It Matters and Its Methodological History" (2012).

RECONFIGURING RELIGION-STATE RELATIONS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN POST-NEW ORDER INDONESIA: LIBERAL MUSLIM VOICE AND ITS LIMITS

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Despite the reaffirmation of the non-sectarian character of the Indonesian state and the strengthening of the constitutional guarantee for religious freedom during the constitutional reform period (1999-2002), religion-state relations and religious freedom in Indonesia remain subject to conflicting interpretations. Among the most important and illustrating examples of this ongoing contestation are the protracted debate on Draft Law on Religious Harmony (*Undang-Undang Kerukunan Umat Beragama*) and the recent public debate on Law No.1/PNPS/1965 on Blasphemy. “Liberal” Muslim activists had been one of the main contributors to these debates and many of them played an important role in the unsuccessful petition for the judicial review of the Blasphemy Law before the Indonesian Constitutional Court in 2010. The paper will first examine the voices of these liberal and progressive Muslim intellectuals in these debates, closely looking at the extent to which they have advocated certain liberal discourses of religion-state relations and religious freedom and how they reconciled these liberal discourses with the main ideological narrative of the Indonesian state as a compromise between “religious” and “secular” political ideologies. Following this, the paper will analyse the Court’s decision to uphold the Blasphemy Law and the extent to which it might pose discursive limits for liberal discourse on religion-state relations and religious freedom. Finally, it will offer a theoretical reflection on the possibility and limits of crafting liberal configuration of religion-state relations and religious freedom in non-Western contexts, especially those characterised by competing, but not mutually exclusive, trends of democratization and Islamization like Indonesia.

Supriyanto ABDI is PhD Candidate at the Asia Institute, the University of Melbourne. Prior to his PhD study, he completed his Master of Contemporary Asian Analysis at the University of Melbourne (2005) and his undergraduate study in Islamic Studies at the Islamic University of Indonesia (Universitas Islam Indonesia/UII) Yogyakarta (2000). His recent publications include “Islam and (Political) Liberalism in Indonesia: A Note on the Recent Debate”, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 3 No. 2 (December 2009) and “Islam, Religious Minority and the Challenge of the Blasphemy Law: A Look at Current Liberal Muslim Voices” in *Religious Minorities in Muslim-Majority Localities in Southeast Asia: Areas of Toleration and Conflict*, edited by Bernhard Platzdasch and Johan Saravanamuttu (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, forthcoming).

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PRIVATE RELIGION AND PUBLIC STATE IN JAPAN AND FRANCE

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This paper is a comparative study of the history of religion-state separation in Japan and France by focusing on two iconic events: the legal suit against the Japanese prime minister's visits to the Yasukuni Shrine in the early 2000s and legal prohibition in 2004 of schoolgirls' wearing headscarf in schools in France. The purpose of this comparison is to show how the problems in the relationship between private religion and public state are not particular to Japan but rather general to liberal democratic political structures. The problem, simply put, is that the liberal principle of religion-state separation on the one hand and nationalism on the other are two major ideological-institutional components of the nation-state that are in tension with each other and also mutually sustaining.

The paper first traces the parallel trajectories of religion-state separation in the two countries from late 19th century and then focuses on the Yasukuni Shrine and the so-called Islamic Headscarf Affair in France. Yasukuni Shrine in pre-1945 years was a public, non-religious, ritual institution operated by the state for cultivating patriotism and loyalty to the emperor. In postwar period, the new legal discourse including the constitution of 1946 defined all Shinto shrines as religious and private including Yasukuni Shrine, but this official definition is protested by many who continue to see the shrine as a site of public ceremony for the nation. So when the prime minister of Japan visited the shrine, many support and many protest. The shrine continues to be a hotspot of controversy. On the other hand, the debate about the "Islamic" headscarf in France culminated in the creation in 2004 of a law prohibiting wearing the scarf in public schools.

Historically, in both Japan and France the modern state was established as a secular, public political authority only through institutionalization of the definition of religion as private individual belief. In France this was primarily realized by the 1905 law Concerning Separation of Church and State which ensures liberty of conscience. In Japan this was realized by the 1889 imperial constitution which guarantees freedom of religious belief. But both the Yasukuni Shrine and the Headscarf Affair show that defining religion in terms of private belief and separating it from the state are the very means through which the public secular power of the modern state is continuously realized. The quintessential liberal idea of religious freedom is intrinsically constitutive of the operation of the public secular power of the nation-state in producing the individual as the national-citizen.

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