Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Issues, Concerns and Prospects 49

Alexander Jun
Christopher S. Collins *Editors*

Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region

Knowledge, Spirituality, Religion, and Structures of Faith

ASIA-PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

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Editors

Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region

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Foreword

The chapters in this volume were initiated at an event organized by the Asia Pacific Higher Education Research Partnership (APHERP) and hosted by Kasetsart University in Bangkok, Thailand. These annual events have been created to facilitate the efforts of 'emergent scholars' to develop new fields of endeavour and gain an important publication outlet. Each annual event has an overarching theme, in this case, the role of belief systems in higher education, and focuses on the Asia Pacific region, with North America being viewed in this context through its 'Pacific-facing' endeavours. Each seminar is facilitated by one or more senior scholars, in this case, Alexander Jun and Christopher S. Collins, who hold academic positions at Azusa Pacific University. Professor Collins also serves as an Assistant Director to the APHERP. The goal in these seminars is to have every contribution presented and discussed within the group, allowing each presenter to gain directly from the discussion with the goal of revising the paper constructively for publication. This model has been employed across a range of seminars conducted under the guidance of APHERP and its predecessor program at the East-West Center, the International Forum for Education 2020.

The goal of both of these programs has been to frame and examine important issues relating to the rapid transformation of higher education and higher education institutions in the Asia Pacific region over the past several decades. Within the relatively broad range of subjects addressed by the research seminars and the volumes that have been developed through them, the issue of belief systems in one way or another has been a constant refrain and has been manifest in a variety of frameworks. What has been constant throughout these various endeavours is the irreducible fact that across the wide range of specific subject matters stemming from the economic development burdens of higher education as a growing institutional vehicle to the formational and transitional elements of the knowledge society, to issues of gender, to the growing innovational and entrepreneurial nature of Asia Pacific higher education institutions, and to issues of belief in some way and through some range of permutations is a constant element in some form.

This collection of studies seeks to give considerations of belief a broad treatment, ranging from its situation within the complex variety of religious traditions

that have framed and nurtured higher education through multiple Asia Pacific cultures and across various time periods to its articulations in the largely unexamined and accepted assumptions and prescriptions of multiple varieties of epistemologies underlying contemporary science and the technologies it is producing. That which tie them together are the complex roles that belief plays within higher education as a social endeavour and the distribution of both commonalities and differences that emerge as one interrogates beliefs nation by nation and culture by culture. The underlying points of convergence across these differences are the benefits that can arise from extracting central elements of belief from distinct social, cultural, and national settings and identifying common social, linguistic, and cognitive roles that they perform both within and between national societies. It is these distinct elements of emergence that are featured in the specific chapters of this collection.

Deane Neubauer

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Series Editors' Introduction

This volume by Alexander Jun and Christopher S. Collins on *Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region: Knowledge, Spirituality, Religion, and Structures of Faith* is the latest book to be published in the long-standing Springer book series 'Education in the Asia Pacific Region: Issues, Concerns and Prospects'. The first volume in this Springer series was published in 2002, with this book by Jun and Collins being the 49th volume to be published to date.

Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region: Knowledge, Spirituality, Religion, and Structures of Faith examines the changing role of religion in higher education and looks at case studies that mark the position of belief systems in Asian higher education institutions. The book looks broadly at the role of faith and religion and its impact on the development of character in students, in higher education research, and in government regulations, among others. The broad impact of religion as discussed in this work is complemented by contextual perspectives of belief systems in the various country case studies included.

Divided into three main parts, the book gives readers a distinct overview of the changing dynamics of religion and faith in higher education, as exhibited in cases of Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam, while further examination of belief systems in Asia and the interplay of 'East' and 'North' demonstrates how values and beliefs are conceived and how such ideas migrate.

This book contributes to highlighting the broad role of belief systems and how multiple perspectives influence the dynamics of higher education. The wide-ranging discussions on the constructions of faith and contextual dialogues uniquely place this work on qualifying the influence of 'spiritual capital' in Asian higher education that is so often missed in the discussion.

In terms of the Springer book series in which this volume is published, the various topics dealt with in the series are wide-ranging and varied in coverage, with an emphasis on cutting-edge developments, best practices, and education innovations for development. Topics examined in the series include environmental education and education for sustainable development; the interaction between technology and education; the reform of primary, secondary, and teacher education; innovative approaches to education assessment; alternative education; most effective ways to

achieve quality and highly relevant education for all; active ageing through active learning; case studies of education and schooling systems in various countries in the region; cross-country and cross-cultural studies of education and schooling; and the sociology of teachers as an occupational group, to mention just a few. More information about this book series is available at http://www.springer.com/series/5888.

All volumes in this series aim to meet the interests and priorities of a diverse education audience including researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners, tertiary students, teachers at all levels within education systems, and members of the public who are interested in better understanding cutting-edge developments in education and schooling in Asia Pacific.

The reason why this book series has been devoted exclusively to examining various aspects of education and schooling in the Asia Pacific region is that this is a particularly challenging region which is renowned for its size, diversity, and complexity, whether it be geographical, socio-economic, cultural, political, or developmental. Education and schooling in countries throughout the region impact on every aspect of people's lives, including employment, labour force considerations, education and training, cultural orientation, and attitudes and values. Asia and the Pacific is home to some 63% of the world's population of seven billion. Countries with the largest populations (China, 1.4 billion; India, 1.3 billion) and the most rapidly growing megacities are to be found in the region, as are countries with relatively small populations (Bhutan, 755,000; the island of Niue, 1600).

Levels of economic and socio-political development vary widely, with some of the richest countries (such as Japan) and some of the poorest countries on earth (such as Bangladesh). Asia contains the largest number of poor of any region in the world, the incidence of those living below the poverty line remaining as high as 40 percent in some countries in Asia. At the same time, many countries in Asia are experiencing a period of great economic growth and social development. However, inclusive growth remains elusive, as does growth that is sustainable and does not destroy the quality of the environment. The growing prominence of Asian economies and corporations, together with globalization and technological innovation, is leading to long-term changes in trade, business, and labour markets, to the sociology of populations within (and between) countries. There is a rebalancing of power, centred on Asia and the Pacific region, with the Asian Development Bank in Manila declaring that the twenty-first century will be 'the Century of Asia Pacific'.

We believe this book series makes a useful contribution to knowledge sharing about education and schooling in Asia Pacific. Any readers of this or other volumes in the series who have an idea for writing their own book (or editing a book) on any aspect of education and/or schooling, which is relevant to the region, are enthusiastically encouraged to approach the series editors either direct or through Springer to

publish their own volume in the series, since we are always willing to assist perspective authors shape their manuscripts in ways that make them suitable for publication in this series.

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25 June 2018

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Morshidi publishes widely on higher education policy and is actively engaged as a member of the editorial boards of higher education journals such as *Higher Education – The International Journal of Higher Education Research*, *Studies in Higher Education*, *Higher Education Policy*, *Asian Education and Development Studies*, and the *Higher Education Evaluation and Development*. In view of Morshidi's expertise and experience in higher education policy, he is often engaged to undertake consultancy work for UNESCO Bangkok, the World Bank, and the ADB primarily on higher education issues and policies in Southeast Asia.

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Chapter 1
Introduction to Belief Systems in Higher Education

Christopher S. Collins and Alexander Jun

Abstract Belief systems, spirituality, and religion are all integral components of culture. In any society, culture permeates institutions in ways that are both visible and unseen. Furthermore, belief systems are important to understand in cultures where higher education plays a prominent role in educating students, producing knowledge, and serving the purpose of creating *good citizens*. However, because of commitments to objectivity, positivism, and formal science, the role of belief and knowledge that are outside the canons of science is not often considered within the core functions of a university. This volume seeks to engage these questions directly and explore the various ways in which belief systems are part of the fabric of higher education—whether implicitly or explicitly. Throughout the Asia Pacific region, there are predominant philosophies, belief systems, and religions in societies, including Buddhist, Muslim, Shinto, Christianity, Marxism, and derivatives of Confucianism. In this chapter, we pursue a deeper understanding of the role of belief practices as it is played out in both private and public higher education and provide an overview of each section and chapter throughout the volume.

Keywords Belief systems · Religion · Spirituality · Higher education

Ways of Knowing

While living in Vanuatu (in the South Pacific) for a few months and serving with the Peace Corps under the guidance of the US government, I (Collins) learned the language Bislama. While traveling around the village where I was trained and lived with a host family, I would often come upon acquaintances sitting in the shade of the mango tree. I would ask them "i stap mekem wanem?" which I understood to mean "what are you doing?" Often the answer was "no." The answer was confusing

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to me because I did not present a yes or no question, rather one that requested some clarifying explanation. Instead, the answer was "no, stap nomo." I understood this to mean "no, staying, nothing more." The brief interaction demonstrates the role of certain constructs like language, time, and logic that are imbedded in culture. While training with the Peace Corps, one volunteer who finished an extended time of service and continued to live in Vanuatu said to our group, "The longer I am here, the less I understand the culture."

One psychological framework for understanding a belief system as something beyond the purely cognitive is not necessarily a conscious determinant of individual behavior (Schoenfeld, 1983). Similar to the dialogue I presented from an experience in Vanuatu, Neisser (1976) presented a dialogue from a study in Liberia to demonstrate the ways in which belief and logic systems can operate outside of the limitations, boundaries, or rules that are implicit to a question. Because the university is largely a Western institution with fixed boundaries around logic (Collins & Bethke, 2017), it is difficult for people operating in this environment to recognize multiple intelligences and the important role of belief systems.

Occasionally I will say to a student or colleague, "I do not accept the premise of your question," to indicate the liminal approach embedded in their logic. To make the point clearer, I ask, "If I cut your finger with a knife, will you accept a bandage?" If you accept the premise of the question, then you would certainly accept a bandage. To reject the premise of the question is to ask, "Where did you get a knife and why are you trying to harm me?" Similarly, Polkinghorne (2011) addressed science and religion as altogether different ways of knowing by asking the question, "why is the kettle boiling?" suggesting that science is about how and religion is about why:

> Neither side can claim to answer the other's questions, but we are perfectly familiar with the fact that both kinds of questions are meaningful and necessary to ask. The kettle is boiling both because gas heats the water (the scientific explanation) and because I want to make a cup of tea (an explanation invoking purpose). We do not have to choose between these two accounts, for both are true. Without taking the two of them together, the event of the boiling kettle would only be partially understood. If we are truly to understand the rich, many-levelled world in which we live, we shall need the insights of both science and religion. (p. 21)

Accordingly, belief systems are an important aspect of the central knowledge producing and diffusing structures in society—namely the university.

Just as science and religion have been juxtaposed, so have the concepts of East and West. Asia is the typical geographic reference as the symbolic East. The overlap between geographic and symbolic units of analysis often obscures representations of either unit because of overgeneralization. Kim (2016) presents the concept of Asia as "problematic as it is neither a cultural, religious or linguistic unity, nor a unified world" that was based on imagery from European thinkers (p. 2). As a result, this edited volume takes a decidedly contextual approach in trying to understand something larger about the whole by looking at richer and deeper understandings of how systems operate in specific spaces and places.

Belief Systems, Spirituality, and Knowledge

Within the study of higher education in the region of the Asia Pacific and all of the vast philosophies and systems embedded in those places, there is not very much focus on the role of the belief systems. Take any compilation or handbook on Asia Pacific higher education, and there will be topics like globalization, transformation, trends, rankings, cooperation, access, assessment, hierarchy, governance, economy, massification, inequality, gender, quality assurance, and many others (e.g., Collins, Hawkins, Lee, & Neubauer, 2016). Largely missing from these compilations and volumes is a contextualized approach to studying belief systems and their influence on education without presenting Asia or the East as a monolithic system or place.

Terms like belief systems can be framed in many ways under different epistemologies and cultures. A broad variety of dispositions and definitions are included in this volume—in fact, a strength of the book will be dependent on a diversity of belief systems, how they are conceptualized, and how they implicitly and explicitly work in higher education.

Belief systems, spirituality, and religion are all fundamental components of culture. In any society, culture permeates institutions in ways that are both visible and unseen. Furthermore, belief systems are important to understand in cultures where higher education plays a prominent role in educating students, producing knowledge, and serving the purpose of creating *good citizens*. However, because of commitments to objectivity, positivism, and formal science, the role of belief and knowledge that are outside the canons of science is not often considered within the core functions of a university.

One concerted effort to understand many of these complexities was the Spirituality in Higher Education project at the University of California, Los Angeles. By using a longitudinal survey with an initial 112,000 students and a follow-up of almost 15,000 students in the United States, broad findings related to the function of religion and spirituality in the university setting were published in a book entitled *Cultivating the Spirit: How College Can Enhance Students' Inner Lives* (Astin, Astin, & Lindholm, 2010). Some of the most influential findings were that religious commitment slightly decreased but that overall measures of spirituality increased during the undergraduate college years. Most students identified a clear desire to talk about spirituality, faith, religion, and God in the classroom. According to the study, spiritual engagement and development were enhanced when professors actively facilitated dialogue around these matters in the classroom.

During the course of the study, it was clear that the label *nonscientific* and religious or spiritual made many professors and administrators in higher education uncomfortable—it seemed as though it was only a personal matter. The defined measures of spirituality that emerged from the study included equanimity, ecumenical worldview, ethic of caring, spiritual quest, and charitable involvement. Each scale is defined by collections of questions on the survey. A critique that emerged against these measures was the notion that many people may score highly on any or

all of those measures but not actually label themselves as spiritual. Within this critique is one of the most complex aspects of pursuing any conversation around this particular topic. The language used to label and define any approach may either be semantic or deeply revealing about the particular belief system.

This volume seeks to engage these questions directly and explore the various ways in which belief systems are part of the fabric of higher education—whether implicitly or explicitly. Throughout the Asia Pacific region, there are predominant philosophies, belief systems, and religions in societies, including Buddhism, Islam, Shintoism, Christianity, and derivatives of Confucianism. In this volume we pursue a deeper understanding of the role of belief practices as it is played out in both private and public higher education.

Ancient and Modern Traditions

The panoply of historical Asian traditions and the evolution of those traditions and their interactions with traditions that migrated to these regions are complex. For example, some of the historical belief systems have pre- and post-*revolutionary* experiences (e.g., Japan and China) and/or *colonial* experiences (e.g., the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). In almost all of these instances, both the development of a modern higher education system and the now-prevailing social ethos have been influenced by belief systems and religion.

In Southeast Asian countries like Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia, where a large number of citizens practice Theravada Buddhism, national universities regularly receive ceremonial blessings from monks at major landmark events. In other nations such as Vietnam, where Theravada Buddhism once dominated religious practice, now only 14% identify as Buddhists (World Atlas, 2017). While in other regions of South East Asia, Islam has become the majority religion in countries like Brunei (67%), Indonesia (87.18%), and Malaysia (60.4%). In some East Asian nations such as South Korea, according to official Korean statistics, protestant Christianity represented 34% of the population, while Won Buddhism represented 43%, 20% identified as Roman Catholic, and roughly 2% were unaffiliated (Korea Net). However, Korean culture and society are based largely on Confucian ideology, so one ponders how to separate cultural values from religious practices and how that may impact work in higher education if at all. In other regions of East Asia, countries such as Japan have been largely dominated by Shintoism and Buddhism, while in the People's Republic of China (PRC), a mix of Tibetan Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism, Protestant Christianity, and Islam are the five major religions, but one must also consider the role of atheism and its impact on higher education in the PRC. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is officially atheist, and thus the party prohibits its nearly 90 million party members from holding religious beliefs. For many in the CCP, party membership and religious beliefs are incompatible, though perhaps regulations are not always strictly enforced (Council on Foreign Relations).

Perhaps with the increase in religious activities, the CCP will continue to address the increasing role of religion in society, and by extension, morality and ethics in higher education. Lastly, Malaysia and Indonesia are important examples for understanding the role of pluralistic societies with strong commitments to organized religion.

Religion, Education, and Global Citizenship

Belief systems are broad and encompass epistemology, spirituality, and religion. However, there is often resistance to conversations about religion in education, and global development persists because of the ways in which religion can exploit and has exploited people. One of the ways in which religion has been conceptualized by scholars is in relationship to global citizenship education in that religion may inspire people to live more responsibility but more so in that the inclusion of religion in education should equip people for greater understanding in an increasingly pluralistic society (Miller, O'Grady, & McKenna, 2013; Sivasubramaniam & Hayhoe, 2018).

Baker (2014) used a scholarly address and subsequent publication to advocate and inspire more inquiry into the topic:

> It is widely assumed that with advanced education, belief in the supernatural and religious practice declines. Similarly, the decline of religious authority, or especially the desacralization of social institutions, is a major cornerstone of the usual intellectual account of the transformation from tradition to modern forms of society. Yet religion has proven to be ineradicable worldwide even in the face of robust secular cultures… (p. 16)

The address is also reflected in the lifelong work of Hayhoe (2018) who challenged that an important task for contemporary education is the "re-integration of religious and spiritual understanding into forms of education that nurture the whole person" (p. 132). Hayhoe (2016) highlighted the complexity of religious history and state structures by showing the ways in which Christianity and Chinese history intersected for centuries. As China evolved from an empire to a republic, higher education was a lasting establishment as a result of tradition, scholarship, and even Christian missionaries—even though the later was proscribed by a new government in the 1950s (Hayhoe, 2016).

The allergy to discussing belief systems is also manifested through global agreements on education that are embedded in the Sustainable Development Goals and their predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals. In the contemporary state of global relations, it is clear that the belief systems permeate every part of life and are a historical foundation of the generators and diffusers of knowledge—colleges and universities. Baker (2014) added that, "Religion worldwide has not died with the unfolding of the education revolution; in many ways it thrives" (p. 16). As a result, the pursuit of acknowledging and understanding is essential to the function of higher education around the globe.

Asian Higher Education

Institutions of higher learning in this broad and diverse region are a combination of both ancient, modern, Eastern, and Western influence. Ways of knowing have been institutionalized through colleges and universities as evidenced by curricula. The philosophies, epistemologies, and ontologies that are embodied, taught, and used shape the higher education system and society. Some of the oldest institutions in the world started in this region, but they no longer exist in the form and function in which they started. Now, a hybridization of the Western form of universities exists in Eastern and Asian contexts. Confucian philosophies as a cultural norm exist within many Asian settings, but the hybridizing of Western and Euro-American models occurred throughout the twentieth century (Altbach, 1998). Through hybridization, Western perspectives played a role in shaping educational objectives within Asian societies, changing motivations toward more individualistic ends. Still, a mix of Asian and Western values produced a new milieu in which institutions and individuals select which values to keep, adopt, or reject (Hussin & Ismail, 2009).

Chan (2016) argued that a central tenet of higher education as a privilege rather than a right, and the idea that the intellectual tradition that higher education occupies in Asia hierarchical rather than egalitarian belief system. Much of the remnants of this philosophy may be evidenced in the tensions that occur in as some institutions of tertiary education undergo reforms. Some key stakeholders in Asian higher education may feel a sense of loss, which take various forms, prestige, tradition, mission, or purpose, as HEIs in Asia pursue or adopt Western pedagogies and educational philosophies in an effort to become more global.

There are key issues that shape Asian higher education that are manifested in structural policies and pursuits. For example, national high stakes testing is a key feature of the gatekeeping mechanism. This is a consistent feature in many countries and their pursuits for world class status. This is tied into the historical view of meritocracy in the form of civil service examinations embedded in Confucian thought blended with hierarchy labor distribution. Testing is also tied into the pursuit of national rankings. A related issue is pedagogy and technical excellence. In order to meet some of the objectives and demands, rote memorization is common feature of system pedagogies. Although this produces many positive outcomes, it may also limit critical and creative functions.

Phan (2017) noted that a common theme expressed in Asian institutions is the desire to gain equal status with the Western world in relation to prosperity, intellect, and infrastructure. Neubauer, Shin and Hawkins (2013) refer to an *economic determinism* hypothesis in relation to higher education government policy, suggesting that the motivation to promote, fund, and participate in higher education is closely related to individual and social aspirations toward affluence. One clear and salient point is that the Asia Pacific region is not homogeneous: “cultural and historical contexts serve to separate economic, political, and cultural regions of Asia, dispelling monolithic assumptions” (Collins & Bethke, 2017).

Faith and Learning in Comparison

In order to create more context for examining the contested role of religion in higher education, we offer the United States as a case comparison. The US system is a unique comparison because the role of belief systems generated a high degree of homogeneity around Christian belief systems. Those systems were intricately connected to the history of higher education. By comparison the expanse of belief systems across the Asia Pacific is much wider. According to the US Department of Education, there are approximately 4700 degree-granting institutions of higher education in the United States. Of these institutions, nearly 3100 are private institutions, and over 1000 define themselves as religiously affiliated institutions of higher learning. In the United States, many constitutional scholars as well as everyday citizens continue to uphold and defend the tenet of a formal separation between "church and state" while allowing for certain provisions for religiously affiliated colleges and universities. The prevailing thinking for most higher education leaders is that the *output* of higher education should be viewed in terms of knowledge production through research and scholarship and also the number and quality of graduates, who become critical thinking citizens with capacities for ethical and moral development.

It is often challenging to identify and separate long-held religious assumptions and faith practices in institutions of higher learning in the United States. Harvard University, to take a central example, is the oldest higher education institution in the United States. Founded in 1636 and named after Protestant Christian minister John Harvard who donated his library and part of his estate to the college, Harvard University along with other prestigious "ivy league" institutions such as Yale and Princeton was originally established by Christian leaders who sought to establish faith-based colleges to raise up young men in theological training to prepare them for a life as clergy. Over time many private faith-based institutions evolved and became increasingly secular, yet the religious affiliations and faith practices embedded in many original institutional missions and efforts to separate these institutions from their original mission statements have often been complex. Part of that challenge for practitioners is their ability to make explicit, much of the institutional culture that had long become implicit and accepted largely without question. Concomitant factors include the integration of certain philosophical ideologies that are also deeply embedded into the fabric of US institutions. For some higher education practitioners, it is difficult to separate Western democratic and capitalist epistemologies from their Judeo-Christian values, and institutions differ in terms of their self-consciousness about the importance of doing so.

In the United States, one distinct class of institutions is unabashedly faith-based, in almost every instance Christian. In some cases, they are organized within a coalition of like-minded institutions, such as the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU), which is a higher education association of approximately 115 member campuses in North America and 180 affiliated Christian institutions around the world (roughly 65 affiliate campuses from 20 countries are part of the CCCU).

Over the past several decades in American Christian higher education, scholars have led several healthy and necessary struggles with regard to integrating faith into their research and teaching. For example, the notion of "faith integration" has been well-documented through the work of scholars such as Hasker (1992) who helped clarify what faith integration is by understanding what it is not. While Hasker argues primarily from a protestant Christian perspective, his points can perhaps be extrapolated to other religious traditions, in that one's faith is not merely the personal and spiritual development of spiritual living on the part of an individual faculty member but extends to the integration of one's faith as foremost a scholarly task that falls under the "realm of responsibility" for people of faith who are engaged in the work of teaching and scholarship.

Hasker (1992), who built his scholarship upon the work of Nelson (1987), offers a model that includes three strategies for *integration-compatibilist, transformationalist, and reconstructionist* approaches. We offer a brief description of each strategy here:

1. Under a compatibilist strategy, the essence of one's discipline and of one's faith is assumed to not be mutually exclusive. A compatibilist strategy grants freedom for the faculty member to employ materials in class that underscore the natural relationships between disciplinary knowledge and faith.
2. A faculty member working under a transformationalist approach may understand her own discipline as morally and ethically valid, yet its connection to faith is less clear and therefore more difficult to relate faith perspectives directly to one's discipline. A faculty member embracing a transformationalist approach might modify and perhaps challenge key concepts and ideas of one's own discipline to integrate it with faith.
3. Finally, a reconstructionist approach embraces and emphasizes some fundamental aspects of one's discipline as well as the tenets of one's faith. The faculty member under this strategy must "dismantle" and then rebuild the tenets of a secular discipline to fit with fundamentals of her own faith-based principles.

Religion in the United States has been predominantly a discussion along Judeo-Christian traditions, though increasingly the faith traditions of Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu are on the rise, though few to none of these faith traditions have well-established institutions of higher learning. The role of belief systems in higher education certainly has its challenges in terms of practice in North America, and perhaps this is true of belief systems in higher education in the many varieties of Asian higher education. Lastly, this general comparison is unique given the migration of belief between the two continents—which is examined in several chapters.

Preview of the Chapters

This volume includes scholars and practitioners of higher education across the Asia Pacific region with chapters that address the role of belief systems, spirituality, and religion in higher education as it relates to the development of morality, character, and ethics among college students, the impact of religion on research, teaching, or

institutional policies, and the interplay of faith with government regulations and ultimately the role of faith and higher education. The book is divided into three parts to group the ways in which the authors address this broad, complex, and multicontextual topic. The first part examines the changing role of religion in higher education. The second part presents three case studies about a variety of belief systems that manifest in different forms across Asian higher education.

Part I: The Changing Role of Religion in Higher Education

The first part is a collection of studies that are specific to country-specific boundaries and issues. Each chapter in this part is deeply contextual and not focused on cross-country analysis. This allows each case to provide a deeper set of knowledge about the selection of regions and belief systems represented here. However, even within countries, the complexity and heterogeneity create contemporary tensions in the way belief systems operate. The combination of these cases points to the evolving role of religion in higher education throughout this vast and diverse region.

Chapter 2, "The Shaping of Academic Culture in Higher Education in Taiwan: Confucianism, Historic Legacy, and Western Influences," by Jason Cheng-Cheng Yang, explores the complex history of Taiwan. The blend of influences and the competition between collectivism, patriotism, harmony, family, society, and beliefs all converge in the academic setting. The primary religions of the country, including folk religions, Buddhism, Daoism, and Christianity, are all prevalent in society but less so in the university. This chapter points to the need for a redefinition of academic culture to describe the mixed, hybrid, fluid, changing, and diverse nature of education and society. Chapter 3, "Toward Sustainable Islamic Communities in Malaysia: The Role of Islamic based Higher Education Institutions (IHEIs)," by Nur Rafidah Asyikin Binti Idris, Morshidi Sirat, and Chang Da Wan, explains the purpose and role of Islamic-based institutions of higher education. The purpose of IHEIs is a commitment to pursuing the integration of Islamic and modern knowledge in producing holistic and balanced Muslim communities for the development of the nation. Similar to other higher education systems that are rooted in formal religions, there is a tension and commitment to rigorous academics and creating Muslim communities of knowledge production and diffusion.

In Chap. 4, Seong Do Cho constructed an account entitled "Christian Higher Education in Korea: Exploring Historical Roles, Regular Christian Curricular and Non-Regular Mentoring Programs." The chapter examines the roles of Christian higher education in Korean history and then compares regular Christian curricular and non-regular mentoring programs. In order to explain Christian discipleship programs, this chapter deals with fundamental and holistic approaches. By looking at Christianity in Korea, Cho offers a concrete examination of how systems have migrated around the globe (from traditionally West to East). Chapter 5, by William R. Stevenson III, is about Christian universities and missionaries in Japan. In this chapter, Stevenson notes that most Japanese people identify as Buddhist, hold traditional Shinto beliefs, or adhere to some combination of the two beliefs. The chapter

looks at a Christian university that is branded as such and maintains Christian language and imagery, despite the fact that the institution operates on traditional Japanese belief systems.

Part II: Belief Systems in Asian Higher Education

Chapter 6, "Thai Higher Education and an Epistemological Theory of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*," by Theptawee Chokvasin, explores the is a general belief in Thai higher education that moral education should be cultivated in every student (the belief begins in earlier levels of education as well). The achievement of being considered a morally good person can be evaluated in several ways, including the student's moral reasoning and moral actions. Undergirding this style of education is a belief in an individualistic epistemological theory of obtaining moral knowledge through consumption and processing. The theory of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is examined through particularist and generalist dispositions within Thai Buddhism as belief system in higher education. In Chap. 7, "A Critical Analysis of Belief Education in Chinese Higher Education," Shijing Gao and Bingna Xu enter the complicated realm of education in China. As previously noted in this chapter, Hayhoe (2018) and others have gone to great lengths to examine the profound history of belief systems in China and the influence of Marxism and Communism. Gao and Xu look at the contemporary conflicts that have evolved into psychological and social issues that are influenced by both external and internal forces that make Chinese philosophies more difficult to absorb. As an ancient and civilized country, China has many precious resources related to belief education that can aid students and institutions in helping to cultivate critical thinking through Chinese traditional belief philosophy.

Chapter 8, "Reinventing and Promoting Traditional Cultures and Values in Bali: A Critical Review of the Government Role in Education and Cultural Exchange" by Esther Mok, presents another flow of culture through mode of theater. For many centuries, the Southeast Asian theaters have functioned as a channel for communication. This chapter is set against a broader social and cultural backdrop to examine how educational institutions promote and preserve traditional values, especially religious beliefs through Balinese Traditional Theatre.

Part III: Diffusion of Asian Value Scapes in the Global North

Chapter 9 focuses on Hawaii, which is considered a sovereign nation by some and one of the 50 United States by others. Kaiwipunikauikawēkiu Lipe and Tasha Kawamata Ryan do an artful exploration of family history and explain Hawaiian concepts to make the belief systems come to life. The two authors purposefully stay away from the term religion. The concept of Aloha ʻĀina as epistemology and a

system of spiritual connections highlights the ways in which all things are linked together based on our cosmogonic genealogies.

In Chap. 10, Jonathan Banfill looks at a flow from the East to the West in the chapter, "Encounters with Belief in the Global City: Urban Humanities Filmmaking Pedagogy from Los Angeles to Shanghai." The chapter is a lengthy analysis of two films and a unique film program that demonstrates how ideas and beliefs migrate and are portrayed in the humanities.

Chapter 11, "Spirituality and Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education," by Tabatha L. Jones Jolivet, returns to the multi-directional flows of belief systems among faculty and staff in the United States that hold to traditionally Asian or Eastern philosophies. This chapter explores the question, in what ways does participation in a spiritual community facilitate and/or impede doing social justice work in higher education? Jones Jolivet centers the perspectives of individuals whose spiritual and/or religious communities denote a broad spectrum of belief and practice. In the concluding Chap. 12, we offer a critical summary of the depth, breadth, and cross-sectionality of the chapters and systems they explored. Furthermore, we offer a comprehensive comparison of systems in order to conclude the overview of history and theories presented in the introductory chapter. By comparing systems, this concluding chapter will demonstrate the contribution to knowledge this broad volume collectively has to offer.

Scapes and Flows of Belief Systems and Structures

Appadurai's (1996) notions of disjuncture and scapes are important concepts for understanding how cultural transactions and constructions of meaning are shaped by geography, national boundaries and politics, and belief system. The framework requires a perspective to account for the "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32). The suffix *–scape* points to the shifting, fluid, and irregular nature of structures in society. Two of the scapes are ethnoscapes and ideoscapes. An ethnoscape is:

> The landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to hitherto an unprecedented degree. (Appadurai, 1996, 33)

In this collection of ideas about belief systems in the Asia Pacific region, it is important to examine and explore the construct of Western influence and to note that "the globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization" (Appadurai, 1996, 42).

The collection of chapters explores belief systems in the form of religion, culture, and spirituality across continents and time.

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Part I
The Changing Role of Religion in Higher Education

Chapter 2
The Shaping of Academic Culture in Higher Education in Taiwan: Confucianism, Historic Legacy, and Western Influences

Jason Cheng-Cheng Yang

Abstract Academic culture represents a distinct climate within academic institutions, such as universities or research institutes. This article depicts elements of academic culture of higher education in Taiwan. Academic culture in Taiwan is a mix of globalization, internationalization, religion, historic legacy, national policy, and local knowledge. The Chinese influence on Taiwanese higher education can be traced back to Qing and Ming dynasties. A contemporary challenge for higher education policy is to rethink the problems of pursuing world-class status, which requires that local practices of higher education resist and supersede the global movement. Higher education in Taiwan is finding its own versions of academic culture. Ethical concepts of Confucianism such as collectivism, patriotism, harmony of human relationship, and an individual's responsibility for family and society and the core tenant of "Ren(仁)" influenced the academic culture of higher education in Taiwan, but it was consistently challenged and mixed with international standards and western notions of what was considered to be *great universities* and *excellent scholars*. Buddhism, Daoism, local folk religion, and Christianity are the main religions of Taiwan, and they not only integrated with local culture but also mildly influenced universities' culture by spiritually and economically supporting higher education. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter focuses in on higher education epistemology rooted in Confucianism, as well as the influence of local and regional culture, in addition to international standards of higher education. A redefinition of academic culture of higher education in Taiwan is necessary to describe its mixed, hybrid, fluid, changing, and diverse nature, especially as it addresses modern higher education institutions. This chapter includes implications for the future studies that are needed to explore the academic culture of higher education institutions of Taiwan.

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Keywords Academic culture · Higher education in Taiwan · Confucianism · Historic legacy · Western influences

Introduction

Culture, according to Cambridge Dictionary (2018a), is “the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time.” When reviewing the history of Taiwan, one can see the impact of a diverse culture that has been influenced epistemologically by China (Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty), as well as colonial histories related to dominance by Holland, Spain, and Japan (Morris, 2002). The current modern culture of Taiwan is one with the main core of Chinese customs and beliefs and was influenced by pop culture from other neighboring East Asian countries (such as Japan, South Korea, and Hong Kong). In the context of an ever-globalizing world, modern culture of Taiwan is also highly influenced by western and European countries, especially the United States and the United Kingdom.

The word “academic,” according to Cambridge Dictionary (2018b), has been defined as “relating to schools, colleges, and universities, or connected with studying and thinking, not with practical skills.” Thus, the term academic culture can be understood as representing the culture of a specific academic discipline, such as the field of medical science or the norms, values, and cues embedded among sociologists. Professors and students oftentimes represent an institutional as the primary actors of academic culture. In this article, I depict elements of academic culture within higher education in Taiwan. I argue that academic culture in Taiwan is a mixture of globalization, internationalization, religion, historic legacy, national policy, and local knowledge. All these influential factors can be further differentiated as internal, which I define as deeply epistemic (e.g., Confucianism or Daoism) or external, such as globalization and internationalization. Additional forms of external factors will also include religious traditions, such as Christian or Islamic faiths, that have shaped the academic culture of universities in Taiwan.

To briefly review the development of higher education in Taiwan, it can be traced back to a period of Japanese imperial rule (1895–1945). In the year of 1899, the Japanese government established the first modern medical school in Taipei (Li, 2005). Before the establishment of this medical school, medical doctors in Taiwan received training from China. Chinese medicine is the major medical skill for healing patients. Thus, medical higher education started to have western science influence from the time of Japanese colonial rule (Li, 2005). In 1919, the new Taiwan education law published by the imperial Japanese government allowed Taiwanese citizens to receive general college education (before the new law, Taiwanese can only attend medical schools); the Japanese government established one agricultural and forestry related college in Taipei and one business college in Tainan. In 1928, the Japan government established the first modern comprehensive university in Taiwan named “Taipei Imperial University (臺北帝國大學)” with a specific focus

on medical science in a tropical region, agriculture, humanities, and geographic studies of Southern China region (Li, 2005). This university is the original institution of National Taiwan University and now is considered the flagship university of Taiwan. It also has the largest number of students, faculty, staff, and academic departments and programs.

After the Japanese imperial rule came to an end in the 1940s, the government of the Republic of China did not expand the university sector in the beginning. Instead, many junior colleges were established to meet the industrial needs and national economic goals of enhancing manufacturing competitiveness. In 1986, there were 16 modern universities and 12 colleges in Taiwan, and about 50% of these institutions were private (Ministry of Education in Taiwan, 2018). While in the same year, there were 77 junior colleges to prepare vocational human resources for the Taiwanese economy (Chan & Yang, 2017). After 30 years of development, educational reform in Taiwan was focused primarily on learning from educational trends from outside of Asia to rebuild higher education institutions (Schofer & Meyer, 2005) while also being responsive to local voices that addressed needs such as workforce education and the public good domestically (Wang, 2003). In 2017, there were 129 modern universities and 15 colleges in Taiwan (Ministry of Education in Taiwan, 2018).

The macro expansion of higher education in Taiwan happened from 1980s to 2005. After 2005, the number of total institutions stabilized to about 160 (Ministry of Education in Taiwan, 2018). To enhance the international competitiveness of best universities in Taiwan, several higher education policies was implemented to the system, such as the policy of “Development Plan for World Class Universities and Research Centers for Excellence (發展世界一流大學計畫)” between 2006 and 2016 (Yang, 2015). However, the most recent developments in higher education policy sought to rethink the challenges and problems of pursuing world-class status. There was public outcry criticizing emphasis on the government committing too many social resources on international research excellence and less care for local development. Some scholars also warned of the dangers in pursuing world-class status in Asia, which would intensify the growing educational inequalities among of higher education institutions in Taiwan (Mok, 2016) and could also increase work pressures of academic staffs (Tian & Lu, 2017). But still, global rankings highly influenced national education policies, and thus research universities in Asia gradually became similar (Deem, Mok, & Lucas, 2008). International journal articles are too emphasized in Taiwan, and local voices diminished (Chou, 2014). Marketization dominated the core value of higher education instead of teaching students well. All these critiques pushed the Taiwanese government to introduce a new policy, “Higher Education Deep Root Project (高等教育深耕計畫)” in 2017. This new policy altered the only focus of reinforcing universities to achieve one single model of “research-type university” and encourage universities to choose their suitable development models, such as “teaching university,” “local contribution university,” “international university,” or “social justice university” (Chan and Yang, 2017).

Wider Factors that Can Affect Academic Culture

Heretofore, I have reviewed the development of higher education in Taiwan. The Chinese influence on the Taiwanese higher education can be traced back to Qing dynasty (清) and Ming dynasty (明). Although in Ming and Qing, higher education did not exist as the form of modern university. When Zheng Cheng-Gong (鄭成功) entered Taiwan and to set the Ming dynasty government in Taiwan in 1661, there was no modern university on this island. Students would enter primary schools to receive traditional Chinese education and textbooks (such as Four Books四書 and Five Classics五經) and to learn classic Chinese literature and Confucian philosophy (Yeh, 2009). This is the start of Chinese education and Confucian philosophy to educate Taiwanese aborigines (原住民) and Han ethnics (漢人) (moved from China to Taiwan). Before the Ming dynasty, Dutch missionaries educate Taiwanese aborigines by Christian knowledge and education (Chang, 2009).

Schein (2010) divided organizational culture into three levels: artifacts and behaviors. Espoused values, and assumptions. Artifacts are identifiable and visible elements. They could be captured by the form of visible and tangible structures and observed behaviors. Examples of artifacts include architecture, furniture, regulations, and documents. Schein's framework of organizational culture to academic culture of higher education in Taiwan suggests that some Japanese influences can still be captured in current modern universities of Taiwan. For example, many buildings of National Taiwan University are those architectures that were built by the Japan polity. As Gallery of NTU History (2018) stated: "Gallery of NTU History is locating in the main library and this building is built in 1929 by the former Taipei Imperial University (臺北帝國大學(1928.3–1945.8)) and it is also an official Taipei city protected historical site." Buildings only represent one part of artifacts of Japanese cultural influences on Taiwanese universities. Nevertheless, many official documents, paintings, statues, and images of old Taipei Imperial University reserved in National Taiwan University gallery, library, and museum. Some academic structures of modern universities in Taiwan also formed in the Japan period.

Confucian Epistemology Rooted in Taiwanese Higher Education

In Schein's (2010) framework of organizational culture, espoused beliefs and values means ideals, goals, values, and aspirations of organization. Basic underlying assumptions mean an unconscious and taken-for-granted beliefs and values. Thus, I submit that the espoused beliefs and values can be partly observed via mottos and institutional goals of modern universities. But the basic underlying assumptions could be a mixture of diverse influential factors as I analyzed in the start of this article. These influential factors could include globalization, internationalization, religion, historic legacy, national policy, and local knowledge. This underlying assumptions could be the core of academic culture of higher education in Taiwan,

and it will be changing gradually time by time, not fixed, but is with a status of mixture and hybridity of external and internal forces.

When reviewing higher education development in Taiwan, despite the Japanese imperial period, Chinese philosophy and education was another core element to continuing influence values and assumptions of modern universities in Taiwan. Confucian philosophy emphasized the role of education on helping social development. The functions of education are very important for the society. Education is to educate students to have "morality and ethics" and "knowledge," but morality is even more important (Chang, 2010; Miao, 2002). In terms of teaching philosophy of Confucianism, "teachers have to teach students based on individual differences (因才施教)," "everyone has a equal right to receive education (有教無類)," "teachers and students can learn from each other through education process (教學相長)," "learning is as important as thinking (學思並重)," "learning is as important as action (學行並重)," and "teacher is center and authority of learning and teaching process"(Chang, 2010; Liang, 2003; Miao, 2002). Education is to prepare scholars (士) for the society, and scholars are selected by national examination (Chang, 2010).

Confucianism affects culture and ethics of society. Indeed, important ethical codes and precepts of Confucianism such as collectivism, patriotism, harmony of human relationship, and an individual's responsibility for family and society are all hallmarks to Confucian ideological thought. Furthermore, the concept of "Ren(仁)," or person, is the core of the ethics of Confucianism, and it means people have to care for others and to control themselves (Chang, 2010).

Traditionally, two universities are seen as symbolic research-focused universities in Taiwan: National Taiwan University (NTU) and National Tsing-Hua University (NTHU). National Tsing-Hua University was established in 1911 in Beijing, China. The original name of NTHU is "Tsing-Hua Academy清華學堂"(National Tsing-Hua University, 2018). Because of the Civil War of China, the Kuomingtang (國民黨, hereafter as KMT) moved to Taiwan, and some symbolic modern universities of China were also reestablished in Taiwan (National Tsing-Hua University, 2018). NTHU was one of them and was rebuilt in Taiwan in 1956. National Tsing-Hua University was relocated in Hsinchu City (新竹市) and shared the same name as Tsinghua University in Beijing, and there continues to be two Tsinghua Universities. They also shared the same motto "Self-Discipline and Social Commitment (自強不息，厚德載物)" given by the famous Chinese scholar Liang Qichao (梁啟超) (1873–1929). The meaning of this motto reflects the Confucian depiction of the ideal scholar (士).

The historic development of NTU has been introduced in the above sections. Though it has Japanese origin, after the KMT government moved to Taiwan, KMT appointed many Chinese scholars to be NTU's presidents. These presidents transmit Confucian philosophy into the governance picture of this best university in Taiwan. The first Chinese president of NTU is Luo Zongluo (羅宗洛), his university governance idea is to reform the original Taipei Imperial University to become a university with Chinese cultural values and to restore Chinese ethnic sense of identity for students (National Taiwan University, 2018a). The origin of NTU's motto "Integrity,

Table 2.1 Mottos of two flagship universities in Taiwan

Two flagship universities in Taiwan	Establish time and place	Origin institute	Motto
National Taiwan University	1928 in Taiwan	Taipei Imperial University	Integrity, Diligence, Fidelity, and Compassion (敦品勵學，愛國愛人)
National Tsing-Hua University	1911 in Beijing, China	Tsing-Hua Academy	Self-Discipline and Social Commitment (自強不息，厚德載物)

Source: Author compiled from two universities' main websites

Diligence, Fidelity, and Compassion (敦品勵學，愛國愛人)" is from the president Fu Ssu-nien's (傅斯年) speech in 1949 (National Taiwan University, 2018b). As Confucian philosophy is viewed as the social and cultural center in East Asian countries (Shin, 2012), we can see some Confucian ideas relate to the mottos of these two universities in Taiwan. Confucianism emphasized the role of education in the society, and people who received high-level education should be considered as a special status in the society. The word Shi (士) represented someone with elevated knowledge and good education, who might ultimately be considered a strong candidate to become a public official, and he should possess high social responsibility and to loyal to the state and the Chinese race (Hwang, 2017). And thus scholars have to cultivate themselves (修身), to harmonize their families (齊家), to manage their state (治國), and to help China's peace (平天下). These ideas can be seen in the motto's meaning of two universities (Table 2.1).

Religious Elements of Universities in Taiwan

From the analysis of the above sections, we can see some influential factors that existed in the formation of academic culture in Taiwan, the historic legacies from Japan and China, and the cultural roots of Confucianism. Confucianism is sometimes also considered as a religion. And yet there are also some other religious influences that can be found in the Taiwanese higher education system. The main religions in Taiwan include Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, Christianity, Islam, and Chinese folk religion. The majority of religious populations are Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, and other Chinese folk religions. The main religious impact on higher education is still Confucianism, as Shin (2012) pointed out some core concepts of Confucianism such as "exam-based filter system of higher education," "higher education as the way to improve personal social status," and "high emphasis on higher education both from the public sector and private sector." Because many scholars (士) are university professors, governmental officials, and school leaders, Confucianism can be seen as the core of the higher education system in Taiwan. However, other religions also influence the system by investing universities or even help the government to establish universities. Table 2.2 is the list of all current religious universities in Taiwan; there were now 11 religious universities in Taiwan.

Table 2.2 The List of religious universities in Taiwan

Religious universities in Taiwan	Founded year	Religion
Fu Jen Catholic University	Founded in Beijing in 1925	Catholic
	Reestablished in Taiwan in 1961	
Providence University	Established in 1963	Catholic
Tunghai University	Established in 1955	Christianity
Aletheia University	Established in 1965	Christianity
Mackay Medical College	Established in 2009	Christianity
Tzu Chi University	Established in 1994	Buddhism
Hsuan Chuang University	Established in 1997	Buddhism
Fo Guang University	Established in 2000	Buddhism
Nanhua University	Established in 1996	Buddhism
Huafan University	Established in 1990	Buddhism
Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts	Established in 1998	Buddhism

Source: Author compiled information from these universities' main websites

Three most historic religious universities are Fu Jen Catholic University, Tunghai University, and Tzu Chi University. They are also the three most symbolic religious universities due to their length of history and their representative religion sponsors. We can observe the fact that in their motto and mission, to integrate Christianity into teaching and learning and build students' characters are same values shared by Fu Jen University and Tunghai University. Tzu Chi University directly stated that to educate students with the spirit of Tzu Chi Humanities as their higher education goal (Table 2.3).

Western Influence of Taiwanese Universities

In the above sections, this article analyzed wider factors that can influence academic culture in Taiwan including historic legacy, Confucianism, and religions. But, there is another important source that will influence academic culture. That is the western ideas of modern university. Altbach (1989) argued that since the idea of modern university is western, thus western academic models shaped the nature of higher education systems in Asia. But he also highlighted that the Taiwanese system is influenced by Japanese colonial period. Altbach (1989) mentioned that modern universities in Japan learned from the German academic model after the Meiji Restoration (明治維新) in 1868. Nakayama (1989) analyzed Japanese higher education history and concluded that although German model influenced the early development of medical and law schools of Japan after the Meiji Restoration, the British higher education concepts also influenced some parts of early engineering in Japan. Some Japanese historians also argued that the whole Japanese education system was highly influenced by the United States. Thus the modern higher education in Japan was influenced by diverse western countries, so the early Taiwanese higher education was indirectly influenced by the multi-western mixed model.

Table 2.3 Motto, goal, and mission of the three symbolic religious universities in Taiwan

Three symbolic religious universities	Location	Religion	Motto	Goal and mission
Fu Jen Catholic University	Taipei, Taiwan	Catholic	Veritas, bonitas, pulchritudo, sanctitas (真善美聖)	Fu Jen is committed to a dialogue leading to the integration of Chinese culture and Christian faith; to academic research and the promotion of genuine knowledge; to the development of society and the advancement of humankind
Tunghai University	Taichung, Taiwan	Christianity	Truth, faith, deeds: truth attained through faith expressed by deeds (求真、篤信、力行)	To highlight spiritual education; labor education and service learning; to prepare talents with Christian faiths
Tzu Chi University	Hualien, Taiwan	Buddhism	Kindness, compassion, joy, giving (慈悲喜捨)	Our goal is to prepare professionals who are committed to lifelong learning, analytical and critical thinking, and working with others; moreover, prepare those who embrace the spirit of Tzu Chi Humanities and are willing to tend to those in need

Source: Author compiled information from three universities' main websites

Before the Japanese colonial period, Chinese education and Confucianism shaped Taiwanese scholars' ways of behaviors and thinking. There could be a hypothesis stated here. The structure and organization of modern universities of Taiwan may be similar with the western academic model, but the way of managing and decision-making inside the university and especially the academic culture is the mixture or hybridity of the western ideas, the Japanese colonial legacies, the religious unconscious influences (Buddhism, Taoism, local folk religion, or Christianity), and the core Confucianism. There is an old Chinese saying that widespread during the end of Qing dynasty is "Chinese philosophy as the core and western knowledge as the tool (中學為體，西學為用)" can describe this kind of hybrid and mixed academic culture of modern universities in Taiwan.

Belief Systems and Modern Taiwanese Higher Education

In an era of rapid globalization, the Republic of China has been poised to use their belief systems to impact modern university culture. Taiwanese professors, for example, are highly influenced by western ideals of European and North American universities and epistemologies of scientific thinking because of their education and

study abroad experiences. As I mentioned in the beginning section, the current higher education system of Asia and Taiwan has encouraged scholars to publish in international journals. The Taiwanese government also encouraged local and talented students to study abroad for master and doctor degrees in the United States and European countries. The tradition of sending gifted students to study in western countries can be traced back to the late Qing dynasty in 1872. This program is called "public sponsored study abroad (公費留學制度)," and Chou (2000) noticed that most of the awarded students went to the United States and the United Kingdom for their master and doctoral degrees. Many of them became university professors in Taiwan. Globalization of higher education also facilitates the westernization of behaviors of Taiwanese professors. Top universities as well as the Taiwanese government encourage professors to publish in international journals that are indexed in western databases (such as SCI and SSCI) to promote domestic universities' rankings in the world (Chou, 2014). To attract international students, many elite universities in Asian countries encourage their professors to teach in English (Jon & Kim, 2011), and Taiwan is no exception of this trend (Tsou & Kao, 2017). Tsou and Kao (2017, p.11) found that many Taiwanese universities encouraged their professors to use English as instruction medium for manifold reasons. Now structures of universities in Taiwan are westernized; writings, publications, teaching, and textbooks could be gradually westernized too for coping with international trends of academic excellence and the emergent global model of research university (Deem, Mok, & Lucas, 2008).

Conclusion

The net effects of history, religions such as Christianity and Buddhism, as well as the influence of western ideologies have intertwined to create a unique system within Taiwanese higher education system. These synthesized set of eclectic values offer much in the way of many graduating cohorts of global-minded citizens. The academic system and culture of higher education in Taiwan can be traced back to the Ming Dynasty in China, influenced by Japanese philosophy, and modern China's reshaping of educational foundations. Now globalization and international standards of higher education have become another super power of academic model. Schein's (2010) framework of organizational culture helps us to rethink the levels of cultural factors as artifacts, values, and assumptions. Future studies ought to continue to explore the effects of academic culture of Taiwan, including a deeper interrogation of western culture that is manifested by scholars who fail to capture some the epistemologies and assumptions unconsciously embedded in and influencing foreign professors and the impact of their behaviors at universities in Taiwan. Artifacts including the mission, goal, motto, documents, architectures, buildings, and paintings could be a basis for analyzing academic culture of Taiwanese universities. Values of Confucianism, the core Ren (仁), are an important facet of exploration in academic culture. Human relationships are important. Individualism is not

quite encouraged. The whole university's development is important for each individual on campus because of internal collectivism unconsciously affects university members. The Japanese values of working hard and respecting senior teachers are common features of both Confucianism and Japanese culture. The nexus of internal and external, global and local, history and modern, Confucianism and Western could help the academic culture of higher education in Taiwan move toward innovation.

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Chapter 3
Toward Sustainable Islamic Communities in Malaysia: The Role of Islamic-Based Higher Education Institutions (IHEIs)

Nur Rafidah Asyikin Binti Idris, Morshidi Sirat, and Chang Da Wan

Abstract The higher education sector in Malaysia has already become a major source of income for the country. Malaysia needs only to raise the nation's higher education system to enhance the appeal and competitiveness in the region and beyond. The Malaysian Higher Education Blueprint 2015–2025 aimed to prepare the country's tertiary education system to meet the challenges of the future. The Blueprint introduces ten shifts which included developing holistic, entrepreneurial and balanced graduates, talent excellence, nation of lifelong learners, quality TVET graduates, financial sustainability, empowered governance, innovation ecosystem, global prominence, globalised online learning and transformed higher education delivery. Currently, the role of most higher education institutions (HEIs) in Malaysia is to generate human capital, focused more on marketability rather than producing a good person. In this context, Islamic-based higher education institutions (IHEIs) have transformed themselves to be relevant to current situations without losing their traditional Islamic values. IHEIs have been committed to pursuing the integration of Islamic and modern knowledge in producing holistic and balanced Muslim communities for the development of the nation. Muslims are obligated to master various forms of knowledge beginning with the Islamic traditional knowledge of faith (*aqidah*), Islamic law and morals (*akhlak*). The understanding of the Islamic knowledge together with that of the modern world can lead to the emergence of new modern knowledge in line with Islamic requirements. This paper seeks to examine practices of the integration of knowledge in governance and management, curriculum, teaching and learning (T&L) and research and development (R&D). To undertake this task, focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted among 273 undergraduate students from different faculties. This study consisted of in-depth face-to-face interviews with 30 institutional leaders, middle-level management, academics and

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registrars in 2 public and 2 private IHEIs and 11 respondents from the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) to get the scenario of the IHEIs in Malaysia. The findings showed that the integration of Islamic knowledge and modern knowledge has managed to produce well-balanced communities for nation development. This paper intends to highlight the concept of integration of Islamic and modern knowledge and the challenges that need to be addressed to make it a reality for the Muslim communities.

Keywords IHEIs · Integration of knowledge · Muslim communities

Introduction

The most crucial crisis faced by the contemporary Muslim world could be traced to educational dualism in which two systems of education exist, namely, the national modern secular system and the traditional Islamic religious system (Solehah & Rahimah, 2008). In the First World Conference on Muslim Education held in 1977, there were discussions concerning the problem of education in the Muslim world that stemmed from a dual education system, inherited from the colonial masters, namely, the national-type system and the religious educational system (Adebayo, 2007). The application of secular knowledge leads to the spread of secular influence in the educational system of Muslim nations, which in turn leads to the gradual loss of their Islamic identity. Therefore, to ensure the sustainability of Islamic knowledge in the era of globalisation and internalisation, the integration of Islamic knowledge (or revealed knowledge) and secular knowledge (reasoned knowledge) needs to be seen as an alternative for Islamic communities aspiring for sustainable communities based on the true teachings of Islam.

In the context of Malaysia, Islamic-based higher education institutions (IHEIs) are critical to realise the integration of knowledge (Islamic and modern knowledge) in education and produce balanced communities from the physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual aspects. This chapter aims to illustrate the ways in which IHEIs integrate secular and Islamic knowledge and the extent to which such integration impacts the community and society. More specifically, this chapter illustrates practices of the integration of knowledge in IHEIs in terms of governance and management, curriculum, teaching and learning and research and development (R&D). The understanding of integrating Islamic knowledge with that of the secular world can lead to the emergence of new knowledge that is in line with Islamic requirements (Norazmi, Engku Ahmad, Mohd. Hudzari, Roose, & Nor Aini, 2015). As a matter of fact, Islam never forbids, but rather highly recommends Muslims to learn and acquire a diverse body of knowledge.

The Concept of Knowledge Integration

Education serves the most important function in developing the intellectual capacity of a community. It is a process of developing and passing on knowledge within a community from one generation to the next, and this is arguably the main contribution of a university or higher education institution to the society (Collini, 2012). From an economic perspective, Ozturk (2001) argued that education plays a crucial role in securing economic and social progress as well as improving income distribution. The universities are considered as vital sources of new knowledge, contributors to innovation, business investment and contributors to social and cultural vitality and, more important, to produce human capital for economic transformation (Boulton & Lucas, 2008; Brennan, King & Lebeau, 2004). However, it is different from Islamic viewpoint whereby education is considered a form of worship (*Ibadah*). As stated in the Quran and Sunnah, education also plays a role in developing the community towards achieving well-being in this world and the hereafter (Hassan, 1989). In the era of globalisation and internationalisation, views from both philosophies are important to producing well-balanced Muslim communities in Malaysia. Therefore, the integration of knowledge is a new paradigm shift to be adopted by IHEIs and to allow it to play the role as a main catalyst in mobilising knowledge integration that can be spread to the Muslim communities.

According to Mohamed Akhiruddin, Adnan, Azniwati and Azlina (2015), integration refers to the process that combines or collects things and a process of bringing things together for the purpose of producing something. In the context of knowledge, integration means the combination of two disciplines that will turn into a new knowledge. Furthermore, as Obaidullah (2010) postulated, integration of knowledge also entails addressing the question of what, why and how. Within the programmes of IHEIs in Malaysia, the desired integration is combining Islamic and conventional knowledge such as economics and muamalat, shariah and law, usuluddin with multimedia and others. Besides that, knowledge integration is an approach to create a professional generation of multidisciplinary knowledge so that communities will get an equal opportunity in education (Norazmi et al., 2015). The question why and how will be discussed in the next section.

Islamic-Based Higher Education Institutions (IHEIs) in Malaysia

In the context of Malaysia, the Islamic educational system in the pre-independence era began with the mosque as the centre and typically conducted in the homes of the teachers. It was then continued with the *pondok* and the *madrasah* and expanded to become a formal educational system. *Pondok* education is purely religious learning,

and the *pondoks* are independent institutions. Madrasah combines learning of western knowledge with Islamic knowledge and is a part of the formal educational system. It may be funded by the federal government or by the various state governments (as religion is a matter under the jurisdiction of the individual states) or through public donations (Mohd Mahadi & Noor Sufiza, 2014). At the turn of the century, IHEIs have continued to grow rapidly in Malaysia, and their focus has centred around the issue of integrating Islamic knowledge with secular knowledge. To date, there are 17 IHEIs in Malaysia; 2 of them are public institutions funded by the federal government and 15 private institutions established and funded by state religious bodies and non-profit organisations.

According to the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE[1]), the emergence of IHEIs is seen as a platform that allowed students from religious schools to continue their studies at the tertiary level (personal communication). The educational programmes offered by the conventional higher education institutions (HEIs) in Malaysia focused on market orientation, to generate income and produce human capital without emphasising the spiritual elements. Hence, the establishment of IHEIs is seen as an alternative in providing diversity within the higher education system of Malaysia. In addition to the range of knowledge, skills and capabilities, a graduate is expected to be developed in the course of studying in a conventional university; graduates from IHEIs are expected to also develop the competencies and understanding of religion. On the other hand, IHEIs have also contributed to the economic development of Malaysia in the areas of Islamic finance, halal certification and Islamic law. IHEIs play an important role in research and development (R&D) to ensure the development of Malaysia as the halal hub, while Islamic finance and Islamic law are expected to overcome the economic crisis in Malaysia. In IHEIs, the approaches to the integration of Islamic and secular knowledge were intended to produce future Muslim professionals and produce graduates with multidisciplinary knowledge.

Methodology

This study has purposely chosen four IHEIs, and across these institutions, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 28 institutional leaders, academics and administrators. In addition, focus group discussions were also conducted with 273 undergraduate students from different faculties across the 4 IHEIs. The interviews and focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed and analysed using content analysis thematically. Official documents from the Ministry of Higher Education and the four IHEIs as well as the official webpages of these institutions were used as secondary data to provide more in-depth understanding of the institutions.

[1] The Ministry of Higher Education has been subsumed into Ministry of Education following the 14th General Election in May 2018.

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Universiti Sains Malaysia, and participants were assured of their institutional and individual anonymity. Hence, the following descriptions of the four IHEIs have to be brief and succinct with some identifiable information withheld in accordance to the promised anonymity of the institutions involved.

IHEI 1

IHEI 1 was first established in the 1990s. A decade later, the institution was restructured and moved into the campus which it now occupies. The current campus of IHEI 1 was based on Islamic architectures and values as the basis of construction design. The main administrative building is one of the iconic landmarks in the campus with onion-shaped dome at the top and constructed facing the *Qiblah*. IHEI 1 focuses on Islamic science and aims to produce graduates who are "scientifically knowledgeable, technologically competent, biologically oriented, respect for human dignity, socially sensitive, ethnically responsible, professionally accountable, effective team member, lifelong learner and uphold the principles of oneness of God" (Lee, Wan & Morshidi, 2017). The main philosophy underlying the pedagogical approach of IHEI 1 is the integration of Naqli (revealed knowledge) and Aqli (secular/human knowledge), with honourable qualities as the thrust in nurturing a noble generation and a knowledgeable society.

The current student population is 11,000, made up of local and foreign students. The student admission policy is open to all; however, the selection criteria include proficiency in Arabic and recitation of Al-Quran. IHEI 1 provides an opportunity for secondary school leavers of the local religious schools to pursue higher education without necessarily going to the Middle East. This measure will reduce the burden of government to send students to further their studies overseas. In addition, the establishment of IHEI 1 is also compatible with the government effort to produce professional scholars who are knowledgeable not only in religion but also in secular knowledge.

IHEI 2

IHEI 2 was established in the 1980s, aimed to establish a unified and integrated higher education institution based on religious and theocentric worldview. More specifically, IHEI 2 intends to become a comprehensive institution based on tawhid and Islamic philosophy and to put an end to the dichotomy between religion and secular knowledge. In short, its mission is the "Islamization of human knowledge". This involves promoting and pursuing Islamic perspectives in the various branches of human knowledge that aims to integrate professional sciences with Islamic principles to develop Muslims imbued with Islamic principles, ethics and knowledge, while being competent professionally.

The architecture of IHEI 2 follows the Islamic tradition, where the centre of the campus is the mosque. This signifies putting religion as the centre of activities within the institution. Students entering IHEI 2 do not come only from Muslim communities; in fact, the students' population comprises individuals from different ethnic groups, races and religions. With a total of more than 18,800 local and international students, IHEI 2 student demographics are geographically and culturally diverse. Generally, the students in IHEI 2 have high motivation and high academic achievement, with most of its students proficient in Arabic, English and Malay.

IHEI 3

IHEI 3 was established in the 1990s by one of the 13 state governments alongside the State Islamic Religious Councils. The campus of IHEI 3 resembles the architectural style of Islamic Andalusia. The main focus of IHEI 3 is to become the catalyst of traditional knowledge in unifying Muslims in the state. Operationally, IHEI 3 strives to produce students having the criteria of being a *da'i* (preacher), *ulama* (religious leaders) and *umara* (leader). IHEI 3 has been moving forward based on the vision and mission to face all obstacles and changes aggressively and proactively to become an educational institution that offer academic programmes based on *tawhid* (unity of Allah) and suits the requirement of the current generation as well as in line with the niche of Islam and compliance that meets the high standard direction of Islamic education and National Education Policy in becoming a truly Islamic university.

The total of IHEI 3 students is in the range of 8000, consisting of local and international students. IHEI 3 receives students mainly from the national secondary schools and local religious schools. IHEI 3 offers study at foundation-level programmes, diploma, bachelor's degree as well as programmes at master's and doctor of philosophy. The minimum requirement for entry to IHEI 3 is by five credits of fundamental studies, three honours for diploma and C grade for a bachelor's degree and to pass in Arabic subjects, which are less competitive than IHEI 1 and IHEI 2. This shows that IHEI 3 attempts to provide opportunities to those students who have low qualification and provides an opportunity for students from religious schools who are quite difficult to further their studies at mainstream higher education institutions (HEIs). Students from religious schools can also further their studies in IHEI 3 with diverse programmes that integrate Islamic and secular knowledge.

IHEI 4

IHEI 4 was established in the 1990s. It is another institution established by a state government. IHEI 4 has introduced a new platform in education by combining the field of Islamic studies, incorporated with science and the discipline of psychology. The philosophy of IHEI 4 is to become a superior and excellent high institution in

Islamic-based studies. The philosophy is in line with the mission of state government, to produce an intellectual and a capable generation in terms of Islamic religion, technology, social science and secular knowledge.

The total number of students in IHEI 4 is in the range of 5700, consisting of local and international students. The admission of students in IHEI 4 is open to all countries, races and religions. The minimum requirement for entry to IHEI 4 is credits in three subjects for diploma and a minimum CGPA of 2.00 for bachelor's degree. Similar to IHEI 3, IHEI 4 aims to provide a second opportunity to students in the community to further their studies in tertiary education. IHEI 4 has eight faculties which offer diverse programmes for students. Arabic and English are compulsory requirements for graduation.

Research Findings

This paper seeks to examine their practices of the integration of knowledge in governance and management, curriculum, teaching and learning and research and development (R&D), as shown in Table 3.1.

Governance and Management

The management and governance of IHEI 1, IHEI 2, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 are particularly through appointment at the levels of vice chancellors (or their equivalents), departments, centres or faculty. The criteria for the appointment of the top management and academics in the four IHEIs are still based on the western system, which is set by the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) Malaysia. This is similar to the appointment of vice chancellors in any public universities in Malaysia. The only difference is that the application in one of the institutions is open to all and the selection is based on personal strength, leadership, experience and academic background by the minister. Conversely, the selection and appointment of top management in private institution are carried out entirely by the board of governors. As with appointment for deans and department heads, decisions are carried out by the top management. To some extent, deans have autonomy even though they work with their committees such as curriculum committee and management committee. The appointment of academics also follows the conventional method set by the MOHE, which focuses on the individual academic background, while the Islamic values come secondary:

> The appointment of vice chancellor (VCs), dean and lecturers are similar with other conventional universities. For example, the leadership styles of past VCs depend on their own personal strength, e.g., 1st VC is Islamic based, 2nd VC is economics based, 3rd VC is research based, current VC is very interested on the teaching-learning process. Islamic knowledge is an added value to perform the task in the Islamic university. (Lecturer, Faculty of Dentistry, IHEIs 1)

Table 3.1 Knowledge integration matrix

Criteria IHEIs	Types of IHEIs	Philosophy	Governance and management	Curriculum	Pedagogy	Research and development (R&D)
1	Public	The integration of Naqli and Aqli knowledge is the thrust in nurturing a noble generation and a knowledgeable society	Governance: similar to other public universities Financial: Islamic and conventional method	Emphasise integration of Naqli and Aqli knowledge	Teaching and learning (T&L) is the same as other public universities Implementing Islamic values in T&L (prayer and religious talk)	Emphasise Islamic values in R&D
2	Public	University is built upon the belief that knowledge must be pursued as an ‘ibādah (continuous worship) and amānah (a trust) which Allah (SWT) has placed upon mankind	Governance: according to its own constitution Financial: Islamic and conventional method	Emphasise Islamic and secular knowledge	Teaching and learning (T&L) is the same as other conventional universities Implementing Islamic values in T&L (prayer and religious talk)	Emphasise Islamic values in R&D
3	Private	The integration of knowledge, faith and charity is the basis of producing human being to contribute to communities and nation	Governance: similar to other private institutions Financial: Islamic and conventional method	Emphasise a combination of Islamic and secular knowledge	Teaching and learning (T&L) is the same as other conventional universities Implementing Islamic values in T&L (prayer and religious talk)	Emphasise Islamic values in R&D
4	Private	Become a superior and excellent higher institution in Islamic-based studies	Governance: similar to other private institutions Financial: Islamic and conventional method	Emphasise a combination of Islamic and secular knowledge, specifically in Islamic subjects	Teaching and learning (T&L) is the same as other conventional universities Implementing Islamic values in T&L (prayer and religious talk)	Emphasise Islamic value in R&D

However, in the case of IHEI 3, there is a more peculiar arrangement with governance and management of this institution as it is jointly governed by a state government and its religious council. The board of directors in IHEI 3 is chaired by the chief minister of the state. Thus, the chief minister plays a role in its governance in terms of appointing the vice chancellor. In turn, the vice chancellor appoints three of the four deputies. However, the fourth deputy vice chancellor for corporate management is appointed by the state religious council. More important, the financial source of IHEI 3 comes from the state religious council through the zakat fund, and therefore, the religious council tends to have a bigger role in determining the direction of IHEI 3, compared with the state government. The appointment of academics in IHEI 3 is based on a hybrid method, which is conventional, evaluation of academic performance and experience and basic beliefs in Islam.

IHEI 4 is a wholly owned subsidiary of a state government, but they have to generate their own income. The appointment of top management and academician is based on the election by the board of directors. According to the respondent, most of the academicians are graduates from Islamic universities from the Middle East. However, the appointment of academicians follows the conventional method based on criteria such as academic background and experience. Having a balanced knowledge in secular and Islamic knowledge gives an advantage to academics as he or she can contribute to the activities at IHEI 4.

It is interesting to note that these four IHEIs organised *usrah* programmes (study circle) and religious programmes for all academics and nonacademics (Muslims and non-Muslims) to enhance their religious knowledge, soft skills and good morals and enhance their spirit of brotherhood (*ukhwah*) to strengthen the spiritual element. Through these programmes also the academics acquire skills and creativity to play their role as leaders, researchers and teachers in IHEIs in producing holistic and balanced Muslim communities.

Curriculum

The integration of knowledge in IHEIs curricula is very apparent. The four IHEIs emphasise Islamic and secular knowledge in the educational programmes. The curriculum in IHEI 1 is based on integration of Islamic (*Naqli*) and secular (*Aqli*) knowledge. The application of Islamic knowledge is based on the Quran and Sunnah. It is because Muslims believe the Quran and Sunnah are the complete source of guidance for their lives. To ensure the students in IHEI 1 reach the global standard, while upholding the principles of IHEI 1, the courses are taught in English as well as in Arabic, without ignoring proficiency in the Malay language. IHEI 1 requires students to take three Arabic courses and three English courses in addition to the faculty compulsory courses that require the students to take foreign language courses such as Mandarin, Japanese and other languages to produce globally competitive and multilingual graduates.

In addition, the academic programmes offered by IHEI 1 combine Islamic knowledge with secular knowledge. The programmes that reflect a combination of both types of knowledge are Al-Quran with multimedia, Al-Quran with information management, shariah with law and preaching and Islamic leadership. Nevertheless, not all faculties in IHEI 1 can fully apply Islamic knowledge and secular knowledge in the curriculum, but IHEI 1 offers university-required courses and faculty-required courses which emphasise Islamic knowledge. Therefore, the faculty of medical and health sciences takes a longer time to complete studies in the medical field. Thus, it is different from other higher education institutions (HEIs) in Malaysia. Typically, the duration set by other conventional HEIs is 5 years, but in IHEI 1 it takes 6 years. The duration for preclinical training is 2 years compared with 1 year in other HEIs. The duration of the preclinical training is stretched longer because IHEI 1 wish to ensure their students are able to explore Islamic and secular knowledge during the preclinical training. In addition, medical students at IHEI 1 also need more time to complete Islamic courses such as *hafazan* (memorisation of the Quran), as a basic requirement of Islamic knowledge and university-wide courses for their graduation.

The mission of IHEI 2 is to emphasise the aspects of integration, Islamisation, internationalisation and excellence as a holistic education in all activities. Therefore, in line with the mission, the curriculum at IHEI 2 is based on the integration of knowledge so that it is aligned with the diversity of students in IHEI 2. An academic programme offered by IHEI 2 is integrating Islamic and secular knowledge, such as law and shariah, architecture and Islam, education and Islam and ICT and Islam. However, IHEI 2 also offers university requirement programmes, which provides Islamic knowledge to Muslim and non-Muslim students such as Islamic worldview, Islam, knowledge and civilisation and ethics and fiqh for everyday life (UNGS), *usrah* (study circle) and *tilawah* Al-Quran (Al-Quran recitation).

The curricula at IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 are on the continuum between those of IHEI 1 and IHEI 2. Programmes offered by IHEI 3 are integrating Islamic knowledge with secular knowledge. IHEI 3 has seven faculties comprising Islamic academy, management and muamalah, science and information technology, education, foundation centre, postgraduate studies centre and core studies centre. The study programmes in IHEI 3 combine Islamic knowledge with secular knowledge to ensure IHEI 3 graduates are competitive at the international level. In addition, in line with the transformation of IHEI 3, this institution stresses on professional skills and Islamic elements through the curriculum. The compulsory course offered by IHEI 3 has elements such as Islamic value, namely, tawhid, Islamic philosophy and thoughts and ummah (community service). IHEI 3 students are compulsory to pass the programme courses such as *aqidah* (creed), Arabic, *akhlak* (moral), *tilawah* (Quran recitation), *fiqh munakahat* (marriage) and *usrah* (study circle) as a requirement for graduation. This situation would not burden the students, and IHEI 3 strives to build an ecology to produce graduates who can spread Islamic knowledge to their communities. IHEI 4 also offers Islamic knowledge and secular knowledge in curriculum in their eight faculties. Students at IHEI 4 can learn about Islamic finance, shariah law, Islam and human resource, Islamic architecture, Islamic tourism,

Islamic hospitality, management and development of Islam and Arabic and Islamic psychology. IHEI 4 offers the university- and faculty-required courses for students such as *fiqh Ibadah* (worship), *ulum Al-Quran* and *ulum hadith*, *aqidah* and *akhlak* (ethic) and *tilawah* (Quran recitation). IHEIs apparently focus their efforts on the integration of knowledge through their curriculum, with the aim of producing professional scholars with strong spiritual knowledge.

Pedagogy

The teaching and learning (T&L) method adopted in IHEI 1, IHEI 2, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 is the same as those of other conventional higher education institutions (HEIs). In terms of the medium of instruction, IHEI 1, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 have used Malay, Arabic and English. Meanwhile, the medium of instruction in IHEI 2 is different from the other three IHEIs, where English and Arabic are used as the medium of instruction. This policy is to facilitate applications for admission from international students, especially from the Middle East. In the four IHEIs, Islamic values are also implemented in their T&L, through recitation of *doa'* (prayer) and religious talk (about religion and doing good) for a few minutes before the start of a lecture in the classroom. Lecturers play their role in applying meaningful educational knowledge and values of Islam in their T&L processes and ensure that their students are educated following Islamic values, in the campus as well as outside the campus.

Research and Development (R&D)

Research and development (R&D) is also an essential part of IHEIs. Students and academics are required to apply the Islamic values and secular knowledge in conducting their research. In addition, R&D in IHEIs is expected to have impact on the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the world. For example, IHEI 1 attempts to integrate Islamic and secular knowledge in R&D which produces products such as Hurma, Duplo Box and Mobile Intravenous Drip (MIV). Hurma is an advanced hospital gown for Muslim women, which covers the *awrah* and maintaining their modesty. Duplo Box was developed to help the clinician and dental technologists when making new dentures using the existing dentures. Mobile Intravenous Drip is used by patients for carrying intravenous set for ensuring mobility and comfort of a patient during the treatment in the hospital. From an Islamic perspective, Duplo Box and MIV are invented to solve the problems for patient when performing ablutions and prayers as it involves a lot of movement. IHEI 1 also trains students in Islamic architecture leading to the Mizan Home Project. "Mizan" means balance, and the aim of the researchers is to produce balance and harmony in the home for sustainability. The main objective of Mizan Home is to develop a zero-energy and

affordable house that demonstrates solar and energy-efficient technologies. Students at IHEI 1 have been exposed to R&D during their undergraduate years of studies. IHEI 1 has organised the i-Reka, Medinova and i-Inova to encourage students and academics involved in R&D. IHEI 1 products are expected to generate and disseminate *shariah* compliant knowledge and are expected to support the Malaysian government planning an index of *maqasid shariah* (objectives of shariah).

Students in IHEI 2, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 have been exposed to research and development (R&D), but students apply it only when doing their final year project. However, in conducting R&D, the product is required to have an element of Islamic values to create balanced knowledge physically and spiritually. Students in science and ICT programmes produce products and applications, while students in arts produce paperwork research in their final year project. Students from ICT background at IHEI 2, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 produce Islamic applications to disseminate Islamic knowledge to the world. The students believe that ICT is the best method to ensure the knowledge reaches the communities through the social media, android application and software. According to the respondent IHEI 2:

> We have collaboration between lecturers and students to create 'Ummaland' which is similar to Facebook. The only difference is that this is social network for Muslims and the content is about Islamic knowledge. This is the way to solve social and health problems in the social media among Muslim communities. (Students, Faculty of Information and Communication Technology, IHEI 2)

Ummaland (Facebook for Muslim) is created to attract Muslim followers to share Islamic knowledge and good things in the social media. The respondents clarify that Facebook has caused social and health problems for Malaysian citizens because the people can post and share unlimited information in the Facebook. By using Ummaland, all the information shared by the follower will be filtered by the founder system. However, Ummaland team is in the process of empowering this social media to attract communities from all ages. In IHEI 3, ICT students with the supervision of their lecturer have created an android application that benefits the Muslim communities such as Smart Prayer, Smart Al-Quran and Arabic language. Research teams in the science programme in IHEI 2, IHEI 3 and IHEI 4 have conducted R&D in food security and halal cosmetics, which are important to Malaysia as an Islamic country. Students and lecturers will review or create halal food and cosmetics to ensure Muslim communities are using halal products.

Discussion

The implementation of knowledge integration in governance and management, curriculum, pedagogy and research and development (R&D) is very apparent. In general, conventional HEIs are renowned for producing intellectual and talented graduates to fulfil the needs of the global workforce without emphasising the spiritual element. Hence, to create sustainable Muslim communities, IHEIs need to play

an important role to educate the communities through the integration of secular knowledge with Islamic knowledge. The integration of knowledge in their curriculum will produce holistic and balanced graduates based on educational programmes offered by the IHEIs. The IHEIs offer programmes in Islamic finance, Islamic law, Islamic architecture and food security which are very crucial in Malaysia as an Islamic country. The existence of professional Muslim scholars from IHEIs will help develop sustainable cities and communities through the expertise that they have. The quality of product and services created by the academics and students through R&D needs to be ensured through the quality assurance mechanism before they are put to be adopted by the communities. To achieve sustainability in urban development from the Islamic perspective, the role of IHEIs is to develop the criteria to be achieved in terms of environmental, economic and social sustainability, which are based on Al-Quran and Sunnah.

Conclusion

Malaysia is leading as a multicultural society, but the most professed religion by the society is Islam. Islam encourages Muslims to study other knowledge, in line with the requirements of Islam. Knowledge integration is a paradigm shift that aims to produce well-balanced communities globally. It is in line with the goal of the Malaysian Higher Education Blueprint 2015–2025, which aims to produce holistic and balanced students in knowledge (skill) as well as moral (*akhlak*) and disseminate the knowledge integration to the communities outside. In addition, IHEIs must ensure all the programmes offered, R&D, facilities, volunteering and others, provide a solid impact on the communities.

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Chapter 4
Christian Higher Education in Korea: Exploring Historical Roles and Regular Christian Curricular and Non-Regular Mentoring Programs

Seong Do Cho

Abstract Christianity played an important role in modern higher education in Korea. The oldest university in Korea is the Yonhee Professional College founded by Underwood, an American Christian missionary. Also the first medical school, Severance Medical School, was founded by a Christian missionary. Christian educational institutions have historically had a significant impact on Korean society in terms of the independence movement, enlightenment, literacy, and modern knowledge.

Currently Christian curricula are institutionalized very well in Korean Christian universities. However there is some doubt as to whether regular Christian education curricula imbue students with spirituality, morality, and ethics in terms of internalization in Korean society. On the other hand, Christian circles, which provide an extracurricular program, are considered to have a significant impact on students in terms of spirituality, morality, ethical awareness, and character development since the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, the circles developed and implemented a discipleship training program which is a mentoring education method.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the roles of Christian higher education in Korean history and to compare regular Christian curricular and non-regular Christian mentoring programs. In order to explain Christian discipleship programs, this chapter defines religious terminology and lexicon that is germane to the Christian faith and some underlying assumptions about approaches toward evangelism. Additionally, this chapter discusses what religious higher education should do in the future.

Keywords Christianity in Korea · Mentoring program · Christian circles

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South Korea today is widely known among and within Christian circles to have had explosive growth and evangelical success in growing the religion across the nation in a relatively short period of time. This once shamanistic, Buddhist, and Confucius nation has been identified more commonly as the Jerusalem of the East.

Missiologist and scholar Byung Joon Chung (2014) submits that there were five distinct phases in Korea that led to both growth and decline of Protestant Christianity. The early period (1884–1909) consisted of growth related to the fruit of early missionary evangelism, a historic revival experience in Pyongyang, and an early legacy of the prayer culture for the new Korean church. The second phase (1910–1945) was marked by much persecution and suffering during Japanese occupation. The third period of growth and recovery (1945–1960) is marked by a newly liberated then divided nation's growth of Christianity in the midst of and aftermath from a brutal civil war. This period in the post 1940s, according to Chung (2014) and Hazzan (2016), was also marked by the church's improper affiliation to pro-Western ideology and overdependence on the United States.

The fourth phase (1960–1995) is marked by industrialization and urbanization, where the Korean Protestant church saw its greatest visible growth especially in urban cities. Here according to Chung (2014) is where university mission organizations and military missions were most active. In the fifth and final stage of post urbanization (1995–2005), church membership began to see a decrease, due to corruption, internal politics, and an overemphasis of political conservatism held by many South Korean churches.

Christianity was also passed on to Korea through the work of Roman Catholic missionaries. When Catholicism entered Korea, it caused conflict with existing Confucian values, and as a result, scores of converted Korean Catholics suffered various forms of persecution. From 1801 to 1866, an estimated 8000 ethnic Korean Catholics and 3 foreign missionaries were martyred. Some of the intellectuals gave up their faith (Kim, 2009). This conflict was because the Catholic Church forbade the tradition of Koreans that was to serve sacrifices and prostrate themselves for their ancestors before an altar. The value of Catholicism stood up against Confucian thought in Korea. Traditional Korean society was based on Confucianism, and it regarded loyalty to the country and king and respect for ancestors and adults as core virtues. In Korean family members and relatives gathered regularly to offer sacrifices to their ancestors. While early Catholicism prohibited it and conflicted with traditional Confucian ideas, Catholics later attempted to syncretize the two disparate philosophies and began honoring some Confucian traditions in Korea such as sacrifices and ceremonies for its ancestors (Kim, 2009). However, Protestantism has maintained its position that traditional sacrifices do not conform to Christian doctrine and the debate of cultural and ideological differences continues.

The Role of Christian Higher Education in Modern Korean History

A worldwide Christian evangelization movement has a similar look and feel to that of any other globalization movement. Evangelization to Asia was actively promoted all over the world by Western missionaries who proselytized the "Good News" messages to non-believers but also cultivated, most notably in Asia, various environments which were more conducive to evangelization. For example, many Christian missionaries sent to Korea, China, and Japan from the eighteenth century onward introduced privatized higher learning institutions for the dual purpose of cultural exchange as well as a tool for evangelization.

Evangelicalism is a Christian movement by adherents of Protestantism, which emerged between the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. Over the years, however, the reform emphasized by early Evangelicals took on markedly modern European characteristics in cultural aspect, and by the nineteenth century, many Western missionaries ventured into Asia and introduced the Western model of education. Christian universities that were established during the early years of evangelization in Asia were unique and provided various opportunities for college-level education. Among the largest beneficiaries of Christian education were women, minorities, and the socially marginalized. In spite of a conscious effort to preserve traditional religious and spiritual orientations, Christian colleges fell vulnerably into the increasing pressure of secularization.

In Korea modern higher education is closely related to and finds its roots in Christianity. The first medical education institution, Severance Medical College, was founded by an American physician, missionary, and diplomat Horace Allen in 1885 (Ahn, 2001). The name was Gwang Hye Won. Also, Yonhee College, the early modern higher education institution, was founded by Horace Underwood, a Presbyterian missionary (Lee, 1983). Yonhee College merged with Severance Medical College in 1957 and became Yonsei University, which is the oldest university in Korea. Ewha Womans College, Korea's first female higher education institution, was founded by Mary F. Scranton, a Protestant missionary (Kim, 2009). In addition, several Christian higher education institutions were established. One of them is Soongsil College. During the Japanese colonial period, this college was voluntarily closed by the Christian foundation in order to be against Japan that demanded this college's members to worship the shrine (Cho, 2004). It showed the national spirit of Korea. There are currently more than 80 institutions of higher education managed by the Christian Foundation in Korea.

In terms of delineating the roles of Christian universities in Korean higher education since persecution of Catholics, one may consider four distinct periods: the late Joseon dynasty and the Japanese colonial period, the US military government control and the Korean War, the era of democratization movement in the 1960s–1980s, and the university environment change (Cho, 2004).

Christianity first played a prominent role in Korean higher education through inspiring patriotism and enlightening Koreans around the end of the Joseon, the last dynasty of Korea, and during the Japanese occupation. As mentioned earlier, Korea's modern higher education started with the work of Western Christian missionaries. During the Japanese colonial period, Christian higher education institutions raised up a generation of college students who became leaders in various realms of society who took initiative toward an independence movement in the Korean society as a time when frustration and disappointment were prevalent. According to the current Korean constitution, the origin of the Korean republic government is the provisional Korean government which was established in Shanghai in 1919 just after the 3.1 movement. In other words, the 3.1 movement led to making the first republic government that was the center of the independence activities under the Japanese rule. It can be said that the 3.1 movement is a peaceful independence movement of Koreans. More than 2 million Koreans had participated nationwide, resulting in the deaths of 7500 people, and 9458 people were imprisoned (Lee, 1997). Christians accounted for 22%, 2087 of the imprisoned persons. Considering that Korea's population was about 16 million and the number of Christians was around 200,000 at that time, we can see that Christians led the movement (Lee, 1997). There were 33 national leaders representing the movement, and 16 of them were Christians (Kim, 2009). Many religious people participated in this movement and Christianity played a critical role.

In Korea, Gwansun Yu is a person who symbolizes the 3.1 movement. She participated in the movement at the age of 18 and died tragically in jail as a result of extreme torture at the hands of the Japanese police. Gwansun Yu is the name that is remembered by most when celebrating the 3.1 independence movement. Gwansun Yu was a student of Ewha Womans College, Korea's first female higher education institution founded in the Christian spirit. Besides her, many patriotic activists had been produced through Christian higher education institutions. For instance, Dongju Yoon, a famous poet who graduated from Yonhee College and was against the Japanese rule, was imprisoned because of independence activities and died in prison because of medical experiments in Japan. Changho Anh, an enlightened activist, also studied at Baejae College, a Christian higher education institution. As such, Christianity laid the foundation to lead an independence movement and establish a modern democratic government; this religion is credited with fostering leaders who led the national independence and enlightenment movement. In the latter half of the Japanese colonial period, there were some churches that worshiped in the shrine to protect themselves from the Japanese persecution (Cho, 2006). After independence from Japan, many Christians adopted democratic principles, though some sided with other political and governmental structures. However, it is undeniable that Christian higher education institutions contributed to developing Korean society and fostering human resources.

The second major period of influence for Christian higher education institutions occurred after the independence movement in 1945. When the official republic government was begun in 1948, there were only four universities: Seoul National University, Ewha Womans University, Korea University, and Yonhee University.

However, as many private and national universities had been established in the 1950s, the status of Christian universities was weakening in society. Also, the number of professors who had a Christian spirit decreased in Christian universities (Ahn, 2001; Cho, 2004).

In the third movement, a period marked by military dictatorship and the democratization movement in the 1960s–1980s, Christian university chapels and chaplains played a central role for providing Christian education to students in the regular education system (Ahn, 2001). The chapel system began in the 1960s and became active in the 1970s. Along with the chapel, Christian subjects were provided as required courses in Christian universities. Collegiate mission organizations or parachurches emerged within Christian circles on campus. These organizations were not limited to Christian universities but were active in most universities in Korea. The common feature of these Christian circles was mentoring programs such as individual spirituality training and discipleship activities. As of 1997, the Christian circles that centered on these mentoring programs had about 1000 students and 300 secretaries (Cho, 2004). On the other hand, some Christian professors and college students participated in the democratization movement.

In the fourth and final movement tied to the 1990s, the university environment has shifted in student culture with an increased focus on competition, student needs, and a greater prevalence toward research. Performance became a bigger focus, and universities competed with each other in order to acquire more resources. Undergraduate majors began to shift into more preprofessional fields over traditional liberal arts degrees. With the increased value on research and performance, the quantity and quality of scholarly papers became more important in students' undergraduate education. Thus, the emphasis on spirituality which defined Christian colleges early on has resulted in decreased efforts on enhancing qualities for democratic citizens (Cho, 2006; Jung, 2014).

The Challenges Facing Christian Higher Education Institutions in Korea

According to a 2017 article on the decline of church attendance (Borowiec, 2017), the percentage of South Koreans identifying as having no religion rose from 47% in 2005 to 56% in 2015. Moreover, according to Borowiec (2017), who cites Gallup Korea findings, this "falling religiosity is especially pronounced among young adults" of South Koreans in their 20s who identify as religious. Hazzan (2016) reported a decrease in attendance across protestant churches. He cites that among other challenges, the democratization movement may have led some younger Koreans to resent the largely conservative, pro-governmental regimes that many churches uphold, in addition to problems with corruption, internal turf wars within the churches, and an overemphasis on financial and numerical growth at all costs (Hazzan, 2016). Related to South Korea's decline in Christians at churches are the

challenges to Christian higher education institutions. These institutions are to contribute not only to teaching knowledge but also to cultivating students' character based upon the early Christian spirit. However, with a demanding education system (Borowiec, 2017) as well as global competition leading to preoccupied universities' research agendas and increased output and focus on functional knowledge for industrialization, Christian universities' original characteristics and mission have drifted. Rather than fostering better moral citizens for the public good through character development and personality cultivation, universities have been focused on global competition and economic stability and research performance. In this atmosphere Korean Christian universities struggle to equip undergraduate students with sound civic consciousness and moral development rooted in Christian doctrine.

The hyper orientation on research emerged from being exposed to domestic and international competition across all sectors of South Korean higher education. Korean universities are very interested in both domestic and overseas university rankings. Therefore, they have been trying to increase the number of research papers and citations in all the appropriate scientific indices. In this landscape, the development of student character and civic consciousness is no longer a priority for professors, nor is this a focus that leads to recognition. Since it is more desirable to create an excellent research atmosphere in universities, the excessive quantification of research outcomes and a performance-based salary have led to unintended yet predictable side effects. In such a situation, it would be difficult to attain the goals of higher education such as cultivating personality and high-level democratic citizens based on the Christian spirit. Moreover, because Korean universities have financial difficulties, it is necessary to acquire the projects provided by the government so that the research and education system can be smoothly managed.

Second, due to the global recession and the slowed economic growth in South Korea, it has become increasingly difficult for college students to obtain employment upon graduation. In South Korea, the employment rate of university graduates in 1990 was 70%, but in 2010 it dropped to 50%. The youth unemployment rate is about 10% in Korea. Under these circumstances college students are becoming more and more committed to acquiring practical knowledge that will help them get a job after graduation.

Third, as Christian universities compete with general universities and emphasize performance, there are not enough educators who could internalize the spirit of Christianity and deliver it to students. Many Christian universities launched college churches, chapels, and Christian-related courses, yet these entities do not have significant influence on the development of the students' personality and quality of life.

The Role of Christian Enclaves

As Christian universities settled in Korea, chapel and Christian-related subjects were designated as regular curricula. Depending on the purpose and tradition of Christianity, these courses have become required courses at many Christian universities. However, it is rare for students who apply for Christian colleges with the

motivation to learn Christian spirit. Most students consider institutional reputation when choosing college in South Korea. Therefore, they are not interested in effective chapel services or intentional Christian subjects that should be taken as required courses after entering the university. Therefore it is doubtful whether these courses contribute to the achievement of higher education goals such as student moral and ethical development from a distinct Christian worldview. The enthusiasm and intent of the early educators of Christian universities have become diluted over the years.

Extracurricular programming of Christian parachurches had been active since the 1990s. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were various parachurch organizations in Korean universities. Based on the Christian spirit, diverse extracurricular programs influenced students' values, lifestyles, and career paths. In the 2000s although the programs of Christian parachurches have not been as active as before, their impact on college students is still great. For example, in summer about 10,000 Korean Campus Crusade for Christ (KCCC) students have a conference for improving their spiritual formation. These Christian parachurches help students to not only develop their faith in life but also form their character and worldviews through Christian values. These parachurches also serve the community. At the Gwangju Summer Universiade in 2015, for example, when the MERS epidemic spread throughout Korea, there were few volunteers, and it was difficult to manage the event. In this situation, many students from the parachurch group KCCC volunteered their time to work to successfully manage public sporting events.

Future Direction of Extracurricular Mentoring Program in Korean Higher Education

Harkening back to the fervor and zeal associated with the early church evangelism movement in Korea, it is important to highlight the resurgent efforts taken by some via the role of mentoring, or employing evangelical parlance, the importance of discipleship. The Christian mentoring program has been substantially contributing to cultivating personality and democratic citizens in higher education. The major activities of Christian parachurches are one-on-one fellowship, counseling, small group meetings and discussion, personal training through community life, and volunteer activities such as hospice. From a pedagogical point of view, these non-regular programs of Christian circles are similar to mentoring education. Mentors and mentees share the Bible study, prayer, discussion, thought, and life. It is essential to change the deficiencies of mentees based on Christian faith. Christian circles' secretaries care for students as mentors for mentoring. They also nurture student mentors so that students can mentor other members.

From an educational point of view, the activities of Korean Christian parachurches offer extracurricular mentoring programs, which have been defined as a lifelong relationship between mentors and mentees (Biehl, 2001; Sohn, 2011). Some might refer to this form of mentoring as a Christian practice of discipleship (Willard, 2010). It is a holistic mentoring program that is more than knowledge transfer, but a way of sharing life through one-to-one relationships and in small

groups. Thus, this mentoring system contributed to enhancing members' personality development and empathy abilities. It is a practical help for students because it is not a unilateral education like a chapel and a lecture but is conducted through a trained mentor. Furthermore, after graduation Christian alumni develop both formal and informal networks to interact with each other and build community in Korea.

Christian mentoring programs are derived from evangelical values that focus on personal spirituality and training based on traditional Christian doctrines (Kim & Yang, 2011). However, there is a holistic approach that reflects different Christian values and concerns (Sohn, 2016). That is, it deals with social issues in all areas of life that students experience. For example, the changes of the US-based parachurch, the Navigators, and the policies of the Korean Navigators can be presented. Before the 1990s the US Navigators had been focusing on campus and community activities. By the way in the 1990s, the individual-centered mentoring program turned into an integrated approach for education and training, focusing on various aspects of life and social issues. It changed the traditional Christian mentoring program. For example, the concept of business as mission (BAM) is to embody the values of the Bible in corporate management. It means that business is not merely about making profits but a place where the Bible principles such as love and service for people should be applied. However, the Korean Navigators have not accepted this concept (Sohn, 2016).

Having this approach would change the content of the mentoring program offered to students. InterVarsity Fellowship, another US-based Christian organization, has published books related to this approach. However, most campus Christian circles have not accepted the new approach and stick to traditional personal spirituality-based mentoring programs. In fact Christian parachurch organizations should be interested in the needs of society and have the spirit of the times. Therefore Christian circles will need to change from a personal perspective to an integrated perspective and reflect it in the mentoring program (Kim & Yang, 2011). They should take care of all aspects of students' lives. If so the goal of developing students' good character and improving their qualities as democratic citizens would be achieved more effectively through Korean Christian higher education.

The global expansion of Christian faith as outlined in this chapter has revealed the steady shift in focus and purpose over time. Moreover, the export of Western understanding of a universal faith tradition has opened opportunities for greater critical reflection and review of application in relation to cultural contexts.

Discussion

Heretofore I have elucidated the effects of Christianity on Korean higher education in history and compare the regular Christian education curricula with the non-regular Christian mentoring programs. It is necessary to discuss the direction of typical Christian curricular and extracurricular activities in order to cultivate a balanced democratic citizenry in Korea.

First, the Christian education curricula seek to provide the universal moral values that many people relate to beyond that of religious teachings. In Christian universities in particular, education has a chapel-oriented curriculum that is designated as a required element of campus life. In order to encourage students' active participation, it is necessary to communicate that the spirit of Christianity could create social values and solve the problems such as gender inequality, economic stratification, and social discrimination.

Parachurch organizations on secular campuses have developed mentoring programs based on evangelism and Christian mentorship or discipleship. These training programs of campus Christian organizations at secular institutions are typically extracurricular. They have contributed to the enhancement of student personality and ethics. In the future, however, the organizations ought to pay greater attention to social issues such as inequality, youth unemployment, and poor quality of life in terms of social value creation based on the holistic approach that reflects true spirit of the faith.

Conclusion

In a relatively short amount of time, Christianity has exploded in South Korea. From 1900 approximately 1% of the country's population was reported to be Christian; the "Pyongyang Revival" in the early 1900s in what is North Korea today led to an important watershed religious moment for Korean Christianity. Early missionary work in Pyongyang led to the creation of several influential institutions, hospitals, theological seminaries, and Union Christian College, the first 4-year college in Korea. Having not only survived but indeed thrived under Japanese occupation and the war between the north and the south, Korean Christianity spread across the country, and this fervor for evangelism led to roughly 40 universities and nearly 300 schools were started by Christians, including three of the top five universities in South Korea. With changes in North-South relations and the newly signed peace accords in 2018, perhaps universities in North Korea will open up to greater globalization and see another revival.

Many Christian higher education institutions in Korea historically contributed to establishment of key social and political institutions, such as the modern Korean government, movement toward enlightenment, the independence movement against foreign imperialism, and Western style democratization. In Christian higher education, the curricula have sought to culture engaged moral citizenship for the public good. To that end, greater and more thoughtful attention ought to be given to ensure that administrators emphasize the need to social problems through the curricula. South Korean society continues to deal with manifold social problems, and these issues can be resolved by justice-minded, engaged citizens who use their moral education for a greater good.

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Chapter 5
Christian Universities in Japan

William R. Stevenson III

Abstract Most Japanese identify as Buddhist, hold traditional Shinto beliefs, or adhere to some combination of the two. Less than 1% of Japanese claim to be Christian. Nevertheless, Christianity has had a disproportionately large impact on Japanese society. This is especially true in the field of privatized higher education with roughly 100 protestant and catholic institutions spread out across the country, far exceeding the total number of Buddhist and Shinto schools. Furthermore, Christian universities are among the top-ranked private schools in Japan, being nearly equal in influence to private secular universities. The following chapter examines this phenomenon, looking in particular at one of the oldest and largest private institutions in Japan, Doshisha University (established in 1875). Beginning with an historical overview of Doshisha's Christian identity, it shows how the university transitioned from being a school that had a goal of spreading the Christian faith to becoming an institution that encourages students to develop an individualized and internationalized sense of non-doctrinal morality. Yet, despite this change in focus, and notwithstanding the fact that few faculty or students individually identify as Christian, Doshisha persists in branding itself a Christian institution. Rather than abandon overt Christian symbols and references, Doshisha—as with other "mission schools" in Japan—continues to promote and advertise its Christian identity, offering it as one of the very reasons for non-Christian students to seek admittance. This chapter explores these seeming contradictions and argues that Christian universities in Japan look to maintain some form of Christian identity precisely because of the historical and cultural connections between Christianity and learning, resulting in an approach to Christian higher education that is as much about image as faith.

Keywords Japan · Christian · Buddhist · Doshisha University

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Introduction

Japan is one of the most educated nations in the world. For well over a century, literacy and numeracy rates have been among the highest on the planet, and in recent years close to half of young Japanese are graduating from four-year colleges and universities (OECD, 2016, p. 68). There are today nearly 3 million students enrolled in more than 700 colleges and universities in Japan. Over 2 million of those students are studying at private institutions, which outnumber public schools by a ratio of nearly 4–1 (MIC, 2012). Of private colleges and universities, about 20% (roughly 100 schools) are either Protestant or Catholic, which far exceeds the number of Buddhist or Shinto schools. Moreover, with Christian institutions being among the oldest and highest-ranked private institutions in Japan, their influence is nearly equal to that of secular schools. Nevertheless, no more than 1% of Japanese identify as Protestant or Catholic (MIC, 2018). In short, Christianity has long had a disproportionately large impact on Japanese higher education. That a predominantly non-Christian landscape has become so marked by Christian colleges and universities is a seeming contradiction that only makes sense in the context of Japanese history. The following chapter explores this phenomenon and looks in particular at the way in which Christian universities in Japan have continued to identity as "mission schools" with Christian traditions and practices despite having few faculty or students who personally identify with the faith.

Similar to the arguments presented in Chap. 4, I highlight the role and motivation of spirituality and evangelism that influenced religious educators to employ higher education as a platform for engagement in belief education. The role of religious education within systems of higher education aligns with the theme of this edited volume. Missionary efforts at the turn of the nineteenth century in Asian nations produced many new faith-based colleges that are still in existence today, though the secularization of nations have left many campuses perceived to be bereft of any spirituality or religious engagement. This is similar to the history of their European and American counterparts.

Historians typically trace the origins of modern higher education in Japan to the waves of reform that followed the forced "opening" of Japan by American warships in 1853. Among the new changes in education was the restructuring of existing government-run schools, as well as the emergence of academies committed to the study of Western languages, sciences, and technologies, such as the *Kaiseijo* (a forerunner of Tokyo University) and Keio Gijuku (later Keio University). During these years, Christian missionaries from Europe and North America began to settle in the treaty ports where they soon established their own schools for local youth. Yet, despite the presence of missionaries, and notwithstanding the 1868 Meiji Restoration that saw a change in leadership with the new emperor declaring in his "Charter Oath" that Japanese would actively "seek knowledge throughout the world," the teaching of Christianity, the possession of Christian literature, and belief in the Christian God all remained illegal. In fact, persecution of Christianity increased during the early years of the Meiji era (1868–1912). Between 1868 and

1873, thousands of Japanese Catholics from Nagasaki were forcibly resettled across Japan where many died from malnourishment, and in 1872, a Protestant missionary assistant named Ichikawa Einosuke died in a prison cell for possessing a partially translated copy of the New Testament. Even after the government lifted the ban on Christianity in 1873, missionaries and their converts remained cautious. For the most part, their activities were limited to the treaty ports, and when missionaries were able to secure passports that would allow them to visit the interior (freedom of travel was not granted until 1899), they were typically prohibited from open evangelism. In short, the transition from a prohibition on Christianity to a toleration of the faith was gradual, and converts were initially few in number.

Missionary Motivations in Education

It was because of the difficulty in evangelizing Japanese that missionaries turned to education as teaching provided the opportunity to interact with Japanese and to share with them the Christian faith. Additionally, as the majority of the early missionaries were themselves highly educated, teaching came naturally. As such, with every new base of operation—beginning with the treaty ports of Kobe and Yokohama—missionaries established schools for teaching young men and women. Whereas the first churches in Japan were slow to gain converts, the schools were quickly filled with youth eager to learn from the foreigners. And, as anticipated, many of the students soon began to attend the churches. Early missionary Marquis L. Gordon recalled that these schools became "direct precursors of churches." "The schools," he explains, "gave us not only our opportunity to teach Christian truth in school hours to our students, they gave us also our Sunday congregations, composed mainly of the students and their friends" (Gordon, 1901, p. 18).

Most of the early schools, with the notable exception of institutions established for the education of girls, began as places to learn English. Many did not survive beyond the tenure of their missionary teachers, and in some cases, they folded within a few years of their start due to either anti-Christian sentiment or the arrival of newly established government schools that provided a public alternative. Nevertheless, a significant number of these "mission schools" did survive, with at least 30 of those established prior to 1890 becoming present-day colleges and universities. These include, for example, Meiji Gakuin University, which traces its roots to a school run by Presbyterian missionaries James and Clara Hepburn; Kwansei Gakuin University, established by the Methodist missionary Walter R. Lambuth; St. Paul's University (Rikkyo), which began in the house of Episcopalian missionary Channing M. Williams; and the women's university, Kobe College, that started out in the home of Congregational missionaries Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley. In the case of Kobe College, it was so successful in its evangelistic mission that after 40 years of operation, nearly all of the roughly 500 graduates had been baptized, with about 20% becoming actively involved in Christian work (Japan Mission, 1919, p. 74). In short, to convert young Japanese and develop in them the

skills and knowledge needed to become church leaders, missionaries established what have become some of the oldest colleges and universities in Japan. Their success, as explained by the Japan Mission of the American Board, was based on the fact that "popular demand for an education" and "the inadequate supply of secondary schools" made "Christian education one of the lines of least resistance for the evangelization of Japan" (Japan Mission, 1918, p. 3).

A second reason that missionaries became active in the area of education is that it provided them with the legal status needed to live and work beyond the gates of the treaty ports. With the goal of spreading the gospel, missionaries took up positions in both government-run schools and private Japanese academies across the nation, teaching everything from the language arts to hard sciences. Guido Verbeck was the most distinguished of this group, beginning his missionary career in Nagasaki and eventually moving to Tokyo as a chief advisor to the Ministry of Education and a confidant to Japan's political elite. Though independent of any missionary organization, Christian educators such as William S. Clark at Sapporo Agricultural College and Leroy Janes at Kumamoto Yōgakkō made indirect contributions to the establishment of Christian Colleges and Universities through the activities of their students who converted to the Christian faith. They included, for example, Nitobe Inazō, founding president of Tokyo Woman's Christian University, and Kozaki Hiromichi, who took over the leadership of Doshisha University in 1890.

A third and final reason for the connection between Christianity and education in Japan is that early missionaries were convinced that the nation needed indigenous Christian leadership with advanced training. To achieve this goal, it became clear that missionaries had to do more than work in government-run schools or teach English in private academies; they needed to establish Christian colleges and educate converts under an appropriately Christian curriculum. This was part of the final resolution adopted at the first all-Japan conference of protestant missionaries held in 1872, where the participants agreed that it was of the "utmost importance to [educate] a native ministry as soon as possible" as the "native element must constitute the chief means" of evangelism (Gordon, 1901, p. 16).

The Case of Doshisha

One of the oldest and most prominent of the schools established for this purpose is Doshisha University. Its founder, Niijima Jō (or Joseph Hardy Neesima), was a former samurai who fled Japan as a youth to become the first Japanese to earn a degree from an American college (Amherst) and the first Japanese to become an ordained minister. Niijima began to make plans for a Japanese college while still in the United States. In 1874, speaking before the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he gave an impassioned appeal for funds to establish the "best possible downright Christian institution" with the "highest possible Christian education" that would have "a power to save the nation"

(Hardy, 1893, p. 171). The mission board voted to back the project, agreeing to build a Christian university "so thorough in all its equipments as to put it on an equality with the best government schools, and yet so Christian as to lead a large proportion of its students to pass from it into our Theological Training School" (Gordon, 1893, p. 259–262).

Niijima returned to Japan in 1875 and later that year established Doshisha next to the old imperial palace in Kyoto, a city that had been previously closed to any missionary activity. From the beginning, Niijima planned to turn Doshisha into a school comparable to his alma mater, Amherst. Nevertheless, missionaries became the first teachers, and it was evangelism that they prioritized. In the early years of the school, students would gather every morning for chapel and every evening for prayer and spend roughly 4 h a day studying the Bible. By graduation, most students identified as Christian (American Board, 1884). As the years passed, a women's school was established adjacent to the men's campus, more courses were added (including courses taught in Japanese by Japanese), and missionaries began to take a less central role in the running of the school. Nevertheless, Doshisha remained thoroughly Christian in composition, with Doshisha students filling local churches and leaving the area to start others. A March 1884 student-led religious revival, for example, had students praying so fervently as to worry their professors and resulted in three students, chosen as representatives of the study body, to take leave of their classes and begin working as evangelists (Japan Mission, 1919, p. 35). The growth of the school and the rate at which students were converting to Christianity was cause for much excitement. This was a trend that was seen in "mission schools" across Japan. Throughout the 1880s, missionary professors such as Jerome D. Davis and Dwight W. Learned wrote of the "glorious" developments both in Kyoto and elsewhere, leading the New York *Independent* to wonder if "Japan may become a Christian nation" by the turn of the century (Griesy, 1973, p. 52). Yet, even as Davis and Learned sent their reports, a growing reaction against excess "Westernization" was underway.

With most of the "mission schools" established in the Meiji era, internal and external pressures soon threatened to undermine their initial successes. Internal pressures, especially financial challenges and questions over the continued role of foreign mission organizations, led to the closure of academies in places such as Kumamoto and Niigata. In the case of Doshisha, from the late 1880s, and particularly following Niijima's untimely death in 1890, the Japanese faculty began to clash with the foreign missionary teachers over control of the school, nearly leading to its ruin. These internal difficulties coincided with external challenges that included the arrival of new and liberal German theology that undermined the authority of the more conservative mission societies active in Japan, the introduction of Darwinism that provided the Japanese with a non-Biblical explanation of progress and modernity, and, finally, the rise of ultranationalism, which was flamed by the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education that made "loyalty" and "filial piety" the goal of education. In sum, even within the "mission schools," a growing skepticism that Christian teachings might be in conflict with Japanese values and a hindrance to national progress had begun to surface.

Under the Imperial University Order of 1886, the Japanese government created a distinction between national universities that would serve the interests of the state and the growing number of private schools that, though operating independent of the government, nevertheless offered advanced learning. Over the next half century, the government tightened its control over these private institutions by accrediting the best of them as “middle schools” or “professional schools,” yet placing greater restrictions on their academic freedom with each stage. Particularly daunting to “mission schools” was the Ministry of Education’s Order No. 12 of 1899, which prohibited the teaching of Christianity or any Christian ceremony in an accredited school, and a 1906 directive entitled “On the Strict Enforcement of Student Discipline,” which could be used to interpret religious activities as being subversive (JAPUC, 1987, p. 16). Doshisha navigated these changes, although at a significant cost to its original purpose. The 1890s were particularly difficult. For accreditation reasons, as well as to win favor with the government, the all-Japanese board of trustees revised the curriculum to exclude the teaching of the Bible to students outside the theology school, they accepted the Imperial Rescript on Education and its mandated ceremonies, and they even attempted to strike the term “Christianity” from the school’s constitution. In response, the mission board withdrew all of its support, missionary teachers quit, enrollment dropped by more than half, and the schools of law and science both had to close. It was only when Davis appealed to the national press and threatened to sue each trustee that a compromise was reached with a new board, and the school was reinstituted as a Christian university, albeit a much weakened one. In 1900, only 158 students were enrolled (down from nearly 800 a decade earlier) of which only 21 identified as Christian (Griesy, 1973, p. 175–190, 336, 376). The loss of students was a pattern experienced by “mission schools” across Japan. Any school that refused to capitulate to Order No. 12 had to abandon their accreditation, which meant that their graduates would not be able to matriculate into the national education system or receive the needed certificates to take government jobs. The result was that ambitious and driven students opted for public schooling, and the reputation, and subsequent quality, of Christian colleges and universities plummeted. One of Doshisha’s founding professors, Learned, wrote that “Doshisha began the new century in a sorry plight, with Christianity in the Constitution but not too much of it anywhere else” (Griesy, 1973, p. 341).

The government eventually compromised and allowed graduates of Christian schools to enter public institutions on an equal footing as graduates from public schools. As the need for higher learning increased, the Ministry of Education also created a policy by which private schools could receive university accreditation. The financial and moral cost of becoming a government-recognized university was substantial, and only four Christian schools completed the process prior to the onset of World War II: Doshisha (1920), St. Paul’s (1922), Sophia (1928), and Kwansei Gakuin (1932). In the case of Doshisha, the decision to become an accredited university led to concerns among some of the faculty and alumni that the school would lose its Christian spirit (Griesy, 1973, p. 406). Indeed, the chancellor’s first report following the accreditation does not refer to Christianity except to say “the religious service of the University has not been well attended” (Ebina, 1921, p. 11). And, in

fact, the change in status did further open the door to ultranationalist trends. Beginning in the early 1920s, the Ministry of Education began to have all students undergo military training, shrine visits became compulsory, and accredited schools such as Doshisha were assigned a resident military officer to teach courses and drill the students. By the late 1930s, outside pressures, combined with increasingly nationalistic professors and students, began to undermine the school's already weakened Christian foundation. Doshisha materials during this period, for example, typically quote Niijima as wanting to establish a school that would serve Japan and become the "conscious of the nation," yet make no mention of the fact that he intended that "conscious" to be of a Christian nature. Nevertheless, even this revamped Niijima was a target for nationalists. Doshisha students infamously placed a Shinto *kamidana* shrine in place of his portrait, others occupied the chapel in protest of Christian activities, and the university's new Christian chancellor, Yuasa Hachirō, was forced to resign for, among other offenses, failing to show enough respect to the Imperial Rescript on Education.

The wartime years at St. Paul's were worse. Similar to Doshisha, the university president lost his job for not showing due respect to the Imperial Rescript on Education, but then the trustees deleted Christianity from the university charter, completing a process that saw the university evolve from a Christ-oriented school to an Emperor-serving institution within a matter of years (Ōkawa & Maeda, 2008). Even the chapel was desecrated, becoming a military storehouse with its Christian markings either removed or cemented over. Kwansei Gakuin faced similar experiences when the Japanese navy took over part of the university, turning the auditorium into a munitions factory. Experiences varied depending on local government officials, but few Christian schools survived the war intact (Baker, 1947, p. 101–121).

Postwar Japan

Following Japan's 1945 defeat, most "mission schools" quickly attempted to reestablish their Christian foundations, taking measures such as reinstating Christian faculty and rewriting altered charters once again to include Christian clauses. A new Japanese Constitution that guaranteed "religious freedom to all" and a series of educational reforms launched under pressure from the occupation forces ensured that Christian colleges and universities would be able to function as they pleased. Within a few weeks of the war's end, the Ministry of Education initiated a new education policy that, in part, set out "to encourage recognition of the true worth of religions" as a "means toward the construction of a moral nation and toward working for world peace" (Beauchamp & Vardaman, 1994, p. 57). Added to this, the 1946 United States Education Mission to Japan recommended that the Ministry of Education expand access to higher education, specifically mentioning the value of religious institutions that "have an especially great role to play" in the reconstruction of postwar Japan (1946, p. 49). Japanese Christians, along with foreign missionaries, responded by establishing close to 30 new colleges and universities, the

most successful being the International Christian University (ICU) established in 1949 under the leadership of the aforementioned Yuasa Hachirō.

Doshisha had already reinstated Yuasa as their first postwar chancellor. When he moved to Tokyo to take over the leadership of ICU, the school replaced him with another outspoken Christian academic, Ōtsuka Setsuji, who had also been targeted during the war years. Under their leadership, Doshisha began to reemphasize its Christian roots and attempted to deepen the Christian consciousness of its students. Christianity, in turn, was connected to "liberalism, democracy, and internationalism" in the school's statements of purpose (Doshisha, 1956). Ōtsuka, explaining this connection in an address to incoming students, wrote that Doshisha's internationalism was rooted in Niijima's background and the role that American missionaries played in founding the school and that liberalism was part of that same American heritage (1959, p. 6–7). Others, including university president Hoshina Shin, placed internationalism in the context of Christian ecumenism or the Christian love for all humankind (1966, p. 7–8), and the use of the Biblical *veritas vos liberabit* (the truth shall set you free) to argue for the Christian origins of liberalism also became common. In this sense, the ultranationalist rejection of Christianity during the early twentieth century legitimized a return to Christianity in the years following Japan's pacification. While Doshisha has advertised itself over the ensuing decades with appeals to various concepts including "tradition," "identity," and "passion," the historically rooted place of "Christianity," "liberalism," and "internationalism" has endured, becoming the three guiding principles of the university under the presidency of Hatta Eiji (1998–2013).

By the late 1950s, postwar democratic Japan had entered a sustained period of the peace, prosperity, and population growth that led to soaring university enrollment rates and the expansion in the number and size of every type of school. Many of the ensuing challenges encountered by "mission schools" were no different from those experienced by other universities. Student unrest coupled by waves of protests temporarily closed down "mission schools" just as they did other universities, and the education reforms that came in the 1980s had as much of an impact on Christian institutions as anywhere else. The challenge that remains unique to "mission schools" is one of identity and meaning. In spite of the religious freedoms of the postwar era, and notwithstanding the establishment of new Christian colleges and universities, the Christian population of Japan has remained constant, with most studies keeping the figure at just under 1%. Furthermore, unlike past eras in which Japanese youth were joining the faith in large numbers, recent decades have witnessed a sharp drop in church attendance among young people. For Japan's youth, religion, in general, and Christianity in particular, is losing relevance. In his recent volume on the history of theological schools in Japan, Nakamura Satoshi (2013) speculates that postwar changes in government policy failed to have a significant impact on the spiritual climate in Japan in terms of the Japanese openness to Christianity. He gives a number of possible explanations, including the often-expressed theory that Christianity is so closely associated with the West, and America in particular, that it has never became fully indigenized. This poses a challenge for Christian colleges and universities, for unless they can show

Christianity to be a pertinent, fewer and fewer students and faculty will be committed to the Christian principles on which the schools were established. Some schools, including Doshisha, Kwansei Gakuin, Rikkyo, and elsewhere have responded by expanding theological departments to include other faiths such as Islam and Judaism. Abstracting moral or ethical principles from Christianity has also been a long-used tactic of "mission schools" in their attempt to maintain relevance. Doshisha, for example, recently established an interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Conscience with the goal of having scholars and students explore the place of *ryōshin* (moral consciousness) in the modern world. Similarly, the newest and largest building on campus, housing the most extensive learning commons in Japan, is called the *Ryōshin* hall. Indeed, references to morality, ethics, and Christianity are on display across the campus and throughout school activities. Scripture is engraved into the walls of old and new buildings alike, calligraphy of Niijima's teaching—primarily Christian—is hung by most entrances, and nearly every official ceremony will begin with a prayer and Bible reading. The experiences of "mission schools" vary between universities, but the Doshisha example is typical of how Christianity has maintained its place in Japanese higher education, remaining relevant through implication rather than indoctrination.

Conclusion

While most Japanese students today know little about the history of their own colleges and universities, the cultural link between Christianity and higher education in Japan is deeply established, rooted in the early efforts of missionaries and their converts to establish schools across Japan. That these schools pioneered the education of girls, that they often followed Western curricula, and that they nearly all provided advanced English language training with foreign faculty meant that places like Doshisha quickly gained a reputation for being both liberal and international, doing so nearly a century before the Ministry of Education began to aggressively promote individualism and internationalism in higher education. As such, Christian schools have long been a viable and, at times, preferable alternative to government schools. In addition, with these positive and historically embedded associations, Christian colleges and universities not only continue to identify as "mission schools" but they also actively advertise their heritage despite, in most cases, having become overwhelming non-Christian in terms of the beliefs of faculty and students. Yet, Japanese Christian colleges and universities remain decidedly Christian in principle. As seen in the case of Doshisha, despite having lost the evangelical zeal that characterized its early years, Christianity still holds a central place in the structure and operation of the school, albeit a Christianity that is more of a moral abstraction than a religious doctrine. Nevertheless, as long as Christianity continues to have cultural appeal, and so long as it continues to be associated with liberalism and internationalism, "mission schools" like Doshisha will trumpet their Christian roots, preaching an approach to higher education that is as much about image as faith.

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Part II
Belief Systems in Asian Higher Education

Chapter 6
Thai Higher Education and an Epistemological Theory of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*

Theptawee Chokvasin

Abstract This essay is a philosophical construction of an epistemological theory of self-knowledge when one is an autonomous moral agent with right self-guidance. It is called, in Buddhist thought, *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, which means the characteristics of right self-conduct or right self-guidance. An exploration of the concept is important in Thai higher education because of the related Buddhist precept of *Yonisomanasikāra*, which are methods of thinking with critical reflections. This chapter considers some explanations of what knowledge might be when one knows that one is capable of proper self-guidance, with specific attention to the university learning environment. The question of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is examined in terms of epistemological arguments between moral particularism and moral generalism. The arguments from both of the encampments are mistaken about the status of being a knower. I argue that the knowledge of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* should be explained as moral self-knowledge from performative understanding in the core idea of knowing.

Keywords *Attasammāpaṇidhi* (right self-conduct) · Critical reflections · Moral autonomy · Self-knowledge · Thai higher education

Introduction

"You must behave yourself!" This statement of a moral command to children is delivered from time to time from many Thai parents especially those who consider that this is the main duty of raising their children to grow up and be a good citizen. Moreover, the expectation for good *behavior* is continued through every level of education. This notion extends to universities as well. There is a general belief that education must provide not only knowledge of career development but also knowledge of being good in every possible way for one to be morally good.

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Before expanding more on behavioral orientation, which is a precursor to subject of this chapter, the structure of Thai higher education provides other necessary foundational information. Broadly, Thai higher education includes a 3-year associate degree, 4–6 years to a bachelor's degree, 2–3 years to most master's degrees, and a variety of time horizons for different doctorates. According to an implementation handbook reported by Thailand's Office of the Higher Education Commission (OHEC), it is specified that the Thai Qualifications Framework for higher education must include at least five domains of learning outcomes: 1, ethical and moral development; 2, knowledge; 3, cognitive skills; 4, interpersonal skills and responsibility; and 5, analytical and communication skills (Office of the Higher Education Commission, 2006). The first and fourth domains offer some insight into the purpose of higher education which becomes multifaceted and paradoxical. Ethical and moral development is a domain focused on ethics, social responsibility, and values. Interpersonal skills and responsibility is about working effectively in groups, exercising leadership, and accepting personal responsibility for actions. Moreover, it can be clearly seen in a principle, "morality precedes knowledge," which is emphasized in general education courses in the bachelor's degree curricula in Thailand (Wichit Srisa-an, 2008). In order to advance the various domains, various courses that focus on Buddhist belief are required in the general education curriculum. The tension between belief and behavior imbedded in the qualifications framework highlights the structural purpose of higher education and the importance of the subsequent philosophical examination.

The topic captivates my interest because of years of experience as an educator. Why do students, after taking multiple Buddhist-based courses in morality, still struggle to achieve a status of autonomous agency? Some students continue to struggle to live a morally upright life with a strong capability of moral reasoning and self-guidance. Perhaps the problem stems, to some extent, from a failure in effectively teaching morality in a higher education system that has morality as the first qualifications domain. If this assumption is correct, then educators may have to search for a new approach as to how to teach students morality and moral reasoning. The subject of morality and moral reasoning with critical thinking is still being taught in schools as well as in colleges and universities. Perhaps educators ought to start with a newer conception of moral knowing itself. It might be a better alternative if the answer for Thai higher education could be found in religious and moral epistemology. Moral epistemology is a philosophical study of the question to understand why moral knowledge is possible among Thai citizens (including college students). In other words, moral epistemology is about how it can be possible for us as a human being to fully grasp the knowledge of right and wrong or to form a belief in some moral principle and have justification for it (Zimmerman, 2010). Much of the epistemic view is undergirded by an ontology rooted in Buddhism, and the religious beliefs cannot be separated from educational presuppositions.

This chapter begins by first establishing concepts related to moral knowledge within Thailand's education system. Moral knowledge is rooted in religious teachings and Buddhist philosophy. Astute professors and teachers in Thailand will cultivate their students' moral character with the knowledge of religion-based morality

from philosophy, religions, and ethics. Principles of education in Thailand have an interwoven belief system that the three terms are all in the same meaning espoused by main figures of Buddhist moral education ideology in Thailand (Phucharoen, 2017). From Phucharoen's work, moral education in Thailand is related with religious teachings from Buddhism. In this chapter I present that the conception of the Buddhist-based teaching is appropriate for a cultivation of morality in students in Thailand. Thai scholars have not gone far enough into the study of moral epistemology to understand religion-based moral education.

Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is to explore the epistemology of moral education in Thailand along with the concomitant religious doctrines that accompany this belief system. Given this discussion on epistemologies, it is important to establish and recognize positionality, philosophical assumptions, and forms of argumentation. There are some common misunderstandings about how to explain knowledge and the position of the knower when moral knowledge is obtained. Explanations emerge from theoretical positions of a performative hermeneutic, where understanding comes from attainment of moral knowledge obtained within knowledge itself.

Yonisomanasikāra, *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, and Thai Ideals of Education

In this section, I explicate the technical terms especially from Buddhist philosophical hermeneutic. This is for the readers to understand what are their relationship with Thai ideals of education that can be found both in the academic scholar and typical Thai citizen and, surprisingly, in universal religious culture.

The Buddhist notion of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* can be found in *Sutta Piṭaka*, the second part of *Tripiṭaka* that is the principal Buddhist scripture as also known as *Pali Canon* in English. The notion is mentioned in *Cakka Sūtra* which is a part of *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of *Sutta Piṭaka*. *Cakka Sūtra* is about four characteristics that can bring one good fortune. Those four characteristics are:

Patirūpadesavāso – living in a suitable environment
Sappurisupassayo – befriending with the good ones
Attasammāpaṇidhi – right self-guidance, being in the right way
Pubbe ca katapuññatā – having formerly done good deeds

References from the sources of *Pali Canon* studies are made in English. The Romanized Pali here is by Law (1963: p. 23), and the English definition is from Phra Dhammapitaka (P.A. Payutto, 1995). From the concept of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, it is a part of what is necessary for bringing good living. The good living here is related with right livelihood (*Sammā ājīva*) which is one aspect of the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path. So, good living is noticeable in that it is related with what is suitable and right.

Moreover, from the commentary of *Pali Canon*, as also known as *Aṭṭhakathā*, is found an explanation of what relationship is between *Attasammāpaṇidhi* and *Yonisomanasikāra*. The Buddhist concept of *Yonisomanasikāra* is best explained as "reasoned attention; systematic attention; analytical thinking; critical reflection; thinking in terms of specific conditionality; thinking by way of causal relations or by way of problem-solving; a factor belonging to the category of insight or wisdom" (Phra Dhammapitaka (Payutto, 1995)). In short, the meaning of *Yonisomanasikāra* in English is "reasoning with critical reflections." One can find that its meaning is rather close with the common word "critical thinking" in today's education vernacular throughout the world. To be sure, the common word can be used interchangeably in multiple cultures and contexts without any distortion of meaning. In *Oghataraṇa Sutta*, a commentary in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *Aṭṭhakathā*, it mentions a disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, and about *Yonisomanasikāra* that is reflected in his attention. With the reflection, Ānanda can achieve his *Attasammāpaṇidhi* and *Pubbe ca katapuññatā*. With the unmolested mind, he can attain the status of the right course of action. It is considered that the term frequently appears in the *Sutta Piṭaka* (Nyanatiloka Thera, 2004). I suggest that from *Yonisomanasikāra* comes the idea of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*; or from reasoning with critical reflections, it yields an outcome of proper self-conduct. Next, the proper self-conduct is a part of the cycle that is responsible for one's good fortune.

In Thailand, researchers have studied how to develop the critical reflections or *Yonisomanasikāra* in higher education. In 2005, Apa Chantharasakul and Jittinun Boonsathirakul presented a research report entitled *"Constructing a Training Package for Developing Yonisomanasikāra Thinking Method for Higher Education Students."* The researchers present the knowledge method of critical thinking and reflections from Buddhist scholars in a systematic way which is good for their systematic process in testing. Although *Yonisomanasikāra* is not an enlightenment in itself, *Yonisomanasikāra* as a method or critical thinking is still necessary because it leads the right path to intellectual enlightenment. So, it is rather difficult for students to understand it clearly at the beginning (Chantharasakul & Boonsathirakul, 2005). However, the finding from the research is that the package is successful in upgrading their later learning outcomes in the students comparing to their former level of understanding before training with the package (Chantharasakul & Boonsathirakul, 2005). This means that there is already some consideration of how to develop the Buddhist conception of critical reflections in Thai higher education. And the finding is, to some extent, rather impressive. Nevertheless, there is still a question of how those students come to know whether they already perfect the status of proper self-conduct.

Thai scholar Phoonchai Panthiya (1998) wrote a thesis entitled *A Critical Study on the Concept of Attasammāpaṇidhi in Buddhism* which extrapolated upon the notion of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* in light of *dhamma* principle for setting oneself in the right way of living. The study revealed that *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is the right practice for achieving the proper understanding and the other precious things in one's life. It can lead us to happiness both in the worldly realm as well as the transcendent

nirvana. Panthiya suggests that it should be used wisely. Moreover, for those who do not obtain happiness, it is usually from misconduct that can be easily diagnosed by using *Attasammāpaṇidhi* (Phoonchai Panthiya, 1998). However, while this research offers little in answering exactly how one is already in the status of full knowledge and aims primarily at explaining benefits of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, one can see practices of higher education faculty and administrators to transfer knowledge with traditional pedagogical style to their students with a goal of increased enlightenment both in the cerebral and the spiritual realms.

In another region of Southeast Asia that is influenced by Buddhist culture, some Burmese scholars found that a successful development in the society should be derived from proper understanding of Buddhist concept of self-reliance (Mar, 2011). Again, the concept of self-reliance here is a translation of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*. Mar (2011) contends that for Buddhist people to get into the right direction of good life, they should not have wrong the belief. It is a belief in Burmese society that one who can get a right direction for oneself is considered the one who can have self-reliance. This notion can be found in Buddhist teaching *attahi attano natho*, which means one should be one's own sanctuary (Mar, 2011). The concept of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is a part of what can bring prosperity to one's life. From what is judged as morally good to do when one wants a goal achievement, *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is considered the moral criterion of self-reliance for that goal achievement (Mar, 2011). In this research article, Mar concludes that a Buddhist belief in one's strong self-reliance is beneficial for others in society to make sure that one is morally good. This aspect of Buddhist teaching on moral education underscores the impact on the public good. Morality therefore is not intended for individualistic attainment but a collectivistic goal, the very base for any other rules or regulations in social and political realms (Mar, 2011). It can be inferred that *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is a good personality that guarantees success for one to live an ethical life in one's society. A life of self-reliant person is worth living.

In previous research I subtly addressed the concept of *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, considering it in relation to autonomous agency and attached in communicative space with technology (Chokvasin, 2007). Here I interrogate *Attasammāpaṇidhi* with an epistemic lens of moral knowledge, not merely from the metaphysics of autonomy.

To be sure that the concept of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is intertwined with moral education, many academics share the same idea that proper self-guidance is a necessity. In moral education, students ought to know why they are required to conform to the moral rules and regulations within the philosophical structures of higher education in Thailand. They should pay sufficient care from their reasoning with critical reflections to guide themselves in a right way, and they should do this from a characteristic of self-reliance. It is good for others to be sure that every self-reliant person can do the right by oneself. Moral education lends itself most favorably to a self-reliant student who can take the right steps based on his or her own self-reflection. This is a fundamental and essential link between the domains in the higher education qualifications framework and the college student experience.

Here then is a question about the universal character of critical reflection and self-reliance and whether the idea of wisdom is both universally understood and

accepted in a wide range of comparative religious cultures other than Buddhism. One answer may be found from research scholars in contemporary Islamic studies: Abdullah and Halabi (2017). They found that wisdom is important in the process of learning and teaching. Wisdom is a treasured gift in Islamic worldview because it is a sign of strong remembrance of Allah. The true nature of wisdom is constructed from comprehension of good things such as justice, good speech, and rightfulness. The comprehension is from the use of reasoning that protects one from being obsessively consumed with errant views. In conclusion, both the Islamic and Western Judeo-Christian views of thinking should be in a harmony (Abdullah & Halabi, 2017). However, there are some difficulties in the process of teaching critical thinking to university students. An example can be found in international students who study in Australia. The greatest obstacle comes from a consideration that critical thinking is a Western academic construct that cannot be reconciled completely with some non-Western cultures in education. If this is true, it would affect the belief that critical thinking is universal enough to exist in any educational cultures. However, the obstacle is defeated by using *Introductory Academic Program (IAP)* that introduces the students the relevance of critical thinking for it to be applied to their future career (Egege & Kutieleh, 2004). One must have critical reflections as means to guard from inaccurate views – this is a universal character that can be found in humankind from any part of the entire world. It is a composite portrait of what is called knowledge itself. This theoretical stance is affirmed in an epistemology that affirms that critical thinking is both transcultural and universal (Siegel, 2017). Section I clarifies the research in the light of philosophical criticism. It is about the epistemological theory of moral self-knowledge. The issue will be examined with related arguments from moral epistemology.

Self-Knowledge, Moral Particularism, and Generalism

From a philosophical point of view, I consider that all the notions of *Attasammāpaṇidhi* above can be restated as an individualistic epistemological theory of moral knowledge. One might also interpret this from an individualistic standpoint. It is the method of obtaining moral knowledge from critical reflections made from one individual who can know the importance to commit to the following the right principles. This approach stems from a belief that the notion of being a morally good person can be evaluated by moral reasoning and moral actions. The individualistic standpoint approach emphasizes that successful students of moral education must be qualified and confirmed through the evaluation of educators that scrutinize their students' moral progress.

From the approach of moral education, can students be qualified as a self-reliant person if they can guide their own living? If it is, why do some students not achieve this state? I contend that there is some defect in the individualistic standpoint approach. It is the errant belief that whenever educators confirm that their students

are qualified, the students then internalize that they are qualified without knowing the rationale. The assumption of qualification is accepted without asking further questions about what their educators know. If this hypothesis is true, then one can reasonably explain why some students cannot be self-reliant after finishing coursework on moral education. Some may still be dependent on others to reassure them of what is right and thus avoid doing what is wrong. They may be seeking reassurance of critical reflections that their judgments are accurate. Returning to the question that drives this chapter, how it can be possible for students to know what self-reliance and proper self-guidance is? Some problematic characteristics in the interpretation of the individualistic standpoint approach must be rooted out and eliminated.

Consider a mental portrait of an example of how it is possible for a student to know fully what it means to be self-reliant. Imagine that two students, Daeng and Dong, are studying at a given university. Daeng is a good student who knows about writing academic papers. One day his friend, Dong, tries to convince Daeng to help him out by writing a critical paper on Thai history for him to submit to his history teacher. Although Daeng understands well how he feels, Daeng refuses to give him a helping hand. Daeng explains to Dong that this is not right because the writing is not from Dong's own idea and it will be considered cheating and therefore will be morally wrong. Finally, Dong accepts the explanation and changes his mind. Daeng knows that he is doing the right thing for Dong and for himself. He knows that he has from the start taken the right course of moral action. After that, Dong changes his mind and starts to walk on the same step with Daeng. From the situation, it can be considered that this sort of moral knowledge of self-guidance can be possible. For one to know how to guide oneself does not imply that one must know by himself or herself right from the start. One can do it after facing with a real-life moral situation and learning a lesson from it. Now, Dong has more knowledge about himself, it is the self-knowledge of knowing that he can change his attitude to become a better person and that he can reason with the critical reflections of pros and cons of cheating.

What sort of moral epistemology should guide the nature of being, and what is the explanation for how students should gain moral knowledge and the knowledge of morally proper self-conduct? In metaethics, there are two competing theories that attempt to explain the relationship between the moral thoughts of the knower and the moral principles. Those two theories are moral generalism and moral particularism. The two theories share the same idea that moral knowledge is possible, but one does not agree with the other regarding fundamental moral principles. Moral generalists accept that principles exist on their own, and when an individual acquires them as moral knowledge, that individual can become a moral agent. Moral particularists deny all forms of moral principles and contend that when an individual is engaged in so-called good deeds, there is no pure moral principle of those good deeds that is instantiated in the moral action of the individual. Those good deeds are considered case by case without any parameters around a greatest principle from which they might share (Ridge & McKeever, 2016).

However, some philosophers such as Zahra Khazaei (2011) think that the differences between two theories are illusive. In the article "Moral Generalism or Particularism?" Khazaei (2011) considers that the two theories are together. For one to have a moral judgment, one needs to go back and forth between the relevant moral principle and the particular issue. The ethical thought for the particular issue must be justified by a principle; or if it is not, there would be no reason for the moral thought to be justified (Khazaei, 2011).

Returning to the story of Daeng and Dong, the question of how it is possible for the two students to acquire moral knowledge remains. If it is explained in light of moral generalism, it is possible that the two students are reasoning from the same principle of the right action of no cheating. However, it is not coherent to explain it in that way, because if there really is such a principle, Daeng should be judged as the one who knows more because he has acquired the principle before Dong. If there is no *initial* moral principle, then how can one properly judge the course of right self-conduct? Moreover, if the approach of Khazaei's theory is used to give an explanation, it is still unclear in explaining how Dong can have self-knowledge from the situation. It is because Dong did not engage in critical self-reflection of his attained knowledge.

My explanation is that we may be misled to find an answer from the individualistic standpoint of the knower. If it is accepted that the phenomenon of self-knowledge already occurs when Dong changes his behavior after his critical reflections, the question should instead be asked about the nature of this phenomenon itself, not about the mental events of the knower. The other approach is to explain the phenomenon via a more direct interpretation from Buddhism itself. From the Buddhist theory of no-self, or *Anattā*, it is said that permanent self-existing is illusive. From an interpretation by Brian Lancaster (1997), *Anattā* is interpreted in the realm of moral dimension in Buddhist-dependent origination and fruit of actions. It is the responsibility of moral actions that plays the role in a continuity of identity. There is no need to posit a self-existent being to underlie those bundles of moral actions (Lancaster, 1997). It seems that the individualistic standpoint of the knower is not as compatible with the Buddhist notion of *Anattā* in explaining self-cognition as it first appears. Maybe it is a hint of the reason *Attasammāpaṇidhi* is rather awkward when it is explained in the light of epistemological individualistic standpoint. More criticism can be found from a writing of Heesoon Bai (1999). Bai argues that the concept of self is not to be explained along with the Buddhist notion of morality because it still sounds like an ego-self interwoven with self-interest at the center of the explanation (Bai, 1999). Accordingly, there should be a different method of defining self-knowledge with *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, and the method must not be based on the individualistic standpoint of the knower.

Consider a final lesson from the story of Daeng and Dong. After the final conversation, Dong understands something new and it eventually changes him. He knows that he can tell himself to do something right even if it is not articulated into words. What is it when he knows that he is capable of orienting and marshalling his actions?

One answer is that it is the attainment of some level of higher moral understanding. The concept of performative understanding, mentioned in some philosophical writings (Barad, 2003), is not about showing understanding merely by talking about it correctly. Barad (2003) explains that ideas with words are showing that we rely too much on the power of discursive practices as if those words are our only way of presenting our understanding. However, performative understanding is a different approach of considering our practice by doing it (Barad, 2003). This approach of performative understanding is more suitable. It is the method that needs no standpoint of the self-centered knower to articulate the understanding of self-knowledge. This approach requires just that when the phenomenon of understanding one's own self-guidance occurs, it is already there in the very action of right self-conduct of that individual. If it turns out later that the individual is not a self-reliant person who can have a right self-guidance, it means the same that the individual does not know yet what the right view of self-guidance truly is.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined a path for understanding that we are exactly in the status of those who know that moral knowledge is already obtained. The key philosophical and religious research finding here is to spell out that the phenomenon of moral knowledge of right self-conduct, or *Attasammāpaṇidhi*, can be found with the approach of performative understanding. To know and understand moral self-knowledge is the same as the right practice. The individualistic standpoint of the knower is incompatible with the knowledge of right self-conduct. From the research finding, it is expected in the next stage of development of future research for the best strategy for the cultivation of moral knowledge with the new approach in students of higher education from various cultural backgrounds in Thailand.

Furthermore, the methods for teaching moral understanding and reasoning could largely be considered in light of the qualifications framework in Thailand. Given the unique role of morality and belief systems in Thai higher education (as well as other business and government intentities), it is important for epistemological excavations to continuously occur. Without understanding the philosophical underpinnings of moral education, faculty, staff, and students reduce right beliefs only to prescribed right actions, which is in fact counter to the purpose of moral education and understanding. One practical implication of this line of thinking could include a review of the curriculum in required courses as well as the intended outcomes and their subsequent assessments. Philosophical and religious moral reasoning is not intended to be settled or finished, but rather an ongoing dialogue for the enhancement of a cornerstone of Thai higher education.

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Chapter 7
A Critical Analysis of Belief Education in Chinese Higher Education

Shijing Gao and Bingna Xu

Abstract As a natural by-product of globalization, belief systems within Chinese higher education face increased challenges from both internal and external forces that present challenges beyond previous generations. The primary focus of this chapter is to understand the complexities of the multifaceted aspects of belief systems within Chinese higher education. First is a brief treatment of the basic characteristics of Chinese belief culture and education, along with an explanation of some common misunderstandings. Second, we offer an analysis on the growing crisis in Chinese belief education, including root causes of diversified ideologies, belief choices caused by crisis of thought, and a crisis of judgment precipitated by vulgarization. In the final section, we analyze the fundamental reasons for the crisis in contemporary Chinese higher education. Belief education is not only a complex social and cultural construct but also an individual psychological one. We offer possible explanations from a variety of perspectives, including individual, cultural, educational, and psychological factors. From the purview of higher education, universities face the pressure of complex relationship between academic, government, and market, which leaves belief philosophy in a difficult position. It is because Chinese belief education is restricted by many internal and external factors that students generally do not have a solid understanding of Chinese belief philosophy, even though much philosophy is embedded into curricula. We present several paths for improvement. The government should grant tertiary education greater epistemic and philosophical latitude in the area of belief education. Higher education scholars in China ought to reconsider the rights and responsibilities of belief education and maintain a system that is removed from overtly pragmatic and utilitarian purposes.

Keywords Belief education · Chinese higher education · History · Explanation · Paths

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A Brief Overview of Chinese Belief Culture and Belief Education in Higher Education

Since modern times, Western and Chinese scholars have elaborated on Chinese belief and religious issues in detail. Among Western scholars, Weber took Chinese religion as the first study among his study in world religions and economic ethics. He carried out a detailed analysis of Confucianism and Daoism on the basis of Protestantism, and he produced a holistic overview for the Western researchers to study China's religious issues (Weber, 1968). Durkeim and Mauss also discussed the classification system of Chinese belief and religion, which had a great influence on the sociology of knowledge. While Durkeim and Mauss (2009) addressed classification systems, Chinese scholars Fei Xiaotong, Yang Ching Kun, and Yang Fenggang discussed Chinese belief and religion in greater detail. Yang Ching Kun, for example, created the institutionalization of religion and diffusion of China's religious theory into curricula. Kun's treatment is an important contribution to counter some Western scholars misinterpretations of Chinese scholarship that is absent of religious belief (Yang, 1961).

Chinese Belief Culture

Belief has been part of higher education in the East, being rooted in ancient Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Chinese scholars began to use the concept of belief systems in the later days of modernity. This led to a misconception that traditional Chinese culture, especially the Confucian culture, was void of the concept of belief. The impression also reflects the differences between Eastern and Western belief systems that address cultural attributes, moral constraints, and social ecological systems. Confucianism is not only a comprehensive philosophical and religious system, but it is central to enlightenment in traditional Chinese society. It is a diffused religion, and therefore, Confucianism is more philosophical than religious among Chinese citizens (Li, 2016). Traditional Chinese culture has evolved into a unique system of beliefs with nationalist characteristics through long-term experiences that mainly contains three essential characteristics.

First, the traditional Chinese culture is different from the Western *rational* way of thinking. It does not adhere to the rational abstract of the conceptual kingdoms, but places more emphasis on social practices. The concepts of "Tao" and "Ren" had a practical influence on the Chinese belief, and they also permeate into the traditional ethical culture. Taoism and Buddhism are the representatives of Chinese belief concepts, though modern China has never been a country where religions were united. The role of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism has jointly shaped and maintained the overall structure of Chinese societal culture while also establishing the foundation of Chinese belief system. Through this process, a unique concept of karma had emerged as a quasi-religious concept deeply rooted in ancient Chinese

philosophy which is consistent with the theory of Confucianism. Early Confucianism maintained the tenet that life is essentially predetermined to be the way it actually is (c.f., the Analects of Confucius), and it is also the ideological factor that maintains the long-term stability of Chinese society.

Second, China's traditional belief systems emphasize the harmonious relationship between humans and nature. Traditional Chinese beliefs stem from the self-generation of the universe which does not override the creator of the universe. The universe was created by gas and maintains a state of endless change. Human beings, heaven, and earth come together as a whole and create both harmony and balance between earthly beings and nature, which results in generous compassion. In this way, there is an intrinsic value of the divine roots and heavenly creatures, with an emphasis on natural personification and harmony between nature and humans (Li, 2008).

Third, Chinese belief has a prominent role in the combination of Dao and morality. The secular power among traditional Chinese society is commanding. As a result, Chinese attach great importance to the reality of the human relations and self-cultivation of their life. It is closely linked with the traditional Chinese culture. Traditional Chinese culture is based on its unique natural features, cultural features, the patriarchal bloodline structure, and the system of a familial world that had been established for the traditional Chinese society (Shen, 2008). The system symbolizes the strong interdependence and identity consciousness between individuals, nature, and society. This kind of interdependence and identification links individuals, nature, and society closely through patriarchal blood ties, and it also makes the entire social life world as a unified and harmonious place.

Belief Education in Modern Chinese Higher Education

The evolutionary history that undergirds Chinese higher education's philosophy and education can be summarized chronologically, starting from the origin of Chinese higher education to the introduction of Western-style higher education, which includes sweeping reforms beginning in 1905, a period of nationalism through higher education from 1911 to 1949, and a socialist higher education in the newly formed People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1953. In the mid-1980s, higher education reformed after the Open Door Policy, which slowly yet significantly turned the current Chinese belief education's structures and practices into what it is today.

In the early twentieth century, China has witnessed significant change. The previous system of 20 centuries of uninterrupted experimentation has failed to produce the highest type of civilization (Lowry, 1909). Religiously affiliated colleges and other institutes of higher learning that emerged in the late Qing Dynasty were intended to solve the educational crisis during the period after the imperial examination system was abandoned in 1905. At that time, belief education in Chinese higher education was mainly carried out through two approaches: (1) the traditional Confucian education and (2) church colleges founded by the missionaries. Missionaries had played a very important role in the early period of modern Chinese

higher education. Tengchow College, the first mission college in China, was established in 1886. By the 1920s, there were a total of 13 Christian colleges and three Catholic colleges, including Aurora University founded in 1903 in Shanghai, the Institute of Hautes Etudes et Commerciales founded in 1920 in Tianjin, and Fu Ren Catholic University established in 1925 in Peking. These church colleges are equipped with theological departments to advance religious knowledge (Lutz, 1955). Moreover, the United Board for Christian Colleges in China (UB) was established in New York in 1922. This fund-raising institution serves only Chinese Christian universities. Missionaries had sought many changes, including the establishment of a national system of education, the emancipation of Chinese women from Confucian tradition, and the stirring of a nationalistic spirit among their students (Graham, 1990). The Christian university not only contained the essence of Western culture but also integrated the valuable contents of traditional Chinese culture. This makes religiously affiliated colleges an important place for cultural exchange between China and the West. Over an extended period of time, Christian universities attempted to combine Christian culture with Chinese culture to establish a theological system that conformed to Chinese society. However, the development of Christian colleges in modern China has not been leveled. After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, the government emphasized the sovereignty of the country. The founding of Christian colleges, the teaching methods, and the foreign language components of institutions were all considered problematic. The non-Christian movement campaign in 1922, the recovery of the educational right movement in 1924, and the University Case and Chinese principal requirements in 1928 all tended to regard the Christian University as an imposing institution. In addition, not only the Western religious colleges but also the educational institutions of traditional Chinese religions (Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism) were restricted (Li, 2017). It appears that Chinese higher education excluded any school with a religious background at that time. The private universities founded by academic groups and nongovernmental scholars were also subject to increasingly strict restrictions (Chen, 2003).

In the early days of a new China, after the revolution of 1949, universities throughout the country carried out large-scale overhauls to departments and schools. It was an important event in the development of higher education in China. There are many reasons for the adjustment of education in the early 1950s, one of which was the influence of the Soviet higher education system and the other was the breakdown of Sino-US relation due to the Korean War. After two rounds of large-scale changes, all church-related universities on the mainland were cancelled or incorporated into the larger secularized system. Only in the 1980s did China start to build new private universities. However, the essence of private universities was completely different from the earlier church-affiliated colleges. The government had strictly managed the belief education activities. In addition, the ministry of education started to set up religious majors in some public comprehensive universities and set up many corresponding courses. However, this was more akin to professional education, which was fundamentally different from the mission and vision of parochial education during the period of the Republic of China.

During the development of modern Chinese education, there were various attempts at alternatives to replace belief education with religion, aesthetics, science, history, and philosophy (Zhang, 2012). Before the establishment of new People's Republic of China, church-affiliated colleges had made great impact on several generations of Chinese higher education students. After the founding of new China in the mid-1950s, the influence of church-related colleges waned dramatically as the system emulated the Soviet model. The system in the 1950s was impacted significantly by Soviet ideology, which was later overhauled and reorganized. From the Open Door Policy from the 1980s until today, the Chinese education system is largely based on the traditional culture along with significant influence of Marxism and socialism in addition to increasing influence of capitalism.

The current status of belief education in China has two levels: (1) the metaphysical level of belief and (2) the practice level of belief education. The level of belief philosophy is based on the traditional belief system in China, Marxism, and Modernity, and the practical level of belief education mainly refers to the current Chinese universities' belief courses and events, which include political beliefs, life beliefs, and other aspects (Xingchuan & Linghai, 2012). Under globalization and modernity, there are many imperfections, and even contradictions have appeared not only in the theoretical philosophy level but also in the practical level of belief education of Chinese higher education.

Crises in Belief Education of Modern Chinese Higher Education

Under the impact of globalization, belief education in modern Chinese higher education faces challenges from both internal and external areas. The internal challenges mainly refer to values, problems, and cultural crisis, which are caused by the rapid changes of Chinese society. Students can be confused in a values crisis and fall into a spiritual predicament. The external challenges included two aspects: first, after the reform and opening up, the rapid influx of different cultures and values brought great impact on Chinese students' concepts of value and belief; and second, a series of changes of modern international situation have caused lots of puzzles to the beliefs and values of Chinese society and young students.

Diversified Ideology and the Belief Cognition Crisis

Instrumental rationality is respected and even worshiped. We believe the exaggeration of reason has come to an unrestricted level. Because of the excess expectation and infatuation with rationalism, people lack an ability to estimate the negative effects of reason, which can lead to the disorder between persons, peoples, and

nature. Marxist scholars, as well as the Frankfurt school, have all recognized the limitations of instrumental rationality, believing that reason has become a substitute for power and that rationality itself has become an aide to widespread beliefs about economics. Reason has become a tool for the manufacturing of all other tools, and it has the same serious consequences as the material production activities that can be precisely calculated. It allows people to use nature as a means of grabbing wealth and satisfying desires. After years of development and evolution, under modernity, China has formed a tide of seeking material benefits, which has made a serious impact on the Chinese youth's beliefs.

According to some researchers, at present the most influential currents of thought include utilitarianism and the history nihilism (Xu & Li, 2011). Democratic socialism typically advocates that only democratic socialism can save China. But the consequences, as Rawls contends, are that a functioning free and democratic society that is balanced and orderly is a utopian idea—meaning that the attainment of such would require oppressive state power (Rawls, 2001). The question remains on to integrate pluralistic beliefs into the beliefs of China and to make the belief education for students developmentally appropriate. Therefore, establishing a belief system with a sense of care and concern is a significant problem in the belief education in China.

Thinking Crisis and Belief Choice Crisis

China's traditional belief is a kind of moral belief, but *Dao* and *virtue* are metaphysical philosophical expressions, not concrete moral norms. The traditional Chinese belief emphasizes inner cultivation, which aims to conform to nature's will and achieve the goal of harmony between man and nature.

China's traditional beliefs do not create a truly complete world of religious beliefs. For example, Confucius emphasized the impossibility of knowing death, that people cannot blame authority, and encouraged inattention about the life in the other world. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the new cultural movement completely destroyed China's fundamental system of belief. The overall Westernization and the neo-Confucianism's inheritance of Confucianism did not change the pace of the introduction of Western belief culture, which has created more confusion. Although after the founding of new China, the Marxist belief, instead of the traditional Chinese belief, became the main belief of Chinese, the traditional belief's foundation still remains in the conceptual spirit of the general public. After the reform and opening up, the uniform form state of belief has been disrupted.

From the perspective of the development history of human belief, any kind of social value judgment or social consciousness will be fissured and developed under the influence of economic foundation. The crisis of belief can be regarded as a meaningful step in the development of belief. From the social point of view, belief

has always relied on the specific historical development and environment; from an individual point of view, the appearance of the crisis of belief reveals the skepticism and criticism of people who live under the power's control. When major social changes occur or a turning point is reached, the original system of belief in the society is questioned and weakened or even replaced. It is similar to the negation of the traditional Chinese cultural beliefs during the May Fourth Movement. At the time when individuals are trapped in mental difficulties, it is inevitable that the adjustment or reconstruction of the inherent mode of belief will inevitably take place.

Vulgarization and Crisis of Belief Systems

Many Marxists discussed the problem of alienation profoundly, including the alienation between humans and between nature and humans. In such a process of alienation, the individual seems to be increasingly becoming the slave of others or of their own desires. The discovery and progress of all human endeavors seem to turn out to be foolish, but the materials seem to have resulted in living a rational life. Through such discussion, we can also see that the economic development and the progress of human beings have a negative effect on people. The alienation of things also causes the alienation of people and leads to the absence of human subjectivity. In this way, people gradually lose their pursuit of the spirit of the subject and gradually become the kind of basic person who only pursues material enjoyments.

Alienation under modernity discourages young people from pursuing transformation and instead encourages attachment to material objects. Young people in China would rather seek wealth, and they may have lost the idealism of pursuing their dreams. The vulgarized belief prevails among young people with the help of so-called knowledge, technology, and new means of communication. Material worship makes the wounds of belief more and more teary, and non-ideological vagueness appeared in youth's heart especially in the time of showing their indifference of social phenomena. Fiercely, some people even formed a "belief vacuum" in their hearts. For young people, both the self-subjective status and the transcendental goal of life are thrown into endless fury and nothingness in the vulgarization process of belief.

The belief education in higher education cannot reach a true resonance with the students because the belief education in higher education is severely separated from the real beliefs and social life but easily goes to the opposite of its aim situation. Since students cannot well judge or accept a true belief during their study period, so they are overwhelmed by various thought currents under modernity, and they also do not have the judgment ability to break away from the mud. However, the belief education activities in higher education have not been able to acutely perceive the students' confused belief dilemma. They still insist on educating belief in accordance with the propaganda. This kind of teaching counters with the truly internalized belief education. All of those make it difficult for young students to

choose and judge correctly of belongings and values for their life in this alienated world.

The Reasons for Belief Education Crisis in Chinese Higher Education

The issue of modern belief is not only a very complex social and cultural issue but also an individual psychological problem. On the one hand, due to the profound social changes during the social transformation in China, the Chinese people's world outlook, outlook of life, and values have undergone tremendous changes and collisions; the risks brought by competition and the gap between the rich and the poor have exacerbated the imbalance in the region resulting in a considerable psychological pain and imbalance. Due to the implementation of the policy of religious belief freedom and the emergence of some religious phenomena in society, young students, as members of the society, may not be well resolved in the face of many social perplexities and life puzzles. As a result, college students may face continued difficulties. Based on this, we conduct a preliminary analysis in three aspects of belief education in higher education in China: social and cultural factors, individual psychological factors, and higher education factors.

Social and Cultural Factors

Looking at the historical development and cultural traditions of China, we cannot deny that there are inherent thinking limitations in cultural traditions. In the Chinese people's traditional consciousness, individual consciousness is not independent. Chinese people are often content seeking approval through superficial acceptance from others. The world we live in is not subject to our own personality and tendencies, we are subject to external circumstances and cultural circumstances, so we are only the product of the environment. Our thoughts are often trapped in the authority and repression of the predecessors. We do not jump out of this circle and independently release our own thinking. Although we also have *prudence* and *independence*, such introspection is all pervading. And the real standard has always been confined to the saints' and ancestors' words or behaviors. We cannot only stay in the traditional framework to develop and improve, and we also cannot touch the established norms. Finally, we can only immerse ourselves into the torrent of group consciousness. The *Tao* and *Qi* are synonymous with group awareness—harmony between man and nature and people to people. The failure to focus on the existence of individuals and the isolation of others makes little sense for any sense of purpose to live. It creates a lack of an independent conscience and a lack of the necessity for establishing a personal, independent belief.

Factors of Higher Education Itself

From the original purpose of universities, universities are independent of economic and social existence and therefore have an independent right of freedom and belief. However, under the influence of globalization, universities rely on the government and capital market to survive. Therefore, China's modern higher education is under the pressure of heavy academic, capital, and power relations. Belief education cannot obtain absolute freedom. So it means Chinese belief education does not have absolute freedom and they would only survive under complex pressures.

Living under the government's power and manifold pressures, modern Chinese higher education administrators are still seeking freedom and autonomy within religious education. Therefore, in the process of pursuing the freedom, liberal education is set up in some universities in order to cultivate the students' comprehensive qualities and wisdom in life through interdisciplinary education, so that they can gain their academic and thought freedom based on their own beliefs.

However, in contemporary Chinese higher education, Marxist belief education is performed as political and personal beliefs and is formulated and promoted as a state ideology from top to bottom. In addition to the Marxist belief education, other pluralistic belief education often exists in some hidden culture or subculture space, as the undercurrent of the mainstream. However, this does not mean that these undercurrents are unimportant. These hidden forms of belief are also some very important factors that influence the beliefs of contemporary Chinese college students. In addition, besides neglecting the problem of subculture, the educational method of Marxism in the contemporary higher education seems to be a kind of very rigid and simple one. This kind of teaching method is suitable for college students who have been able to think independently under various information dissemination systems. A more multidimensional and pluralistic approach from theory to practice would be beneficial. What's more, in the Marxist belief education's teaching process, the inculcated education and teaching methods have misled Chinese college students, and the rigid teaching methods led them to think this kind of doctrine is the true Marxism, which is a vulgarized understanding of Marxism.

Self-Awareness Plight of Student

The formation of self-awareness is crucial, and it is one of the philosophical roots that is important to the crisis of belief among students. Because of living in an impulsive society, people's spiritual void diminished the interest of exploring the world's truth. Although the university student tries hard to show concern for the value and meaning of his real existence, it is hard to get rid of external restraints and inner confusion. Although self-awareness urges young people to think about life and death, social reality leads them to continuous desire to fulfill their goals. Their

personality, charm, and richness are covered by the vulgar values of materialism and actually cannot get their own personality. This undermined the university students' belief and led them to live in the voracious self-consciousness. The crisis of belief originated from the perplexity of the power of life and from the society, which could not fully establish its own self-awareness.

Students' values of life as well as beliefs are lacking clarity. The pursuit of ultimate value is in a vague state. It is exactly that the ultimate value orientation has directly led to the crisis of belief. On the one hand, the conflict of different values violently hurts the undergraduates' lives and living beliefs of this period; on the other hand, the different value systems were used to induct young people's choices through their own belief, strength, and competition. Once individual and societal values shift to wealth and material interests, the battle for more values-based education has already been lost. The college student's spirit of pursuing beliefs will lose, and their life may tend to lean toward chaos. Due to the predicaments' existence of college students, it is very difficult for them to really get out of the belief predicament by their own strength and consciousness, which is settled by contemporary society.

A Path Forward

Based on the analysis of the historical development and the complexities of the multifaceted aspects of belief systems in Chinese higher education, the difficulties are mainly rooted in society and the misuse of power. As the beliefs of college students are an important issue that is followed closely by the Government of China (Xingchuan Song & Linghai Fu, 2012), so the government should give the higher education more supports and freedom in belief philosophy education. As the original meaning of education and school is leisure, when the educator and the student live in a relatively relaxed environment, they all could deeply rethink the rights, responsibilities, and teaching or learning methods in their belief education. Then they also need to keep the belief philosophy and belief education far away from the vulgar pragmatism, utilitarianism, and so on. Last but not least, students and teachers should try to cultivate the critical thinking ability and give more respects to the traditional Chinese belief philosophy and his own thinking of life. Only through the inner awakening can a human, college student, or the higher education institution comprehend the real belief value of the inner dimension in his own life. Future research should explore the students' beliefs including the psychology of the individual's belief. The new perspective will surely deepen our understanding of the unique university student's group and higher education's belief education.

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Chapter 8
Reinventing and Promoting Traditional Cultures and Values in Bali: A Critical Review of the Government Role in Education and Cultural Exchange

Esther Wing Chit Mok

Abstract According to Chua Soo Pong, traditional Southeast Asian performing arts such as *Subli* in the Philippines, Chinese opera in Singapore, *mak yong* in Malaysia, *wayang purwa* in Java and *lakhon chatri* in Thailand, all demonstrate that theatrical events or rituals with music and dance elements have long served a variety of social, religious or political purposes. Recognising that each Southeast Asian country uses performing arts in its own agenda and priority, the performing arts has been used as a communication tool to reinforce certain social, religious or political ideals. The theatre, as Craig A. Lockard suggested, had long been an integral part of Southeast Asian cultures. More specifically, cultural identity and the performing arts share an interrelationship in the shaping and building of cultures in Southeast Asia. For many centuries, the Southeast Asian theatres have functioned as a channel for communication to reach the largely illiterate populations; till date it is still very much used as a communication tool to both literate and illiterate. Thus, not only can Southeast Asian performing arts be seen as an active, advocate voice that can build, strengthen and reinforce society's belief system. It is also a passive, narrative voice that reflects and depicts the journey of the cultural identity of a nation. This chapter is set out against the wider social and cultural background to examine how higher education institutions promote and preserve traditional values, especially religious beliefs through Balinese traditional theatre. More specifically, this chapter discusses how local and international institutions promote the culture and belief systems of Bali, Indonesia. It will also examine the curriculums and strategies adopted by these institutions in promoting and preserving of Balinese traditional theatre. Based upon intensive literature review, cultural policy and survey of websites materials on existing educational programs, this chapter offers a systematic analysis of the relationship between cultural value formation and institutional response.

Keywords Indonesia · Theatre · Culture · Dance

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Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to critically examine the role of Indonesia's government in preserving, reinventing and promoting Balinese cultures both locally and internationally through higher education. The first part of the chapter will be looking at how Balinese traditional performing arts, which is deeply rooted in Hindu heritage, and tourism have been used to promote cultures and values. The second part will investigate how and what major strategies that the government adopted have affected the promotion of arts and culture. In the third and the last part of the book chapter, how domestic and international engagement of the performing arts has been used as a medium to promote Balinese cultures and performing arts will be discussed. Through the examination of how the traditional performing arts is reinvented and promoted in Bali, the analysis of this chapter clearly shows how nontraditional higher and adult education and cultural exchange can be very much interlinked with its current political, social and economic situations. This chapter enhances understanding of the close intertwined relationship between religion, performing arts and tourism with cultures and the education surrounding it. When discussing Balinese performing arts in this chapter, the following discussion will group different genres of Balinese traditional performing arts such as *wayang*, *gamelan*, *wali*, *bebali*, *balih-balihan* and many more as a whole to support the core arguments in the chapter.

According to Logli (2016), Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world with the most challenging of higher education environments. Indonesian policy makers and educators confront the difficult task of meeting the needs of an enormous country with over 375 ethnicities, 700 languages and 6 officially recognised creeds (i.e. Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism), with the greatest number of adherents being Muslim. Indeed, the Islamic faith accounts for 87% of Indonesians and the Javanese ethnicity (who are also largely Muslim) while wielding the majority of political power (Logli, 2016). These information on the religious, cultural and political realities of Indonesia today serve as a backdrop for the focus of this chapter on the Bali-Hindu performing arts and the critical role of higher education.

Positioning Bali as a City for Cultural Exchange Through Performing Arts and Tourism

Bali's distinguished image as a tourist paradise was first propagated under Dutch colonial rule during the early 1900s, when a regular shipping route was formed to expedite trading activities in Bali. As a result, it has made it more accessible for European travellers to visit. The colonisation of Bali and Indonesia overall by the Dutch has shaped and transformed the local Balinese culture significantly (Lockard, 2009). During the early 1900s, Bali was seen as an object of curiosity for Westerners in search of the exotic. Many European orientalists had viewed the island and the people as a 'living museum' of the Hindu-Javanese civilisation and had taken

interest of the island before Dutch's colonial empire (Picard, 1993). However, the increasing accessibility of the island after the Dutch's rule increased Bali's tourism activities significantly.

With this building block, once Indonesia declared its independence, the central government in Jakarta implemented major undertakings in the province as the focus of the country's tourism development, with the local Balinese authorities having little to no say in the matter (Picard, 1997). There were mixed views toward this policy; while some saw tourism as dangerous and destructive, others saw it with promising prosperity (Picard, 1997). Indonesia has undergone many political, cultural and social reforms after its independence from the Dutch colonial government in August 1950 that has changed the country dramatically. Yet, according to Umeda (2007), Indonesia's first president Sukarno and his positions on the development of Indonesia's cultural policy were merely an extension of the Dutch colonial mindset. Having a Balinese mother and first wife, Sukarno's fundamental cultural policies has placed great importance on the promotion of Balinese performing arts (Umeda, 2007). Under the new policy, law and order of the Communist Party, the Indonesian aimed to bring about prosperity through economic development. Tourism was one of the major developments and sources of revenue for the new postcolonial country. The Balinese ethnic cultures were seen as a resource with economic value, which could contribute to the expansion of international tourism in Indonesia and to the development of the Indonesian national culture (Picard, 1993). According to Ramstedt (1992), Bali was selected as one of the ten tourist centres because it has long been recognised for its unique cultures among Western travellers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Bali's fame and fortune is due to its success as a tourist destination. Not only has tourism made Balinese dances and ceremonies well known worldwide but has also granted the Balinese a special recognition within the nation of Indonesia (Picard, 1997). Balinese arts, especially performing arts, was acknowledged as Hindu heritage descendants of the great Hindu-Javanese kingdoms; therefore, traditional values associated with Javanese 'high culture' also apply to Balinese court arts, particularly in *Gambuh*, Balinese court dance drama (Picard, 1997). Picard (1993) stated, Bali's defining feature of culture with its artistic and ceremonial manifestation provided a common ground where Balinese locals, Dutch orientalists, American anthropologists, artists and tourists alike could engage with one another. This created a space where cultural exchange took place and multiplied. In addition, Bali enjoys a privilege position of tourism that was intensively promoted by both central and local government. As the prime tourist destination of Indonesia, Balinese arts are seen as a national treasure of Indonesia as a whole and are expected to enhance the prestige of Indonesian culture abroad (Picard, 1997).

Islam is the official state religion of Indonesia with a majority (approximately 87%) of the population as Muslim (Pariona, 2016). Hinduism is one of the minor religions practiced in the country, and most of Indonesia's Hindu minority population live in Bali (Miettinen, 2010). According to Ramstedt (2008), the island of Bali is home to its own type of religion, Bali-Hinduism, which combines elements of animism, ancestor worship and Hinduism. These facts, no doubt, distinguish the Balinese culture from other parts of Indonesia, highlighting its extraordinary culture

once again. Bali-Hinduism as a unique religion is very much integrated in everyday life, and the performing arts reflect and shape the cultural and religious ideals of the island (Miettinen, 2010). The Ministry of Religion has considered Balinese religion as 'tribal' because its rites were perceived more as customs rather than religion (Picard, 1997). Previous to the colonial period when the movement of religious rationalisation began, religion was not singled out as a set of systematically coherent beliefs and practices that could be isolated from other aspects of life in Bali (Picard, 1997). After Indonesia's independence, the Balinese were compelled to distinguish explicitly between religion and custom (Picard, 1997). For a long time, religion and custom are immensely intertwined in Balinese everyday life, and it was problematic to define the differences between the sacred and secular. The Balinese religious practices that take place in house yard and village temples are more ritual-focused than text-focused, whereas the government's definition of religion is heavily stressed on text-focused practices (Picard, 1997).

Unlike other regions of Indonesia, the island of Bali has made demonstrable efforts to maintain its traditional culture and many Balinese would credit tourism as a major incentive to nurture and preserve their cultural heritage (Picard, 1997). Of course, the road to Balinese cultural preservation did not come easy. In the early 1970s, the arrival of increasing numbers of tourists on Bali had caused serious concerns among the Balinese, fearing the authenticity will be lost (Picard, 1997). The number of foreign visitors multiplied from fewer than 30,000 in 1970 to at least a hundred times that number in the present, which no doubt generated Bali's economic growth immensely. Nonetheless, the invasion of Bali by foreign visitors could be seen as posing a threat of 'cultural pollution' (Picard, 1997). This was a challenge for the Balinese, to take tourism with caution, such was the task assigned to cultural tourism, to take advantage of Balinese culture to attract tourists while using the economic benefits of tourism to foster Balinese culture (Picard, 1997). Despite the growing concern on cultural pollution, the admiration of foreign visitors for Balinese culture as Picard (1997) suggested had actually reinforced the Balinese sense of identity as well as its preservation and revitalisation, to the extent that it had turned culture into a source of both profit and pride for the Balinese (Picard, 1997). Bali's unique culture and arts have also improved their position within Indonesia as a minority and obtain full recognition of their ethnic identity from the state (Picard, 1997). After discussing the sociohistorical background of Bali, the following part will focus on examining major government policies and strategies adopted in promoting arts and culture, with particular reference to performance art (Fig. 8.1).

Government Strategies in Promoting Religious and Cultural Heritage Through Performing Arts

Bali is home to many unique performing arts genres, such as *gamelan* (Balinese ensemble music), *wayang* (puppet theatre), *wali* (Balinese sacred dance), etc. which were creations deriving from local villages communities' variations and adaptations

Fig. 8.1 Balinese performers performing to tourists at the Garuda Wisnu Kencana Cultural Park, Bali, Indonesia. (Photograph taken by the author in August 2014)

of the craft. In the modern day, tourism has played a major role in the creative development of Balinese performing arts as well as its education. While tourism provided opportunities to generate a vital income for the region, it has also lead to many adaptation and alterations in local cultures and transforming the standards of traditional Balinese performing arts scenes. The likelihood of local repertoire of the performing arts being adapted to foreign tastes has amplified as a result of increasing contact with the outside world. A regional office of the ministry of education and culture, Balinese regional radio stations of a national radio network, and a conservatory for traditional Balinese Music and Dance were formed under Sukarno's rule. Cultural organisations established in Bali also affiliated with the National and Communist parties. The Ministry of Education and Culture in the Province of Bali has appointed prominent musicians, composers and dancers across Bali to direct productions that conveyed the essence of Sukarno's cultural policy, thus serving as an effective agent for advancing political propaganda (Umeda, 2007). The government's twofold goals, according to Picard (1997), are outlined below:

> The government has two interwoven goals in its patronage of the Balinese arts (particularly the performing arts): the promotion of a regional culture that contributes to the national

Indonesian culture and that may be used to celebrate and legitimize the New Order; and the use of cultural performances to attract tourists and thus boost the regional and national economies.

The performing arts in Bali therefore are very much intertwined with everyday life and have been used extensively in religious and ritual practices. Balinese performing arts has been used as a tool for worship as well as education, storytelling and entertainment in the island of Bali for centuries. Nonetheless, the development of performing arts in Bali has changed significantly due to Dutch colonisation. At present, globalisation and Indonesianisation have caused the Balinese traditional performing arts shift of development from a religious purpose to entertainment purposes to cater to the tourism market (see Fig. 8.2). Balinese performing arts has constantly been adapted and taken from its original context to reformulate in works that can represent the official image of the globalised Bali, at the same time retaining 'its traditions' but primarily for the purpose of monetisation. It is clear that national culturalisation of regional cultures was put into effect by a state institution the Department of Education and Culture in Bali (Umeda, 2007). From the 1960s onward, the Balinese provincial government had established academies to cultivate, develop and preserve the Balinese arts (especially the performing arts) in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Picard, 1997; Soebadio, 1985). To a certain extent, the institutions established by the government have taken over the patronage formerly exerted by the royal courts (Picard, 1997). One might assume that the Indonesian government intended to centralise, normalise

Fig. 8.2 Balinese performers taking a photo with a tourist at the Garuda Wisnu Kencana Cultural Park, Bali, Indonesia. (Photograph taken by the Author in August 2014)

and decontextualise the Balinese performing arts through establishing these institutions and its provincial apparatus (Picard, 1997).

Through the surge of tourism and commercialisation, the culture and performing arts in Bali was at stake and in danger of further exploitation and degradation. In order to regulate and protect the distinctive Balinese craft and cultures, the governor of Bali Province established LISTIBIYA in June 1966, an organisation that aimed to prevent dilapidation and destruction of Balinese arts and culture and support the government with regard to cultural development (Umeda, 2007). Umeda (2007) stated that LISTIBIYA's function was as an intelligence agency in the field of arts and culture, through which political propagandisation of creative activities was monitored. It was made up of three councils, evaluation, development and promotion of Balinese cultures and the arts. Ironically, instead of preservation of cultures, LISTIBIYA acts as an agent that standardised and homogenised the ways of expression and artistic styles of the Balinese performing arts. Under the umbrella of LISTIBIYA, as an official body, various evaluation programmes, contest hosting, monitoring of multimedia, and broadcasting were utilised as tools for re-creating Balinese performing arts to the government's advantage (Umeda, 2007). It was also the first step toward a regulated style by means of both direct education and indirect processes of control as represented by contests

LISTIBIYA conducts general evaluation on performing groups and reports Balinese performing arts activities to the government. It also grants permission and licences to performing groups to perform outside of Bali or for tourists locally (Umeda, 2007, p. 47). The organisation perform general evaluation on an annual basis to access the village gamelan and dance groups' performance qualities, and all the results are officially reported back to the Balinese government. Umeda (2007) conveyed that all Balinese groups performing abroad required permission from the government based on appropriate representation and promotion of culture. The performances had to be considered a quality that matched international and national stanadards—this was also true for higher education programmes in Balinese traditional music, dance, and theater.

Since 1968, the evaluation and licencing of performance groups who entertain tourists in Bali was implemented (Umeda, 2007). The licence is valid for 3 years and can only be extended after reassessment (Umeda, 2007). It aims to maintain the quality of Balinese performing arts with the rise of tourism in Bali. The evaluation of performing arts by LISTIBIYA has also another purpose. Apart from maintaining the quality of the crafts, it aims to discover and monitor performing groups that have questionable expressions, especially anti-government messages founded in storylines of performances (Umeda, 2007). This is also interlinked to conservatoires founded by the government. Apart from preserving Balinese cultures and performing arts through setting up higher education programmes, it also aims to groom artists and citizens that are pro-government. The curricula of *wayang* (traditional puppet theatre), Balinese traditional dance, *gamelan* (Balinese traditional ensemble music), etc. at the conservatoires are conducted in Indonesian instead of Balinese, which would have been the language of instruction in village schools (Sedana, 1993).

Apart from evaluating and licencing performance groups the rights to perform, LISTIBIYA also organises seminars in discussions on the development and preservation of Balinese cultures and the arts (Umeda, 2007). The seminar that was held in 1971 on Sacred and Profane Arts in the Field of Dance has had a considerable impact both in the field itself and in Bali's tourism. Discussions were made on what performing arts performances were acceptable to tourists and what were sacred. A diverse party such as researchers of Balinese music and dance, performers, anthropologists, literati and representatives from the religious sphere were invited in this discussion, to draw a line between what were religious and sacred arts that were not acceptable to perform for tourists and what were secular arts that were acceptable to perform for tourists (Umeda, 2007). The discussion on what was sacred and secular art has had a profound impact on the development of the performing arts. Following on from the Seminar, the Governor of Bali officially proclaimed an ordinance in 1973 prohibiting the performance of sacred arts in the context of tourism (Umeda, 2007).

Until most recently, performance groups are still required to have a licence to perform for tourists. The cultural policies advocated by LISTIBIYA have also affected the education of Balinese dance, music and theatre in conservatoires. Its active promotion of Balinese performing arts for tourism has also contributed to its role as a pioneer in encouraging the creation of new works and refinement of traditional styles (Umeda, 2007). Such movement is also advocated in government-established institution, affecting the Balinese traditional performing arts styles with authority. Issuing of licences for performances for tourists and facilitation of the Seminar on Sacred and Profane Arts in the Field of Dance both resulted in a greater understanding of the effective presentation of performing arts within the context of tourism (Umeda, 2007). The classification system introduced to distinguish arts for the tourist from those not to be performed for tourists stimulated the creation of secular works under the supervision of higher education institutions of the performing arts. In addition, many graduates from institutions such as Indonesian Institute of Arts Denpasar have joined the workforce of Bali tourism as performers and entertainers (Umeda, 2007). Regulation of employment contracts and the consequent elevation of Balinese performing arts to the level of a state-recognised business encouraged performance groups to obtain licences to perform for tourists, and this eventually impacted on the perception of how Balinese music and performing arts should be (Umeda, 2007). Based upon the above observations, performing arts institution in Bail such as Indonesian Institute of the Arts, Denpasar has adapted its curriculum to tailor it to the demands of performers in tourism in Bali.

Governmental evaluation organisations such as LISTIBIYA play a heavy role in shaping and developing the higher education for the performing arts in Bali. From the 1980s onward, standardisation and homogenisation of Balinese performing arts were further reinforced through *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (a 3-month practical training programme) directed by the students of the Academy of Indonesian Dance and Music (ASTI, Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, ISTI) in Denpasar and via the activities of KOKAR graduates throughout Bali (Umeda, 2007). In addition to the above

strategies in licencing and monitoring art and culture promotion, the following parts will critically examine how the government reinvents and promotes its traditional arts and cultures through international cultural exchange and local education and art promotion programmes.

International Engagement and Cultural Exchange

The rapid growth in tourism development in Bali has not only increased exposure of Bali's culture to the world but exposure of world's diverse cultures in Bali. The outcome has expanded Bali's international network that enables vibrant cultural exchange activities. Such results have also affected the field of performing arts and art education. Tourism has led to a lot of cross-cultural borrowing and adaptation, and this movement has also affected cross-cultural borrowing activities in the performing arts, especially in education and performance making.

Bali's popularity as a worldwide tourist destination has also boosted its reputation as a place for educational cultural exchanges. There are various cultural exchange programmes available in Bali, from gap year programs, semester exchanges and shorter summer courses. At prestigious Dell'Arte International School of Physical Theatre, a performing arts school linked to the world renowned physical theatre, Dell'Arte Company, for example, offers an intensive monthlong course that allows students to participate in the family and ceremonial life of outstanding Balinese master teachers (Dell'Arte Abroad, Bali). The course's tuition is at an expensive rate of roughly $4000 USD, and it promises students the opportunity to have in-depth training in mask making, Balinese dance, shadow puppetry or music at Balinese village settings. Dell'Arte specified on the programme page, 'Due to the sacred nature of most Balinese arts and the complete intertwining of daily life with ritual, this program can be an opportunity to deepen an internal connection to your own artistic practice, as well as to take inspiration for creative projects' (Dell'Arte Abroad, Bali). The short course promises cultural immersion experiences, where students can attend both private and public ceremonies of weddings, cremations, blessings of masks and puppets, temple anniversaries and many more alike. It can be argued that the education of Balinese performing arts and culture has been shaped into a product of commercial value that accommodate to the interests of foreign touristic artists. The Indonesia government can also create a pleasant image of Bali and Indonesia through the cultural exchanges such as one from Dell'Arte, benefiting both sides of the party.

Stephen Snow (1986) has suggested in his article that deep learning of other culture's traditions can be taken place by a conscious choice. And once deep learning has taken place, hybridisation of cultures can take place, which is a process of appropriating styles and techniques from other cultures and integrating with those of one's own culture. This process of intercultural synthesis mentioned by Snow (1986) can be traced in the works of quite a few American performing artists who had extensively worked with Balinese performing arts and cultures as subject and

inspirations for their performance devising. Oftentimes foreign artists, who had studied in Bali for a period of time, will have taken what they have learned and incorporated into their works, and American artists such as Islene Pinder and Julie Taymor are no exceptions.

Islene Pinder was a scholar of Balinese dance for over 35 years. Her production of *Night Shadow*, for example, incorporated a narrative text of poetry, which mixed American colloquialisms with Balinese sacred mantras (Snow, 1986). Furthermore, Pinder has made nontraditional use of Balinese traditional masks such as Rangda and caricature of the Brahmin Priest in *Night Shadow* (Snow, 1986). This performance was presented to the audience in New York, and Pinder's dance drama reflects the problems of translating symbols in intercultural work. What Balinese saw as a trance and symbolic to its own cultural beliefs did not resonate with the audience in America. This can also be further argued that the American performers who were performing this piece of performance cannot fully represent the Balinese' culture and portray the symbolic meanings and beliefs Balinese holds dear to. It is because in order to portray well, one must first understand the context well. This example addresses a bigger problem that beliefs and symbolic meanings can be diminished as cultures transfer. This can also be applied to cultural exchange programmes mentioned above, a watered-down effect was developed.

In addition, Julie Taymor's work has been deeply influenced by Balinese and Javanese traditions, but her approach compared to Pinder was different, because she never intended to reproduce traditional Balinese forms at the beginning (Snow, 1986). Instead she created intercultural performances within the traditional societies (Snow, 1986). When Taymor established Teatr Noh in Bali, an intercultural theatre company with performing artists from Bali, Java, France and America, the works from this company were a hybrid of her knowledge of Indonesian and Western theatre (Snow, 1986). Many cross-cultural learning that takes place may leave the context, traditions and beliefs behind; both Pinder and Taymor stress more on techniques than cultural beliefs and values. According to Snow (1986), Taymor finds great meaning in the technique of Balinese puppet theatre itself, and she is not reluctant to borrow the techniques and leave the contextualising traditions behind.

In short, as tourism increases, interculturalism and hybridisation of cultures also affect the teaching and making of traditional Balinese performing arts. It has resulted in hybridisation of cultures, blending Balinese cultures and performance skillsets with another. According to Snow (1986), faith, traditions and beliefs are very much interlinked to culture, and it is problematic in transporting to another location with different sets of cultures. An early critique of interculturalism in performance, Bonnie Marranca stated 'Tradition stays within its own country, only the technique travels' (Marranca, 1981). Likewise, the craft of traditional Balinese performing arts was transported outside of Bali, but the traditions and beliefs have remained within Bali.

Domestic Engagement: Traditional Practice and School Education

In this section, the difference between traditional education and formal school settings in Balinese performing arts education will be discussed, with particular reference to the education of Pedalangan, Balinese shadow puppet theatre.

The dalang is a Balinese shadow puppet master and narrator who present stories of wayang, a type of shadow puppet theatre (Sedana, 1993). The Balinese puppetry (Pedalangan) heavily stresses the meticulous training in fables, technique and religious philosophical knowledge (Sedana, 1993). According to I Nyoman Sedana, a *dalang* who received both training in formal school settings and traditional village study, there are quite big differences in the method of education.

Learning Art and Culture Through Traditional Practices

In traditional study, the student of *wayang* studies under the guidance of an older teacher who is usually a relative to the student (Sedana, 1993). An apprentice was typically a male descendant of the *dalang*, and he would have grown up assisting his father or grandfather in performances by passing puppets or playing the *gender*, a percussive instruments to provide the background music for the performance (Sedana, 1993). In traditional teaching of Balinese shadow puppet theatre, students would have had the opportunity to be involved at an early age. They are exposed to puppet theatre in their daily lives and learn by observation and participation of shadow puppet performances. The observation teaching method allows pupils to gain significant understanding of the language, puppet movement and story structures of *wayang* (Sedana, 1993). Traditional training methods were not exclusive to a *dalang* family, as outsiders could also enter by persuading a puppet master to take them as an *anak murid* ('child by study'). The training was usually for an extended period, and the *anak murid* receives similar teachings as a descendant of *dalang*, accompanying the *dalang* to performances as a musician or puppet assistant (Sedana, 1993). In traditional puppet training, students were first required to master the percussive instrument of *gamelan* (traditional ensemble music of Bali) before he is allowed to handle puppets. In the mastery of the percussive instrument, *gender*, music accompaniment of puppet theatre gives the students an understanding of the tuning, moods and melodic structures he must work with as he performs *wayang* in the future (Sedana, 1993).

The passion and curiosity for Balinese puppet theatre is stressed and vital to the practical study of this genre of performing arts. In traditional puppet training, puppet masters do no teach in systematic manner as one at government institutions, rather the outcome of the lesson will depend on the participation and questions formulated by the pupil (Sedana, 1993). In this way, education requires active par-

ticipation of both the student and teacher, teaching and learning from one another. Furthermore, in traditional training, understanding of religious philosophy, the current realities and artistic techniques are vital elements that make a well-established puppet master. A well-established puppet master must have deep understanding of the art. Not only is the importance of deep understanding for the arts stressed, the ability for puppet masters to link his understanding from literary and philosophical study to the realities of the audience's life effectively is also a valued asset. In performances of Balinese shadow puppet, puppet masters must always link his understanding from literary and philosophical study to the realities of the audience's life (Sedana, 1993). It can be understood that his understanding deepens as religious philosophy, the current realities and artistic technique become complementary forces that build onto one another to strengthen his performance (Sedana, 1993).

Learning Balinese puppet theatre in a traditional way can also be seen as ritualistic. Such practices are also run heavily in other genres of the traditional Balinese performing arts, where performances of dance and music are viewed as an act of worship. The *Pedalangan* props are viewed with mystical powers, and they are ceremonially honoured every 210 days on Tumpek Wayang, the puppet anniversary (Sedana, 1993). Offerings are also presented at each performance of Balinese shadow puppet show for success (Sedana, 1993). According to Sedana (1993), puppets are not as easily accessible as the ones in formal education, and they are kept in sanctified places. Touching the puppets or interacting with them outside of performance may be prohibited; this minimises the student's opportunity to rehearse with real puppets (Sedana, 1993). Becoming puppet master is also seen as sacred, and the importance of maintaining purity, making proper offerings and undergoing ceremonies of initiation is underlined in traditional teachings. Ceremonies are executed to request permission from God and the spirits to empower puppet masters to perform puppet theatre (Sedana, 1993, p. 87). In this sense, religion and Balinese shadow puppet theatre are very much interlinked. Puppet theatre is part of a lifestyle or calling, and not just a career. In formalised education, however, puppet mastery could be increasingly seen more as career advancement.

Learning Arts and Culture Through Formal Education

In Bali, there are both high school and university level education institutions for the performing arts. The Conservatory of Indonesian Musical Arts (SMKI) was originally a high school-level performing arts conservatoire and is now a higher education institution (Sedana, 1993; SMKI, 2017). STSI, Denpasar, now known as ISI, Indonesian Institute of Arts Denpasar, provides college- and university-level training in the arts, and this is the only university in Indonesia. Most institutes and conservatoires for the performing arts in Bali were established by the government, and through these formal education programmes, the inclusion and equality of both genders has been cultivated. It has enabled females to enrol into programmes such as *wayang* (shadow puppet theatre) and *gamelan* (traditional Balinese ensemble music) that were normally exclusive to males in traditional village settings. A study

system was also developed that made training more organised and text-based than the traditional education that happens in villages (Sadana, 1993). Conservatories defer to traditional teaching method because they aim to create performers that not only practice and understand the arts but develop artists who are prepared to represent the arts in modern Bali and ready to act as agents in favour for the national government. The Indonesian Institute of Arts, Denpasar (ISI), for example, offers 12 majors such as dance, music, puppetry art, art crafts, film, and many more (Indonesian Institute of Arts, Denpasar, 2017). It is ranked in 51st place on QS Top Universities ranking for performing arts in 2017 (Top Universities, 2017). The curriculums at ISI have a similar structure to those of SMKI but an advanced version of the institution. ISI and SMKI both share similar goals, to develop students who are good Indonesian citizens with academic and artistic excellence. The languages required to study in ISI however are intensified, highlighting the importance of performing arts literature and dramaturgy in studies (Sedana, 1993).

In Sedana's own study experience sharing, he divided the institutions' programmes into three categories: studies for the heart, studies for the head and studies for the art (Sedana, 1993). Studies for the heart are classes designed to echo with government policy and foster national thinking. Such classes include teaching of religion, the Indonesian language physical education and *pancasila*, the government programme of national principles first articulated by President Sukarno (Sedana, 1993). These studies are important for creating a good citizen of modern Indonesia. Studies for the head aim to develop the intellect and prepare students to manage and understand the arts in a historical context and contribute to both local and international academic standings (Sedana, 1993). Classes include cultural history, management, teaching methods, English and arts exposition. The final category, studies for the art, aims to deepen students' understanding of the arts. These teachings include Balinese language and literature, theory, theory of *wayang pedalangan*, performance for the *dalang*, rhetoric for the *dalang*, music, music theory, dance, dance theory, voice and performance practicum (Sedana, 1993). These studies aim to provide skillsets and knowledge equivalent to studying at a traditional education system. However, the instruction differs from the traditional village approaches because instead of one teacher, there are varieties of teachers who specialise in divergent styles and practices, as well as with separation of theoretical and practical classes as well as formal exams before graduation. Religious and ritual practices are also deemphasised in the formal curriculum. Rituals such as *madewasa* and *mawinten* that are performed regularly in traditional setting to honour the gods and performances are replaced with the academic ceremonies like graduations and tests (Sedana, 1993).

At the conservatoire, equipment such as gamelan puppets and screen are available for students to use year-round, which differ to the traditional practice that confines puppet use to performance time only (Sedana, 1993, p. 91). In traditional learning of the Balinese performing art, there is no distinguished separation in class level as the one in formal system. Students in conservatoires are separated by class level, working with a variety of teachers and covering a set curriculum over a span of time, whereas the traditional one is dependent on personal learning pace (Sedana,

1993). In SMKI and STSI, theory and practice are mostly detached from one another with half the curriculum devoted to developing a good citizen and a well-developed arts educator (Sedana, 1993). In the formal system, examinations and graduations are formalised, while religious ceremonies and ritual practices are deemphasised (Sedana, 1993). In this formal system, students are more passive in their learning because the students accept the teacher's syllabus rather than constantly improvising based on their own curiosity (Sedana, 1993). Despite LISTIBIYA's effort in distinguishing what are deemed as appropriate performance for tourists and what are scared, there are still grey areas in which materials are off the limits. Religion and the performing arts are very much interlinked in Bali, and it is hard to deny that beliefs and religions have no role in shaping curriculum of conservatoires and performers. However, I would argue that there is a diminishing effect of religious beliefs in the formal educational institutions with less emphasis on the importance of the belief structures that were once deeply rooted in the religious practices.

Discussion and Conclusion

Putting the above analysis together, this chapter has critically reviewed the interrelationship between social, political and cultural factors with the performing arts and arts education in Bali. Performative rituals and worship practices make up a significant part of the daily lives in Bali. A variety of dance, music and shadow puppet performances are not only for entertainment but also for worship. Bali's unique lifestyle and culture had become an object of curiosity for Western societies during the early 1900s. Under the Dutch colonial rule, accessibility of Bali expanded as a regular trade route was developed. Later, through political changes of independent Indonesia, Bali's tourism development flourished. As a result, the island has become a hub for international cultural exchange. To protect Bali's exceptional cultural heritage, the government established Balinese performing arts education institutions and intelligence agency such as LISTIBIYA. Ironically, such organisation had contributed to the standardisation and adaptation of the Balinese traditional performing arts into particular art forms that are pro-Indonesian government. Religion, traditional values and rituals were deemphasised in formal education institutions constructed by the government. Instead, it was replaced with national principles and the importance of conducting oneself as an Indonesian citizen. A variety of international cultural exchanges and education programmes are together part of a scheme that promotes Indonesia's standing in the world. In brief, Balinese performing arts have been adopted as a tool for achieving economic and political capital.

The international cultural exchange programmes emphasise on the authenticity of experiencing Balinese cultures and traditional performing arts first hand. The local education at standardised institutions has replaced religious ceremonies such as offerings to the gods and village rituals with academic ceremonies such as graduation and tests. The critical review of the government role in reinventing and promoting traditional art and culture through traditional practice, formal education,

tourism and international cultural exchange has enhanced our understanding of the increasingly complex relationships between art and culture with education, economy and international cultural exchange. More research could be conducted in future to critically examine how the growing commercialisation of art and culture would affect the preservation of traditional art and culture and people's cultural identities in future.

At the beginning of the chapter, I discussed the significance of development of tourism in transcending messages of religion, belief system and political agenda in educational institutions. The development of traditional performing arts in Bali has also been affected by government's policy and political, economic and social regimes. Through the examination of Indonesian government's involvement in the performing arts, one can see that an approach applied in promotion and preservation of Balinese culture is not a dogmatic one but rather an approach that adopted many methods and ways. In addition, through investigation of both international and local education programmes and practices of traditional Balinese performing arts, the observation of watering down of religious emphasis has occurred. At the same time, the rich cultural and religious practices embedded within Bali-Hinduism have unfortunately become both monetised and commercialised.

This chapter on Bali was positioned alongside a broad sociocultural backdrop to examine how higher education institutions promote and preserve traditional values, especially with religious values embedded in traditional Balinese theatre. Indeed Balinese traditional theatre captures the spirituality and culture of a people group and nation, and efforts toward preservation have occurred via ongoing curricular and pedagogical developments at higher education institutions and local communities. It is imperative that local and international institutions continue to promote the culture and belief systems of Bali, Indonesia.

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Part III
Diffusion of Asian Value Scapes in the Global North

Chapter 9
Reimagining for Our Children: Aloha ‘āina in Higher Education

Kaiwipunikauikawēkiu Lipe and Tasha Kawamata Ryan

Abstract Aloha ‘āina is at the core of a Hawaiian belief system that has guided Native Hawaiians to live sustainably with their natural environment for generations. However, 125 years of the illegal occupation of Hawai‘i by the USA has led to an intentional drift away from aloha ‘āina. Today, the University of Hawai‘i, the only public system of higher education in Hawai‘i, can have a great role in reintegrating aloha ‘āina into not only the academy but also the community for reasons of both social and environmental justices. This chapter looks at core tenets of as well as pathways to aloha ‘āina in the academy and ultimately for our communities. The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM) is predominantly non-Hawaiian by every definition. At the same time, it is situated upon and reaps the resources from the Native Hawaiian land and natural resources: ancestors of the Native Hawaiian people. Therefore, while UHM has been predominantly non-Hawaiian for its 110-year history, the foundation upon which it sits and the ancestral memory that surrounds it along with the Native Hawaiian people who continue to work for social justice in their homeland have the potential to transform UHM into a Hawaiian place of learning. This chapter will explore how this is possible using core Native Hawaiian concepts, values, and practices. Because Hawai‘i is an unrecognized nation that suffered from an illegal occupation in the late 1800s, the belief system that survived for thousands of years has been heavily influenced by outside power systems and settler colonialism. The university represents a Western canon of belief systems and relegates Native Hawaiian epistemologies to a second-class status. This chapter outlines the history of knowledge and the role of the university and reimagines higher education rooted in the belief systems of the first peoples of these pacific islands.

Keywords Indigenous · Genealogy · Aloha

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Introduction

Aloha ʻāina. This is a core foundation of a Hawaiian belief system that guides us to act in reciprocity with the natural resources, the people who have intimate knowledge of and generations of experience in caring for those resources, and the knowledge systems and practices that have proved most effective to maintain balance and sustainability over time (Vaughan, 2016). As we have and continue to see the declining state of our resources such as rising sea levels and disappearing beaches; as we continue to see Native Hawaiians, the Indigenous people of Hawaiʻi, suffer from all the worst statistics in health, socioeconomic status, and the like; and as we continue to see alarming rates of loss of Hawaiian language and the last generation of native speakers and practitioners of Hawaiian language and culture pass into the night, we see the need for aloha ʻāina more than ever before. At the same time in Hawaiʻi, we see Indigenous knowledge systems – Hawaiian ones in particular – providing the best solutions for a sustainable future, led by Hawaiian cultural practitioners and being taught to a small but growing number of young people who want to see the best for Hawaiʻi now and into the future. The value of aloha ʻāina and the practice of it is on the rise. As it relates to this volume, we see aloha ʻāina as an epistemology that is spiritually associated through the belief that all things are connected based on our cosmogonic genealogies. The question becomes for us: What part is the University of Hawaiʻi (UH), the only public institution of higher education in Hawaiʻi, going to play in the aloha ʻāina movement, and how will the institution be awoken to this critical responsibility?

We care about aloha ʻāina because we see it as part of a social justice movement that honors the resources, the people, and the knowledge systems of Hawaiʻi. Perhaps most of all and definitely most personal to us is that we both have children. As learners, witnesses, and participants of aloha ʻāina movements and practices, we have seen and felt the firsthand benefit of approaching life from this core, and we would like to see our children grow up in an environment in which aloha ʻāina abounds. Moreover, as former students and current employees of the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM), the flagship campus of the UH system, we understand the critical role that our institution can play in moving aloha ʻāina into all sectors of our community. At the same time, we also see how aloha ʻāina can positively impact and enhance the work being done at UH Mānoa. Therefore, our work to help bring the core belief and praxis (Freire, 1993) of aloha ʻāina into the academy is not just for the mere sake of including a Hawaiian belief system in an institution of higher education. We see the stakes as much higher. We believe that this work can indeed change the trajectory for our campus, our communities, and our families toward a more holistic and sustainable future. We are doing this work because it helps us to reimagine the future of our children.

Beginning with a Moʻolelo[1]

There are many intricate stories and traditions that comprise the origin stories of the Hawaiian people and that guide our worldviews and belief systems. Though they cannot all be possibly included here, we draw from one particular story that has guided our understandings of Hawaiian belief systems, namely, the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea:

> *Papa is the earth mother and Wākea is the sky father. They parent many of the Hawaiian Islands together. In addition, they produce a human child, Hoʻohōkūkalani. Later, Wākea seduces Hoʻohōkūkalani[2] and the child is born prematurely. They name him Hāloa-naka and bury him in the ground. From this burial site grows the first kalo, or taro plant, which becomes the staple food of the Hawaiian people. Wākea and Hoʻohōkūkalani mate again, and their second child is born a healthy boy, whom they name Hāloa in honor of his elder sibling. Hāloa is the first high chief of Hawaiʻi and is the common ancestor of all the Hawaiian people. One of the most important roles of Hāloa, the chief, is to properly manage the natural resources, including water, so that the kalo and other foods can grow and feed his people. (Kameʻeleihiwa,* 1992*)*[3]

This is an important moʻolelo, though by no means the only one, because it lays the foundation for principles and a belief system that guides Hawaiians and shaped Hawaiian society for centuries. Unfortunately, this story and the values within have not been readily included across the UHM campus. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to explaining why and how we are working, along with partners across the campus, to change that.

Setting the Context

The focus of our work is at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM), one of the ten campuses of the UH system. Our focus is on this campus because it is where we work and have dedicated much of our time and love. We explain more about this in the following pages. Part of the strategic goal number one of UHM is to “foster a Hawaiian place of learning” (UH Board of Regents, 2012).[4] However, UHM is a predominantly non-Hawaiian university by every definition. Using Schein’s (2010)

[1] Moʻolelo: Pukui and Elbert (1986) translate as: “Story, tradition; (From moʻo ʻōlelo, succession of talk; all stories were oral, not written)” (p. 254).

[2] Incest in traditional Hawaiian society is a practice reserved for the gods and high chiefs termed nīʻaupiʻo. This was a practice to preserve the high-ranking genealogies (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992).

[3] This is the Hawaiʻi Island version of the story.

[4] It might seem surprising that UHM has such a Hawaiian-focused goal, given that we just described UH as being founded off a western higher education model. There has been a concerted effort over the last 30 years to make UHM more Hawaiian. For more information, refer to:

Lipe, K. (2014). Aloha as fearlessness: Lessons from the moʻolelo of eight Native Hawaiian female educational leaders on transforming the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa into a Hawaiian place of learning (Doctoral dissertation). University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa.

three levels of organizational culture to examine the university, there are very few artifacts, espoused values, and underlying assumptions that reflect Indigenous Hawai‘i. Native Hawaiians comprise only 15% of the student population, 3% of faculty, and 1% of administration. Many departments have no curriculum that relates to Hawai‘i, and most constituents on campus have little to no knowledge of their island home. There are many problems that arise out of this lack of parity[5] and equity. We believe that the core challenge is the lack of a Hawaiian belief system. Therefore, our work focuses on helping people to understand a Hawaiian belief system, centered in aloha ‘āina, that can help those in our university become reconnected to Hawai‘i, and a set of guiding principles that can ultimately bring us equity, parity, as well as social and environmental justice.

Mo‘okū‘auhau: A Foundation

The mo‘olelo of Hāloa, as retold at the beginning of this chapter, lays out one of the most critical pieces of aloha ‘āina: mo‘okū‘auhau. We begin with mo‘okū‘auhau, a core Hawaiian concept, to ground the approach and reasons for our research and praxis (Freire, 1993). In English, the commonly used translation is genealogy (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Kanahele (2011) further describes mo‘okū‘auhau:

> Mo‘okū‘auhau is a literary introduction to a family lineage. The family line may include humans, elements of nature, sharks, or other forms of life. If important enough in the mythological framework of the social structure, the name is recorded. (p. 1)

Therefore, mo‘okū‘auhau is the genealogical story. It is the thread that connects all the elements of the world through space and time. The Kumulipo is a Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy, which defines each generation of life (Lili‘uokalani, 1897). Born from the primal darkness is every element of the Hawaiian world, including humans. It is important to note that in the Kumulipo, a mo‘okū‘auhau of the Hawaiian world, Hawaiians are the direct descendants of the natural elements of the world, including Papahānaumoku, the earth mother (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). Therefore, two core elements of mo‘okū‘auhau include genealogical ties and familial relationships between every animate and inanimate element as well as the understanding that Hawaiian people are deeply and genealogically rooted in their land and place.

While mo‘okū‘auhau is a Hawaiian concept that explains the relationships between Native Hawaiians and their world, we suggest that it can also be utilized by non-Hawaiians. As Brown (2016) writes about mo‘okū‘auhau, "…as an ‘Ōiwi[6]

[5] Hawaiians are approximately 25% of the general population. Parity between the state population and representation in higher education is an important focus of the work by some at UH Mānoa toward social justice.

[6] ‘Ōiwi: Indigenous, and in this context, Indigenous Hawaiian.

theoretical and philosophical construct, it stands for relationality. Moʻokūʻauhau includes intellectual, conceptual, and aesthetic genealogies…" (p. 27). Indeed, it is a Hawaiian worldview and lens through which anyone can identify and make sense of any succession of interrelated and interdependent relationships (Lipe, 2018). Most importantly, as Lipe (2018) points out, identifying our position within a given moʻokūʻauhau directs us to the roles, responsibilities, and privileges we carry in that particular relationship. Hence, we utilize moʻokūʻauhau in our work to help ground our colleagues and students in a way of thinking about their relationship to each other and to the natural resources of Hawaiʻi that nourish them every day.

A Moʻokūʻauhau of Our ʻĀina[7]

A large part of our work is helping our UHM community reconnect to the place we are in by learning her moʻokūʻauhau. To be specific, we are located in the valley of Mānoa, which is located in the larger ahupuaʻa[8] of Waikīkī, in the moku[9] of Kona, on the mokupuni[10] of Oʻahu. We intentionally use the Hawaiian terms for these land divisions because they have their own particular moʻokūʻauhau of stewardship that is rooted in interdependence and reciprocity with the Hawaiian people (Oliveira, 2014). To emphasize that Mānoa is within the ahupuaʻa of Waikīkī, a land division that highlights the term "wai" in its name, is to remember the great sources of water in the area. Indeed, within Mānoa are ʻili[11] names including Kānewai, Waiakeakua, and Wailele, which all direct our attention to the fantastic sources of surface and underground water in the valley alone. Coupled with rich soil and an Indigenous population who understood how to sustainably manage the gifts of natural resources, Mānoa was one of the great producers of kalo, the nourishing ancestor of the Hawaiian people described in the opening story. Because of the potential for ample food production in the area, Mānoa was prized land of the Hawaiian chiefs. Indeed, Mānoa's moʻokūʻauhau is one of abundance, nourishment, intelligence and innovation, sustainability, and reciprocation. Hence, when we teach this moʻokūʻauhau, we are also helping our participants to see how the land, an ancestor in the Hawaiian belief system, can also be a model for what our university can be for our community: a bastion of nourishment to feed the minds and hearts of the future.

[7] ʻĀina: land, that which feeds and nourishes us.

[8] Ahupuaʻa: Native Hawaiian land section usually extending from mountain to sea that was divided as such for proper management of natural resources.

[9] Moku: Native Hawaiian land section encompassing many ahupuaʻa.

[10] Mokupuni: island.

[11] ʻIli: a smaller section of land within an ahupuaʻa.

A Moʻokūʻauhau of Our University

While being established in Mānoa connects the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa to the moʻokūʻauhau of abundance and reciprocity of the 1800s and earlier, those who finally established UHM brought other moʻokūʻauhau to UHM's genealogical story. While Queen Liliʻuokalani initially sponsored a bill to establish UHM, she was illegally overthrown before it could come to fruition (Liliʻuokalani, 1898). Hence when the illegal Legislature of the Territory of Hawaiʻi finally did establish "The College of Agriculture and Mechanics of the Territory of Hawaiʻi" in 1907 – which was later renamed as "The College of Hawaiʻi" and finally "The University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa" – it was established with different values and purposes for Hawaiians and Hawaiʻi other than those modeled in the past. Kamins (1998) explains:

> Hawaii at the beginning of the twentieth century needed an institution of higher learning. The further integration into the United States desired by those who had sided against the Hawaiian monarchy, if it was to work politically, required the further development of American culture here [Hawaiʻi]. (p. 3)

Hence, Kamins' analysis points directly to UHM's role as instead a bastion of colonization (K. Maunakea-Forth, 2013, personal communication, ongoing) in Hawaiʻi rather than a bountiful source to support the true health and well-being of the Hawaiian people and culture and to model reciprocation between the natural world and humans. This lack of reciprocation with Mānoa and her people has been realized in many ways in the organizational policies and structures, the curriculum, and the many projects carried out by the university. This has all led to historical inequalities and inequities in terms of Native Hawaiian student, staff, faculty, and administration participation at UH Mānoa. Further, it has led to little to no awareness and consciousness of Mānoa's moʻokūʻauhau and the wonderful examples of abundance for five generations of students that have come through UHM's doors. When we teach this moʻokūʻauhau, we are also demonstrating that each entity can have multiple moʻokūʻauhau. Further, we engage in conversation around how these moʻokūʻauhau are not fixed for all time. We can use our power of choice and our personal agency to help give birth to the next generation of ideas, policies, and structures that can be different. This is empowering for all.

Moʻokūʻauhau of the Authors in Mānoa

Who are we to do this work at our university? This is an important question that arises out of the core concept of moʻokūʻauhau. To help delineate our kuleana – as privileges, rights, and responsibilities to this work – we share a bit of our own moʻokūʻauhau as it relates to Mānoa Valley and UH Mānoa. Some call this the work of establishing positionality. We utilize the term "kuleana" because it best aligns with moʻokūʻauhau, as kuleana is the product of recognizing one's moʻokūʻauhau

(Kameʻeliehiwa 1992). To be clear, each of us has different moʻokūʻauhau related to Mānoa, and we also have converging moʻokūʻauhau that allowed us to see where our collective kuleana might lay. Just as important, we share our moʻokūʻauhau here to model the process that we take our students and employees through. This is the process of personalizing and utilizing the core belief of moʻokūʻauhau to help reconnect to Hawaiʻi.

Kaiwipuni's moʻokūʻauhau I was born to parents who were both UH Mānoa students. My father, who is East Indian, came to Hawaiʻi through the inaugural cohort of East-West Center[12] fellows in the 1960s. My mother, who is Native Hawaiian, was a first-generation college student and went on to earn her PhD in Hawaiian History. She became one of the founding faculty members for what is now the Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies.

While my family has not lived in Mānoa Valley for several generations, I have likely spent more time in Mānoa than any other place in Hawaiʻi or the world. After my parents divorced when I was a little girl, my mother raised me. As the daughter of a single mom professor, I spent sick days, school breaks, summer vacations, evenings, and weekends at UH Mānoa. I eventually chose to go to school there and earned both my BA and PhD from UH Mānoa.

Being raised and educated by a group of Native Hawaiian students and faculty at UH Mānoa has given me immense kuleana, especially as privilege. I am not a first-generation college student like my parents were and enjoyed the benefits of second generation status. At the same time, I found my own struggles at UHM: I often felt (and was) the minority in my classes, was made to be the "token" Hawaiian, and experienced a multitude of issues related to cultural dissonance (Museus, 2008). At the same time, I was also mentored by amazing educational leaders – all of whom I connected with through one genealogy or another beginning at UHM – and eventually hired to do work to correct those areas of tension that underrepresented students, especially Native Hawaiians, experience. The work is not done, but it has definitely begun. As a mother myself now, I am driven by the commitment to my children and to their children to help shape emerging leaders who will make decisions that positively impact them and the natural world that nourishes them.

Tasha's moʻokūʻauhau As a multiracial person of Mexican and Japanese heritage growing up in a predominately white environment in Colorado, most of my formative years were spent wondering where I fit in and with whom. At school, I was often asked the quintessential question experienced by multiracial persons – "What are you?" My parents separated when I was young; therefore, I was raised in a single-parent household by a father of Japanese descent who was born in Hawai'i. I had many curiosities and a desire to learn more about my father's Japanese family and cultural heritage. Furthermore, I longed to live in a more multiracial/multiethnic place where people "looked like me." This led me to attend college out of state. As

[12] East-West Center: a fellowship program bringing together emerging scholars from both the east and the west. For more info visit https://www.eastwestcenter.org

such, my journey of learning to be comfortable in my own skin began over 15 years ago at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Mānoa and the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa were the places where I found identity and cultural validation through various university courses and reconnecting with family. Ethnic Studies 101 and subsequent UH Mānoa courses were my entrée into learning more about African American, Latino, Native American, and Asian American civil rights movements. Additionally, I was also introduced to the unique histories and power struggles of the major ethnic groups of my new island home: Native Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Portuguese. These classes gave voice to counter narratives from marginalized people of color (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001) that are not frequently taught in public secondary education. Moreover, they began to shape my passion for racial and ethnic social justice issues.

Through a UH Mānoa English course, I was required to research my mo‘okū‘auhau. Through interviewing my father and his siblings, I learned that my great grandparents immigrated to Hawai‘i in 1907 from Hiroshima, Japan, in search of a better life. They settled in Honoka‘a, Hawai‘i, and started their family of eight children. My grandparents, who worked for the Del Monte pineapple plantation, then moved to the mokupuni of Lāna‘i and eventually onto the mokupuni of O‘ahu. This was the first time I had researched and learned about my mo‘okū‘auhau from my father's lineage.

UH Mānoa was also a place where I was mentored by a dedicated advisor, who was committed to my cohort's success in our rigorous science majors. The MARC (Minority Access to Research Careers) Program was for first-generation, underrepresented students of color, pursuing science. The Native Hawaiian director of the program, Maile, had a deep sense of kuleana for each of her haumāna,[13] and it was because of her that we gained the emotional, cognitive, financial support and social and aspirational capital (Yosso, 2005) to help us navigate and succeed in our undergraduate pursuits. I remain forever indebted to Maile for her guidance and leadership during those early years of my undergraduate education.

My fascination with and appreciation for the cultures of the islands also reminded me how important it is to stay connected with my Mexican roots. It was through this intentionality that I took undergraduate Spanish classes at UH Mānoa, the place where I met my future husband, Keola Ryan. Keola is a Native Hawaiian cultural practitioner of hula and is now a faculty member at Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies. Our mutual interests in racial and ethnic social justice, particularly Native Hawaiian Indigenous issues, were the spark that drew us together. As a non-Native Hawaiian, I humbly know my place in the island's various communities and social circles. However, through my relationship with Keola, I enjoy open conversations where I can ask questions about my role as a non-Native Hawaiian in Hawai‘i. I can be vulnerable in my own ignorance of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i[14] and Native Hawaiian practices. I can learn, understand, and connect with Native Hawaiian perspectives and values in a way that many outsiders are not able to. Indeed, I am

[13] Haumāna: students.

[14] ‘Ōlelo Ha wai‘i: Hawaiian language.

fortunate. Now, together as new parents of our daughter, Pualalea, we have the opportunity and kuleana to pass on this wealth of cultural knowledge to the next generation. It is a role we take seriously as parents to mālama[15] family, cultural values, and this special ʻāina for posterity.

Convergence of moʻokūʻauhau Part of the continual process for ourselves and what we teach others is the process of recognizing when our moʻokūʻauhau converges. This is how we begin to see our interconnectedness and our interdependence. This is a critical point of the Hawaiian belief system with moʻokūʻauhau as its foundation. To be clear, we do not know and remember our moʻokūʻauhau for the sake of it. Rather, we do so because it helps us to know our various points of connection and how we can then sustain one another and the environment around us. We share some of our converging points below as an example.

Several years ago I (Kaiwipuni) met Keola, Tasha's husband, while we were both doing undergraduate coursework in Hawaiian Studies. Through our friendship, I met Tasha, who at the time, was his girlfriend. From time to time, I would see her around campus, and I got to know her as a minority student trying to find her way in the STEM disciplines. I admired her for her work because I myself had wanted to pursue a premed degree but was too intimidated by the western science courses to do so.

Tasha tells the story that her experiences in the MARC program instilled in her a deep sense of kuleana and a desire to give back, encourage, and empower underrepresented college students. She has done this through a variety of ways over the years. Of recent has been her work with creating support programs for Native Hawaiian students enrolled in IKE (Indigenous Knowledge in Engineering). Through these programs she sought to create environments of cultural congruence and to connect science in meaningful ways to students. It was through her work with IKE where she met my husband, Daniel, who is a Western band Cherokee and similarly has a passion for helping Indigenous students be successful in STEM fields. We spent time together taking students on camping trips and other activities to support their network and their cultural growth.

Tasha's work finally led her to a position supporting graduate students in the Office of Graduate Education. In that role, she was invited to join my faculty development seminar that helps faculty gain a better understanding of the place we are in and how we can help make UHM a Hawaiian place of learning. Her moʻokūʻauhau for social justice and her time spent with her husband in Hawaiian communities were the foundation for her interest in my class. We built upon her foundation and our previous relationship to explore various issues in the course together with other faculty and staff.

Tasha approached me to partner on an initiative to further the work of challenging current underlying cultural assumptions (Witham & Bensimon, 2012) and helping to include new values and worldviews. In particular, the initiative focused on developing and implementing a seminar for graduate students who will likely be the next generation of power brokers at UHM.

[15] Mālama: to care for.

Kulana: Our Interdependency Emerges

Emerging from the Hawaiian concept of moʻokūʻauhau are the interdependent kulana, or roles, of kaikuaʻana and kaikaina. Kaikuaʻana is translated into English as the "older sibling or cousin of the same sex; sibling or cousin of the same sex of the senior line…" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 116). Similarly, kaikaina is translated into English as the "younger sibling or cousin of the same sex, as younger brother or male cousin of a male…sibling or cousin of the same sex of the junior line…" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 116). The terms also refer to the senior and junior genealogical lines, respectively. The basic premise of kaikuaʻana and kaikaina, therefore, is that there is always a person or element that is interdependent on the next. Nothing is alone or without connection; everything is intergenerational. Lipe (2014) expands on the traditional relationship of kaikuaʻana and kaikaina. She says:

> I expand its relevance in today's world based on my experiences. I also see the roles of kaikuaʻana and kaikaina to be defined not only by age or genealogical bloodlines, but also by distinctions in knowledge and experience. In addition, each person or element can be both the kaikuaʻana and kaikaina in different situations. For example, when I am in the presence of my elders, I am the kaikaina in terms of age, knowledge, and experience. In another context, such as when I am a college advisor, I am the kaikuaʻana to my students because of my knowledge, experience, and resources in terms of the university setting. However, in that very same relationship I can be the kaikaina in certain respects if my student is older than me by age. It is a very delicate balance. However, what helps us to know our role is our moʻokūʻauahau; more than just genealogical pedigrees, it is also our genealogical stories of place, knowledge, and experiences. When we are able to recognize and acknowledge our moʻokūʻauhau with people, places, and elements on many different levels, bloodline and birth order being just two of them, then we know our role as kaikuaʻana or kaikaina in a given situation. When we know where we are in space and time within different relationships, we know how to behave appropriately. (pp. 13–14)

In our work exploring this interdependent relationship in our faculty course, we began to see how each of us are kaikuaʻana and kaikaina to each other in different ways. As the instructor of the faculty course and the one whose work focuses on Native Hawaiian place of learning, I am kaikuaʻana to Tasha in that moʻokūʻauhau. However, as the person whose work is now focused on graduate student development and support, Tasha has delved deep into the needs and interests of graduate students and definitely is kaikuaʻana to me in that area of praxis.

Fulfilling Our Kuleana

Defining the relationship between kaikuaʻana and kaikaina is kuleana. English.

terms provided for kuleana by Pukui and Elbert (1986) include "right, privilege, concern,

responsibility…" (p. 179). Kameʻeleihiwa (1992) reminds us of the kuleana as it is laid out in the story of Papa and Wākea in which we learn that the land and her natural resources are the kaikuaʻana of the Hawaiian people. Through their ongoing function, the land and her natural world hānai the Hawaiian people. English words for hānai include to nourish, nurture, and feed (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). In return, the people, as the kaikaina, have the privilege to take care of the land and cultivate it well so the natural resources can flourish. This caring and properly managing is known in Hawaiian as mālama. In other words, kuleana is about nurturing and sustaining the life of interdependent entities in specific ways depending on our given roles. To be clear, from a Hawaiian worldview, all things and people are interdependent.

Through our critical conversations (Freire, 1993; Guajardo & Guajardo, 2010; Wheatley, 2009) and our sharing of personal experiences and stories, Tasha and I began to see how we each were nourishing each other with knowledge and experience and also opening our eyes to the convergence of our moʻokūʻauhau, our roles, and our privileges and responsibilities. This was important data collection that began with our own reflective processes and eventually led to Tasha's invitation to co-develop a course for graduate students to help them learn and reflect on their own moʻokūʻauhau and their kuleana at UHM and in Hawaiʻi.

The result of this collaboration was nearly 70 applications and 34 students accepted into our initial cohort for a 6-week, noncredit course that facilitated a reflective process grounded in aloha ʻāina. In particular, we introduced them to the core Hawaiian concepts described in this chapter and provided them experiences to engage those concepts to better understand themselves as well as their connections and responsibilities to each other and the natural environment of Mānoa that embraces them. Students reflected on how this process helped them to become more aware of ways they can care for people and place, be more responsible in their research, and affect change in their student government positions at UH Mānoa. To be clear, the vast majority of these students were non-Hawaiian, and yet they were able to connect to and become advocates for aloha ʻāina.

Our Story's Refrain

We are certain that aloha ʻāina is critical to the life and future of our island home. We are also convinced that the partnership between aloha ʻāina and higher education is necessary for the work ahead. Our work, therefore, is twofold. On the one hand, we continue to learn and glean lessons from the foundational tenets, including moʻokūʻauhau, kaikuaʻana and kaikaina, kuleana, as well as mālama and hānai, and how we can live through these in our work at UH Mānoa. On the other hand, we also look for ways to share aloha ʻāina with others and to inspire them to a new way of thinking about their life and work at UHM and importantly in Mānoa, Oʻahu,

Hawai‘i. As we have used these Hawaiian tenets to make sense of our positionality, privileges, and possibilities for partnership, we also use that same approach in our work with others. We hope to inspire what one of our students so clearly articulated in a final reflection at the end of our graduate cohort with regard to aloha ‘āina:

Offer up your voice
Speak power into the land
for it gives all breath

This is the work we do for our children.

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Chapter 10
Encounters with Belief in the Global City: Urban Humanities Filmmaking Pedagogy from Los Angeles to Shanghai

Jonathan Banfill

Abstract The short films *en-Counter Chinatown* (2014) and *1933: The Shanghai Projector* (2015) were created by an interdisciplinary team of university students as part of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)s Urban Humanities Initiative (UHI), a Mellon-funded graduate certificate program that investigates the intersections between global cities across the Asia-Pacific Rim. Themes of migration, the transnational flow of cultural identity, and how old belief systems are established in new places emerge, building a moving portrait of a neighborhood in flux—between generations, traditions, and forces of gentrification—within the global city. This setting created an intersection between universities, belief systems, culture, and film. The film displays the student's interests—cities, planning, Buddhism, migration, narrative, Chinese diaspora, and poetry—synthesizing them into a new form of representation. As it was unfamiliar to most of the students, the medium of film served this leveling function, acting as a pedagogical tool for connecting and equalizing ideas, pushing each participant into unfamiliar territory. This chapter uses the example of the films to examine the transdisciplinary pedagogy that is a foundation of the Urban Humanities, focusing on how it allows for a multileveled investigation of the diverse and transnational epistemologies that are present in global cities like Los Angeles. The chapter explores both the students' encounter with temple's neighborhood and between their respective disciplines. The global city, as it contains a myriad of experiences beyond the academic, is what stimulates such a learning situation, facilitating multileveled communication that is more than just interdisciplinary and, thus, allowing for the *possibility* to integrate other systems of belief into the normal higher education discourse. The chapter engages with the volume topic as an example of a higher education program encountering issues of religious and belief systems in a way that is more than just as a traditional academic object, instead of representing such knowledge in alternate ways to more diverse audiences while also creating a unique space of learning.

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Keywords Film · Migration · Belief · Humanities

Two Cities; Two Films

An image of flowing water fills a screen; behind it the soundtrack of a temple bell rings in a consistent rhythm. Soon after, an establishing shot juxtaposes the Los Angeles city skyline with the roof of Chinatown's Thien Hau Temple, which serves immigrants from China, Vietnam, and Thailand. In consecutive scenes, the camera explores the temple and the people worshipping there, before heading out into the surrounding Chinatown neighborhood. A narrative is subtly built through subtitles, asking questions and making observations to create a poetic meditation on the temple's relationship with the city around it. Themes of migration, the transnational flow of cultural identity, and how old belief systems are established in new places emerge, building a moving portrait of a neighborhood in flux—between generations, traditions, and forces of gentrification—within the global city.

On another screen, images appear of another city. This time Shanghai. Neon-lit skyscrapers are intercut with shots of the interior of a strange, labyrinth-like Art Deco building. The camera observes the architecture of this building, stopping in different hallways, access ramps, and central atriums. A narration in the Shanghainese language tells the story of the building, now called 1933: Old Millfun and a prominent tourist landmark in the city for events, fashion shoots, and selfie productions, from its origins as a British-built slaughterhouse in the colonial 1930s through its change to a factory during the Communist Era to its present incarnation as an event space and creative cultural hub in global, post-socialist Shanghai. Each use presents a layer of a differing identity of the city. Toward the end, the narration discusses how traditional beliefs of Chinese geomancy intersected with the foreign, modernist construction of 1933, telling how the souls of the deceased cattle would be released to the "Western Heaven" through the geometric placement of the main windows, as if to say that in present-day Shanghai, old beliefs linger on, transformed into new contexts, just like the building itself.

These two films, the first *en-Counter Chinatown* (2014) and the second *1933: The Shanghai Projector* (2015), were created by interdisciplinary teams of students as part of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)s Urban Humanities Initiative (UHI), a graduate certificate program that investigates the intersections between global cities across the Asia-Pacific Rim. Both films say something about the complex way that religion and belief intertwine within contemporary global cities like Los Angeles and Shanghai, offering local examples of sites where history, memories, and patterns of transnational colonization and migration collide. They also show examples of how students from diverse backgrounds can come together to explore such themes, encountering and learning from such sites through the process of investigation and creation via film. What do they say about the cities where

they produced? What do they say in conversation with each other? How does the initiative interweave the migration of belief into the higher education environment? These are questions that will be explored in this chapter.

The graduate students who participate in the Urban Humanities program come from across humanities and social science fields, architecture, and urban planning and spend an academic year taking a series of linked courses, engaging in urban fieldwork, and creating multimedia projects, running from an intensive summer institute on methods through a final design studio during UCLA's spring quarter. Film is one of the many cross-disciplinary methods that is used by the program, along with critical cartography, design-based interventions, and different forms of engaged scholarship built through community collaborations. The works in question are drawn from the 2014–2015 year focused on Los Angeles and Shanghai, looking at issues of contested identity through film, mapping, and narrative creation. Projects occurred in both cities, centered around a traveling, weeklong fieldwork studio that occurred in March of that year.

This chapter uses the two films to examine aspects of the transdisciplinary pedagogy that is a foundation of the Urban Humanities, focusing on how it allows for a multileveled investigation of the diverse and transnational epistemologies that are present in global cities like Los Angeles and Shanghai and the relationships between them. The global city, as it contains a myriad of experiences beyond the academic, is what stimulates such a learning situation, facilitating multileveled communication that is more than just interdisciplinary and, thus, allowing for the *possibility* to integrate other systems of belief into the normal higher education discourse. The chapter engages with the volume topic as an example of a higher education program encountering issues of religious and belief systems in a way that is more than just as a traditional academic object, instead of representing such knowledge in alternate ways to more diverse audiences while also creating a unique space of learning.

It will connect with some recent literature on the relationship between global cities and religion, particularly in Asia, that were engaged with in preparation for this volume, including connected works edited by Peter van der Veer (2015) and David Garbin and Anna Strhan (2017). Inherent within these texts is an idea that global cities are unique sites for religions because, as van der Veer argues, "global cities [provide] social material for the innovation of religious institutions, aspirations, and experiments, partly because they exhibit unexpected combinations of media images and demographic shifts" (p. 7). Though the Urban Humanities is not specifically focused on religion and belief systems, and the connections at the moment are still somewhat tentative, it is attuned to demographic shifts and media images in cities. As examples of films produced about the city, these two films illustrate occurrences where a complexity of religious belief systems intertwines within the urban fabric of global cities like Los Angeles and Shanghai. Somewhere in the process of the fieldwork, religion and belief systems were encountered by students, making their way into the fundamental DNA of their respective projects, where an interest in religion was not prescribed but emerged organically from real-time encounters with the city that could not be planned ahead of time.

In terms of my own relationship and positionality with the subject of chapter, I am writing from an in-between place between student and scholar. I was a student in this program during the Shanghai year and part of the team that created the *1933* film. Yet since, via my role as PhD student and researcher in education, I have focused my dissertation research on the pedagogical aspects of the program, extending my research and fieldwork to later program years focused on Mexico City and Tokyo. Therefore, I write as someone that has both experienced and then thought more in-depth about, but is still in the process of theorizing that experience and connecting it to empirical data drawn from interviews and focus groups with other graduates with the aim of understanding the pedagogical significance of such intensive, interdisciplinary learning spaces at the graduate level and the ways that participants have both made meaning and applied skills gained from the program in their academic and professional lives.

The chapter structure is as follows. I start with a more detailed ethnographic narrative account and analytical reading of the first film, as it comes chronologically first, as a way to frame and front-load content, before pulling back for some sections that offer background and theorization on Urban Humanities and the filmmaking process. I will then return to an account and analysis of the second film. The paper will conclude with a section that synthesizes some of the main points and attempts to connect more explicitly to the volume themes.

Film 1*: en-Counter Chinatown (2014)*

A group of over 20 students are standing in Los Angeles' La Placita-Olvera Street, the original location of the Spanish City, on a hot Thursday in late summer. They are in the second week of the Urban Humanities summer institute focusing on "Spatial Ethnographies and Contested Spaces" in Los Angeles, learning about different ways to understand the city through different types of media and spatial practices. They have already spent a week in class, from 10 am to 5 pm, listening to lectures about the layered history of Los Angeles and engaging in different cross-disciplinary exercise designed for team building and content generation. They have also been divided into working groups of four to five scholars—divided between humanists, architects, and planners—and have already completed a "thick mapping" project about an issue of contestation in Downtown Los Angeles.[1] But this was completed from afar, drawing on outside data, and now the students are standing under the bright sun, confronted with the reality of the place. The day's goal is to spend the day exploring the broader area, including the plaza but expanding out into the city

[1] Thick mapping is a key method in the Urban Humanities, derived from Clifford Geertz' concept of "thick description" and applying it to cartographic processes. It underscores the constructedness, contingency, and layeredness of spatial representations (see Presner, Shepard, & Kawano, 2014).

beyond, and developing an idea for a short, 4- to 8-min film that continues some of the general themes of the mapping project.

The students have been given a brief to "build a situated ethnographic story" that consists of a "visual narrative situated in a place using time-based media," where they collect footage from the world at large. They have been instructed to be attuned to the history and geography that surrounds them, drawing from this to find their topic (Presner, Cuff, & Crisman, 2014). They have been challenged to experiment with different forms of narrative and different types of film genre, for instance, Sci-Fi or how-to documentary, as well as ways to integrate other data sources—from statistics to archival photos—from their research into the film. But for now, they are exploring and filming, trying to generate content, which they will begin to fashion into a final film over the weekend to be presented on the following Monday. The morning is spent touring the site, from discussing the historical statues in the plaza and their relation to California's past to walking down Olvera Street's constructed tourist spectacle of a Mexican village. Students work with faculty advisors over lunch, working through ideas and concepts. In the afternoon each group, there are five in total, spread out and begin to film. A few groups stay on Olvera Street, interviewing the shop owners or passing tourists or taking a closer look at the 1932 David Siqueiros mural *America Tropical* whitewashed before emerging in the 1960s to become a symbol for LA's Chicano muralists. Another group ventures across Cesar Chavez Avenue to Chinatown.

Located between La Placita and the hills leading up to Chavez Ravine and Dodger Stadium, Los Angeles, Chinatown is an area with a long history. Chinese have been migrating to Los Angeles since the 1850s, and the early history of Chinese people is marred by the 1871 Chinese massacre, one of the bloodiest race riots in American history where a crowd of Angelenos lynched 18 Chinese men (Zesch, 2008). This occurred in and around the original location of Chinatown, much closer to La Placita, which was demolished in the 1930s to make way for Union Station. This "New Chinatown" was the brainchild of Christine Sterling, the civic leader who also remade Olvera Street into a model tourist zone of Mexican nostalgia, "cleaning up" a dilapidated and dangerous part of the city. Centered around the orientalist movie sets of China City and New Chinatown, to bring in tourists via restaurants and curio shops, the New Chinatown was also able to seed a new sense of community growth (Gow, 2010).

Jan C. Lin (2008) gives a more comprehensive history of the area after this point, detailing periods of growth and decline that occurred, along with successive waves of immigration and investment, first from Southern China and then other parts of Asia, including Vietnam. Additionally, Lin details the growth of Chinese migration in the suburbs of the San Gabriel Valley through the 1970s and 1980s, before moving on to his main focus on the recent period of gentrification that Chinatown is currently undergoing. He writes, "In global cities like Los Angeles, ethnic sites are linked to strategies attracting global investment capital and immigrant labor" (p. 113). Starting in the 1990s, Los Angeles' Chinatown has started a redevelopment process that has led to gentrification, via such processes as art galleries taking over empty storefronts and other forms of development. The introduction of Metro's

Gold Line in 2003 and, more recently, the larger resettlement and investment into Los Angeles' Downtown during the past decade have only heightened the process of change, with the construction of new apartment blocks aimed at young professionals. This has led to fears of displacement by residents, which echo those in the rest of the city (Chow, 2017). Thus, LA's Chinatown, in its current incarnation, is a place where changes are underway that cause tensions between generations of residents. This is the environment that the team, which consisted of two urban planners, two English scholars, and a sociologist, that created *en-Counter Chinatown* walked into.[2]

The film opens with water flowing across the screen, from bottom to top, and perhaps a shot of the nearby Los Angeles River. This choice immediately provides a strong framing of water representing flows (of people, ideas, time) and change (between generations, of the urban fabric). The looped sound of the temple bell and adjacent crowd noises play in the background slowly, setting the temporal rhythm of the film. Shots are long, held in time, moving consecutively from the water to a Chinatown plaza to residents walking under a dragon arch to a panoramic shot of the Los Angeles skyline that pans down to the roof of the temple. To this point, nearly a minute has passed, with only these images and the sounds setting the scene. As Crisman (2015) writes, the film "asks us to slow down, to read between the lines. Is there another Chinatown present, one that we looked past before?" (p. 26).

The camera enters the temple. The narration begins, appearing only as subtitles at the bottom of the screen, taking on number of voices, asking questions, making statements, talking directly to the audience, and sometimes almost seeming to fall into observations of its own subjective experience. It represents another layer of meaning communicated visually, working both in harmony with, and against, the images on the screen. At certain points Chinese characters also appear, written in calligraphic script, untranslated as if to reiterate the point that we are dealing with multilingual spaces. Dedicated to Mazu, the Daoist goddess of the sea and the patron saint of sailors, the Thien Hau temple, according to Michael Tiger (n.d.), was founded by members of the Chinese diaspora who had first come from Fujian, before moving south to Vietnam, and then were refugees (e.g., boat people) following the war. They arrived in Los Angeles and created the temple where "the feeling of love and gratitude is felt the instant one enters." In this way, Mazu symbolically references the transnational nature of the lived experience of the temple's members, who have taken their traditions to new places and built their identity, and the physical space of the temple building, in a new city.

The film continues, with a framed image of a member lighting incense at the altar. The narration asks: "To what extent is the temple the social anchor of the community?" This sociological question at first leads the viewer to an academic reading of the space, continuing with a line of questions that a new visitor might ask, such as "what is the ethnic composition of the temple?", "what percentage are Vietnamese?", and "what kind of sociocultural communities emerge from the

[2] *en-Counter Chinatown* (6 minutes) by Ji-Eun Lee, Cameron Robertson, Wanmeng Ren, Addie Schrodes, and Emily Yen: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aREUa4lhxTs&t=130s

religious site?" These questions are framed by shots of worship and other environmental shots of temple space, like golden decorations or lanterns swaying in the wind, and they lead the viewer to think about the way complex social relations that have emerged from this place of worship. The viewer sees elderly members holding incense sticks, they read about the temple's origins and key moments of festival (new moon, full moon), but it is still slightly removed, anthropological and documentarian.

Here though, something interesting happens. The narration begins to change tone, talking back to the audience. It first mentions that the temple has "open doors," before turning around and asking, "Where do you come from?" The audience is made aware that they are viewing this space as an outsider but also one who is welcome inside, another travel from the world at large, who can also inhabit this space. Classifications of demographics no longer matter because, "we don't think in those terms." Instead of being just a Chinese place or a Vietnamese place, the temple becomes, through its filmic presentation, a site that is open to all who are diasporic, and in fact this is the way that the temple is the social anchor of the community.

This moment is at the halfway point of the film, and the second half leaves the temple, venturing out into Chinatown, looking into a number of connected spaces and sites. Images of residents mix with multilingual signage, shots of elders sitting in the park or dancing, workers cooking food, and other landmarks in a changing Chinatown, while more questions are asked, and other sounds enter the soundtrack. Yet, the sound of the bell remains consistent, blending in with these other sounds, continuing as the beating heart of the neighborhood. The final series of questions asked read, "Who is Chinatown? How far can we go? How far can we see?" before ending on another shot of water, providing a return to the poetic evocation of the transnational flow of migration that the temple helps to anchor while still allowing it to move forward into the future of a rapidly changing neighborhood. In this way the film, which was just created in an afternoon of filming and a weekend of editing, offers up a complex reading of the way that religion, identity, and space come together within Los Angeles, Chinatown.

Urban Humanities: Program and Pedagogical Context

Founded as part of a larger Mellon Foundation grant on Architecture and Humanities, the Urban Humanities' organizing problematic is that the growing urbanization of the past century will only increase in the next decades, with seventy percent of the world's population inhabiting cities by 2050, unlocking a series of urban complexities in terms of human population, environment, as well as social, cultural, and political changes, through "exploring forms of collaborative and interdisciplinary knowledge of the urban environment [supporting] research and teaching on the history of cities as distinctive forms of human cohabitation and social organization" (from Mellon website). Here the city acts as a *boundary object* for facilitating wide-range connections, conversations, interpretations, and speculations, as it is broader

than any one discipline, method, or approach. UCLA's Urban Humanities presents itself as, "an emerging paradigm to explore the lived spaces of dynamic proximities, cultural hybridities, and networked interconnections" that constitute our urban, collective life. It frames its interdisciplinary combination as drawing from the "interpretive, historical approaches of the humanities" and the "material, projective practices of design" so that it can "document, elucidate, and transform the cultural object we call the city" (UHI Website). This combination of the interpretive/historical and the material/projective is one of the novel aspects of the program, as it combines approaches for analyzing the city that are usually kept somewhat separate and raises an important series of questions about the potential for intervention in the city by scholars. Urban Humanities focus is particularly cities that are classified with the prefixes global and mega, the first tying to Saskia Sassen's (1991) key political economic definition of certain cities being key hubs in globalization and mega referring to cities with total populations of eight million or more. More recently Greg Clark (2016) argues that for a city to be global, it needs to be built around trade and connectivity; diverse and entrepreneurial populations; innovation and influence; discovery of new markets, products, and practices; and geopolitical opportunities (pp. 2–3). Both Los Angeles and Shanghai fit these classifications, existing as prime economic and cultural hubs on their respective sides of the Pacific.

Each year, a competitive group of PhD and professional master's students from the 3 major disciplinary fields are selected to form a cohort of 24 that spends the academic year learning and working on projects together, which are based of urban fieldwork completed in both LA and in the respective other city. Students are drawn into the program for diverse reasons that include an interest in cities, intellectual curiosity with other disciplines, and the chance to gain a separate set of technical or conceptual skills. Participation in the program is completed in addition to the students' normal work in their respective fields of study, and the idea is to provide a pedagogical space where the knowledge, scholarly practices, and ways of producing work from the different disciplines can interact to create something new. It is a significant time commitment stretching from August to the following June.

With the focus on the city, a key question to raise when thinking about Urban Humanities as a form of interdisciplinary knowledge production is: why the city is so important as an object of inquiry that can sustain multiple disciplines? Scholars such as Benjamin Fraser (2015) answer the question by arguing that since the city cannot be reduced to a simple object, as it is a vast overlapping space of simultaneous "social, economic, political, philosophical, and cultural production," it can sustain overlapping methodological traditions (pp. 3–4). The city is a complex process that is constantly changing, and humans are a major actor in this. We live, work, and create within it, and through our own "self-production we at once reproduce the city," a process of "unending oscillation between thinking and thing… [where] the city is an image, an idea, as well as a physical reality" that is made up of environmental conditions, history, material conditions of built objects, and the cultural production of novels, painting, films, and music (pp. 5–6). Because of this Fraser argues that "the urban spectacle is only decipherable to the degree that we employ an interdisciplinary method to make sense of it" (p. 7).

Dana Cuff and Jennifer Wolch (2016) continue this line of thinking when they write, "questions about the city are fundamentally questions about our situated, collective existence—not only our histories and contemporary circumstance, but how our shared lives could and should evolve." They continue by arguing that the twenty-first-century city needs creative urban practitioners who can "address the range of issues that confront contemporary cities—issues such as social justice, economic development, and environmental quality" (p. 14). A major goal of Urban Humanities is producing this sort of creative scholars and practitioners who can actively address these complex urban issues. Los Angeles is one of the most diverse cities in the USA, interlaced with transnational connections across the world. These "pervasive links to the Pacific Rim," which look across the Pacific to Asia and South to Latin America, enmesh within Los Angeles a multiplicity of cultural, ethnic, and social intersections. Los Angeles is also a "global producer of urban imaginaries through arts, film, music, and design, from Hollywood to hip-hop to Frank Gehry" (p. 16). At the same Los Angeles is a city with many conflicted histories and spatial tensions, ranging from a long history of redlining and other restrictive covenants to the 1992 uprising to more recent battles with gentrification in neighborhoods such as Boyle Heights. All this is to say that it makes the perfect laboratory for engaged urban exploration and research.

For Shanghai, the specific focus was that way that different aspects of China's recent (last century) history intertwine within the city. These include the western colonial era, the communist period, and the time since, which scholars such as Jason McGrath (2008) have labeled as post-socialism. Shanghai's position as the economic front for China's twenty-first-century rise is also key, making it an emerging global hub for capital (Clark, 2016, p. 117). There is always a sense that Shanghai's identity, more so than any other Chinese City, is in flux, vacillating between east and west in unique ways, making it a fruitful site for exploring and also interrogating. Urban Humanities faculty Jonathan Crisman (2015) described this particular reading of Shanghai as a "multiplicity of contested identities, images, and spaces found both in [Shanghai's] contemporary spaces and historical presence in film" [one of the key archival mediums that the city was approached] (pg. 22). Understanding how all these versions of the city came together to make the city of the present will provide insight into the construction of the city of the future.

Sitting on two sides of the Pacific, there are a myriad of connections between Los Angeles and Shanghai, ranging from the economic to the cultural to the human, with, for instance, Los Angeles having extensive areas of Chinese migration both in historic Chinatown and the "ethnoburbs" of the suburban San Gabriel Valley. However easy to compare surface level statistics or other external index qualities, Urban Humanities aspires to a more nuanced and layered form of city comparison. The goal is not to have direct comparisons, which have in the past led to simplistic analysis that has been criticized by postcolonial scholars. For instance, saying the skyscrapers of Shanghai represent some sort of future for LA, as evidenced in films such as *Her* (2013), or in the reverse the slum areas of Mexico City, such as portrayed in *Elysium* (2013) is problematic. Instead a transnational perspective of loose comparison that focuses on "interdependences, movements, and flows across bor-

ders in regions and sub-regions [and that] understands urban settings and experiences as composed of multiple regional, ethnic or institutional identities and forces," and it considers "interweavings, intimacies, conflicts, collectivities and engagement among different people and their socio-spatial contexts" (Cuff, & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016, p. 96–97). The urban geographer Jennifer Robinson proposes a methodology of comparing cities as "thinking with elsewhere" (2016, p. 25), where the authoritative voice disappears and "conversations [are] opened up among the many subjects of urban theoretical endeavor in cities around the world" (p. 26). This is exactly what is happening in the way that the city comparisons are organized. Urban Humanities asks what can be learned through thinking about Los Angeles through a thinking with Shanghai and vice versa. This is a dialogic process that can facilitate learning, where the relationships between two cities (or two disciplines, or two people) generate knowledge processes through comparative conversation.

This fits with a set of theories by geographer Colin McFarlane (2011) who conceptualizes the city as an object that can generate learning. For McFarlane, learning is a kind of "wayfinding," a process where people find their way through the city, and the world, and through the process come into being. This process includes "making, contesting, and reproducing knowledge" through interaction with "people-materials-environment." This triad is particularly important when thinking about Urban Humanities pedagogy as they display learning as coming through a combination of relations. McFarlane describes a critical geography of urban learning, which manifests as *urban learning assemblages*, defined as "the labor through which knowledge, resources, materials, and histories become aligned and contested [connoting] the processual, generative, and practice-based nature of urban learning." Learning can also happen translocally, where knowledge is not just spatially bound in local places but also relationally produced, and it can be "incremental or radical, and is as much about developing perceptions through engagement in the city as it is about creating knowledge" (pp. 1–4). This is one of the goals of enacting a yearlong study process that takes the same group of students through experiential practice in two cities, creating moments of encounter and reflection that unfold in real time and then are backed up by both classroom space for reflection and the production of representational objects such as films.

The concept of encounter is also an important term for this chapter as it appears in the title and in the title of one of the films. Though it is used somewhat loosely so far, it deserves a bit more analytic unpacking. To do this, I turn to a recent volume edited by Helen F. Wilson and Jonathan Darling, *Encountering the City: Urban Encounters from Accra to New York* (2016), who argue that the concept of encounter can be used as "an analytical lens to explore a range of urban issues" (p. 1). For them, encounters are about difference, with the city a "key site" for negotiating difference, encompassing temporalities, histories, and futures (p. 11). In turn, "encounters fundamentally frame urban experiences and subjectivities; … produce and encompass multiple temporal registers, and … offer points of possible transformation and an opening to change" (p. 2), with the city becoming a "space of layered and simultaneous rhythms and influences" (p. 11). A key part of Urban Humanities pedagogy is the idea that students are encountering the city in its complexity while

at the same time encountering the different ways that other disciplines approach the same complexity, drawing different meanings from it. From that moment of difference, students then need to find ways to articulate via their projects the experience of their encounter via project-based work that takes into account all the disciplinary perspectives and differences, in turn creating something that transcends, but at the same time includes, all of them.

Encountering the City Through Film

Urban Humanities filmmaking has developed over the past 5 years through a series of institutes, courses, and field projects. The following section traces out a brief history of how an Urban Humanist sensibility for filmmaking has been developed as a teaching and learning tool. Of key importance is the "amateur" nature of the filmmaking process. No students come with an explicit background in film, and it is conceived as a medium that is open to all and a way to think about and explore the city. In this way it models the amateur sensibility that Andy Merrifield (2017) develops, where amateurism is a "yearning to live more broadly and interestingly, to be curious and inquisitive" pushing back against the stultifying regime of expertise (p. 15). This is not to say that expert knowledge does not enter the learning process, but instead the amateur spirit is one that unifies the experience. In turn, film is not just "film" in its professional and technological sense but also takes into account various low-fi documentary and self-produced video practices, created with personal digital devices (iPhones, etc.) and nonprofessional cameras.

Thinking about film and filmmaking starts during the first week of the summer institute and usually encompasses the first student group project, as it is a challenge that brings student working groups together. Students spend a day looking at and discussing in seminar the history of city films, starting with classic film works from the 1920s such as Walter Ruttman's *Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis* (1927) and Dziga Vertov's *Man with Movie Camera* (1929) and moving on to filmic representations of Los Angeles, including films such as *Blade Runner* (1982), *Chinatown* (1974), as well as experimental documentaries like *Los Angeles Plays Itself* (2004), made up of clips from many individual films about Los Angeles. Students discuss different ways that Los Angeles has been represented and how that interacts or differs from their own sense of reality of the city.

This conceptual knowledge is soon put into practice through a 2-day filmmaking workshop with a working filmmaker, which focuses on the basics of being in the city with a camera. In this case the cameras that are used are basic digital cameras with a filming function and student's phone. The method focuses on thinking about using the camera lens as a tool for investigating the city, framing and capturing different aspects through the lens, to unearth different issues beneath the surface, while at the same time becoming aware of one's own embodied position. In the past, the program has worked with an artist filmmaker from New York, a variety of documentary filmmakers, and a Los Angeles-based community film collective, who each

provided unique perspectives to the filmmaking process from conceptual methods to technical methods such as editing in Adobe Premiere or Apple's iMovie to the ethics of field practices and how to observe and think critically about the space.

The visiting filmmaker instructors have led the students on a variety of on-campus exercises that focused on using the camera as a way to sense the city and to see it anew. For instance, students might be tasked with making a 1-min film with six total shots, edited linearly on the phone only using a simple start/stop function within a camera's app. Another exercise might be sitting in one location for 30 min and simply observing the space, taking written notes while slowly developing a sense of the place before approaching it with the camera. This connects to the important concept of *sensory ethnography*, as theorized Sarah Pink (2009) and defined as a form of visual ethnography that rather than purely observational is "a reflexive and experiential process through which understanding, knowing and (academic) knowledge is produced" (p. 4). From this a key term in Urban Humanities filmmaking is derived: *filmic sensing*; that is, again, utilizing the medium of film to sense, interpret, uncover, and engage with the city in new ways.

Faculty and visiting scholars also led students to think about different film genres, challenging traditional notions of what, for instance, a documentary film is. Is a documentary something that is purely journalistic, or is it something closer to an art form that reaches for an artistic truth that is closer to narrative fiction, which uses the language of film to explicate something new about the city? How does a documentary differ from an essay film, say the films of Chris Marker (*San Soleil*, 1983), or something that is observational, like J.P. Sniadecki and Libbie D. Cohn's *People's Park* (2012), which consists of a single, 90-min, uninterrupted shot of a Sunday afternoon Chengdu's People's Park? These conversations both present models of types of films to follow but also encourage students to think about the process of film as a representational tool, where decisions about shot length, framing, color, sound design, and so on all contribute to the texture that in turn provides meaning. The goal for the student coming from an academic background is to find ways to translate their knowledge, be it empirical or conceptual, into a visual form that can be communicated to the public in a different way.

The focus on learning the method and process of filmmaking, that is, learning to think in a way that is true to the medium, which as one oft-quoted definition from David Lynch describes as "image and sound moving through time," is an important part of the pedagogical process. Trying to think within the media specificity of a particular media type is key and an important learning objective. Pedagogically this aligns with observations by Shane Burley (2017) on documentary film education who writes about the goal of such student filmmaking, "The challenge to educators is to then create a perspective in student filmmaking whereby they can analyze a real-world story, create a critical perspective that fleshes out their own values and social theory, and then pieces those elements together into a package that can be understood and experienced by a diverse audience" (p. 148). Burley continues by explaining how film can split the difference between education for artistic creation and practical skills that can be used for varied careers. In turn, he draws out the use of narrative as a way to tell stories of particular places, which can serve a critical

pedagogic function where film educates the student but can also produce critical knowledge in the "service of larger social goals" that can then educate others (p. 177).

Film 2: 1933: *The Shanghai Projector* (2015)

Throughout the Shanghai program year, film continued to be a key tool for academic exploration. In the fall term, students engaged with Shanghai by viewing both historical and contemporary films, ranging from *The Goddess* (1934) to the social era *Big Li, Little Li and Old Li* (1964) to a contemporary depiction of war-torn Shanghai *Lust, Caution* (2007) and the more recent *Tiny Times* (2013), with its portrayal of millennial consumerism (and which was partially filmed in the old slaughterhouse). For assignments, students created films about Shanghai that were made entirely from archival footage, utilizing this footage to say something about the future of the city. Each project focused on a particular site in the city—an old mansion, a new skyscraper, a market of marriage proposals, and an alternative music venue—and students experimented with how to portray a changing city from afar. As the year turned, and the winter term came, students began developing specific plans for fieldwork in Shanghai. They were organized into new groups (eight in total) and provided a brief to think about four specific sites in the city: the Lujiazui financial district, the historic French Concession, the M50 arts district, and the 1933 slaughterhouse.

The students arrived in Shanghai on a still-cold late winter day in March and immediately moved out to their sites for 7 days of fieldwork. The 1933 team consisted of an urban planner, an Asian languages and literature scholar, and one from Education (myself). They arrive at the strange building and immediately start exploring it, trying to make sense of it. Before the trip to Shanghai, they had completed as much historical research as possible, and they knew the broad historical outlines of the building: built in 1933 by the Shanghai Municipal Council using designs from the UK, a key colonial power in the city, and was to be the most modern and hygienic slaughterhouse in Asia, later becoming a medicine factory during the communist era and then falling into disrepair before being restored in the mid-2000s as part of a trendy urban strategy of turning old iconic industrial buildings into cultural creative parks.

The building is a giant concrete edifice made in what has been called a "gothic, art-deco style" (Liau, 2017), and it has an air of mystery surrounding it, located in the middle of a formerly working-class neighborhood north of Shanghai's Bund. One enters through a dark corridor and finds themselves looking upward to a criss-crossing concrete ramps suspended in the air, seemingly arriving out of an Escher painting, connecting four stories of ramps to a central "core." In the past, these ramps were used to pass cattle between the cattle pens and killing floor, specifically designed for maximum efficiency. Now they connect a series of dramatic vantage points that are occupied all day by tourists and fashion shoots, rapidly taking selfies.

In the building itself, there are scattered restaurants and design studio offices, as well as a wedding photography business, which fits with the primary function of the top floor, which is an open, glass-floored event space for weddings and other luxury events. From this initial description, the complexity of this space is evident. It is architecturally striking, but any surface-level investigation unlocks its bloody history, which is incongruous with its present function, and in many ways the building seems haunted by its past, with a coldness emanating from the walls that renders the fashion spectacle phantasmagoric and sinister.

The group seized on trying to articulate the contradictory layers that exist here, trying to articulate through these layers the way that 1933, as a building, "collect[s] different fragments of the city… processing them into something new just at it had processed meat" (Banfill, Lin, & Robertson, 2015, p. 66). To do this, they drew from techniques from Chinese documentary film, for instance, the concept of *xianchang*, which is the embracing of realistic encounter, where "rather than controlled direction, the unpredictable spontaneity of reality guides your inquiry" engaging with the reality of the space through wandering, talking to people, capturing felt senses via writing, and documenting other images (p. 66). There were no set storyboards planned, but rather the goal was to gather as much material as possible about different issues that emerged from research and that were then made more complex through fieldwork. The students continued this process for a week, gathering material—shots of the building, shots of people, interviews with artists, and others encountered in the building, as well as promotional papers and other material fragments—and working on making rough edits at night in the hotel, presenting a rough cut in a symposium before heading back to Los Angeles. As this was the final project for the year, it was more substantial in length, and editing work continued through the spring term.

1933: The Shanghai Projector is made from the fragments encountered in the building itself, worked through a process of an unfolding meaning-making over the next 10 weeks.[3] The film is framed as an encounter with the building and its history, imagined through a "projection system," like an old film projector that could collect and curate these different histories and nostalgias together, superimposing and layering them to place moments of contradiction in conversation. Shots of ramps montage into the faces of those encountered (a director of a play being performed in an on-site gallery, a young student playing guitar one evening) and then the surrounding city, exploring the buildings relationship to the Shanghai beyond. Linking this together is a narration spoken in the Shanghainese language that was adapted from the building's promotional materials, including descriptions of different architectural elements such as the ramps, pillars, and ventilation systems. This pamphlet's tone is slightly strange, weaving a mythology drawn from the building's actual history with almost propaganda-like advertising copy for the present incarnation, which replicates a dynamic seen in the city at large that Shanghai has put its bloody twentieth century behind it and is now open to the flow of global capital and culture.

[3] *1933: The Shanghai Projector* (17 minutes) by Jonathan Banfill, Fan-Ru Lin, and Cameron Robertson. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bqrh9R2HkDE&t=818s

The pamphlet entries provide the narrative structure for the film, and one section stands out as the connection to a deeper encounter with religious belief systems in Shanghai.

About two thirds of the way through the film the narration begins to explain the construction process of 1933 and how special concrete was imported from Britain in order to effectively construct special windows for ventilation and air circulation. Meanwhile images of young women preening for the camera in front of these windows play. The narration continues, explaining how the windows "face west, the direction of the perennial popular wind in Shanghai [providing] metempsychosis and exorcism for the slaughtered animals leading their way to the Western Heaven." What is interesting here is the way that religious belief systems from *Feng Shui* combined with the colonial construction of the building to make some sort of hybrid function that was attuned to the desires of the colonial enterprise (food production) as well as the desire to not spiritually pollute the new building.[4] In turn, in 2015, this strange mixing of practices, of modernity and traditional belief, becomes part of how the building is packaged and marketed (and mythologized) in the present-day.

In this way it is similar to Francesca Tarocco's (2015) analysis of another site in Shanghai, the Buddhist Jing'An temple, where she describes how the old religious site has been repurposed in the twenty-first century as the site of a high-class shopping mall and transit hub ("Consumption of the past fits seamlessly into the shopping of the present" (van der Veer 2015, p. 13)) yet is at the same time part of the "ritual urban life" of Shanghai's citizens. Tarocco continues by giving a deeper history of how Buddhist beliefs combined with western practices of colonial modernity in the 1920s and 1930s to create hybrid Buddha scapes, and I argue that something similar is happening in 1933, where the "multidimensional relationship between exceptional sites and the context in which they function" come together in new and surprising ways, bubbling up unexpectedly as one moves through the city (Tarocco, p. 37–39).

Though this moment of intersection with religion is but one point in the larger film, the intersection does represent an important climatic moment for the film and an important point of understanding something vital about Shanghai's identity as a global city, built from all these contradictory histories. As writers like Tarocco show, pre-modern belief systems found ways to combine with modernity in the twentieth century and have survived through socialism to the post-socialist period. The film itself ends on a somewhat ambivalent note, having passed through the above section of the film, itself visually presented as a kind of purifying ritual for the building and city and built from ghostly images of a dramatic performance piece that was underway during the visit. At the end, the narrator reflects on the natures of cities, about how we understand them and encounter them, imagining possible futures from the

[4] "The Chinese belief in 'efficacy' (*ling*), the powers attributed to spiritual entities, is predicated on deep-seated fears that the dead are able to interfere with the living, and not only in friendly ways. Spirits harboring vengeance will often try to do harm, inflicting illnesses and disasters on the living" (Tarocco, 2015, p. 44); for more on Chinese *Feng Shui* practices and architecture, see Yi (1989), Chiou & Krishnamurti (1997), and Guo (2012).

fragments of the past, and how these are always contested. The final line concludes: "The memory of the city will be projected into the city of the future," implying that whatever future Shanghai comes will always have to include pieces of its religious past.

Conclusion

In a recent volume on religion and the global city, Garbin and Strhan (2017) argue that "religion embedded in its socio-spatial, multi-scalar cartography can constitute a privileged vantage point to engage with the reality of globalization and planetary urbanization" (p. 4). Van der Veer (2015) proposes to "use religion not as a thing that can be easily distinguished from the flow of social life of cities but as a lens through which one can acquire a better view of what urban aspirations are," arguing that it is "precisely global cities that experience large-scale immigration and related innovative patterns of religiosity, often fueled by transnational flows of ideas and peoples" (pp. 9–10). Urban Humanities struggles to understand many of these same issues, as they embody issues of everyday life in the contemporary city but have not done so explicitly through the lens of religion. The films that have been analyzed in this paper show that it is possible and a topic that would be worth exploring in more depth, perhaps even more so from an architecture and built-design perspective as religious buildings (temples, churches, shrines) are important public sites of everyday life and meeting in the city. A recent Urban Humanities project on Central American storefront churches in Los Angeles' Koreatown as centers of community life, consisting of a film, a digital map, and a series of essays, could be another step in this process. There is definitely room to continue work that looks at religion in the global city through an Urban Humanities framework, whether at UCLA or elsewhere.

Urban Humanities filmmaking is an open method for exploring many issues of the contemporary city, providing ways to encounter and research sites where everyday life is happening. It is pedagogically rich in the way that is open to many situations, developing through a sense of embodied exploration of a site, with topics developing from the ground up. If a topic had been too tightly prescribed in either of the example film cases, the issue of religion would probably not have been encountered, as it was not exactly within the content radar of the students, but because the exploration was open, it allowed for something unexpected to be found. In turn, filmmaking, as it is new to the majority of the students, allows a space for students to transcend their own disciplinary practices. Disciplines, in a way, are a belief system of their own, perhaps the secular religion of the university, and as students, we are deeply intertwined within them. Methods that are interdisciplinary, and through the process of creation transcend their disciplines and thus become transdisciplinary, allow us to be open to new knowledge and new possibilities.

Urban Humanities provides a space within the higher education institution for this discovery to happen, and it happens within each project group. Because it is a

yearlong program, there is more space for sustained thinking than a typical class, allowing for work to be done both in Los Angeles and in Shanghai, with the students themselves being the inheritors of the knowledge dialogue between the cities. Ideally through such experience, students are able to gain a complex sensibility of what it means to think these two cities with each other, which may appear in their future work. Though this chapter presented only two films, many more exist that straddle the two cities, with others coming from each project and built around other groups own research and in-site discovery. They share methods and approaches, and they share the same city object but go off in many different directions. The other Shanghai films included films about the city's French Concession, art spaces, migrant populations, social media identity, as well as parodic travelogues and fables. Together they produce a mosaic of the global city that converse with each other and open up new conversations. In this way, Urban Humanists do not just consume or analyze global cultural flows and cities but also participate in their production, sending things—new knowledge, new perspectives, and new formulations of understanding—back into them, with which new future visions of those cities can be imagined.

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Chapter 11
Spirituality and Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education

Tabatha L. Jones Jolivet

Abstract The shifting religious and spiritual topography of the United States shows that while Christians are the dominant religious group, the population experienced a striking decline (7.8%) between 2007 and 2014; all the while, non-dominant religious groups experienced an increase (1.2%) in the same period (Masci D, Lipka M. Americans may be getting less religious, but feelings of spirituality are on the rise. Pew Research Center, 2016). Other significant changes have included the rise (6.7%) in persons identifying as religiously unaffiliated (e.g., agnostic, atheist, or no designation), declining religiosity, and an increasing sense of spirituality (Masci D, Lipka M. Americans may be getting less religious, but feelings of spirituality are on the rise. Pew Research Center, 2016). A related phenomenon, though not prima facie, is the groundswell of social justice and resistance movements across the landscape of US higher education. Western systems of knowledge production often reinforce a perceived "natural" logic that delinks religiosity, spirituality, and social justice. For some communities of color and people from minoritized social groups, perpetuating the disconnection of religiosity, spirituality, and social justice work may reflect an "apartheid of knowledge" (Bernal DD, Villalpando O, Equity Excell Educ 35(2): 169–180, 2002) that erases whole swaths of life and inhibits the production of knowledge under the veneer of scientific knowledge. This study will explore how spiritually engaged justice workers negotiate the nexus of their religious and/or spiritual communities and social justice work in systems of higher education. The project explores two broad questions: (a) In what ways does participation in a spiritual community facilitate and/or impede doing social justice work in higher education? (b) Secondly, what abilities, contacts, knowledge, practices, resources, and skills do participants cultivate in their spiritual communities that they find useful to their social justice work in higher education?

In this chapter, I will foreground the perspectives of justice workers who negotiate US systems of higher education while ascribing to religious and/or spiritual

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traditions that have roots in the Asia Pacific region and denote a broad spectrum of belief and practice (e.g., Bahá'í, Buddhist, Yoga, etc.). As an African-descended, spiritually engaged Christian activist, and Black woman in the United States, I bring womanist discursive lenses to explore the role of belief, spirituality, and religion in the justice work of faculty and administrators in US higher education institutions.

Keywords Spirituality · Emancipation · Epistemology

Introduction

Scholars observe that the study of spirituality and emancipatory struggle[1] in higher education occupies contested space in the Western academy (Dillard, 2006, 2012; hooks, 1994; Rendón, 2000, 2009; Shahjahan, 2010; Tisdell, 2003). Until recently, higher education researchers have paid little attention to spirituality as a legitimate topic of study (Astin, 2004; Lindholm & Astin, 2006; Lindholm, 2007; Tisdell, 2003). Moreover, few have explored the role of spirituality in social justice work. While dominant Western epistemologies reinforce what some perceive as the commonsense delinking of spirituality and justice work (Dillard, 2006, 2012; Rendón, 2000, 2005; Shahjahan, 2010), for others, these systems of epistemological dominance render invisible communities whose lived experiences and systems of knowing recognize them as intertwined. Antonio (2002) contends that the dominant systems and structural arrangements that govern the Western academy function to devalue the labor, scholarly contributions, and service faculty of color bring.

A growing body of knowledge, however, recognizes the interrelatedness of spirituality, religion, and emancipatory struggle in knowledge production (Dillard, 2006, 2012; Rendón, 2000, 2005; Shahjahan, 2010; Tisdell, 2000, 2003). Shahjahan (2010), in particular, investigates the role of socially engaged spirituality in the teaching, namely, the "spiritual praxis" (p. 474) of activist faculty of color in the Canadian higher education context. Building upon this literature, I explore what empowers and constrains justice workers who potentially cultivate and transmit cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) and/or spiritual capital (Zohar & Marshall, 2004) while negotiating sites of spiritual community and Western systems of higher education in emancipatory struggle.

In this task, I build from Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth as a critical race theory (CRT) counter narrative that decenters deficit thinking and practice to categorize the "array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts" that translate as "aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital" (p. 69). I explore how participation in a spiritual community might engender forms of community cultural wealth *as* spiritual capital (Zohar & Marshall,

[1] I utilize the terms emancipatory struggle, social justice work, and resistance synonymously in the chapter.

2004), which translates to emancipatory praxis in higher education through teaching, administration, service, and the production of knowledge.

In listening to the lived experiences of spiritually engaged academics and administrators who strive toward emancipatory struggle in the Western academy, I adopt Giroux's (1992) conceptualization of the cultural worker as one who "links educational sites with other sites of struggle in a culturally diverse society, deliberately affirming the relatedness of school learning to other analyses of the production and representation of meaning within the culture" (p. 82). Roemer and Sharma (1993) liken Giroux's (1992) posturing of cultural workers to Anzaldúa's (1987) assertion that, "we are all 'border crossers,' deterritorializing and remapping our worlds" (pp. 83–84). Centering the perspectives, agency, and resistance of "border crossers" (Anzaldúa, 1987, pp. 83–84)—namely, spiritually engaged academics and administrators who navigate between spiritual communities and systems of higher education—contributes to the project of "deterritorializing and remapping" (Anzaldúa, 1987, pp. 83–84) systems of higher education and the terrain of knowledge production and justice work. As a spiritually engaged cultural worker, who brings womanist discursive lenses to the project, I agree with Black feminist sociologist, Collins (1990), who writes, "People experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions. Black feminist thought emphasizes all three levels as sites of domination and as potential sites of resistance" (p. 223).

Conceptual Perspectives

In this section three interrelated conceptual perspectives that add rich texture to the study's design are outlined: spirituality and religion, spiritual capital and intelligence, and finally spiritual praxis. These three interrelated and overlapping categories are helpful in understanding the emancipatory struggle for activists of color.

Spirituality and Religion

While higher education researchers do not agree upon a consistent definition of spirituality and religion, there is an observable pattern that decouples spirituality and religion (Estanek, 2006; Hafner & Capper, 2005; Tisdell, 2003). This new logic began to shape the epistemological terrain of higher education literature in the late 1990s (Estanek, 2006), especially within the context of "modern capitalistic societies" (Shahjahan, p. 475). In a narrative study exploring definitions of spirituality in Western higher education literature, Estanek (2006) found that the emergence of a new spirituality discourse involved defining spirituality itself as "part of the hermeneutic process" (p. 272). Estanek (2006) found that "studies are not conducted

based on a commonly held definition of spirituality. Instead, defining spirituality is part of the interpretation itself" (p. 272).

Tisdell (2003), one of the earliest researchers to investigate the role of spirituality and culture in emancipatory higher education praxis, introduced a comprehensive definition of spirituality and religion and observed that, while sometimes overlapping, spirituality and religion function in distinctive ways to help facilitate meaning-making in peoples' lives. Tisdell embraced Lerner's (2000) definition of religion as "an organized community of faith that has written doctrine and codes of regulatory behavior" (cited in Tisdell, 2003, p. 29). Similarly, Tisdell defined spirituality as "personal belief and experience of a divine spirit or higher purposes, about how we construct meaning, and what we individually and communally experience and attend to and honor as the sacred in our lives" (p. 29). In this study, I adopt Tisdell's (2003) conceptualization of spirituality and religion.

1. Spirituality and religion are not the same, but for many people they are interrelated.
2. Spirituality is about an awareness of wholeness and the interconnectedness of all things through the mystery of what many I interviewed referred to as the life-force, god, higher power, higher self, cosmic energy, Buddha nature, or great Spirit.
3. Spirituality is fundamentally about meaning-making.
4. Spirituality is always present (though often unacknowledged) in the learning environment.
5. Spiritual development constitutes moving toward greater authenticity or to a more authentic self.
6. Spirituality is about how people construct knowledge through largely unconscious and symbolic processes, often made more concrete in art forms such as music, art, image, symbol, and rituals which are manifested culturally.
7. Spiritual experiences most often happen by surprise (Tisdell, 2003, pp. 28–29).

I juxtapose Tisdell's approach to defining spirituality and religion, which captures the communal domain, alongside Astin's (2004) approach, which understands the "spiritual domain" as having to do primarily with "what we experience privately in our subjective awareness" (p. 1).

Spiritual Capital and Intelligence

Rendón (2005), in striving to "imagine and to create an educational framework that speaks to wholeness, freedom and democracy" (p. 104), builds upon previous work (Zohar & Marshall, 2000, 2004) to define spiritual capital as the resources of "flexibility, self-awareness, capacity to face and use suffering, capacity to face and transcend pain, capacity to be inspired, reluctance to harm others, ability to see connections among what appears to be difference, tendency to ask Why? Or What if? questions, field independence and ability to work against conventional thought"

(pp. 84–85). Verter (2003) also draws from Bourdieu's sociological theory of culture to introduce the concept of spiritual capital, which "treats religious knowledge, competencies, and preferences as positional goods within a competitive symbolic economy" (p. 150). Zohar and Marshall (2004) perceive that spiritual capital "addresses those concerns we have about what it means to be human and the ultimate meaning and purpose of human life" (p. 5). They further observe, "Spiritual capital is built by using our spiritual intelligence" (p. 5), that is, "the soul's intelligence," (p. 5) which fosters wholeness and "allows us to integrate the many fragments of our lives, activities, and being" (p. 65). Zohar and Marshall conceptualize spiritual intelligence (SQ) as "pre-cultural" and "innate," (p. 65) positing that SQ precedes religion. Moreover, they distinguish spiritual intelligence as "the intelligence with which we access our deepest meanings, values, purposes, and highest motivations" (p. 3). Zohar and Marshall further posit, "We need a sense of meaning and values and a sense of fundamental purpose (spiritual intelligence) in order to build the wealth that can generate (spiritual capital)" (p. 4). In summary, Zohar (2010) considers spiritual capital as "the wealth, power, and the influence that we gain by acting from a deep sense of meaning, our deepest values, and a sense of higher purpose, and all of these are best expressed through a life of devoted service" (UCLA newsletter, p. 3); and similarly, spiritual intelligence is "the intelligence by which we build spiritual capital," characterized by "seeking meaning in our lives and acting in accordance with our deepest values that we can commit ourselves to lives of service based on the capacity we are best suited to, whatever we choose to do personally or professionally" (Zohar, 2010, UCLA newsletter, p. 3). In essence, spiritual intelligence functions to "raise our motivations to the higher ones of exploration, cooperation, self and situational mastery, creativity, and service" (Zohar, 2010, UCLA newsletter, p. 3).

Spiritual Praxis

Shahjahan (2010), in opposition to the dominant ways in which spirituality is a privatized project in "modern capitalist societies," (p. 475) introduces the concept of spiritual praxis in the context of teaching as pedagogy that "encompasses a spiritual worldview, ways of knowing, and a way of being in the everyday world. Second, it recognizes that being spiritual is a difficult process that involves engaging with and preventing daily oppression of oneself and others (human and nonhumans). This action recognizes spirituality as a source of healing—a means of affirming oneself and/or recovering from spirit injury" (pp. 474–475). Finally, spiritual praxis "recognizes one's agency or means of engaging in outward action and/or resistance to oppression has spiritual roots" (Shahjahan, 2010, p. 475). As a "political agenda," (p. 484) Shahjahan positions his own social location through intersectional lenses and makes visible his identity "as a South-Asian Canadian Muslim heterosexual able-bodied male" who maintains that "research is not an objective or apolitical journey" but instead "a spiritual and decolonizing imperative" that aims to

"legitimize the subjugated knowledge of spirituality" and facilitate "interests in advancing social change—that is, the representation and validation of minoritized bodies, knowledges, experiences in academic arenas such as research, curricula, publication, and so on, in the quest for broader epistemic social justice in society at large" (p. 481). Shahjahan employs a "spiritually based epistemological framework" that is rooted in an "anti-colonial framework" (citing Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001), as well as a "critical faith-based epistemology" (Zine, 2004).

Methods

This chapter is rooted in a larger study with a broader agenda. While the subset of information I present draws from the entire group of 56 individuals who participated in a grounded theory study, I give special attention to five participants whom I was able to spend additional time to understand their life history narratives as it pertained to their personal spiritual practices and traditions originated in the Asia Pacific region and therefore align well with the overall theme of the book. These 15 participants spoke deeply about the tensions between Western academic institutions and Eastern belief systems. The 15 individuals presented herein therefore were particularly remarkable in their ability to both recognize external systemic tensions associated with the west and also embrace their internal strengths and resilience tied to Eastern value systems. The guiding questions for the larger study were: (a) In what ways does participation in a spiritual community of practice facilitate and/or impede doing social justice work in higher education? (b) What abilities, contacts, knowledge, practices, resources, and skills do participants cultivate in their spiritual communities that they find useful to their social justice work in higher education?

I set out to interview a diverse population of college and university administrators and academics, who met the following criteria: (a) they self-identified as being spiritually engaged, (b) participated routinely in communal forms of spiritual practice, and, (c) irrespective of academic discipline or campus position, perceived their work in higher education as striving toward a social justice agenda that counteracts systemic forms of oppression (Young, 1990). Participants were recruited through a series of chain referrals within professional networks after self-identifying that they met the previously outlined criteria. I conducted in-person and phone interviews. For the face-to-face interviews, I met the participants at locations they considered to be convenient and accessible (e.g., campus offices or local coffee shops). The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Given my ethical commitment to protect participants' identities, I employed a strict policy of confidentiality. I report salient findings using pseudonyms the participants self-assigned. I am also careful to manage how contextual information is reported and delink identifiable information from participants that would jeopardize their confidentiality in the study.

Participant Identities

Here is a brief outline of the 15 participants by pseudonym, and centered around their religious belief systems. My intent in doing so is to honor the ways in which participants described their own sense of spiritual and/or religious identity:

Bahá'í (5): Hope, Layla, Malaki, Karen, and Laurie.
Buddhist (4): Frances, Rebecca, Suzie, and Julie.
Roman Catholic (3): Manny, Moses, Grace.
Agnostic and Native Hawaiian (1): Johan.
African diaspora (1): Octavia.
Hindu (1): Sherryl.

For many of them, spiritual and/or religious identity represented an area of rich multiplicity. In this chapter, I highlight the 15 participants I interviewed from a larger research project. From the original 56 interviewees, I found that more than half identified as Christian across a broad spectrum of belief, while one person identified as a "Christian agnostic," who maintains a spirituality that is singularly focused toward the Black freedom struggle. In this chapter of 15 individuals, there were 5 participants (Hope, Layla, Malaki, Karen, and Laurie) who identified as part of the Bahá'í faith tradition, with one of them, Hope, also describing herself as being a "student of all faiths." Four participants (Frances, Rebecca, Suzie, and Julie) identified as Buddhist yet also talked about not being "dogmatic" or described other expressions of their spirituality, such as a yoga practice. Three participants identified as Roman Catholic. One participant, Johan, self-identified as having an agnostic and Native Hawaiian worldview. One participant, Octavia, identified with spiritual traditions from the African diaspora, and finally one participant, Sherryl, identified as a Hindu devotee. Many of the participants used words like deep, eclectic, mystical, multidimensional, ecumenical, interconnectedness, pluralist, and spiritual, less religious (or not religious) to describe their spiritualities. In summary, the 15 participants described having a fundamental openness to Western traditions and experiences other than their own, with a healthy understanding of how their own Eastern epistemologies were necessary to reinterpret and reconceptualize their surrounding culture in order to thrive. In what follows then is a discussion and analysis of findings.

Findings and Discussion

Participants' life narrative journeys will be presented along with a discussion and analysis of their interpretations of lived experiences as it pertains to intersections of identity. I do so by presenting three emergent themes. I first highlight spirituality, ethnicity, and their role in pursuing justice and advocacy. I then discuss the present and discuss a habitus of holistic spirituality and close with a discussion of the liminality of identity. These three themes ultimately lead to a reconceptualization of capital.

Nexus of Spirituality, Ethnicity, and Justice

In connection to the first research question concerning the intersection of spirituality and justice work in the academy, I found that participants in the study embodied a discernable spiritual habitus, which serves to animate, facilitate, and enable their justice work and imbues their capacity to negotiate spiritual community and justice work.

"I think my identity is tied up with a story," *says* Hope, who works as an academic administrator and professor in the social sciences at a research-intensive, coeducational public institution in an urban setting. Hope, who self-identifies as a White woman with an "often-invisible" identity as "working class" and "working poor," describes a deep sense of spiritual community, which is nurtured in relationships, as well as practices of silence and quiet. Hope self-describes having "an eclectic spiritual path drawn primarily, probably, from Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity, and their shared intersections." She identifies as someone who embraces all faiths. Given the rich intersection of religions, Hope is an important participant for this chapter. Rather than take a typically linear approach to logic and reason from the Western traditions, Hope embraces the religious and spiritual intersections that are often hidden in the Western academy for a variety of reasons. Since the academy is a place where not all belief system discussions occur, Hope and the other participants in this study have found communities where connections and interpersonal development can take place. Hope describes a sense of spiritual community in this way:

> One of the things that I use a lot in my professional life and personal life is a concept that we've heard lots of great thinkers, great spiritual leaders have talked about, the idea that you don't see the world as it is, you see the world are you are. The idea that through our perceptions we're creating our reality means that there are times when I feel like I am hit with a lot of burdens or just people might be having a lot of struggles around me, and where it's easy to get pulled and tugged into identifying and/or defining the world in a certain way, she can remind me to get into a sense of quiet, so then listen and hear and be present with what's happening, rather than judge it, rather than evaluate it, rather than cast it as negative.

It is immediately clear how Hope's epistemology and worldview are mediated through a community that is, in many ways, separated from her role in the academy. This illustrates the ways in which systems that forge a rigid bifurcation between the spiritual/religious and academic life in the west can be dismantled and reconceptualized. Hope uses her non-Western belief systems to navigate an often rigid system that is used to conceal and perhaps erase some of the deepest characteristics of the non-Western justice workers who traverse colleges and universities.

Malaki, a professor in the social sciences at a public, rural institution, identifies the Bahá'í faith as his "spiritual home." Malaki also describes having spiritual community "among people of other religious faiths or atheists or agnostics that share that vision of trying to make the material world behave in 'spiritual ways.'" Malaki discusses the "spark of truth" that occurs in communities of difference, especially when the ego is subordinated:

> I'm a member of the Bahá'í faith. My wife is a Bahá'í, as well. My parents are Bahá'í. That's very much been… kind of ingrained in me. So, that's a religious home for me and that the basic tenets, I feel, are perfectly in line with social justice work and everything that I feel like I should be doing as an ethical, good human being… to promote an ever-advancing civilization and to acquire kind of spiritual virtues of kindliness and patience and love and care and these things, and to make the world an equitable place where everyone has a fair shot.

Malaki recognizes the fundamental tenets of the Bahá'í spirituality is rooted in recognizing and addressing basic human needs so that "all people can have human dignity." He talked about the importance of technologically advancing civilization and how access to technology could bring about justice, peace, and harmony. "To have laws that actually serve all people and not just the elite. I look forward to a day in which people are protected more in the law than property is." Here Malaki offers a somewhat radical challenge to systemic issues stemming from the competitive, consumeristic, and capitalistic society he finds himself at a university environment. He is not avoidant of conflict and in fact recognizes its benefits and purposes, as evidenced here:

> You know, the spark of truth comes forth after the clash of differing opinions. You have to have that kind of dialectic process, I think, in which we can argue over ideas, discuss them in a way in which we are not egotistically attached to our particular opinion, but we throw it out and then we listen to other people, and we collectively decide what's best collectively. It doesn't have to be my way or your way. Like, if I can work with people that can let their ego go enough to engage in that, that's who I consider a part of spiritual family and community.

All of the participants in the study engage in social justice work in higher education, and all have applied their non-Western epistemic lenses to the dominant Western conceptions and normative practices. This form of code switching of sorts manifests in a variety of ways, but in general, the participants are committed to the struggle for equity and justice and work to transform oppressive and corrupt systems into more just spaces. The influence of belief in social justice work also manifests in important discussions about concepts like love; here Johan offers an explanation of the role of belief and action:

> Love is the most powerful thing in the world, and so it's the tool that I use. This just expands an understanding of what love is, both embodied and just as a kind of energetic, the primary, from the mental energy of consciousness. It's probably, I would say, would be my primary tool in social justice work.
>
> Another tool that I feel like I've been able to use, is the kind of spiritual knowing that nothing can hurt you that other people … I know that everyone will say this, but I think what I'm saying, for me at this time, is that I understand it in such a different way that I sometimes will imagine myself as a colander, you know, a strainer, a colander? I imagine my body like that, where the energy that someone else might be bringing, if that's pain, if it's anger, it's just moving right through me. It just moves right through me…. I don't have to take it up. It's only when I can feel myself clenching that all those holes are covered, then it hits me or it gets blocked inside me… that sense that it's energy. It will move through me and out of me. That is what the world is. It's energy moving. It's consciousness creating. That's a theoretical tool for me. I can know it only slightly at an embodied level in the ways that I experi-

> ence not being hurt by things in the way I used to be hurt, so I know that that's true, but I can use it kind of as this theoretical tool when things are getting to a point where it's like … I'm a colander.

Again, the belief systems imbedded in a non-Western faith tradition like Bahá'í has been instrumental in helping these educators. For Leyla, an academic administrator and professor in the social sciences at a private, religiously affiliated institution in an urban setting, she identifies as a South Asian and Middle Eastern woman, who is a member of the Bahá'í community. Leyla also describes the richness of what she experiences in her spiritual community and how it has helped her navigate justice work in dominant Western spaces:

> My faith community is certainly one spiritual community that I have, and I'm very connected to it. So, the Bahá'í faith is a little different in that, you know, it's all about community-building and action, so it stresses this idea that the reason we have faith, or the reason why we believe, is so we can actually act in constructive ways that work toward unifying individuals, that work towards bettering our community.
>
> I feel that sense of oneness or connectedness allows me to participate in different spaces on spiritual matters. So, being at [my] university, for instance, they are often like, "Come. Be a part of our panel. We're going to talk about faith and social justice." (Laughs). It's partly because I'm very open to all the different traditions, and feel like they all contribute to a better understanding of, really, what is the role of faith in social justice, because as institutions, religious institutions have done just the opposite.

Leyla's response illustrates the complexity of identity and shows the confluence and interaction of multiple identifiers. In describing her experience and perceptions, Leyla shows how what is most "pronounced" shifts in different contexts because identity is negotiated socially. She discusses how her many intersecting identities, like growing up in Nepal until college, her gender, and her bicultural heritage as mentioned earlier, in addition to her faith as rooted in the Bahá'í tradition has profoundly shaped her experiences as a faculty member and administrator. What is particularly challenging has been others' association of her Middle Eastern heritage as problematic from the dominant Western, North American gaze. Yet the brilliance and insight of her ability to thrive as a self-identified "colander" and her insight for how belief is connected to both thought and action as a filter extend to a sense of a seamless wholeness that she and other participants stressed as a critical element of justice work.

A Habitus of Holistic Spirituality

Rather than being distinct segments of their lives or separate spheres, participants described experiencing a sense of wholeness (irrespective of whether it was always felt or not) that does not draw rigid distinctions between what on the surface appears to be separate "fields" in a sociological sense. While I initially expected that participants navigated "intersections" between spiritual community and justice work and

were, therefore, perpetual border crossers, I found instead that because participants' spiritual habitus is fully embodied, they carry it with them wherever they go. Participants described in congruent ways how spiritual community and justice work are essentially, as the idiom goes, "two sides of the same coin" and not two separate spheres of life, but one life. In other words, implicit within their frameworks of being was a sense of oneness, a fusion of their beliefs about spirituality, community, and social justice.

"I really primarily identify as a spiritual being," Laura stated, which encapsulates a wholeness of spirituality as being a sum of all parts of identities. A central feature of participants' identities and belief systems was also their disposition toward learning and critical self-reflexivity. Wrestling with the complexity of their social identities, many of the participants maintained an openness to learning and engaged in an ongoing process of self-reflection, which helped to further cultivate their sense of becoming. Laura illustrates this disposition when describing how "being here on Earth is like a classroom or a phase of learning."

In many cases, participants spoke in non-dualistic ways about their learning and described a certain oneness of spirit in their spiritual and/or religious identity, sense of calling, and commitment to social justice. There was simply no distinction. Given that all the participants saw their work in higher education as striving toward social justice, they spoke in sophisticated ways about identity and social location and exhibited a critical reflexivity in doing so. Spirit, identity, and social justice were interrelated for participants as they described their sense of agency and justice work in academe. Laura's interview, for example, elucidates this sense of oneness—particularly as she describes herself as having a "cosmic identity." Laura, who self-identifies as an African American/Black and biracial woman, works as an academic administrator and professor in the social sciences at a private, liberal arts college for women in a suburban setting. Laura has reconnected to the Bahá'í tradition, a religion of her upbringing, and also identifies as a "student of all faiths," as well as a mystic and practitioner of divination. Often hidden to others in the academy, Laura centrally identifies as spiritual being who is here on Earth to learn from life as preparation for a fuller existence:

> I've really reached a point in my life where my most salient identity is as a spiritual being. Even though I'm aware of all the other social identity possibilities…I really primarily identify as a spiritual being; and I look at other human beings that way; and I think my first engagement with everybody is as a fellow spiritual being. I think sometimes, you know, Gloria Anzaldúa talking about having a cosmic identity or a universalist identity… is sort of what I experience. That's the universe I live in in my head.

Laura articulates profound ideas that also highlight how identity was an important topic of discussion for all of the participants. For Laura, her spiritual existence functioned as a superordinate identity above all others. I wanted to understand the meaning participants ascribe to the manifestations of belief systems and spiritual community in their lives as it relates to the work in higher education. Most of the participants took great care to articulate an understanding of their own belief systems and its impact on their justice work in higher education. Participants talked

about the significance of gathering in community to recognize a higher power as a key factor in motivating them to pursue justice.

Spiritual community was a space in which participants felt accountable to live up to their life's calling. They also talked about the importance of spiritual legacy, which many inherited from their forebears. Spiritual community was a place of intergenerational cooperation, as well as a source of healing, learning, community, becoming, meaning, and identity. Some participants found the social group connections helpful, especially as ethnic minorities in a higher education context dominated by a White Western majority. Participants saw life itself as a laboratory of spiritual learning and community, and for some, spiritual community was connected to formal religious traditions and other formal gatherings that emphasized spiritual practice, while for others, simply being together with like-minded people constituted a spiritual community, which was essential in dealing with daily dominant mind-set that is insidious in higher education in America.

Liminality of Identity

Participants also described identity as a complex, fluid, and dynamic phenomenon that changes over time and is contextual. At the same time, they also identified having enduring dimensions to their identity while being careful to avoid essentializing. Their discussions of identity raised important questions about whether or not identity is illusory and altogether elusive. An additional feature of my conversations with the participants was that they often tied their sense of identity to a deeper sense of ancestry, calling, or purpose. Some participants expressed the recognition of a conflicted ancestral legacy, which often resulted from forces of oppression like colonialism and religious domination. Overall, however, most participants understood their identity in congruent and holistic ways. Like Laura, most of the participants seemed to convey belief that, "this place, being here on earth, is like a classroom or a phase of learning or just a piece of the larger existence of that … I'll just call it 'soul' or 'spirit,' whatever you want to call it." This type of language is typically not used or embraced in nonsectarian higher education settings, and thus the open and intentional emphasis on one's spiritual beliefs and practices in higher education is what makes these participants and their stories both remarkable and necessary for this volume.

Participants were creative in negotiating the landscapes of their respective institutions and displayed what I will refer to as a dance of both revealing and concealing their commitments to spirituality and social justice, conditioned by the unique contours of their institutional context and role within the institutions. In other words, participants were learning the art of dancing within their higher education institutions as they negotiated issues related to campus alignment, ideological differences, as well as power and privilege. They did so while also taking care to maintain authentic commitments to social justice, as well as their beliefs and worldviews which often fall counter to the prevailing higher education culture. When I asked

Frances about the connection between spirituality and social justice work, she affirmed the connection between the two in her academic work, which she described as "spiritual activism," her preferred mode of praxis:

> Spiritual activism comes from blending the learnings and the practices of spiritual communities into social justice and social change work in its traditional kinds of targets. Yes, they are related. I think another way that they're related is just the way that I view helping other people to self-actualize and do their best work is a kind of activism and is a kind of social justice work, because when you live in a community where there are forces constantly trying to negate certain kinds of people and extinguish certain kinds of people … and to annihilate people's consciousness from certain communities, if you are going against that and you're interfering with that process, you're intervening on that process, that's social justice work, in my opinion. So, my spiritual practice has helped me to do that.

Participants also addressed the gaps and frustrations experienced at the intersection of spiritual practice, social justice, and academic work in universities. Frances explained, "I experience the frustration that in many academic environments, it's really taboo to talk about spiritual topics, and so, whenever I'm in an environment where that is the case, it is challenging for me." Frances expanded further, "The main challenge is when I'm in environments where people don't think with a spiritual concept, and I have to sort of… kind of… put a veil over that part." Indeed, when the academy demands that workers "put a veil over" their deepest beliefs and values, a spiritual community can be essential. Similar to Frances and others, Laura found her beliefs to be useful to "re-centering myself, for getting ideas about what to do, for understanding what justice means, and what it looks like, for helping me position myself in my understandings and arguments about what's politically the right thing to do or what kind of change we want or want to do." Several people in the study also attributed the development of their critical questioning skills and investigation of truth to their spiritual communities. Octavia, for instance, who identifies as African American/Black, is a professor in the social sciences at a private, suburban institution. Octavia attributes her disposition of questioning conventional sources of authority, for example, to the ways in which her spiritual community nurtures a "relationship with the idea of justice." This disposition informs Octavia's truth-seeking and production of knowledge, which stems from a motivation that is higher than merely what the university might sanction:

> In the Bahá'í writings…it's this ethic of questioning everything [laughter] and not sort of deferring to conventional sources of authority…I think that that is a really nurturing place to think about education…excelling in academia not first and foremost as sort of building up a reputation and building up sort of a status. It's about a constant search…and constant questioning. That's what propelled me through the academy to begin with…and why I feel like I can, in some ways…in some ways sort of buffer myself from a lot of the politics of it and the kind of status seeking and careerism of it. Because at its core, I have this commitment to sort of knowledge production and seeking that's separate from the institution.

Important to Octavia's experience was the role of "questioning" and "challenging boundaries." She and others have constructed both the spiritual and the intellectual into something that is directly, intentionally, and explicitly tied to their faith. Octavia about any frustrations and challenges she experiences between spirituality and

justice work in the academy, to which she responded that her scholarly interests grew out of that frustration and anxiety around the violence of objectivity for her own sense of self and work. With tears of emotion rolling down, she states, "I struggled and I still struggle with writing through this objective view from nowhere voice. Even if conceptually I've figured out a way to reconcile the identities on this level, every day when I sit down to write, I struggle…with those voices, about how this sounds…as long as that is the dominant sort of mode of communication… I will always struggle with that."

While often hidden to their institutions, Hope, Laura, Leyla, Malaki, and Octavia engaged in spiritual praxis by leveraging their intelligence, agency, beliefs, dispositions, relationships, skills, and practices—spiritual wealth nurtured in community—toward the freedom struggle in and through systems of higher education. While their collective witness of storytelling illustrates powerfully how the forces of domination work through the systems and structures of knowledge production in the academy as mechanisms of social control to preserve the status quo, I believe Collins (1990) is right. Where multiple levels of oppression lie, so do "potential sites of resistance" (Collins, 1990, p. 223). Perhaps in "sacred resistance" (http://www.lasacredresistance.org/) to forces of oppression, including dominance that pervades academic institutions, the prism of our collective freedom and shared humanity widens.

Conclusion

In this chapter I sought to understand two critical questions related to agency, capital, and activism. The first was to know the ways in which participation in a spiritual community facilitated and/or impeded the work of social justice in higher education? Secondly and relatedly, I sought to understand how individuals cultivated their various abilities, contacts, knowledge, practices, resources, and skills into their spiritual communities in ways that were instrumental in their social justice work in higher education.

Dominant Western epistemologies continue to reinforce what can only be understood as the normative practice of uncoupling spirituality and belief systems from the work of the academy. Justice work in higher education ought to be rooted in an epistemological belief system that intentionally works to make visible oppressed people who have long been made invisible by dominant Western ideologies that reside and are replicated through higher education.

The findings of the study are grounded in the larger phenomenological inquiry involving 56 participants. I specifically highlight the accounts of 15 participants as a subset of the study and utilize a *narrative* process to make visible the phenomenon of spiritual praxis to counteract and re-establish purpose in their scholarship through the academy. These participants drew deeply from belief systems and spiritual practices that have Eastern or Asian roots. Their stories provide insight into how they negotiate Western academic institutions of higher learning. These participants high-

light the ways in which belief systems migrate through people and find ways to operate in new, and sometimes oppositional, cultures and contests. Their perspectives and interpretations lay the groundwork for a reconceptualizing of spiritual capital as they employ their non-Western beliefs in praxis in Western, nonsectarian systems that typically hold concepts such as logic and reason as the sole source of knowledge. These spiritually infused scholar activists challenge the mind-set rooted in European enlightenment period. Their work continues to disrupt and dismantle the Western norms that are often translated as objective, values-free, and scientific.

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Chapter 12
Philosophy, Culture, and the Battle Against Mission Drift in Higher Education in Asia

Alexander Jun and Christopher S. Collins

Abstract Higher education in Asia is marked by a variety of belief systems that are intertwined by local context and culture. Historically colleges by and large have all been initiated with a clear mission and vision that are tied toward a fundamental purpose and public good, but over time, most institutions drift from their original mission, embracing a variety of different approaches and techniques to either remain competitive in a global environment or fight to stay financially viable. In addition imperialism and colonization have left an indelible mark, and the lingering impact is still evident in policies and practices. In this chapter we also introduce the concept of spiritual capital, borrowing from the framework of Pierre Bourdieu, and argue that spiritual capital can ultimately serve as symbolic capital in societal contexts that are invisibly driven by certain beliefs and philosophies.

Keywords Spiritual capital · Mission drift · Colonization

Harvard University was founded in 1636 by English Puritans who migrated from Old England to New England, a specific purpose of training clergy for the new commonwealth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Over several generations, the institution shifted from its Christian mission of educating wealthy white young Christian men to be a premier nonsectarian university with a research-intensive focus and world-class faculty, students, and facilities. Nearly 100 years later in 1746 in Elizabeth, New Jersey, a group of Presbyterian leaders desired to create a college in order to train ministers in the ways of biblically orthodox and Calvinist theology. This college would later become Princeton University and is recognized today as one of the most highly selective Ivy League institutions with many notable alumni and prominent scholars and certainly distant from its original theological roots, Christian heritage, and purpose. Indeed many other prominent Ivy League universities in the USA today began as distinctively Christian institutions of higher

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education would follow the pattern of Harvard and Princeton and become increasingly secularized. The trajectories of these colleges perhaps serve as a cautionary tale of the dangers of secularization and mission drift for some religiously affiliated institutions in the USA. It would seem that an institution could either be one or the other, but not both.

The genesis of this book project emerged from ongoing conversations that we (Jun and Collins) have been engaged in at our current university, a distinctively Christian university where leaders have strived to integrate their faith intentionally and purposefully into the curricula, pedagogy, and advisement. At the time of this writing, the battle rages at faith-based colleges all across the USA on what it means to remain a distinctively Christian. Cultural and theological battle lines have been drawn around sexual orientation and gender in particular. The perceived fear among college boards of trustees and senior administrators is rooted in drifting from institutional mission and ultimately losing the innate institutional Christian identity that was the original intention of any given Christian college in the America. We are both employed as faculty members at a university that is a member campus of a consortium of like-minded institutions, known as the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU). The CCCU as noted in the introductory chapter, is a higher education association of more than 150 in the USA and Canada and roughly 30 additional institutions from 18 other countries. CCCU institutions are accredited, comprehensive colleges and universities with what are referred to as Christ-centered missions with curricula rooted in the historic Christian faith. The stated mission of the CCCU, to advance the cause of Christ-centered higher education, reveals much about the intentionality of maintaining a philosophy, culture, and distinctive Christian worldview in a secular country. The importance of the purposeful, explicit, transparent, and unapologetic nature of the mission to transform lives through faith-based scholarship and service is certainly laudable, yet the goal perhaps comes at a price. A long-held common practice at many of these institutions is to hire only professing Christians as faculty and in some cases perhaps only students with a credible profession of their faith to matriculate. What emerges from this type of intentionality of missional purpose is a question of degrees of orthodoxy. In other words, how "Christian" does an individual need to be in order to maintain acceptance in these types of academic communities? Or stated another way, how far might one stray from what are arguably traditional interpretations of scriptures, both personally and theologically, and still be considered part of the fold? Not long ago an employee could not file for divorce without being in danger discipline or dismissal from their institution (and this may still be the practice at some institutions). There are traditional scriptural interpretations at some universities that allow only males to hold faculty positions in certain theology departments or seminaries, while at other openly Christian institutions, faculty can both teach and personally practice a homosexual lifestyle without fear of retaliation or retribution.

However, other seemingly less sinister challenges of maintaining an institutional Christian mission have emerged over time and have posed a threat to the continued existence of these colleges. One example is financial solvency. Many smaller regional or denominationally affiliated campuses, while able to maintain a distinctive

Christian niche, are no longer economically viable and thus are unable to remain open. Undergraduate and graduate enrollments have declined over the years at many colleges, and administrators are fighting for what might be referred to as increasingly decreasing resources. Institutions have experimented with alternative approaches to delivering their educational product to ensure ongoing operations, such as hybrid and fully online degree programs, and other initiatives to attract more students. In addition, infrastructural investments to modernize classrooms, laboratories, residential and recreational facilities have been marketed to entice students and their tuition paying parents.

Belief systems as identified and explicated throughout the chapters of this book have been framed in a multitude of ways, with varying epistemologies and cultural underpinnings. Indeed the broad variety of dispositions and definitions – diversity of belief systems, how they are conceptualized, and how they implicitly and explicitly work in higher education – that make up this volume is ultimately a notable strength of this book.

I (Jun) spent several years living and conducting research in the Kingdom of Cambodia, and as Collins confessed some of his foibles with language learning in the introductory chapter, I too share my experience with the challenges of learning the Khmer language. An often-repeated word in Khmer is *ban* which loosely translates as one's ability to accomplish a task. The term is ubiquitously employed, and in my early days of language learning, I often misunderstood or alternatively misunderstood for the multiple meanings and uses of this word. As a face-saving guilt/shame Asian culture, Cambodia is not too different from that of my parents' culture of Korea, yet I regularly forgot the face-saving culture that embedded the ceaseless wordplay in daily conversations. In short, obtaining verbal commitments for any type of activity was rarely a problem. The difficulty came in the execution of any agreed upon work. "Will you do this work?" was naturally and seamlessly translated to "Are you able to do this work?" a question that can easily be answered in the affirmative. Thus unlike my co-author Collins and his experience in Vanuatu, where the answer was often no, the answer to any of my questions to Khmer people was often yes. I was reminded regularly that in higher-context cultures, the answer to questions and requests often resides in both the nonverbal and the timeliness of responses, rather than merely a direct verbal answer to a direct question. Ways of knowing therefore are rarely limited to that which is audibly specific.

My professional interactions with Cambodian educators and practitioners of Christian higher education revealed much about aspirational goals for a nation and a people. When some Cambodian colleagues learned that I was ethnically Korean, they lauded the accomplishments of South Korean economy and expressed their hopes of seeing Cambodia emulate their East Asian neighbors. It was not surprising that many scholars attributed the manifold problems of higher education and the broader society to the nearly 90 years of French colonization from 1867 to 1953, in addition to the reprehensible acts of genocide by the Khmer Rouge under the dictatorship of Pol Pot in the mid-1970s. What was surprising was the hope they saw in Christian higher education from the west as well as from neighboring South Korea. Indeed many attributed the rapid success of South Korea's economy to her conversion

to Christianity and the commitment to being a Christian nation. They acknowledged the role that Christian higher education missionaries. In light of these types of sentiments, Seong Do Cho's Chap. 4 and others on fidelity and commitment to institutional mission and the inevitable drift are both timely and informative.

The past quarter century of increasing growth and development in higher education has revealed a clear pattern: the longer the history of the institution, the greater the transformation of institutional vision and change that may occur over time. Some common cross-cutting themes have emerged from the ten chapters contained herein. First and foremost is the ongoing challenge of maintaining a focus on missional purpose and vision and staying in line with its founding principles. Changes in the mission and vision appear to have the greatest impact on stakeholders who have a vested interested in a given institution or higher education system, namely, the faculty, students, alumni, and those in key administrative leadership positions, not to mention the importance of the public good. It is important to note that in many chapters, authors have documented the unfortunate role that colonization played in the shaping of the higher education landscape. The occupation of Korea and Taiwan by the Japanese and the Dutch colonial influence on Indonesia created additional challenges for these nations to find their national and cultural identity. While perhaps less subtle, the Soviet on the People's Republic of China and the American impact on Japan, as well as the sovereign nation of Hawaii, have contributed to the manifold challenge of national identity in tertiary education.

The process of institutional change has come in phases, as chapter authors have elucidated in this book. Jason Cheng-Cheng Yang addressed elements of academic culture of higher education in Taiwan. He argued that higher education in Taiwan developed its own version of academic culture, an amalgamation of globalization from the west, Confucian religion, historic legacy: and fluctuating national policy. Shijing Gao and Bingna Xu discussed the manifold challenges of belief systems and belief education in the People's Republic of China, with particular focus on the role of higher education to maintain a Chinese culture in the midst of ongoing global change that introduced what they refer to as vulgar pragmatism and utilitarianism.

The challenges in the Republic of Korea, according Seong Do Cho, relate to a rather unique role that Christianity played in modern higher education. Christian missionaries from the west left their educational mark on higher education with a distinct purpose of proselytizing. Over time, these evangelistic endeavors at institutions have drifted in scope and religious purpose. While still serving the public good in Korean society research, scholarship, and broad tertiary education, these institutions have lost much of their religious flavor.

Esther Wing Chit Mok addresses related challenges in examining the role of Indonesia's government in preserving, reinventing, and promoting Balinese cultures and, by extension, Bali-Hinduism both locally through higher education. The increasing similarity of higher education across nation-states offers a variety of benefits to stakeholders, including increased access to a diversity of philosophical and religious traditions within higher education. In addition globalization has led to increased opportunities for cross-pollination in multicultural exchange; better cross-border equivalence in credentials and employability; and increasing awareness of

global interdependencies. However, there are also hidden costs attendant to the increasing homogenization of higher education.

We submit that, although the mission of higher education may have essentially shifted to a global approach, many important national objectives ought to remain uniquely and necessarily contextualized and localized. Mission drift is an important subtheme as a concluding analysis because it encapsulates the varying ways in which hybridization is playing a role in higher education. As hierarchy, capitalism, and dominance continue to grow as the key identifiers in higher education, those value systems replace ancient belief systems that characterize the culture in which these institutions are housed. Indigenous knowledge, cultural values, and Eastern epistemologies are parts of the value and belief systems that may suffer from increased hybridization, globalization, and Westernization. As such the recording, studying, and advancement of belief systems may be an important aspect of preserving culture instead of submitting to further epistemicide by a Western capitalistic view of the world. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, there will undoubtedly be some key stakeholders in Asian higher education who will bemoan the shifting priorities and policies with a sense of loss and become overtly or covertly transgressive in the adoption of alternative pedagogies or educational philosophies.

Moreover higher education serves an important contributor to national economic growth, a pathway to mobility within societies, and a means of nurturing citizens who have strongly localized and indigenous cultural values. The powerful movement of higher education toward international conformity in the name of globalization threatens local imperatives.

In Search of Spiritual Capital

One of the focal points of this book was to examine how colleges across different regions and nations in Asia have interacted and exchanged various forms of spiritual capital through education. A major goal of most advanced governments is to provide its citizenry access to an advanced education (Meyer, Ramirez and Soysal, 1992). This is true of the nations referenced within these chapters, and this drive for a value added citizenship has continued to drive the opening of more avenues for higher education. We argue here that one of the forms of capital that perhaps drives each country in its own way is the extension of belief systems, in the form of spiritual capital, negotiated at the tertiary education level and exchanged among various players in the higher education sector.

We turn to the work of the late French sociologist and philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu, and his body of work on various forms of capital as the philosophical underpinnings necessary in order to understand the challenges and experiences of negotiating various forms of capital in Asian higher education. Bourdieu work as it relates to cultural studies has grown dramatically over the last few decades and has created a great deal of debate especially in the area of Western sociology of education

(Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Kingston, 2001). His research has been increasingly referred to as it pertains to education practices in general and Western academia specifically (Byun, Schofer, & Kim, 2012; Lareau et al., 2004). Educators have used many of Bourdieu's studies related to how teachers respond to students in the classroom. This is especially important as these studies focused on teachers' "judgment as a mechanism of social reproduction and emphasized the stability and consistency of the practices of the educational agents" (Hilgers & Mangez, 2014, p. 139).

Where cultural capital refers to the awareness, comprehension, and networks that allow one person to thrive and be successful as compared to another individual who has a different set of awareness, comprehension, and networks (Bourdieu, 1984), spiritual capital addresses yet another form of networks to seamlessly move through a society with facility and familiarity. This form of spiritual capital is necessarily contextualized to a specific nation or region. Buddhist philosophy and teaching that is embedded in the curricula of higher education in Thailand, for example, grants greater access, language, and familiarity of the philosophical and religious underpinnings of Thai society that drives the nation.

Bourdieu's cultural capital could be described as an individual's established set of talents, feelings, awareness, and unique experiences that assist in obtaining acceptance and gaining favor. Unlike social or cultural capital, where one raises status by who they know, spiritual capital allows an individual to raise one's position based on their knowledge and practices within a certain philosophical group or lifestyle. This is similar to the ways that knowledge often confers a certain amount of influence and importance within the confines of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu reasoned that the choices one makes and the attraction to certain touchstones in society are often related to one's social situation. His research in the early and late 1970s informed a lot of his thinking on how people adjusted to their environment. He looked at both the legitimate cultural establishment (what we might call fine or cultured art) and the personal, which we might call one's taste in music, clothes, or personal accessories (Bourdieu, 1984). Some authors believe the best way to characterize cultural capital is to consider it as being a part of a common practice that is institutionalized. This would include "cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 156). If cultural capital often denotes one's mind-set and opinion about a social domain, then spiritual capital would hold similar influence in particularized societal contexts.

While terminology and definitions continue to evolve, spiritual capital can be defined as encompassing an ever-evolving mind-set that is tied to institutionalized and culturally shared values, attitudes, preferences, forms of knowledge, actions, and beliefs. The concept of spiritual capital is important in the discussion of belief systems in higher education due to the linkages to motivations to cultural and economic capital, which can provide a means to quality tertiary education.

Spiritual capital can certainly be synonymous with symbolic capital, which materializes when other forms of capitals are perceived as authentic (Bourdieu, 1986). It is often bestowed upon a person based on reverence, dignity, and esteem (Bourdieu, 1991). One example of symbolic capital may be the honor and esteem that are associated with individuals who receive this due to their place in society. A graduate of a well-known faith-based college such as Wheaton College, which has been described by some as the Harvard of Christian schools, may be granted additional consideration as one who is both intelligent and faithful by virtue of academic and spiritual associations others make of that institution.

The vestiges of postcolonialism and foreign imperialism evidenced across the span of higher education in Asia. Usage of English as a "world language," for instance (Willinsky, 1998), in globalization-oriented education systems perhaps acknowledges the economic and technological strengths of such countries as the USA, Canada, and the UK, just as remnants of Japanese, Dutch, Soviet, and French imperialism are evident in formerly colonized nations, where people, policies, and practices cannot easily escape the shackles of colonial rule. Some governments have aggressively promoted the use of their national and heritage languages, while other nations have changed policy to ensure that English is employed in addition to, or at times instead of, their own national languages.

To be sure, the challenge for Asian higher education is to remain culture- and context-specific and to avoid higher education systems in educational imperialism. The tension is between international standards of quality and localized/contextualized approaches to education. Indeed educational practices and methods of quality assurance ought to reflect both local values as well as keep the original intent of institutional mission statements and national priorities. However, we also acknowledge the concern for some that an overreliance on context-dependent approaches poses its own challenges that compromise mission and vision.

As this book series on belief systems in Asia comes to a conclusion, we reflect upon the nature of institutional mission statements, culture, and the public good. In terms of mission statements and, more importantly, the idea of mission drift, it is noteworthy that many authors discussed the ever-elusive goal of maintaining mission fidelity of their particular intended belief systems that led to the creation of many of these higher education institutions. Colleges are a microcosm of society and culture in Asia as they are in other parts of the world. The shifting demographics, economies, and clash of global cultures have perhaps forever changed the face of colleges in every region. Higher education in Asia continues to be a global endeavor with a central mission that is concerned with the production and dissemination of universal knowledge, information exchange, development of technology, and the creation of a mission-driven community that transcends manifold cultures and boundaries, and higher education in Asia continues to move toward a convergence of systems, policies, and values and beliefs.

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