

The Role of Southeast and South Asian Migrants' Religions in Hong Kong

A one-day workshop on the state of current research and future directions

Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong

27th April 2013



香港城市大學
City University
of Hong Kong



Saturday, 27 April 2013

9.30 – 10.00	MORNING TEA AND OPENING REMARKS
10.00 – 12.00	PIETY, PRACTICES AND IDENTITIES
	Discussant: Paul O'CONNOR
	Joe BOSCO
	Paul O'CONNOR
	Valerie YAP
	Joy TADIOS
	Alka SHARMA
	DISCUSSION
12.00 – 13.00	LUNCH
13.00 – 15.00	POLICIES: Educating, Understanding, Integrating
	Discussant: Chiara FORMICHI
	Chiara FORMICHI
	Raees BAIG
	Liz JACKSON
	Wai-chi CHEE
	Wai-Yip HO
	DISCUSSION
15.00 – 15.30	AFTERNOON TEA
15.30 – 17.00	FUTURE RESEARCH

Please note: all participants are invited to participate in all sessions

Joseph BOSCO 林舟 is Associate Professor at the Dept. of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He holds a PhD from Columbia University (1989), and he is primarily an economic anthropologist.

Current Project:

I have been invited to contribute a chapter on "Processions and Religious Space" in an edited volume entitled *Religion in World Cities: Asia, A Critical Survey* to be published by the University of California Press. The editor is Peter van der Veer of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen. My tentative title is "Urban Processions: The Sacred in the Colonial and Postcolonial in Hong Kong." It will focus on the Tam Kung processions of temples in Wong Nai Chung and Shau kei Wan. I am also examining whether current political protests and processions borrow any symbolism or ritual elements from religious processions. As part of this project, I intend to expand on my previous research on Tin Hau temples by examining the regulations and restrictions on urban processions over the colonial period, and to study the revival of processions as tourist attractions and "heritage."

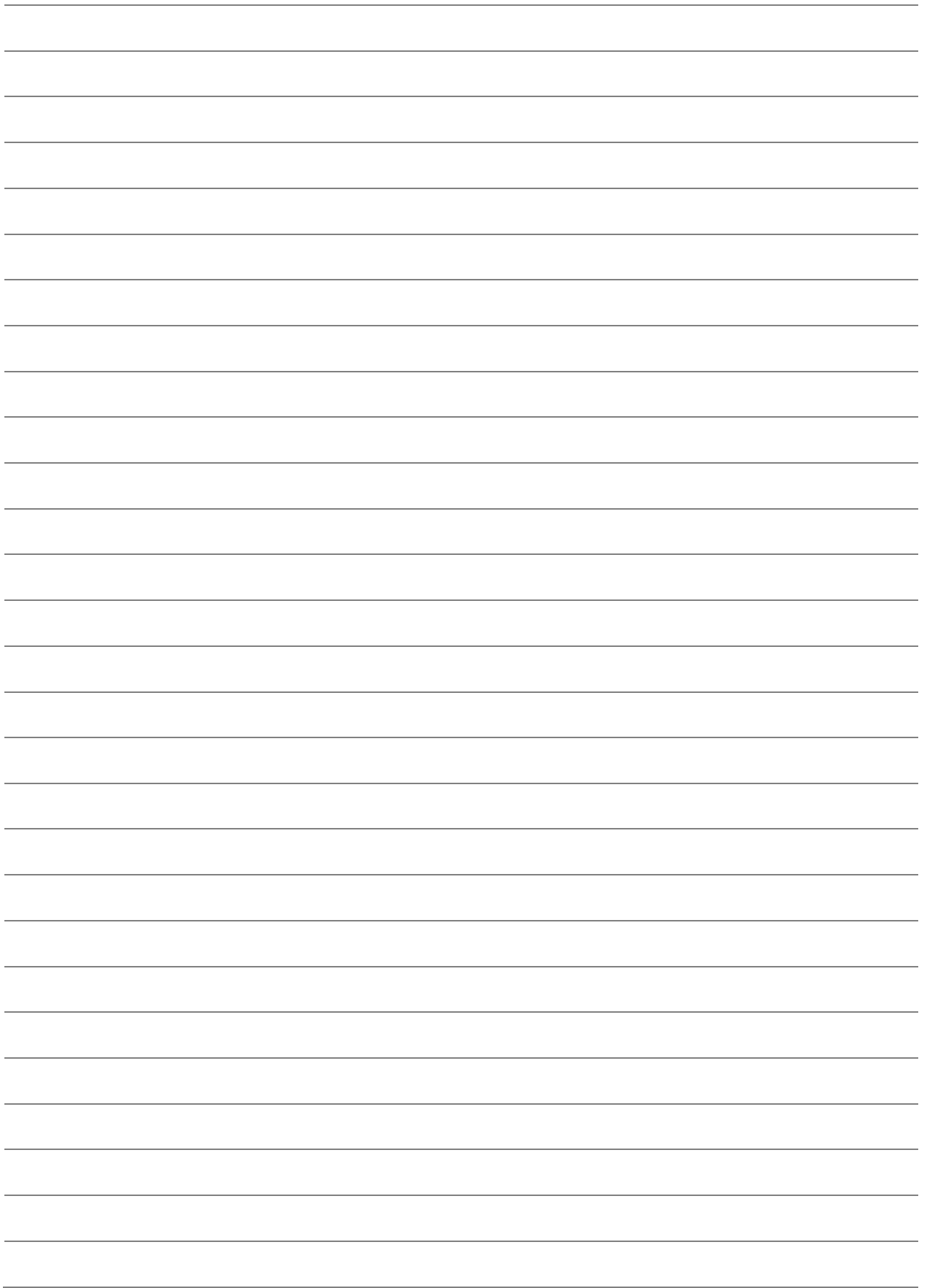
Research Questions for Future:

I am primarily an economic anthropologist. My research focuses on the question of rationality, and how it is culturally shaped and defined. Some of my overarching and guiding research questions are:

- How are we to understand religious fervor? Why do some people and groups profess ideas that others, even within their own broader culture/society, view as irrational and/or unreasonable?
- What do we mean by religion? At the boundaries of what we usually recognize as the "religious" are several phenomena that interest me, including magic and various types of personal manipulations of luck and fate, nationalism, and sports (e.g. the *communitas* of stadia).

Previous Research Related to Religion:

- 2010 "The Problem with Relativism in the Comparative Study of Religion." In *Aspects of Transformation through Cultural Interaction* (Bilingual publication in English and Japanese), edited by Shinohara, Inoue, Huang Yun, Konino, Sun Qing, pp. 3-49. Osaka, Japan: Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies, Kansai University.
- 2009 "Underground Lotteries in China: The Occult Economy and Capitalist Culture" (with Lucia Huwy-Min Liu and Matthew West). In *Research in Economic Anthropology: Economic Development, Integration, and Morality in Asia and the Americas*, No. 29, Donald C. Wood, ed. Emerald Publishing. .
- 2007 "Young People's Ghost Stories in Hong Kong." *The Journal of Popular Culture* 40(5):785-807.
- 2003 "The Supernatural in Hong Kong Young People's Ghost Stories." *Anthropological Forum* 13(2):141-149.
- 2003 "天后宮之重建與活力-台灣與香港比較研究 (The rebuilding and vitality of Tianhou Temples: A Taiwan and Hong Kong Comparison)." In *媽祖信仰的發展與變遷 (Mazu Belief and Modern Society)*. Lin Meirong, Chang Hsun and Tsai Hsiang-hui, eds. Taipei: Taiwan Association for Religious Studies and Beigang Chaotian Gong, .pp. 95-116.
- 1999 屏東縣萬丹鄉萬惠宮:寺廟文化研究 (The Wanhui Temple of Wandan Township, Pingdong County [Taiwan]). 韓世芳翻譯. 屏東市 : 屏東縣立文化中心 (Pingdong: Pingdong Cultural Center). (Bilingual, under name 林舟)
- 1999 *Temples of the Empress of Heaven* (with Puay Peng Ho). *Images of Asia Series*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.



Paul O'Connor is Adjunct Assistant Professor in Anthropology at Chinese University of Hong Kong. Paul was awarded his PhD (2009) from the University of Queensland on the subject of "The Everyday Hybridity of Hong Kong's Muslim Youth". He has published a book "Islam in Hong Kong: Muslims and Everyday Life in China's World City" with Hong Kong University Press (2012). Originally from the UK, Paul studied for his MA at Exeter University's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies and performed research on British Muslims making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Along with his focus on Islam and religious minorities he is also interested in everyday life, social theory, and urban studies. He currently teaches courses on 'Ethnicity', 'Religion', and the 'Anthropology of the Body' at CUHK.

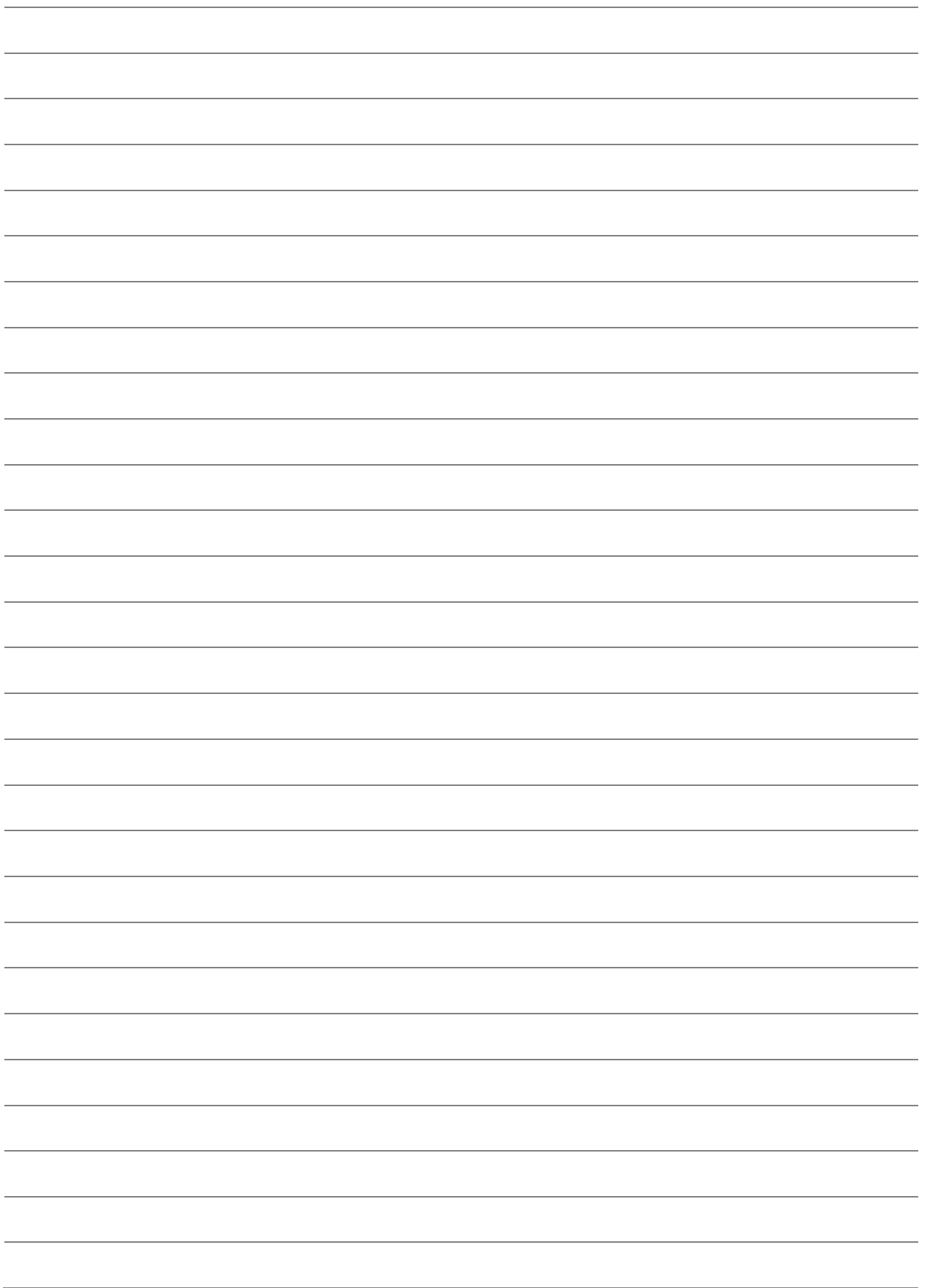
Hajj from Hong Kong Negotiating the Holy, the Urban, and the Modern

The Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca is a religious obligation that all Muslims must perform if they have the health and means to do so. With over 220,000 Muslims living and working in Hong Kong there are numerous stories of people who have made hajj, who are preparing, and those who aspire to one day go. In this ethnographic work the religious biographies of Muslims in Hong Kong are explored in connection to the pilgrimage to Mecca.

This work draws from on-going ethnography with Chinese, Indonesian, South Asian, and African Muslims. In applying and extending notions of everyday hybridity, this enquiry looks at the basic facts about performing the pilgrimage from Hong Kong. How is it organised, what are the costs, how does one prepare? It also engages with the pilgrims' religious experience, the ways in which hajj has changed their practice and altered their understanding of Islam. In these accounts there is a recurring theme of tension.

Mecca is described again and again as an edifying holy pace, profoundly moving, emotional, and unifying. Yet in contrast it is also a draining environment involving great personal tests. Whilst this has always been true of the classic tales of the historic hajj with caravans trailing across the desert, it is also relevant and transformed in the present day. Contemporary Mecca holds all the challenges and frustrations of life in the 21st century too. The Modern urban Hong Kong and Mecca are contrasted; both overcrowded and tarnished with avarice. This research uses the ways in which Muslims in Hong Kong negotiate these ideas as a method to explore Islam in the territory and in turn, place these religious experiences in a nexus with the global ummah, of which Hong Kong Muslims are a unique, yet quite overlooked part.

The research is focal on 5 key elements 1) how do Muslims organise the pilgrimage to Mecca in Hong Kong 2) what is unique about this 3) the relevance of hajj in the religious biographies of Hong Kong's Muslims 4) the impact of Hong Kong's wealth on the pilgrims, and their perception/performance of the hajj 5) the experience of the hajj rites in Mecca contrasted with modern developments both urban and technological. I am currently working on unifying these elements under the paradigm of everyday hybridity. The research will also extend to follow a group of hajjis on this year's pilgrimage to Mecca and build a narrative about their preparation in Hong Kong, their experiences in Mecca, and their reflections on their return home.



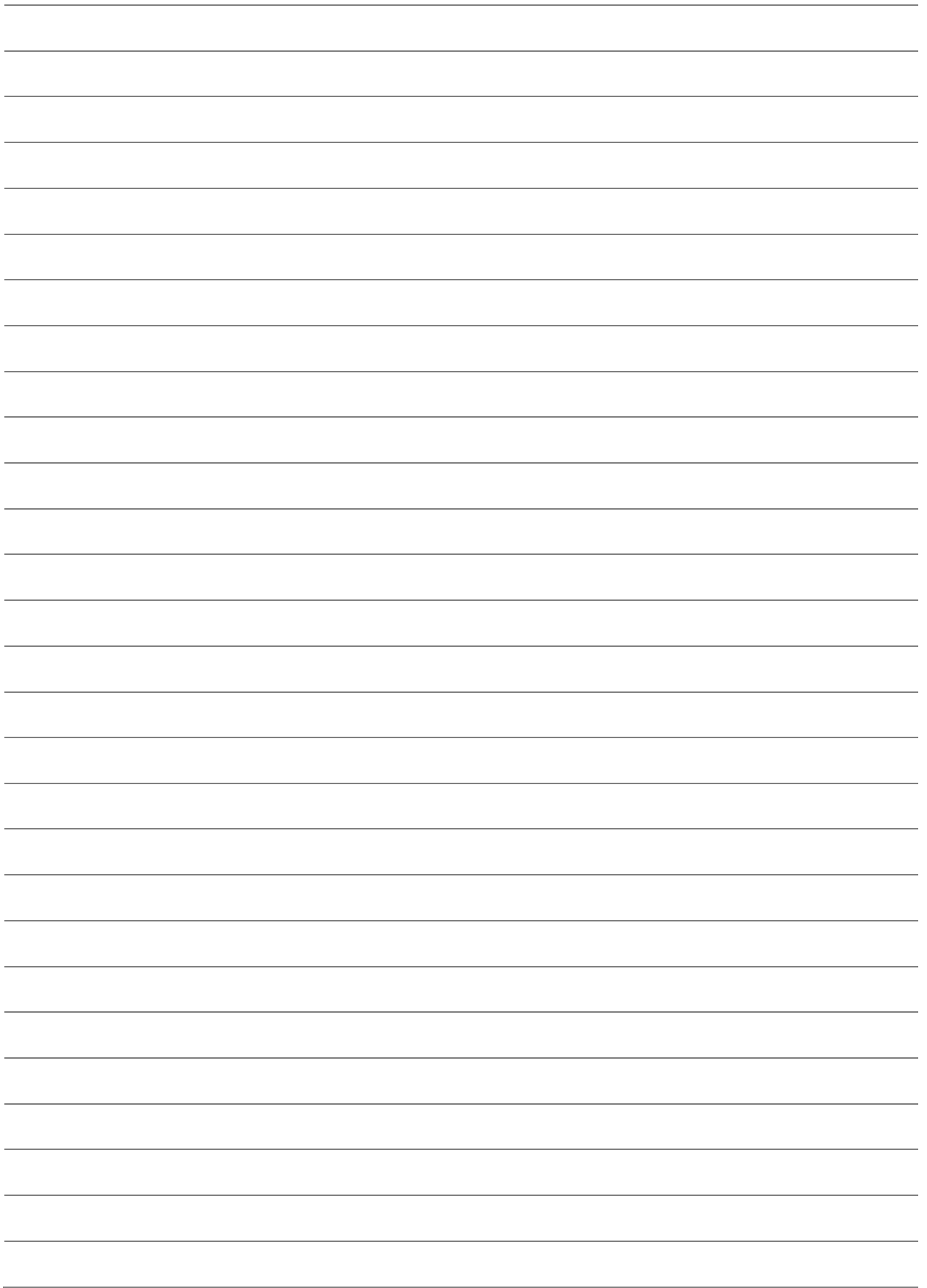
Valerie C. Yap is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Asian and International Studies, City University of Hong Kong, conducting research on Philippine migration. She obtained her bachelor degree from Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines. She also holds a Master of Social Sciences in Development Studies from City University of Hong Kong. She is currently part of Project Be, a nonprofit organization of volunteers dedicated to helping overseas foreign workers achieve their financial goals. Project Be currently runs financial literacy programs for Filipino domestic helpers in Hong Kong. Her research interests include transnationalism and transient migration; identity and citizenship; and immigrant and host society relations.

Filipino Christian migrants

My research activity has only been based on research conducted for completing my master's degree a few years back. I was interested in how Filipino Christian migrants make use of their religiosity as a survival and adaptive strategy in Hong Kong, as well as how religious activities are being used as a tool to handle challenges and discontinuities in the lives of migrant workers. I tried to pay attention on the migrant and their religious beliefs and practices, and compared how different these practices are in their country of origin. I attempted to interpret religious participation, practices and commitment of Filipino Christian domestic workers in Hong Kong and how these fit into their migration process. I believe my research was still lacking in the following areas and I would be interested in pursuing these questions.

- How have HK churches transformed into Filipino women's space as compared to back home? What are the implications on the religious experience on the women?
- How has migration changed the gender dynamics of the church?
- There is the assumption that religion travels as we migrate but does it stay as part of our core values or how does it transform when we migrate?

Some other areas of interest would be on the conversion of Filipino men and women in HK to other religious faith like Islam, a more in-depth study of charismatic Christian groups like El Shaddai in HK and its impact not only on the Filipino community but also on the local HK community, looking into the proselytizing practices of various religious institutions in HK and the power of social networks in influencing religious participation and practices among the migrant communities.



Felma Joy Tadios Arenas is a PhD student at the Department of Asian and International Studies in City University of Hong Kong. She finished her bachelor degree in Social Sciences major in Behavioral Studies from the University of the Philippines and Master in Gender and Development Studies from Asian Institute of Technology in Thailand. She has worked in various development projects in the Philippines under the MEDCo-Office of the President of the Philippines, before she joined City University as a Senior Researcher in a DFID-funded project Women's Empowerment in Muslim Contexts from 2006-2010. Her research interests include gender and development, retirement migration and labour migration.

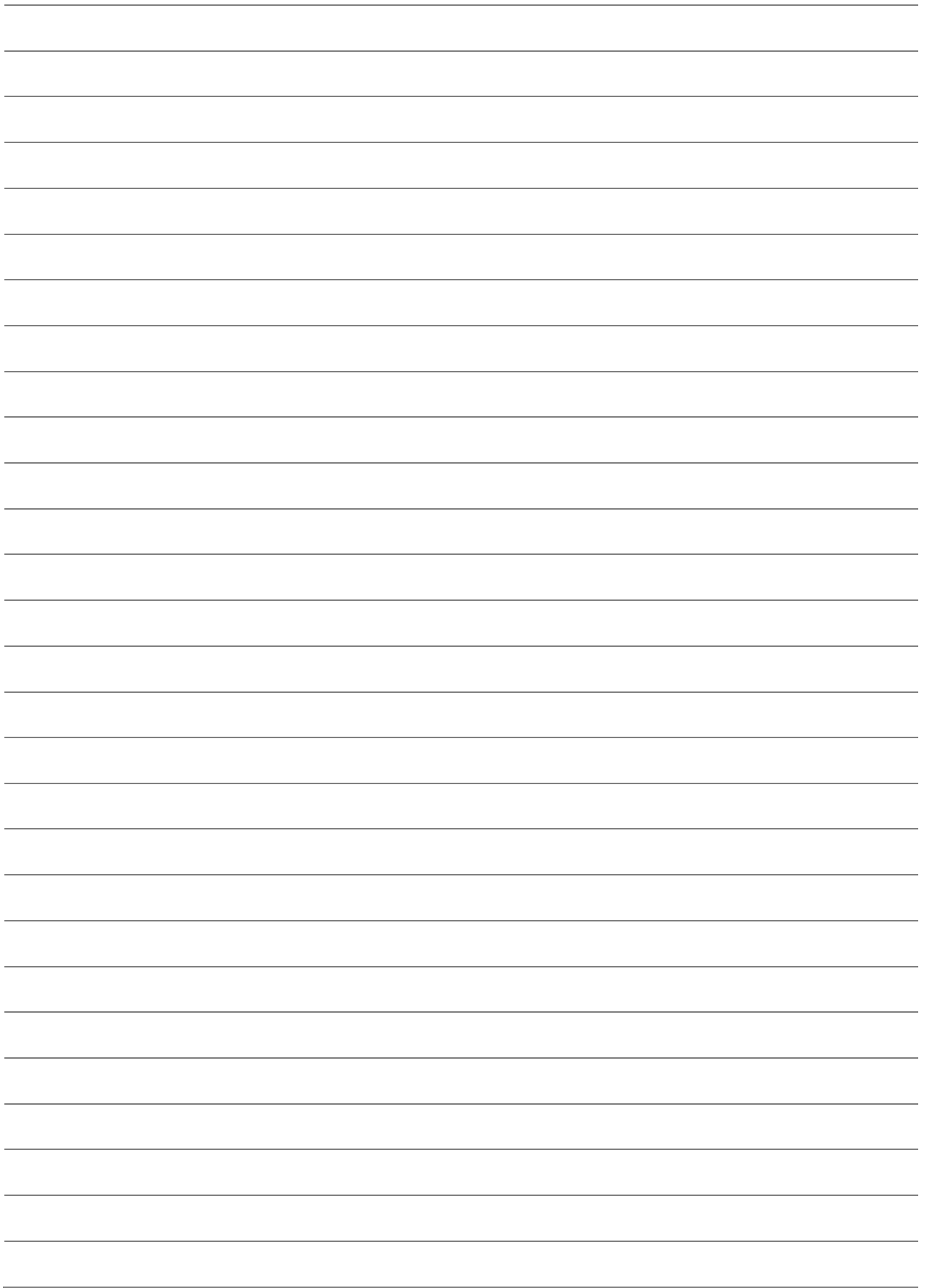
Filipino Migrant workers, remittances, and religion

My current research is looking into remittances and loan taking activities of migrant workers in Hong Kong and how these economic activities contribute to the management of transnational households. When migrant workers remit 200% to 1,000% of their monthly salary or buy expensive goods to send to the Philippines, the question of the source and of the sacrifices made by migrant workers are generally overshadowed by the economic gain of the receivers and the fulfillment of obligations on the part of the senders. This research provides narratives of how migrant workers and their families manage or co-manage the households that is either attenuated or intensified during migration process and in a transnational setting. By looking at the transnational household strategies of more than 40 Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong and Singapore, my research argues that:

- (1) remittances and loans are instruments of both contestation and accession as migrant workers and families back home strategize and control financial transfers
- (2) migrant workers are active agents in assigning moral hierarchies on decisions concerning loans and on rationalizing productive or consumptive investments, thus affecting familial relationships across two countries.

Questions about migrants' religious affiliations and beliefs surfaced during interviews as many of those who take loans considered themselves as 'deeply' religious persons and actively fulfill church functions in Hong Kong. While some of these Filipino churches are telling members not to take loans or engage in money-lending activities, most of the interviewed migrant workers would personally justify acts of borrowing and over indebtedness. Below are some of the questions that I came across with, which can be included in future research:

- How and when are religious beliefs and affiliations prioritized or deprioritized when issues of loan-taking/indebtedness in Hong Kong are taken into consideration
- How and why does religious practices of migrant workers change in host countries
- When do social spaces created by religious institutions/affiliations provide opportunities or vulnerabilities to migrant workers
- What role does religion/religious beliefs play in assigning moral hierarchies as to how remittances/loans are being managed and utilized



Alka Sharma obtained her PhD from the Faculty of Education, the University of Hong Kong, in 2013. Currently, she works with one of the local non-governmental organizations in helping establish direct relationship with the community and to explore several issues embedded in the lives of minorities/ migrants. Her main research interest relates to ethnic minority's education in Hong Kong.

Scholars exploring the role of religion among migrants have deepened and expanded the literature on identities by showing how identities are many-sided, fluid (shaped by historical and social contexts), and overlapping (Ajrouch 2004). Some scholars have suggested that religious identities become more salient for immigrants in the United States than in their nations of origin because of the role religions have in preserving ethnic identities.

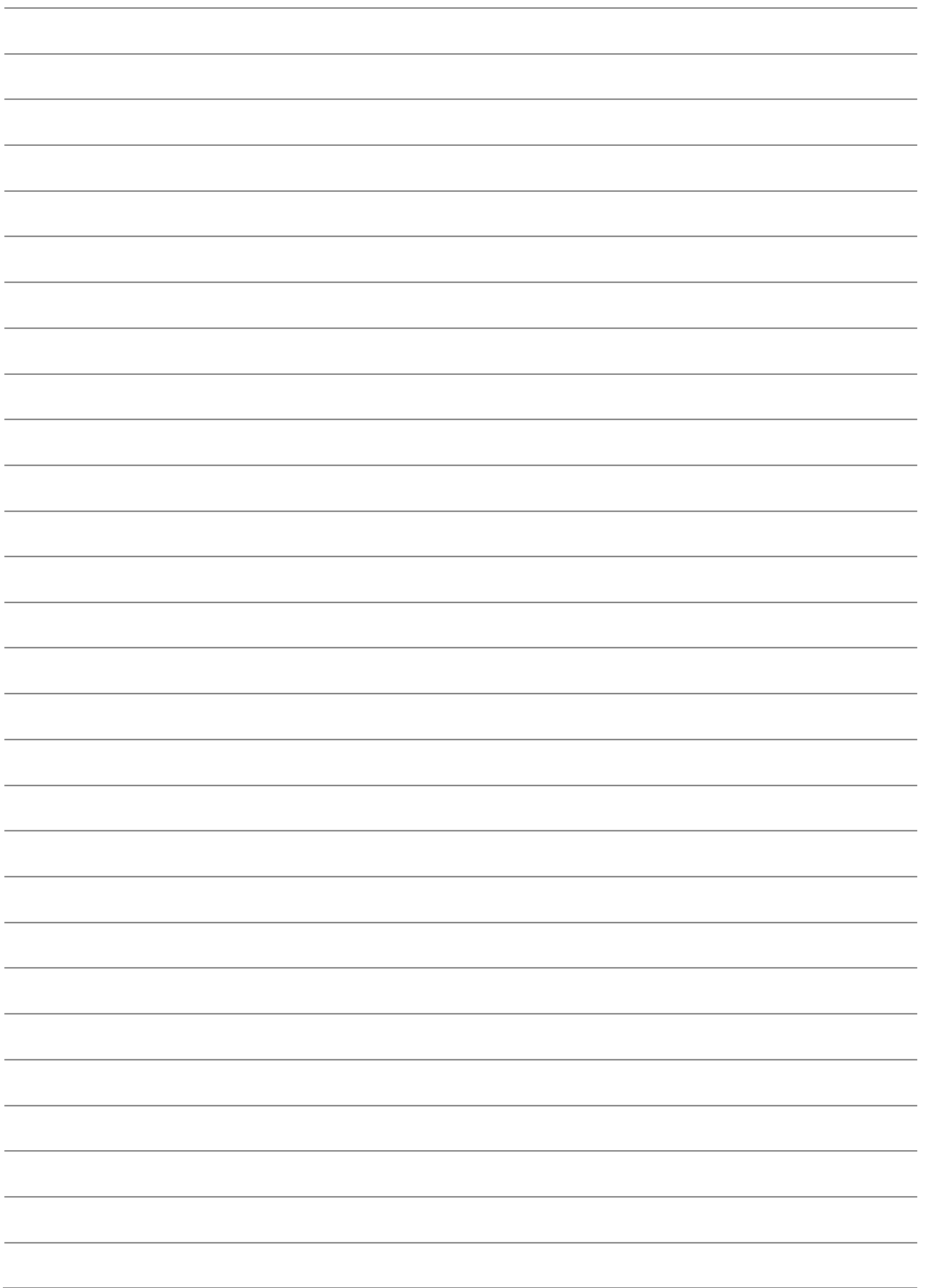
Glazer and Moynihan (Beyond the Melting Pot, 1970) had suggested that religion had declined as an instrument in ethnic identity formation. On the contrary, Abrahamson (1979) stated, "It is only in contact between cultures, as in the classic role of migration, that ethnicity and religion assume a dynamic and social reality of their own."

Questions I am interested in exploring address South Asian migrants and more specifically the Sikh community of Hong Kong:

- 1) Does religion play any role in day to day life of South Asians? Is religion of migrants/minorities significant in their lives in Hong Kong?
- 2) In what ways different religions of the ethnic groups identified as South Asians influence the South Asian identity?
- 3) What is the relationship between religion and the social class of the migrants/ minorities? Do religious convictions and rules vary with the social class of the migrants?
- 4) I am also interested in exploring the role of Sikh religion in HK or "How is the Sikh community/identity in Hong Kong supported by religion?"

Sikhs originally belong to India and are one of the oldest minority groups. Their participation at the flag raising ceremony at Possession Point traces their roots in Hong Kong to times when it became a British possession. The earliest policemen in Hong Kong were Sikhs and they have also held other occupations like guards, watchmen and soldiers. More, recently they have worked in major financial sectors.

Unlike other ethnic groups, they have only one physical space as place of worship which is visited by most of its members on Sundays and is highly organized. One of the previous studies exploring Indian Hindus and Korean Christians shows how religious organizations help both groups preserve their ethnic traditions by making religious and ethnic rituals synonymous and combining ethnic and religious rituals. The study concluded that Korean Christians have an easier time using their religion to preserve ethnicity compared with Indian Hindus as a consequence of the more organized nature of Korean Christianity (Min 2003, 2005).



Chiara Formichi is Assistant Professor in History and Religions of Asia at the City University of Hong Kong. She received her PhD in 'History of Southeast Asia' from SOAS (University of London), with a thesis that merged her academic expertise in Southeast Asian Studies (MA, SOAS) with previous foundations in Arabic and Islamic Studies (BA Hons., University of Rome, 'La Sapienza'). Chiara has been a research fellow at KITLV Leiden, and a post-doctoral fellow at the Asia Research Institute, the National University of Singapore.

In the past few years her research and publications have focused on the relationship between Islam and the state, and the impact of this relationship on Asia's diverse societies, approaching the theme from three border-crossing perspectives: political Islam as a nationalist ideology, secularism as a marker of socio-political modernity, and Shi'ism in Southeast Asia (engaging with issues of sectarianism, orthodoxy and religious pluralism). Her publications include the monograph *Islam and the making of the nation: Kartosuwiryo and political Islam in 20th century Indonesia* (2012), the edited volumes *Shi'ism and Beyond: Alid Piety in Muslim Southeast Asia* (forthcoming), and *Religious Pluralism, State and Society in Asia* (Routledge, 2013), and a number of journal articles and book chapters.

Hong Kong's Muslim communities: a case study for Asia's ethno-religious pluralism

Capitalizing on my scholarly engagement with the relationship between state and religion, in-depth knowledge of Southeast Asia, and a more recently acquired expertise on Hong Kong's religious landscape, I intend to investigate ethno-religious diversity at the intersection of government policies, social attitudes, and historical legacies.

Between the 16th and 19th centuries the trading posts of Malacca, Singapore and Hong Kong became true cultural entrepôts, with a cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic outlook, and in the context of nation-states Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong have remained characteristic *loci* of Asia's plural societies. Well beyond this historical legacy, ongoing migration and general globalizing trends have continued to change their diversified ethno-religious outlook in the past half-century. One project I intend to pursue (funding is pending...) compares religious (migrant) minorities in Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, focusing on Muslim and Buddhist groups.¹ These three political entities display different approaches to the management of religious diversity: whilst Malaysia and Singapore made "management" of diversity a key aspect of their policies since colonial times (albeit with different priorities and outcomes), Hong Kong only drafted a law on religious freedoms or against ethnic discrimination within the legal frame of its return to China in 1997. As inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations remain a crucial policy-aspect for Asian and Western countries, it is important to understand how laws and social behavior contribute to (or hamper) the formation of a society which is not only "diverse", but truly "pluralistic", embracing Michael Peletz's understanding of "pluralism" as diversity which is "accorded legitimacy". The key question addressed in this project thus asks where the legitimizing agency rests (the state? Society? Migrants?).

In the case of Hong Kong, a crucial concern relates to the social position of Muslims in the post-handover era asking where the ever-increasing Muslim community is left. Is Hong Kongers' general perception of South and Southeast Asian Muslims guided by religious beliefs, ethnicity, or socio-economic status? How do changing patterns of migration affect these perceptions? And do different migrant groups relate to / perceive each other?

After 150 years of presence, Islam is still understood as a foreign religion in Hong Kong. As we witness in Europe and North America, where Muslims have been around also for well over a century, Islam remains a "foreign" culture because of its distinctive connotation as a feature of (disadvantaged, ghettoized) ethnic minority groups.

¹ Malaysia's population is 60% Muslim, 19% Buddhist and 9% Christian; Singapore counts 42% Buddhists, 15% Muslims, and 5% Christians; Hong Kong's majority religion is Buddhism with 21% of the population, followed by Christianity (11%) and Islam (3%).

Raees BAIG has a doctoral degree from HKU, with a thesis on racial equality and policymaking in Hong Kong.

Since then, she has worked for the Hong Kong Council of Social Service (where she was responsible for a project on social impact assessment) as well as Amnesty International (as a researcher on death penalty in the Asia Pacific region). Raees has been actively involved in community affairs, especially on issues of equality and human rights, well before her doctoral programme; Raees was a member of the Committee on the Promotion of Racial Harmony under the HKSAR Government, she has worked for the Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, and she was responsible for the campaign on anti-racial discrimination and other human rights issues, such as children's rights and sexual orientation. Currently, Raees is serving as board member for the Hong Kong Unison, a co-opted member for the Equal Opportunities Commission, and a member for the Amnesty International Hong Kong Section.

Raees has given several presentations at local and international conferences on research areas such as migration, colonialism and human rights development.

Race/ethnicity, migration and multiculturalism have always been my major research focus. Coming from a social work background, my studies have tried to incorporate these concepts and elements into social work practices and social policy formulation.

With the increasing number of migrants from South Asian countries and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Government's initiative on legislating against racial discrimination which was eventually passed in 2008, more attention has been raised from the academic and practitioner levels on racial equality and ethnic integration. Due to the pressing social needs from the new migrant communities, many studies and researches conducted have been primarily focusing on the situation and need assessments of the migrant communities, such as on social welfare and educational needs. These research initiatives on one hand have been contributing to the understanding on the migrant communities; however on the other hand, as the primary purpose of the studies is on policy change, the studies have been very much governed by the HKSAR government's principles on ethnic diversity and integration. Even though we could see there is a strong intertwining effect between ethnicity and religion, the non-inclusion of religion in the Race Discrimination Ordinance indeed has indirectly shaped current policy studies to a lack of religious perspective.

It is important to expand the ethnic and religious discourse in order to uncover the intertwining effect on migrants. From the macro perspective, my study on civil participation in the making of race policy and race discrimination legislation indeed sheds light on how religion could affect migrants' political participation and their negotiation power with the government. Migrants from different regions sharing the same religious background could have different policymaking power due to their ethnicity and ethnic group cohesion. The degree of emphasis the government places on certain ethnic groups could affect the migrants' capacity on policymaking regarding religious practice. Such capacity could cause observable violation on the rights to religion, such as the disapproval on building religious premises and exercising religious practice in public institutions.

On personal level, transnational migration often causes migrants to question their cultural and religious identities when positioning in a society which has different cultural and religious values. Such ambiguity is even more complex for the second generation of migrants when they try to place themselves in the new culture but senior members of the community and even members from their home countries have been calling for preservation of traditional values.

Liz Jackson is Assistant Professor in Policy, Administration, and Social Sciences Education at the University of Hong Kong, Faculty of Education. Before joining HKU in 2012, Liz worked in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, in higher education policy development, and with the South Africa Department of Education/US Peace Corps. Liz completed her PhD in Education Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (US) and her MPhil in “Politics, Democracy and Education,” from the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom. Liz’s research interests include diversity studies in education, multicultural and patriotic education, and comparative and global studies in educational policy and curriculum. She is working on a book, *Muslims and Islam in US Education: Reconsidering Multiculturalism* (Routledge), and two small grant-based projects: “A Preliminary Examination of the Representation of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Senior Secondary Liberal Studies Textbooks,” and “Bridging Cultures: American Volunteers’ Experiences as Educators in Mainland China,” at the University of Hong Kong.

My research interests in “the role of Southeast and South Asian Migrants’ Religions in Hong Kong” are focused on the relationship between religious minorities (particularly Muslims) in Hong Kong and common Hong Kong conceptions of different religious traditions, their place(s) in education and society, and what it means to be a Hong Konger and to belong in mainstream society. These have significant implications for the experiences of religious minorities both inside and outside schools in Hong Kong.

In particular, my interests focus on educational policy, curriculum, and other elements of educational environments (i.e. “the hidden curriculum” and extracurricular aspects of schooling) and their impact on religious minorities and religious culture:

- how school aspects represent, regard, and treat religiosities and members of religious communities through textbook portrayals, policies on citizenship education, and more informal educative practices of schools;
- how religious minorities experience education in Hong Kong;
- mainstream student informal/background knowledge (and lack thereof, and media representations) of religiosities and religious groups.

My past research, based in the United States, has documented how schooling provides students with unbalanced representations of different traditions (particularly Islam) in relation to the way many people there view their own national religiosity (as Christian and/or secular). Mainstream students have a need to know, based on the negative stereotypical images predominating in mass media and popular culture, about Islam and Muslims in their society and worldwide; school systems which fear controversy and wherein educators themselves are likely to not have balanced, critical understanding fail to correct this “ignorant knowledge.” This harms both Muslim minorities who suffer from prejudice and discrimination, and other Americans, who may have an inaccurate collective self-image and an unbalanced understanding of one of the most important, prevalent religious traditions in our world.

In Hong Kong I want to explore issues such as:

- How do educators and administrators feel about different religious traditions in society and in schools—and their educative significance?
- What is the difference between religions conceived as such, and other faith-based/moral traditions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, ancestor worship, etc.?
- Is there potential for a multicultural-religious curriculum in Hong Kong schools?
- Do religious minorities suffer challenges in schools due to religious aspects of their identities?

One of my current research projects will explore the representation of religious minorities in curriculum, by analyzing discourse within common textbooks used in Liberal Studies, and within official curriculum guidance, which recommends in part that Hong Kong schools enable students to respect and understand various forms of diversity in their society and worldwide. In pursuing this work I have observed that while in the United States multicultural education

Wai-chi Chee has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from The Chinese University of Hong Kong. She has also taught at the University of Macau in the Department of Sociology. Her research interests include culture and identity, education, governance, migration, and globalization. Geographical areas of her research include Mainland China, Hong Kong, and South Asia. Her dissertation addresses how Mainland Chinese and South Asian teenage migrant students adapt to schooling and life in Hong Kong.

The Perceived Role of Religion in the Educational Attainment of South Asian Immigrant Secondary Students in Hong Kong

Substantial research has documented that religion plays an important role in educational attainment (E.g., Lehrer 1999). Yet the relationship between religion and education remains confusing because conflicting conclusions are offered by different studies. While some studies find that religion is positively related to educational attainment (E.g., Regnerus 2000; Muller and Ellison 2001), others suggest a negative association (E.g., Darnell and Sherkat 1997).

My recent research on the education of South Asian immigrant students in Hong Kong also reveals diverse opinions from informants regarding the relationship between Islam and education. Local Chinese educators tend to see that certain practices endorsed by Islam may discourage students from developing their academic potential to the full. For instance, one social worker told me that the reluctance of Muslim parents to send daughters to co-educational schools or to let them participate in extra-curricular activities limit the daughters' development. Another teacher said that children cannot have full educational engagement because of parental reservations about the possible impacts of secular education on their children. Yet another teacher said that the religious obligation to attend madrasah competes with schooling for the students' time and energy. Still another teacher said that the Islamic emphasis on afterlife diverts students' effort away from studying. However, South Asian teachers and parents think the other way. For example, one Pakistani secondary school teacher assured me that Islam encourages education, for both male and female, and that the Quran stipulates that Muslims should learn both religious knowledge and secular knowledge to enhance life on earth. The few parents I talked to also emphasized education as an avenue to social mobility.

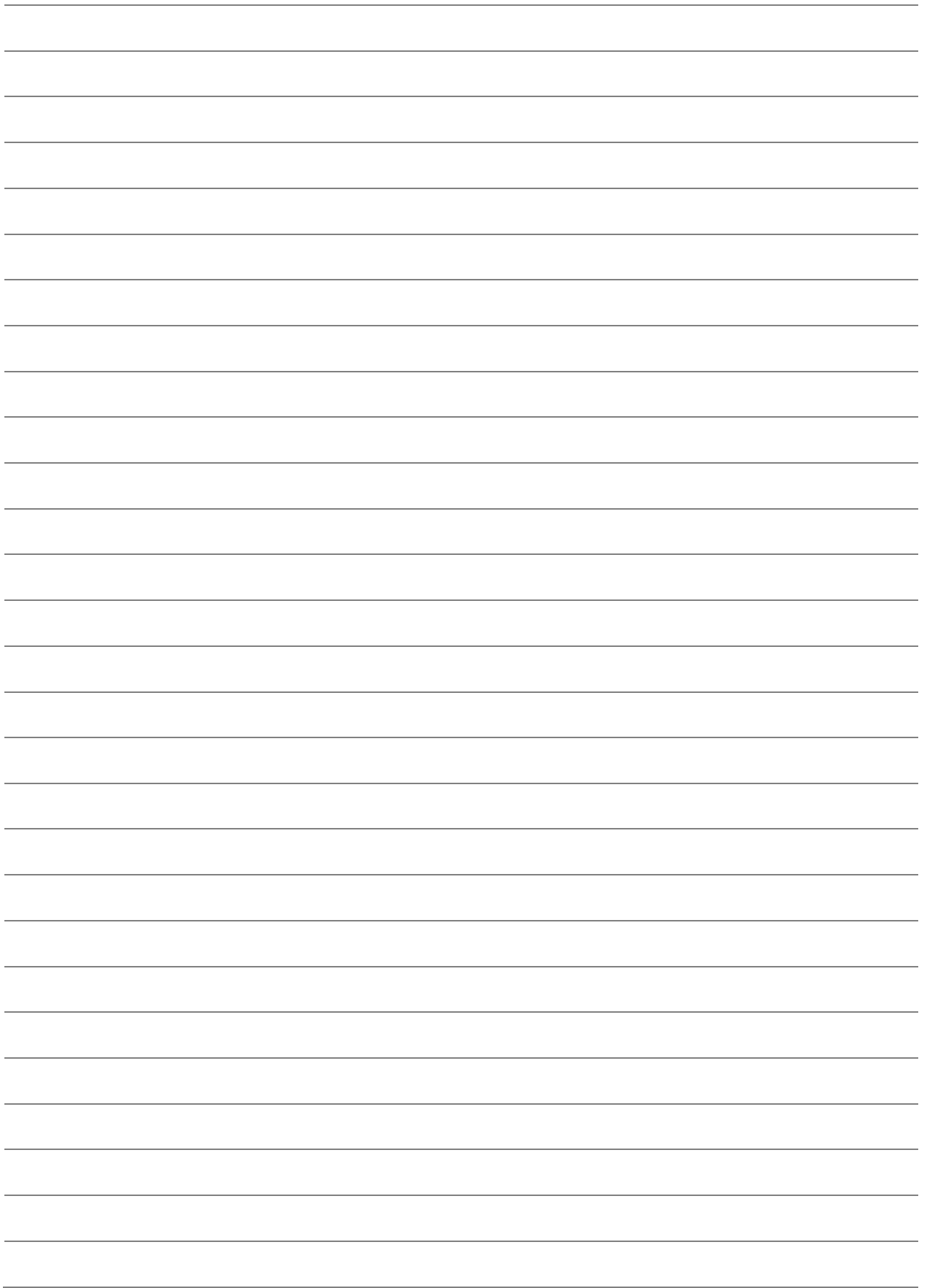
Indeed, religion has an impact on values and priorities which in turn shape how people make decisions about important issues such as education. This proposed research seeks to explore more systemically the relationship between religion and education in the context of migration where the students are both ethnic and religious minority. It will specifically examine three important factors: religious participation, religious tenets, and religion-based social networks, to shed light on how these factors, individually or collectively, shape the academic achievement of South Asian Muslim immigrant students. Informants will include students, parents, and educators in Hong Kong secondary schools.

Darnell, Alfred, and Darren E. Sherkat. "The impact of Protestant fundamentalism on educational attainment." *American Sociological Review* (1997): 306-315.

Lehrer, Evelyn L. "Religion as a determinant of educational attainment: An economic perspective." *Social Science Research* 28.4 (1999): 358-379.

Muller, Chandra, and Christopher G. Ellison. "Religious involvement, social capital, and adolescents' academic progress: Evidence from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988." *Sociological Focus* 34.2 (2001): 155-183.

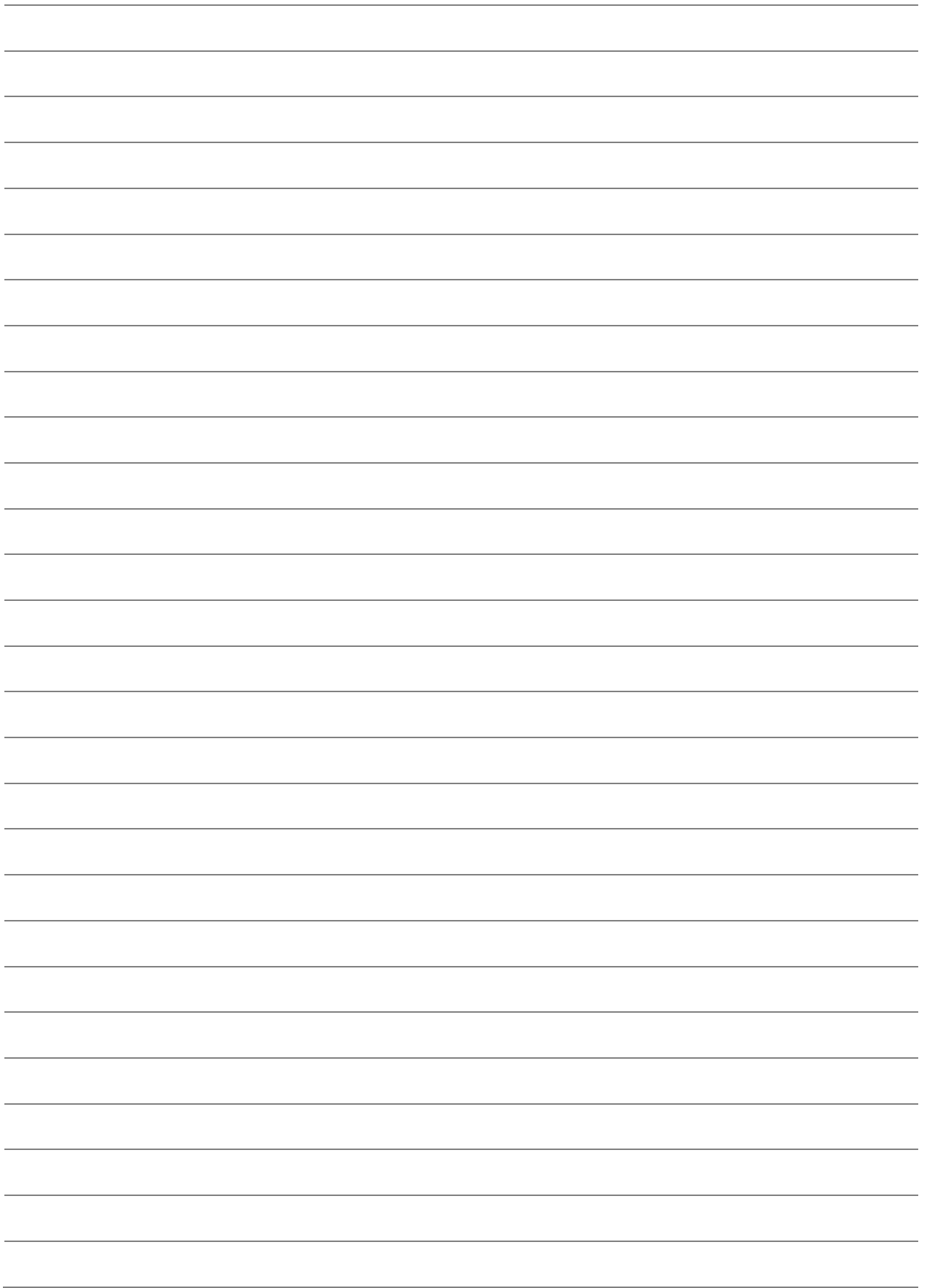
Regnerus, Mark D. "Shaping schooling success: Religious socialization and educational outcomes in metropolitan public schools." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39.3 (2000): 363-370.



Ho Wai-Yip is the Assistant Professor of Department of Social Sciences, Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong, China. He has been the Sir Edward Youde Fellow and was the Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar at the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, (2001-2002), Junior Fellow, Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities, Essen, Germany (2006), Visiting Researcher at Yemen College of Middle Eastern Studies, Republic of Yemen (2008). His research interests include Islamic Studies, Christian-Muslim relations and sociology of Muslim societies. He recently works on topics in New Media and China's Islam, Gulf-China relations and China's Christian-Muslim relations. His articles appear in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, *Asian Ethnicity*, *Contemporary Islam*, *Asian Profile*, *Social Identities*, *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, etc.

The Rise of Madrasah Education in Hong Kong: Transmission and Learning of Islamic Knowledge

Madrasah, as an Islamic institution, has been important in transmitting religious knowledge and shaping the identity of the global Muslim community (*ummah*) for centuries. While Muslim students receive modern education in daytime conventional schools, this ethnographic study looks into the sharp rise of the madrasah in Hong Kong and how ethnic Muslim youths remain faithful to their religious tradition by studying and memorizing the Qur'an in the madrasah after daytime schooling. Unlike the stereotypical bias and national security concerns on the relation of madrasah to the alleged terrorist movements in the Muslim-majority or Western European societies in the last decade, this ethnographic study, however, explores the origin, development and the impacts of the madrasah in Hong Kong, especially among the Muslim youths. It firstly traces the demographic expansion of ethnic minorities and Hong Kong socio-political transformations to the recent rise of the madrasah. Secondly, it interprets how ethnic Muslim students and their parents perceive the importance of madrasah education in terms of religious piety, moral education, family honor and heritage identity. Third, this study explores the emerging challenges of madrasah faced by Muslim students and reflected by educators in conventional schooling in Hong Kong. By this threefold research focus of the rise of the madrasah, this study does not only contribute theoretically to advance the understanding of the madrasah, religious practice and Muslim piety in the Chinese-majority context, but would also subsequently shed light on the practical significance and policy implications which are locally relevant: 1. Reformulate urban policy in tackling the scarcity of space and the neglected needs of ethnic minorities driven by the sharp rise of the madrasah in the community level; 2. Rethink multicultural policy why ethnic Muslim families favor ethnic minority-led madrasah over the government-led inclusive education; and 3. Remobilize resources in empowering the educators of daytime conventional schools to practically tackle the new challenges of the growing appeals of Qur'anic education among ethnic Muslim students.



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