

張維安◎主編

客家文化、 認同與信仰

東南亞與臺港澳

[海外客家研究叢書04]

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《海外客家研究叢書》總序

蕭新煌

中央大學客家學院獲得李誠代校長的大力支持於2012年底正式成立「海外客家研究中心」，在中心的工作目標裡，明列出版《海外客家研究叢書》，以貫穿教學、研究和出版的學術三大宗旨。

「海外客家」，顧名思義是以原鄉中國和本國臺灣以外的客家族群和社會做為研究對象。就客家族群歷史淵源來說，臺灣客家也算是中國原鄉的「海外」移民客家，但客家在臺灣經歷三百年的本土化、臺灣化和國家化之後，已與臺灣的新國家社會形成有機體。如此的國家化和「去離散化」的經驗乃構成臺灣客家與其他全球客家很不同的族群歷史和政治文化樣貌。基於此，如果將臺灣客家與其他海外客家進行比較研究的著作，當然也可以列入此一叢書。

到底「海外客家」有多少人？一直是人人有興趣、大家有意見，但彼此都不太確定的「事實」。偶爾會聽到的猜測竟高達8,000萬到1億，但根據1994年「世界客屬第十二次懇親大會」所公布的統計是6,562萬，似是比較嚴謹和實在的數字。在這6,562萬當中，中國原鄉大概有5,290萬、臺灣有460萬，剩下來的812萬客家人口嚴格說來，就是本叢書系列著作要去探討研究的「海外客家族群」對象。

如何在這812萬海外客家裡，去做進一步的分類、理解和比較，恐怕也是見仁見智。我認為，至少也做以下的初步分類嘗試：

第一群是所謂海外華人集中的社會，即香港（125萬）、澳門（10萬）、新加坡（20萬）。在這三個社會裡客家族群（共155萬）如何形成、演變，並與其他華人族群如何相同相異，當是很有意思的研究主題。

第二群是亞洲和太平洋的海外客家，其總人數有360萬，僅次於

臺灣的460萬，包括印尼（150萬）、馬來西亞（125萬）、泰國（55萬）、越南（15萬）、緬甸（10萬）、澳大利亞（4.3萬）、印度（2.5萬）、太平洋各島嶼（1.7萬）、日本（1.2萬）、菲律賓（6,800）和汶萊（5,000）。這些身處少數的亞太客家族群的變貌和如何維繫客家族群認同，及其與在地本土社會、族群和國家的種種生成、矛盾、辯證關係，即是有價值的探討課題。

第三群是北美洲和中南美洲的海外客家，共60萬。其中美國有28.4萬、加拿大有8.1萬，其餘的23.5萬則分散在秘魯、牙買加、古巴、圭亞那、巴拿馬和巴西等國。這些算是少數中的少數之海外客家族群經驗中，最難能可貴的恐怕就是如何去延續什麼程度的客家文化傳統和習慣的「微觀族群生活經驗」。

第四群是其他的海外客家，共28萬，包括歐洲的20萬和非洲的8萬。其中歐洲的英國有15萬、法國3萬，再次是瑞士、荷蘭、比利時，北歐的瑞典和丹麥也有少數客家人的蹤跡。至於非洲的模里西斯有3.5萬，算是可觀，南非有2.5萬，留尼旺約有1.8萬。

本叢書的目的就是計畫陸續出版有關上述這些分散五大洲，多達80個國家和社會海外客家族群之移民史、在地化歷程、「離散經驗」和維繫並延續客家文化認同的奮鬥和努力。

以上就是我做為本叢書總主編的出版想法和期許。

序言：認識客家的拼圖

2006年中央大學主辦第一屆臺灣客家國際研討會「全球視野下的客家與地方社會」，在「全球化與在地化」相互激盪的視野下，觀察客家地方社會的異同，交通大學客家文化學院以此成果為基礎，以「『客家』的形成與變遷：文本、儀式與日常生活」為主題，於2008年主辦第二屆臺灣客家國際研討會，經由文本、儀式與日常生活，探討「客家」的形成與變遷。使國內客家研究穩步朝向國際學術之大舞台。

2013年交通大學客家文化學院推出紙本與線上同步發行的《全球客家研究》（<http://ghk.nctu.edu.tw/>），並推動全球客家研究計畫、客家研究揚帆計畫、亞洲之南計畫、客家研究天弓計畫、全球客家形成等研究計畫。客家研究能量較之於過去有很大的進展，尤其是這些年來全球客家研究社群的活動，催生了第三屆臺灣客家研究國際研討會，匯集了這些研究能量，與國內外學者進行對話。本書所收錄各篇為第三屆臺灣客家研究國際研討會會議論文，經送審之後所收錄的部分論文。

客家在遷移的過程中，在不同政權統治的環境下，在不同周邊人群文化互動中，形成了面貌多元的客家身影。如果我們將客家視為一個變動的人群，一個不斷發展和不斷建構的人群，那麼客家研究的空間要擴充得很大，時間要拉得很長，客家研究議題要兼顧各種層面，解析日常生活中視之為當然的議題，學術性的第二階提問與「不視之為當然」的省思，都是客家研究所需要的態度。

本書所收錄的論文，所涵蓋的地理範圍廣泛，其中以馬來西亞客家議題相關的最多，除了西馬外還有東馬的沙巴，婆羅州的西加里曼丹，臺灣、香港和澳門各地的論文。在分析的議題方面，包括華人認

同、客家華人的坐月子文化、會館、語言認同、經濟活動與族群分工等；其中，信仰的部分有嘉應會館的祭神、具客家特色的巴色教會、信奉阿拉的客家華人之宇宙觀。這些議題與地區的論文顯示出客家研究的複雜性，以及以全球客家為研究範圍的重要性。

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Ethnic Consciousness Construction among Chinese Malaysian Students: Top-Down or Bottom-Up?

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Abstract

Previous studies and observations conducted by various researchers have confirmed the occurrence of ethnic polarization in Malaysian public universities' campuses. It has also been discovered that the intensity of ethnic polarization is particularly high among Chinese Malaysian students. Obviously, these phenomena indicate the perpetuation of ethnic consciousness among them. Proponents of the top-down approach opined that ethnic consciousness is an outcome of disequilibrium in the society economic and political structure. Ethnic consciousness is seen as a form of a "distorted view" of oneself that is created to assist the elite to gain power and wealth. In other words, it is an outcome of top-down effort. However, as argued by bottom-up proponents, the top-down approach has disregarded the fact that ethnic consciousness can be constructed by individuals from their everyday experiences. They view ethnic consciousness as an outcome of rational choice made by individuals to associate themselves with certain groupings to compete and to face competition. The bottom-up approach differs from the top-down approach in the sense that it views ethnic identity as formed by individuals and not merely an assigned identity to fulfil the

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wishes of elites. Hence, in the context of Chinese Malaysian students, studying in Malaysian public universities, what would be the factor that caused them to identify themselves as Chinese and eventually considered non-Chinese as the “others”? Is it top-down or bottom-up? This paper intends to provide insights into their ethnic consciousness formation. In order to investigate this phenomenon, a qualitative research was conducted. Data were collected by conducting four focus group discussions in four Malaysian public universities. Approximately thirty Chinese Malaysians students participated. Results from this study show the Chinese Malaysian students constructed their ethnic consciousness through their families and peers socialization experiences. Their interpretations of their experiences have caused them to be aware and proud of their ethnic culture and heritage. They have also developed an awareness of the challenges faced by their ethnic group. These consequences of ethnic socialization experiences have caused the students to position their ethnic origin as the fundamental element in their identity conceptualization. They feel attached to their ethnic identity and they find their identity assisted them to form a collective force to face the challenges of living in a plural society. Inadvertently the conceptualization has caused them to construct ethnic consciousness. These findings reaffirm bottom-up approach in explaining the reasons that caused the formation of ethnic consciousness. The consciousness is built by individuals from their everyday experiences and should not be viewed as merely an outcome of structural disequilibrium.

Key words: Ethnic identity, ethnic socialization, ethnic boundary.

Introduction

Being the centres for public higher education epitome, the universities gather Malaysians from different ethnic backgrounds. Their diverse ethnic backgrounds are clearly visible when one step into the universities' campuses. Malay, Chinese, Indian as well as students from other ethnic groups in Malaysia seldom mix. Their reluctance has produced a picture that mimics the nature of ethnic relations in Malaysia. Just like other Malaysians, the students live, study and play side by side but seldom together. Their ethnic identity has served as a barrier that kept them within the boundaries of their ethnic groups. Researches conducted by scholars such as Sanusi Osman (1989), Emile Yeoh (2006) and Noraini M Noor (2007) produced empirical results that are able to prove the occurrence of such phenomenon in Malaysian public universities.

Judging from the reports produced by these researches, Chinese Malaysian student (hereafter known as Chinese student) was identified to have a higher tendency to polarize. Some scholar such as Yeoh (2006: 229) explained that this phenomenon happened because the number of Chinese student is bigger than student from other ethnic origins. However, the size of Chinese student in Malaysian public universities could not be the impetus that causes them to polarize. In order for the Chinese students to polarize, they would need to be guided by a feeling that compels them to accept other Chinese as members of their in-group and to perceive non-Chinese as members of out-group. In other words they would have to form what Barth (1969:79) called as ethnic boundary first.

This paper would like to discuss the reasons that caused the Chinese students to form their ethnic consciousness. Primarily, this paper would be discussing the reasons that caused the students to identify themselves as

Chinese. The identification is a reflection of their ethnic consciousness that eventually leads to the formation of ethnic boundary. The question is what could have caused them to develop such consciousness and how was this consciousness formed and retained? Some scholars opined that ethnic consciousness is socially constructed by the elites, an outcome of top-down initiatives. Other scholars disagreed. As will be explained in the next section, there is a possibility that ethnic consciousness is constructed by individuals who feel that there is a need for them to form a collective movement to compete or to face competition with regards to their access to economic resources, power and prestige. Ethnic origin is mobilized to form such movement. Consequently, in order to ensure the sustainability of the collective movement, the group instil certain form of ethnic socialization mechanism. Henceforth, not only the elites are making use of ethnic origin. Members of ethnic groups and in the case of this paper, the Chinese student may have participated and an outcome of similar moves too.

Literature Review

Neo-Marxists such as Robert Miles & Malcolm Brown (2003) provided a 'top-down' theoretical approach to analyze 'ethnic' as a social structure that determine the action of individuals. Their theoretical approach emphasizes on the creation of an ideology that influence the mind of individuals. To both scholars, individuals went through the *ethnicization* processes and through this process, ethnic groups were formed and assigned to certain economic positions. As a result, certain ethnic groups will be dominant while other ethnic groups will be subordinated (Miles & Brown, 2003: 98). The *ethnicization* process is initiated by the elites to gain control by positioning themselves in the dominant position. Members of the ethnic groups are made

to believe that they belong to certain ethnic groups which occupy either the dominant or subordinate position. These ideas are then instituted by the state to provide legitimate grounding that support the process. Their socio-cultural practices and even their biological features are used to demarcate the differences between them and the others. Consequently, conflict between them is inevitable.

In a rather contrasting way, scholars such as Banton argued that ethnic identity is constructed voluntarily by individuals. The identity allows an individual to associate himself with certain ethnic groupings. Being a member of an ethnic group, he is able to participate in a collective movement to bargain with other ethnic groups and ultimately to acquire access to 'public goods' (Banton, 2011). Public goods are goods that can be utilized by all, but due to resources constraint, the goods are not usually made available for all. Scholarship, business license, citizenship and street lights are some examples of the public goods. Since public goods are offered to all, these goods are sought by all too (Hetcher, Friedman & Appelbaum, 1982: 416). Therefore, ethnic identity is constructed by individuals to safeguard their access to the public goods. It is their choice after rationalizing situations that may or may not favour their conditions and goals. If they find their goals are obtainable through personal effort, the tendency to associate themselves to their ethnic groups may not be strong. Otherwise, if they find their goals cannot be achieved through individual effort, the tendency to associate themselves with their ethnic group will be strong.

Such a conclusion on the nature of ethnic identity is highlighted by scholars such as Max Weber. According to him:

Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete