COLLOQUE 2019
2019 CONFERENCE

POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
POUVOIR EN ASIE DU SUD-EST

CCEASE-CCSEAS

www.ccseas.ca

CONSEIL CANADIEN DES ÈTUDES SUR L'ASIE DU SUD-EST
CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

24-26 Octobre/October 2019
McGill University - Universite' de Sherbrooke, Montreal

UNIVERSITÉ DE SHERBROOKE
McGill

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WELCOME REMARKS / MOT DE BIENVENUE

Welcome Remarks from the President of CCSEAS

I am delighted to welcome you all to the 2019 biennial meeting of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies. For the first time in the history of CCSEAS, the conference will be jointly held at McGill University and Sherbrooke University (Longueuil). Sherbrooke's Longueuil campus is just about 20 minutes by metro across the St. Lawrence River from McGill's campus. We hope that this arrangement allows all participants to fully enjoy the vibrant city of Montreal!

The conference theme this year is "Power in Southeast Asia." With this in mind, we have prepared an exciting array of roundtables and panels that address the theme of power from an interdisciplinary perspective.

On Thursday October 24, we have a full day of special events. We kick off the conference at 1 pm with a roundtable on "Power and Democracy in Southeast Asia" that will be chaired by Professor Kai Ostwald of UBC and will feature civil society activists, academics, and several government officials. Following that, we will host a retrospective roundtable on one of the most influential scholars of Southeast Asia, Professor Benedict Anderson, who passed away in Indonesia in December 2015.

Professor Tyrell Haberkorn of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a prolific scholar deeply committed to democracy in Thailand, will deliver the first keynote speech on "Justice after Dictatorship in Thailand." We then cap off Thursday evening with cocktails and a film screening and discussion of the works of the award-winning Filipino director, Patrick Alcedo, whose recent documentary, "Dancing Manilenyos" was an official selection of the Diversity in Cannes Short Film Showcase.

On Friday October 25, the conference moves to Sherbrooke University in Longueuil for a day full of interesting panels. The annual meeting will take place that afternoon.

The CCSEAS customary dinner will be held on Friday at 7pm in the Best Western Hotel, right near McGill's campus. Besides good food and fun conversation, the dinner will include performances by PAMANA Ng LuzViMinda Philippine Folkloric Dance Company, led by Jorge Manuel Antonio. We encourage you to attend what will be an exciting Friday dinner!

On Saturday October 26, we return to McGill University for the final day of the conference. Our second keynote speech will be given by Professor Rachel Silvey of the University of Toronto – a world renowned scholar on migration in Southeast Asia. Her talk is entitled: "Dancing Up Your City: Subversions of Power and Desire among Transnational Migrant Domestic Workers."

I do very much hope you will enjoy this conference, that you will engage with your colleagues on the debates of the day, and that you will also savor what Montreal has to offer in its typically beautiful Autumn season!

Erik Martinez Kuhonta
President of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies

SPONSORS / COMMANDITAIRES, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS / RECONNAISSANCE

Thank You!

Without the support of so many people and institutions, this biennial conference would not have been possible. We would especially like to thank the programming committee, that included Serge Granger (co-convener), Christine Gibb, and Gabriel Fauveaud. The organizing committee was led by Nhu Truong, Alicia Filipovich, Bilal Shakir, Akanit Horatanakun, Cuong Nguyen, Kazue Takamura, and Tamara Yang.

The CCSEAS organizing committee and members wish to thank the following sponsors for their generous support / Le comité organisateur et les membres du CCEASE remercient les commanditaires suivants pour leur généreuse contribution:

McGill University

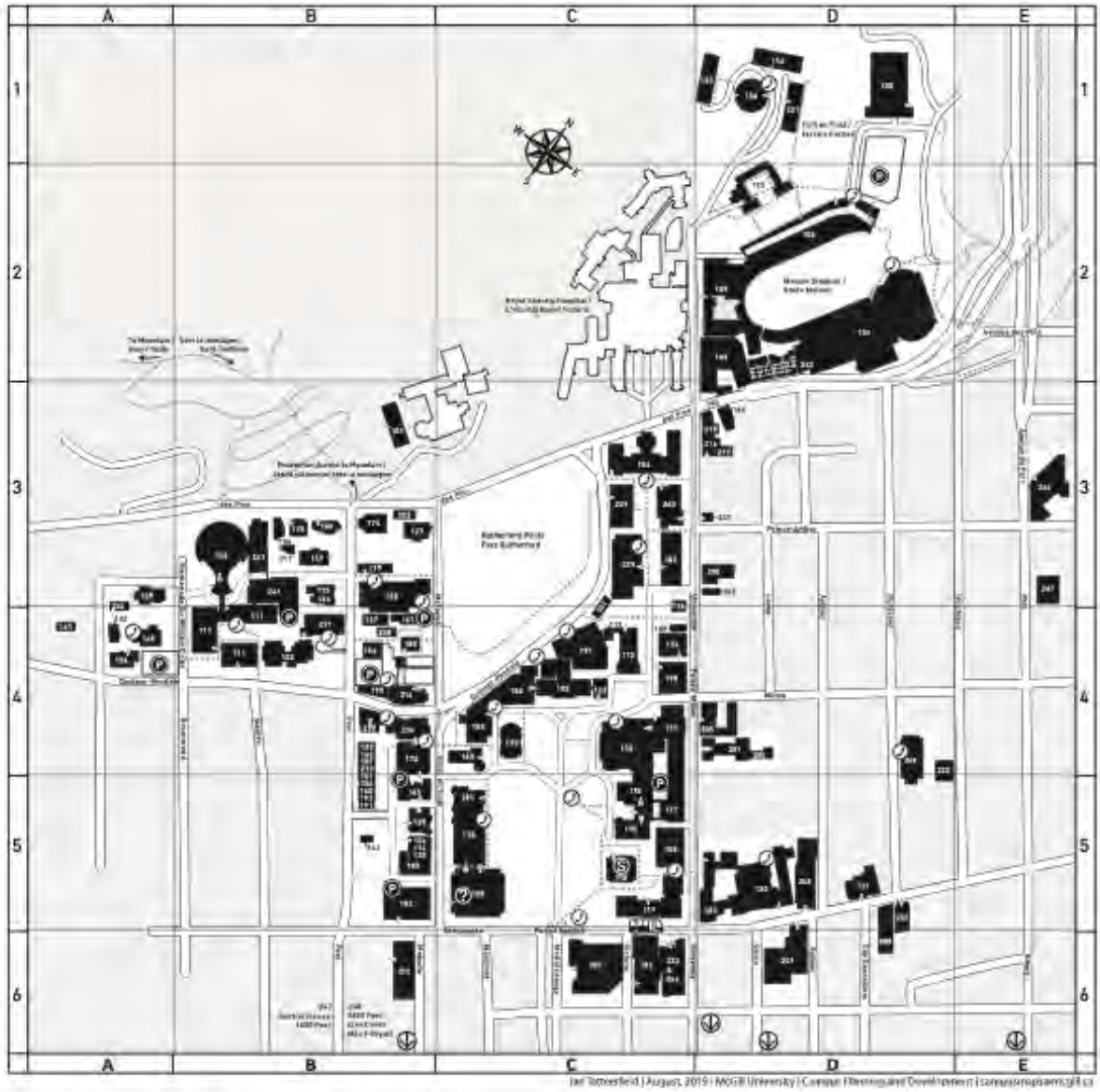
University of Sherbrooke

McGill Southeast Asia Lecture Series

Institute for the Study of International Development (ISID)

MCGILL UNIVERSITY CAMPUS MAP /
CARTE DU CAMPUS MCGILL UNIVERSITY

McGill | Downtown Campus 2019-2020 | Campus centre-ville 2019-2020 | Montréal, Québec

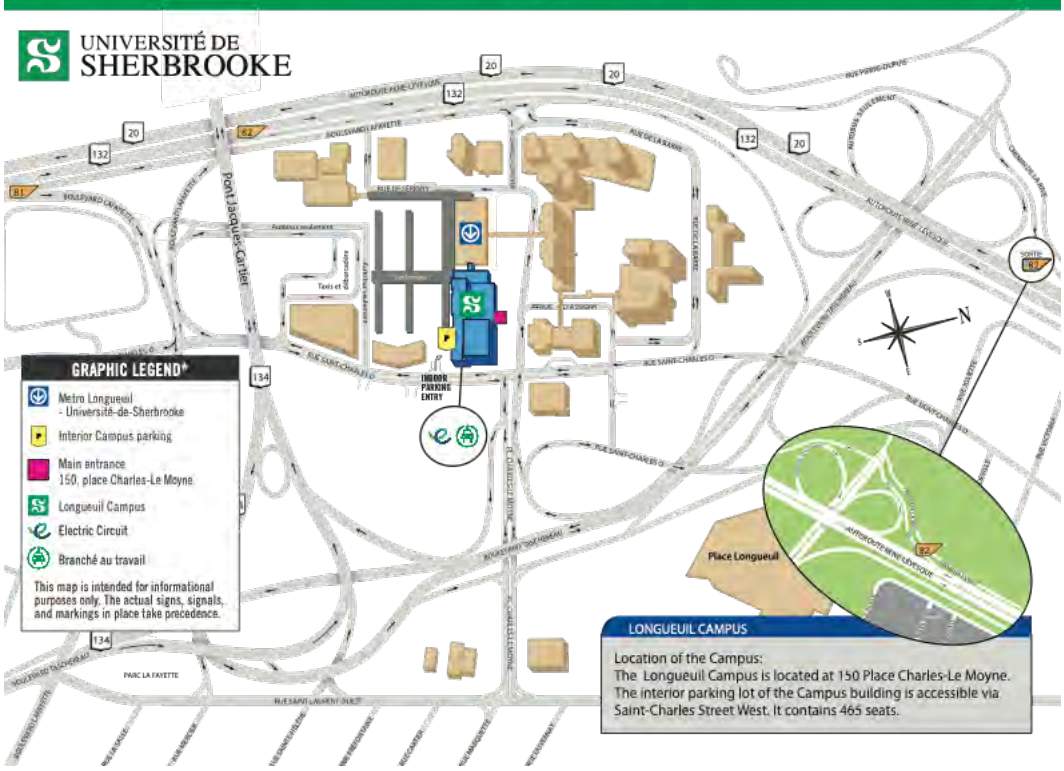


LEGEND / LÉGENDE

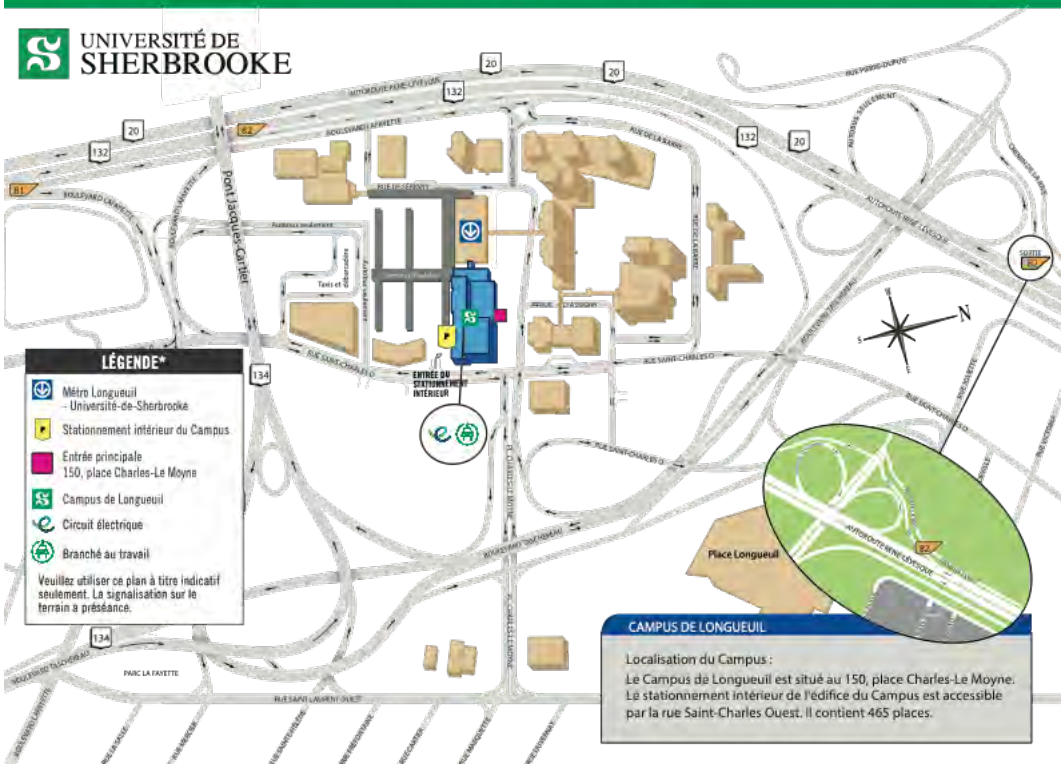
- Campus phones / Téléphones de campus
- Parking / Stationnement
- Information
- Security Services / Service de sécurité
- Footpath / Voie piétonne
- Vehicular route / Voie carrossable
- Accessible Entrance / Porte accessible
- Inter-campus Shuttle / Navette
- Metro

UNIVERSITY OF SHERBROOKE CAMPUS MAP / CARTE DU CAMPUS UNIVERSITE DE SHERBROOKE

LONGUEUIL CAMPUS



CAMPUS DE LONGUEUIL



SHOWS / SPECTACLES

Conference Dinner Show on Friday October 25 at the Best Western Hotel: **PAMANA Ng LuzViminda** – Traditional Philippine Dance

PAMANA Ng LuzViminda

PAMANA ng LuzViMinda Philippine Folkloric Dance Company was founded in 2005 in order to represent and preserve Philippine intangible cultural heritage. Based in the multicultural metropolis of Montreal in Quebec, Canada, PAMANA has become a viable ambassador in Philippine cultural folk dance with its well-trained performers, authentic costuming, and live music groups.

The PAMANA ng LuzViMinda Dance Company

Despite its young age, PAMANA has already achieved a considerable amount of success, garnering a reputation of high quality performances and well-disciplined performers. Within ten years, the group has presented five stage productions, travelled internationally three times, and travelled within Canada numerous times. At each of these milestones, the reviews of PAMANA's performance and off-stage discipline have been widely commended.

Most importantly, throughout the years PAMANA has distinguished itself by staunchly investing in youth mentorship and leadership training. Comprised mostly of Canadian-born Filipino youth, PAMANA is fundamentally a youth-led organization: the President, Artistic Director, and five of the eight Executive Board members are all under the age of thirty. The youth of the company are encouraged to become involved in different aspects of the company and to take on leadership roles.

Members therefore not only develop the confidence to perform onstage, but they also acquire the skills and character necessary to lead others. In this way PAMANA has become much more than a simple folkloric dance company. PAMANA provides its members a safe context in which they can explore their cultural identities and develop their leadership skills.

SINGKIL DANCE STEP

Singkil is a famous dance that started out in South Asia. It is mostly performed by the Maranao People of Lake Lanao. Singkil is often performed for festivals and ceremonies of passage. Singkil is a ritual performed by the prince and princess to define their courting as well as historically to present the women to show her eligibility. It shows the agility of the young girl turning into a women with every step.

Singkil Dance Performance

"PANDANGGO SA ILAW" – DANCE OF LIGHTS

Pandanggo sa Ilaw which translates as Dance of Lights, is a waltz-style, playful folk dance that showcases a unique fusion of local and western indigenous dance forms. Originating in Lubang Island, Mindoro in the Philippines, it is usually performed during festivities and special occasions.

TINIKLING is a traditional Philippine folk dance which originated during the Spanish colonial era. The dance involves two people beating, tapping, and sliding bamboo poles on the ground and against each other in coordination with one or more dancers who step over and in between the poles in a dance.

Dancers performing on Friday October 25 at the CCSEAS dinner at the Best Western Hotel:

Jorge Manuel Antonio
(Artistic Director & Senior Performer)
Karyn Mae Gamay
(Assistant Artistic Director & Senior Performer)
Anne-Marie Lavallée
(President & Senior Performer)
Anthony-Virgil Bermejo
(Dance Master & Senior Performer)
Eudie-Gabriel Entela
(Dance Master & Senior Performer)
Emmanuel John Entela
(Music Director & Senior Performer)
Leslie Faye Gamay
(Costume and Props Manager & Senior Performer)
Nesmelia-Grace Chantengco
(Marketing and Communication Director & Senior Performer)
Kevin Bustillo
(Senior Performer)
Mervyn Enriquez
(Senior Performer)
Eva-Maria Laguting-Friedrich
(Senior Performer)
Peter-John Ortaleza
(Senior Performer)
Carissa Maeve de Messa
(Intermediate Performer)
Marcus Aguilera Pavico
(Junior Performer)

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES / DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE

CCSEAS KEYNOTE ADDRESS # 1

Thursday, 24 October 2019 | 5:00 to 6:30 pm
Location: Thomson House Ballroom at McGill University

Tyrell Haberkorn
Associate Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at Department of Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Tyrell Haberkorn works on state violence and dissident cultural politics in Thailand and is Associate Professor of Southeast Asian Studies in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is the author of *Revolution Interrupted: Farmers, Students, Law and Violence in Northern Thailand* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), which rethinks the meaning of revolution in terms of legal rather than armed struggle, and *In Plain Sight: Impunity and Human Rights in Thailand* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2018), a new history of post-absolutist Thailand written through the lens of impunity. She is currently translating the memoir of a former Thai political prisoner and writing a history of anarchism and the imagination of democracy in Thailand. Tyrell also writes and translates frequently about Southeast Asia for a broad, public audience, including *Dissent*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Mekong Review, Los Angeles Review of Books*, *openDemocracy*, and Prachatai. Her work has been funded by fellowships from Fulbright, the Australian Research Council, the Association for Asian Studies, the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, and the Einstein Forum.

Justice After Dictatorship in Thailand

On 22 May 2014, a military junta calling itself the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) launched a coup and ousted the elected government in Thailand. On 16 July 2019, the NCPO formally ceased to exist when a new civilian cabinet was sworn in following a national election. When the NCPO launched the coup, they promised to restore the rule of law after ten years of political conflict but their regime instead undermined its most fundamental principles. The NCPO employed the arbitrary, disproportionate and politicized use of law to violate the rights of civilians, facilitate extrajudicial violence, and guarantee impunity for the coup and subsequent crimes. Justice, long tenuous in Thailand, disappeared entirely for those deemed to be enemies of the junta. This lecture takes this moment of transition as a point of departure at which to reflect on how the past five years of dictatorship might be redressed and justice forged. The urgency of justice is framed with an initial accounting of the laws broken and principles of human rights violated by the NCPO. Then, inspired by feminist court decision rewriting projects, the paper revisits a series of cases in which the court adjudicated in favor of the coup and the abrogation of the people's rights. Plotting alternative logics, interpretation of evidence and conclusions -- a jurisprudence of accountability, rather than a jurisprudence of impunity -- is a way to at once imagine what justice might look like and assess the depth of legal, social, and political transformation necessary to make it real.

CCSEAS KEYNOTE ADDRESS # 2

Saturday, 26 October 2019 | 1:45 pm to 3:00 pm
Location: Leacock Building, Room 232, at McGill University

Rachel Silvey
Professor in Department of Geography and Planning and the Richard Charles Lee Director of the Asian Institute of the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

Rachel Silvey is Professor in the Department of Geography and Planning and the Richard Charles Lee Director of the Asian Institute of the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. She is a Faculty Affiliate in CDTS, WGSI, and the Ethnic, Immigration and Pluralism Studies Program. She received her PhD in Geography from the University of Washington, Seattle, and her undergraduate degrees from the University of California at Santa Cruz in Environmental Studies and Southeast Asian Studies. Professor Silvey's research focuses on gender, labour and migration in Indonesia in particular, and she has published in the fields of cultural and political geography, migration studies, gender studies, and critical development studies. Major projects have centered on migration, gender, social networks, and economic development in Indonesia; immigration and employment among Southeast Asian-Americans; migration and marginalization in Bangladesh and Indonesia; and religion, rights and migrant women workers in Saudi Arabia. Her most recent work with collaborator Professor Rhacel Parreñas examines Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers' employment in Singapore and the United Arab Emirates.

"Dancing Up Your City": Subversions of Power and Desire among Transnational Migrant Domestic Workers

In the study of migrant domestic workers, it is difficult find stories of liberation. Indeed, much scholarly work emphasizes the structural hopelessness that entraps these women socially, spatially, and inter-subjectively. However, there is also a growing body of research that underscores migrant women workers' creative spatial embodiments, digital subjectivities, sexual publics, and the collaborative movements they have enjoyed. In this presentation, I reflect on the exciting ways that transnational migrant domestic workers—and specifically the dance parties they hold in Singapore, Hong Kong, and the UAE on their days off—offer first a great source of joy to the dancers, and second an invitation to think about how colonial conceptions of power, migration, and labor are being subverted in practice. When migrant women start "dancing up your city," as one dancing woman phrased it, I wonder what theories of power their movements articulate.

OPENING ROUNDTABLE

Power and the State of Democracy in Southeast Asia

A discussion with academics, civil society activists, and government officials

Date: Thursday October 24, 1 pm
Location: McGill University, Room TBD

Moderator:
Kai Ostwald (University of British Columbia)

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE (24-26 OCTOBER 2019) /
HORAIRE DU COLLOQUE (24-26 OCTOBRE 2019)

Thursday, 24 October 2019	Room # TBD
** Location: McGill University*	
1:00 to 3:15 pm	Welcome from McGill University and CCSEAS President
	Roundtable: Power and Democracy in Southeast Asia, moderated by Professor Kai Ostwald, University of British Columbia
3:15 to 3:30 pm	*Break*
3:30 to 5:00 pm	Special panel in honor of Benedict Anderson
5:00 to 6:30 pm	Keynote Speaker: Professor Tyrell Haberkorn, the University of Wisconsin-Madison on "Justice after Dictatorship in Thailand"
6:30 to 7:30 pm	Reception
7:30 to 9:30 pm	Screening of "A Piece of Paradise" and "Dancing Manilenyos" with award-winning Fillipino director, Patrick Alcedo

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Friday, 25 October 2019	L1-3620	L1-3630	L1-4600	L1-4605	L1-4620	L1-3635
** Location: University of Sherbrooke (Longueuil)*	*Longueil Campus Building*	*Longueil Campus Building*	*Longueil Campus Building*	*Longueil Campus Building*	*Longueil Campus Building*	*Longueil Campus Building*
9:00 am to 10:45 am	Contemporary politics	Canada-Vietnam Comprehensive Partnership and the Changing Roles of the Vietnamese Diaspora	Power and Culture in Indonesia		Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia (1)	New Nationalism, the Contestation and Consolidation of State Power in Contemporary South East Asia
10:45 am to 11:00 am	*Break*					
11:00 am to 12:45 pm	Navigating power relations in accompanied research in Southeast Asia	Roundtable: Myanmar' s Transition and the Role of Canada	Food fights in the city? Emerging practices and impacts of state development visions for urban food systems in Southeast Asia	Negotiating power in independence era Timor-Leste	Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia (2)	Political history and social struggles (1)
12:45 pm to 1:45 pm	*Lunch*					
1:45 pm to 3:00 pm (75 minutes)	Internal Migration in Southeast Asia: Challenges in Governance and Integration		Language and Power	Contested Spheres of Social Mobilization and the Regulatory State in southeast Asia	Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia (3)	
3:00 pm to 3:15 pm	*Break*					
3:15 pm to 5:00 pm	Engaging Gendered " Empowerment" in Colonial and Contemporary Cambodia	La Belt and Road Initiative en Asie : quels enjeux de pouvoirs sur des territoires?	New Axes and Categories of Power Relations in Southeast Asian Studies	Federalism, Decentralization and Ethnic Minorities in Myanmar	State Intervention, Commodification, and Livelihoods in the Uplands	Taking Stock to Move Forward: Making Space for Southeast Asia in the Study of World Politics
5:00 pm to 6:00 pm	CCSEAS Annual General Meeting (L1-3630 and L1-3635)					
7:00 PM	Dinner at Best Western Hotel, with performances by the Filipino dance troupe, PAMANA Ng LuzViminda , led by Jorge Manuel Antonio, Artistic Director					

Legend:

Light Blue – Roundtable
Light Purple – Individual Paper Panel
Light Yellow – Panel

Saturday, 26 October 2019	LEA 429	LEA 927	LEA 738	PETH 116	LEA 808	LEA 232
** Location: McGill University*	Leacock Building	Leacock Building	Leacock Building	Peterson Building	Leacock Building	Leacock Building
9:00 am to 10:45 am	Activating Political and Economic Alternatives: The Philippines in Transnational Space, Part 1	Geopolitics of the ASEAN	Power and Relational Dynamics at the Sub-national, National, and Supranational Levels	History and Politics of the Philippines	Transboundary Environmental Governance - Frontiers, protected areas and environmentalism	L'Asie du Sud-Est à la croisée des puissances
10:45 am to 11:00 am	*Break*					
11:00 am to 12:45 pm	Activating Political and Economic Alternatives: The Philippines in Transnational, Part 2	Maritime Security and Development in Southeast Asia	Foreign policies and relations	Difficultés et stratégies pour réussir son terrain de recherche en Asie	Transboundary Environmental Governance - Mobility	Cultural politics
12:45 pm to 1:45 pm	*Lunch*					
1:45 pm to 3:00 pm	Keynote Speaker : Professor Rachel Silvey, University of Toronto on " Dancing Up Your City" : Subversions of Power and Desire among Transnational Migrant Domestic Workers (LEA 232)					
3:00 pm to 3:15 pm	*Break*					
3:15 pm to 5:00 pm	Migrations and mobilities	Performing Arts	Political persecutions		Political ecology	Southeast Asia Viewed Through Documentaries: Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar

TOURIST ATTRACTIONS IN MONTREAL / ATTRACTIONS TOURISTIQUES À MONTREAL

Situated as it is on the St. Lawrence, Montréal has prospered as a cosmopolitan hub of communications and trade. Jacques Cartier landed here in 1535 and took the territory for his King, François I of France, yet it was not until 1642 that Paul de Chomedey founded a small mission station, called Ville Marie de Mont-Réal. Nowadays, this original settlement is Montréal, the second largest French-speaking city in the world. **Vieux-Montreal** is where the city began, and its original foundations and streets are preserved in the Pointe-à-Callière and Notre-Dame Basilica. This was the heart of the colonial town, and its old buildings render it the most picturesque neighborhood in the city, where you'll find most of the historic attractions, as well as the popular waterfront promenade along the **Old Port. Pointe-à-Callière** is today marked by a striking modern building housing a museum of archaeology and history. Beneath today's Montréal, remnants of these early streets and foundations still remain, and you can explore these on a visit to the museum. The route through the city's history begins underground, where visitors can walk among the original stone-paved streets, drainage channels, and ground floors of 17th-century buildings. Founded in 1656, Montréal's oldest church, **Notre-Dame Basilica** stands in a far grander incarnation than the original. The twin towers of the neo-Gothic façade face Place d'Armes. The intricate and resplendent interior was designed by Victor Bourgeau, the extraordinary carved pulpit by sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), the 7,000-pipe organ by the Casavant Frères firm, and the stained-glass windows portraying scenes from the founding of Montreal.

Rising 233 meters above the city, **Mont-Royal Park** enables visitors to see Jacques Cartier's and King George VI's monuments. From the summit unfold magnificent panoramic views of the 51-kilometer length of the Île de Montréal and the St. Lawrence and the western slope, where the city different ethnic groups have rested in peace for centuries. Major museums (Fine Arts and McCord) and arts venues (Place des Arts) are in the **Centre-Ville** (downtown) area, where you'll find Rue Sherbrooke, perhaps the city's most elegant thoroughfare. Not far from McGill University's central campus is the **Fine Art Museum**, the oldest museum in Canada, housing outstanding collections of World Cultures and Mediterranean and Archaeology, and more than 1,400 paintings, sculptures and drawings of the Dutch Golden Age. **The McCord Museum** has a vast collection of exhibits on Canada's social history, especially native peoples. **Place des Arts** is an entire complex dedicated to visual and performing arts, the largest of its kind in all Canada. Three great cultural organizations make their home here: the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, and the Opéra de Montréal, and its various stages and rehearsal halls provide venues for all kinds of theater, music, dance, films, and events. Located East of Place du Canada, **St. Marie Queen of the World Cathedral** was built in 1894 as a smaller version of St. Peter's in Rome. The gigantic statues represent the patron saints of the 13 parishes of Montreal in the 19th century and were all sculpted by Olindo Gratton between 1892 and 1898.

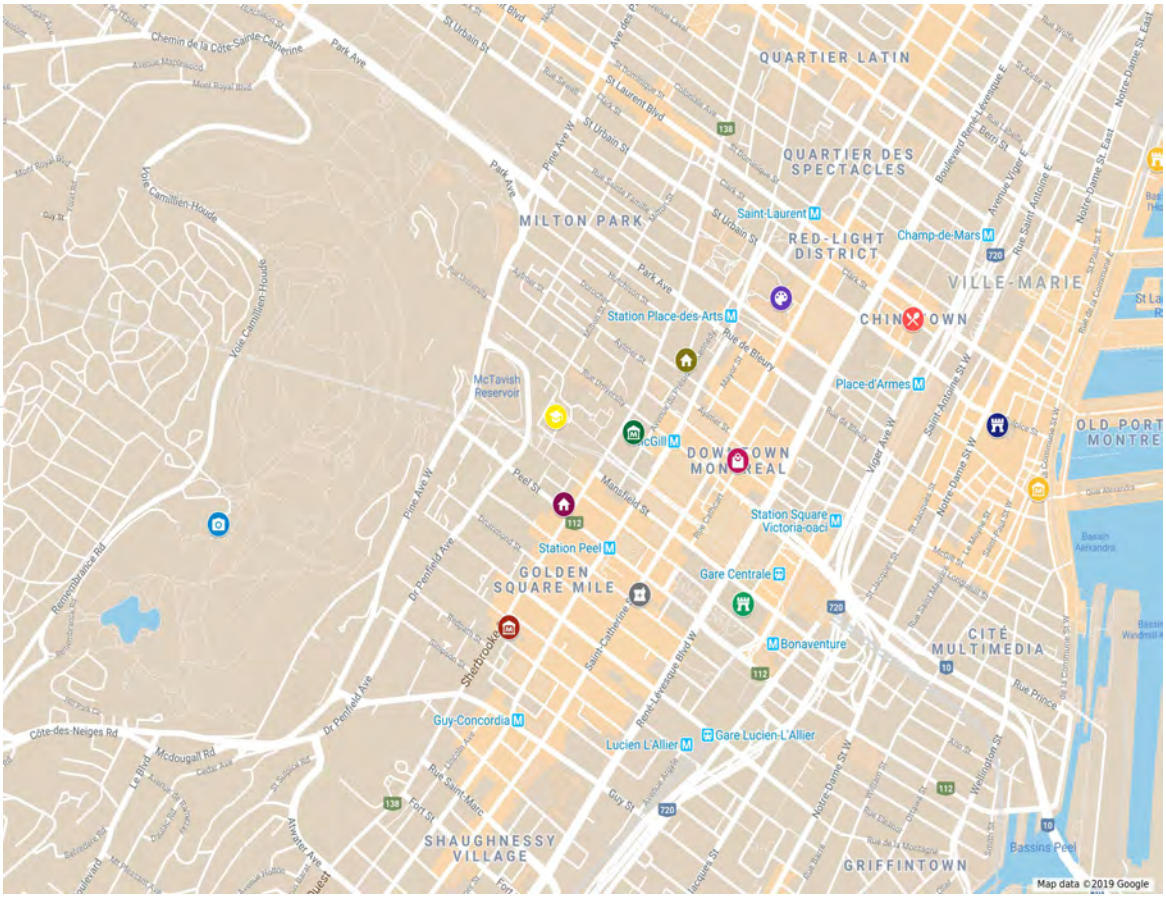
Rue Ste-Cathérine is Montréal's main shopping thoroughfare, a busy street lined with department stores, shops, and restaurants. South of Villa Marie, the **Chinatown** is centered on Rue de la Gauchetière, with Chinese gates marking the heart of the quarter. This colorful neighborhood dates from the late 1860s, when many of the Chinese laborers, who originally came to work in the mines and build the railroad, moved into the cities in search of a better life. Today's Chinatown is filled with Chinese and Vietnamese shops and restaurants where visitors can enjoy a wide variety of East Asian cuisines.

Montreal Attraction Map

Top Attractions

- McGill University
- Chinatown
- Notre-Dame Basilica
- Fine Arts Museum
- Place des Arts
- McCord Museum
- Rue Ste-Cathérine
- Vieux-Montreal (Old Port)
- Best Western Ville-Marie
- Pharmaprix (Pharmacy)
- Pointe-à-Callière Museum
- Mary Queen Cathedral
- Mont Royal
- Delta Montréal par Marriott

This map includes the above-mentioned attractions, CCSEAS's accommodations, and nearby metro stations



ROUNDTABLES / TABLES RONDES

Myanmar's Transition and the Role of Canada

Convener: Kai Ostwald
University of British Columbia
kai.ostwald@ubc.ca

Friday, 25th October 2019
11:00 am to 12:45 pm
Room L1-3630, University de Sherbrooke-Longueil Campus

Myanmar's much vaunted "triple transition" is under intense scrutiny as conflict between segments of the state and the population remains rampant nearly four years after the NLD assumed power alongside the military. There are clear signs of progress on many fronts. But these are often overshadowed by the humanitarian crises in the border regions—particularly in Rakhine State—and limited progress on institutional reform.

This roundtable brings together a number of speakers who have engaged in projects intended to support democratization, development, and knowledge mobilization in Myanmar. They will address a series of questions, including: where has the transition produced tangible improvements to the lives of Myanmar's population, and where has it failed? Which areas—whether in terms of institutions or localities—might be responsive to development programs, and which will not? More specifically, how can a distant middle power like Canada provide effective support with modest resources and modest regional influence?

Moderator: Kai Ostwald,
University of British Columbia

Participants:

Kai Ostwald

Kai Ostwald is an Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia's School of Public Policy & Global Affairs and the Department of Political Science. He is also Director of UBC's Centre for Southeast Asia Research and Associate Editor of *Pacific Affairs*. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of California, San Diego. His work focuses on political development in Southeast Asia. He has been engaged with Myanmar's development through a capacity building project supported by the International Development Research Centre.

Kyaw Yin Hlaing

Kyaw Yin Hlaing is the Director of the Center for Diversity and National Harmony (CDNH) in Yangon, Myanmar. He holds a PhD in Political Science from Cornell University. Prior to returning to Myanmar, Dr. Kyaw was a faculty member in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore and the City University of Hong Kong.

Myint Tun

Myint Tun is a member of the teaching faculty in Health Sciences at Simon Fraser University. Prior to that, he worked as a consultant and epidemiologist for numerous

NGOs, private corporations, and the UN in Myanmar, as well as being a faculty member at the University of Public Health in Myanmar. He holds a Doctorate from the School of Public Health, Loma Linda University in CA, USA. He also completed a post-doctoral program at the School of Public Health, University of California, Los Angeles.

L'Asie du Sud-Est à la croisée des puissances

Organisateur: Dominique Caouette
Université de Montréal
dominique.caouette@umontreal.ca

Saturday, 26th October 2019
9 :00 am to 10:45 am
Room 232, Leacock Building,
McGill University

Dans la foulée de la publication de l'ouvrage collectif, L'Asie du Sud-Est à la croisée des puissances (PUM, 2019), la table-ronde réunira plusieurs des contributeurs-trices de l'ouvrage pour discuter des enjeux actuels qui confrontent la région. Ainsi, nous tenterons d'identifier les tendances et les défis émergent à l'aube des années 2020 dans le contexte d'une Asie de plus en plus multipolaire marquée par une reconfiguration des rôles que jouent notamment la République populaire de Chine, la Russie, le Japon, l'Inde, l'Australie et même les États-Unis. Ces cinq puissances, dont l'autonomie politique était auparavant influencée par le jeu des alliances propres à la guerre froide, ont progressivement intégré les structures d'un ordre mondialisé de plus en plus marqué par des considérations économiques et de moins en moins par des catégories idéologiques. L'ouverture grandissante des marchés nationaux a fortement contribué à l'intégration asiatique, mais aussi à l'établissement et au renforcement de pôles d'intégration à l'échelle infrarégionale, comme en Asie du Sud-Est et en Asie de l'Est. L'autre grande dynamique régionale concerne aujourd'hui la lutte contre le terrorisme.

Participants:

Serge Granger

Title: Inde et Asie du Sud-Est par Serge Granger
(courriel: Serge.Granger@USherbrooke.ca)

Professeur agrégé à l'école de politique appliquée de l'Université de Sherbrooke, il s'intéresse particulièrement aux relations sino-indiennes. Professeur invité à l'Université Jawaharlal Nehru de New Delhi, il a dirigé avec Karine Bates, Mathieu Boisvert et Christophe Jaffrelot l'ouvrage *L'Inde et ses avatars: Pluralités d'une puissance* ainsi que *L'Asie du Sud-Est à la croisée des puissances* avec Dominique Caouette.

Stéphanie Martel

Enjeux de sécurité en Asie du Sud-Est : quel rôle pour l'ASEAN?
(stephanie.martel@queensu.ca):

Professeure adjointe au Département d'études politiques de l'Université Queen's et chercheure au Centre for International and Defence Policy, ses recherches se situent à l'intersection de la gouvernance globale et de la sécurité internationale et portent sur la diplomatie multilatérale, le régionalisme sécuritaire et le rôle du discours en Relations internationales, avec une spécialisation sur l'Asie du Sud-Est. Elle co-dirige (avec Brian

Job) l'équipe Asie Pacifique au sein du Defence and Security Foresight Group et est membre du comité exécutif du CCEASE. Elle agit également à titre de représentante du Canada à l'ASEAN Regional Forum's Expert and Eminent Persons Group.

Éric Mottet

L'intégration économique
(courriel: mottet.eric@uqam.ca)

Professeur de géopolitique au département de géographie de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, il est co-directeur de l'Observatoire de l'Asie de l'Est et directeur adjoint du Conseil québécois d'études géopolitiques (CQEG).

Eric Boulanger

La coopération entre le Japon et l'ASEAN
(courriel : boulanger.eric@uqam.ca)

Éric Boulanger détient un doctorat en science politique de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Il est codirecteur de l'Observatoire de l'Asie de l'Est et chargé de cours en politique asiatique et en relations internationales au département de science politique de l'UQAM. Il se spécialise dans la politique intérieure et étrangère du Japon et l'économie politique asiatique. Il a plusieurs publications à son actif dont la codirection avec Mathieu Arès de l'ouvrage *Christophe Colomb découvre enfin l'Asie : intégration économique, chaînes de valeur et recomposition transpacifique*, publié en 2016 aux éditions Athéna.

Dominique Caouette

Le multilatéralisme en Asie du Sud-Est par Dominique Caouette
(courriel : dominique.caouette@umontreal.ca):

Professeur titulaire au Département de science politique, il coordonne le pôle de recherche Études contemporaines et transdisciplinaires sur l'Asie du Sud-Est (ECTASE). Ses écrits portent sur les relations internationales, y compris, les réseaux et mouvements transnationaux et la géopolitique de l'Asie du Sud-Est.

Difficultés et stratégies pour réussir son terrain de recherche en Asie

Organisateur: Éric Mottet
Université du Québec à Montréal
président et conférencier
ericmottet@uqam.ca

Saturday, 26 October 2019
11:00 am to 12:45 pm
Room 116, Peterson Building,
McGill University

Résumé

Tout projet académique en Asie est le résultat d'une recherche ayant nécessité un important travail de terrain. Le terrain si précieux aux chercheurs est désormais plus accessible en Asie, mais les contraintes imposées (et vécues) restent lourdes. De façon générale, mener une recherche en Asie, de surcroît sur des sujets sensibles au plan socio-politique, engendre de nombreuses difficultés, notamment l'absence de données et/ou du manque de fiabilité de l'appareil statistique national. Dans bien des cas, les statistiques disponibles sont douteuses et incomplètes ; il faut donc les prendre avec beaucoup de recul. Dans d'autres cas, la culture du secret et la peur du regard de l'autre (l'Occidental) font que le chercheur n'a pas accès aux données et aux terrains sensibles.

Cette table ronde, qui réunit des chercheurs ayant une longue expérience en Asie, a pour but d'expliquer les stratégies mises en place sur le terrain pour contourner les obstacles de toute démarche de recherche en Asie.

Participants:

Éric Mottet
(président), Professeur agrégé, Géographie,
Université du Québec à Montréal

Éric Mottet est professeur de géopolitique au Département de géographie de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), codirecteur de l'Observatoire de l'Asie de l'Est (OAE), directeur adjoint du Conseil québécois d'études géopolitiques (CQEG), et chercheur associé à l'Institut de recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est contemporaine (IRASEC). Ses recherches portent principalement sur les concepts, les méthodes et les outils de la géopolitique ainsi que sur les dynamiques géopolitiques en Asie du Sud-Est et de l'Est.

Mathieu Boisvert
Professeur titulaire,
Sciences des religions, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Il a mené plusieurs recherches de terrain en Inde, au Sri Lanka, au Myanmar, au Népal et au Bhoutan, s'intéressant aux pratiques religieuses contemporaines telles le pèlerinage, ascétisme et études de genre. Il est président de la Corporation canadienne de sciences des religions (www.ccsr.ca), instance groupant huit sociétés académiques canadiennes, une revue internationale reconnue (Sciences religieuses / Studies in religion) et trois collections de livre, publiées par McGill-Queen's et les Presses de l'Université de Montréal. Depuis 1998, le professeur Boisvert a mené plusieurs projets académiques en territoire sud-asiatique. Il a organisé, notamment, des séjours d'études pour étudiants de plusieurs semaines. Il a été l'instigateur du Programme court de deuxième cycle « Études de terrain en Inde ». Mathieu Boisvert est le fondateur et directeur du Centre d'études et de recherche sur l'Inde, l'Asie du Sud et sa diaspora (CERIAS).

Isabelle Côté
Assistant Professor,
Dept Political Science Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Les recherches de Madame Côté portent sur le rôle des facteurs démographiques en général, et des migrations internes en particulier, sur les conflits intra-étatiques et les politiques litigieuses, à l'aide de comparaisons internationales et sous-nationales fondées sur des méthodes ethnographiques. Elle s'intéresse particulièrement aux conflits violents entre les populations « autochtones » et les migrants internes, c'est-à-dire aux conflits des « fils du sol ». Bien que la plupart de ses recherches soient menées en Asie, en particulier

en Chine et en Indonésie, elle s'intéresse à comparer l'expérience asiatique en matière de migration et de conflits à celle d'autres parties du monde en développement.

Jérémy Jammes
Associate Professor, Anthropologie, Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Membre de l'Institut d'études asiatiques (université du Brunei Darussalam), il est anthropologue de l'Asie du Sud-Est, chercheur associé du groupe sociétés religions laïcités (GSRL) et ancien directeur adjoint de l'Institut de recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est contemporaine (Irasec).

Southeast Asia Viewed Through Documentaries: Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar

Organisateur: Dominique Caouette
Université de Montréal
dominique.caouette@umontreal.ca

et Gabriel Fauveaud

Saturday, 26 October 2019
3:15 pm to 5:00 pm
Room 232, Leacock Building,
McGill University

This session will be the occasion to screen three short video documentaries recently produced (and that will be produced - summer 2019) by students (both graduate and undergraduate) from the Université de Montreal in collaboration with local counterparts in Vietnam (National Women's Museum), in Myanmar (Women for the World) and Cambodia (to be confirmed). These documentaries (around 25 minutes each) looks at different development issues largely defined and are the newest additions of a series of documentaries produced since 2010 in association with the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines (see: http://tiny.cc/4e93cz).

For the session, the most recent documentaries (three) will be shown and the production team of each will be present to introduce and present their production, respond to questions from the audience as well as to discuss the challenges, limits and learning associated with this type of project.

1. **Documentaire: Women for Yangon (English version)**

SYNOPSIS (fr): Alors qu'une importance crise du logement sévit dans la ville de Yangon au Myanmar, un regroupement citoyen local mené par des femmes organise une initiative de logement communautaire ayant pour but la mise en place d'un nouveau modèle d'habitation géré par la communauté.

SYNOPSIS (ang): As people are struggling with an important housing crisis in the city of Yangon, Myanmar, a group of local women are putting in place a new and creative community-led housing system.

Biographies:

Hugo Fluet
(hugo.fluet@umontreal.ca)

Hugo Fluet est un étudiant à la maîtrise en affaires publiques et internationales à l'Université de Montréal. Ayant un intérêt prononcé pour la découverte d'autres cultures et l'établissement de liens interculturels, Hugo a séjourné notamment en Russie, à Taiwan, et plus récemment au Myanmar où il a réalisé un projet de documentaire indépendant.

Valérie Giroux
(vale.giroux@gmail.com)

Ancienne étudiante en cinéma qui, au travers de son parcours académique, s'est redirigée vers la géographie, elle a récemment terminé un Bac en géographie environnementale. Ce programme lui a donné la chance de voyager au Myanmar pour y réaliser un documentaire. Les jeux d'échelles entre la perspective cinématographique et celle de la géographie sont pour elle des outils complémentaires ayant un potentiel de vulgarisation infinie.

2. **Documentaire : Modern wars : Sihanoukville, a Chinese or Cambodian city?** (English version)

SYNOPSIS (ang): Since the massive influx of Chinese investments, Sihanoukville has developed like no other city in Cambodia modern history. The military violence of the past gives way to economic violence, just as devastating. Three women unveil their stories to help us understand the different levels of daily fighting that surviving in Sihanoukville means.

SYNOPSIS (fr) : Depuis l'afflux massif d'investissements chinois, le sud du Cambodge s'est vu développée comme aucune autre ville dans l'histoire moderne. Les violences militaires d'autrefois laissent place à des violences économiques, tout aussi destructrices. Trois femmes dévoilent leurs histoires afin de nous faire comprendre les différents niveaux de combats quotidiens que signifient survivre à Sihanoukville.

Biographies:

Judith Kohl
(judith.kohl96@gmail.com)

Judith Kohl est étudiante à la maîtrise en études internationales à l'Université de Montréal. Ayant fait son baccalauréat en études asiatiques, elle porte beaucoup d'intérêt vers l'Asie et elle a vécu une année au Japon dans le cadre d'un échange universitaire, ainsi que 4 mois au Cambodge pour réaliser un projet de documentaire. Elle s'intéresse principalement aux enjeux de développement, ainsi qu'au développement durable de la société et de l'environnement.

Carol-Anne Telenis
(carol-anne.telenis@outlook.com)

Carol-Anne Telenis est avant tout une passionnée. Sa soif d'aventure pour le monde l'a guidée sur le chemin du documentaire : amalgame du 7e art, de l'anthropologie et de la philosophie. Diplômée en Études internationales de l'Université de Montréal, cette expérience fut un éveil pour l'amour du documentaire et l'a menée à s'y dédier entièrement.

3. **Documentaire : Outside in Hanoi** (English version)

SYNOPSIS (fr) : Pays communiste s'ouvrant depuis les années 90, le Viet Nam pratique encore une politique de contrôle de la population. Les migrations internes ne sont facilitées ni par l'administration, ni par les habitants ayant de nombreux préjugés sur les ruraux s'installant en ville. Le documentaire "Outside in Hanoi" s'intéresse ainsi aux parcours de trois jeunes femmes venues s'installer à Hanoi pour y trouver un meilleur avenir.

Biographies:

Bastien Guilloteau
(bguilloteau2@gmail.com)

Diplômé du baccalauréat en études internationales de l'Université de Montréal, il est aujourd'hui étudiant du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle de Paris où il réalise une maîtrise en Société et Biodiversité.

Lucie Marcoux

lucie.marcoux@umontreal.ca

Après avoir voyagé un an en Asie du sud-est, Lucie Marcoux entreprend une formation en études internationales à l'Université de Montréal, spécialisée sur la région asiatique. Cette passion l'amène en 2018 à produire, avec Bastien Guilloteau, un court-métrage documentaire sur les problématiques vécues par de jeunes migrantes vietnamiennes dans la ville de Hanoï.

Activating Political and Economic Alternatives: The Philippines in Transnational Space, Part 1

Convener: Philip Kelly
York University
pfkelly@yorku.ca
Chair: Leonora C. Angeles, University of British Columbia

Abstracts

Real estate, remittances, and alternative transnational economic practices: an overview and an agenda

Remittances from overseas Filipinos have been a key driver for an exceptionally long-running and surprisingly durable real estate boom in the Philippines. In turn, this boom was pivotal to reshaping, as well as reinforcing, important features of the economic landscape. On one hand, it had led to the transformation of rural land for recreational use, peri-urban land for housing, and the intensification of core urban land for condominiums and malls; a concomitant transformation of class structures, in line with these changes in land uses; and had contributed to the urbanization of the bases of class power among the Philippines' dominant capitalists. On the other hand, it had also reinforced some long- standing patterns of Philippine uneven development: the role played by land ownership as a base of wealth and power; the uneven articulation of globalized flows of wealth across regions, and its expression as enclaved spaces; and the viability of oligopolies in the provision of services vital to life, both embodied and electronically-mediated. This paper examines the implications of these processes for alternative transnational economic practices. It provides an overview of these transformations, as nuanced to the practices discussed within this panel, and with an eye for the implications for the spaces created and foreclosed by the overseas Filipino-driven real estate boom. It then identifies research and action gaps for examining, and further opening, some of these key spaces.

Kenneth Cardenas
York University

Inter-household giving from remittances: Who gives and who gets?

Remittances from members working overseas are mainly used by households in the Philippines for their own consumption and savings/investments. But in some cases, households use remittances to provide cash support to other households. Using nationally-representative household data, this study aims to profile the households involved in this two-way transaction. First, it will profile remittance-receiving households who give support to other households, in particular in comparison with remittance-receiving households in general. Secondly, it will profile the households who get remittance support from other than household members, and examine, among others, whether such transfers represent sharing from richer to poorer households. The study will also compare the second group of households with households who benefit from government's social protection programs, such as the conditional cash transfer program and the scholarship program for poor students in tertiary education, to see to what extent remittances might be serving the same types of households as those benefited by these government programs.

Geoffrey Ducanes

Centre for Integrative Development Studies, University of the Philippines, Diliman

The call to the Filipino diaspora: alternative development through transnational practices

Answering the Cry of the Poor (ANCOP) is an NGO that operates in Canada and the Philippines. ANCOP currently runs a community development program where it builds villages for the poor by offering free housing to selected beneficiaries. It accomplishes this by drawing on donations from the Filipino-Canadian diaspora, utilizing its transnational network to redistribute wealth. This raises the question; what type of alternative development is being constructed on the local level in relation to broader development discourses? I postulate that ANCOPs practice is situated as non-capitalist and negotiates housing through different registers of value. This alternative development can lead to tangible change in local communities in the Philippines, but also creates and enforces specific religious subjectivities through its structures of power. This research will highlight the role of transnational religious organizations in contributing to development in the Philippines, outside of well-known remittance practices. I will be analyzing this case of development through the discourses of Foucauldian governmentality and alternative development in diverse economies.

Clarence Laxina Magpantay
York University

Situating the Opportunities and Constraints of Solidarity: Transnational Trade, Social Entrepreneurship and Coffee Production in the Northern Philippines

While the fair-trade-certified coffee movement's roots in social justice created advantageous terms for producers, its current perceived inadequate concern for higher quality and its uneven producer-vendor relations have given rise to social entrepreneurial initiatives marketing more directly-traded and specialty coffee. The latter's practice champions business transparency, high quality, and sustainability. As these enterprises expand to include Philippine-Canadian trade, for example, questions arise regarding the extent to which these operations can scale up from their start-up premises while maintaining quality standards and their social justice mandate to engage socioeconomic infrastructure change for producers? Engaging these issues, this paper analyzes new northern Philippine specialty coffee enterprises that employ fairly traded practices to activate the region's Arabica coffee production. I argue that while these innovative social entrepreneurs have established more equitable terms for their transnational Philippine-US/Canadian trade, the complexity of people's subsistence needs can challenge enterprise sustainability. By shortening commodity chains, paying higher purchase prices, and providing organic cultivation and processing training, Philippine social entrepreneurs have enabled farmers' engagement in alternatives to conventional mainstream and fair trade markets while promoting high quality specialty coffee. Yet, Philippine farmers' lack of income diversity, independent rather than collective production, and fierce competition among traders for limited supplies, can frustrate entrepreneurs' efforts to differentiate their practice. Given coffee culture's growing third wave, I explore the degree to which Philippine entrepreneurs' timely initiatives might still resolve these push-pull tensions to yield an industry for, and more responsive to, stakeholders needs.

B. Lynne Milgram
OCAD University

Activating Political and Economic Alternatives: The Philippines in Transnational Space, Part 2

Convener: Philip Kelly,
York University
pfkelly@yorku.ca

Chair: Lynne Milgram, OCAD University

Abstracts

Duterte and the Diaspora: The Politics of Filipino-Canadian Relations with the Homeland

Rodrigo Duterte was elected President of the Philippines in 2016 with the overwhelming support of the Filipino diaspora – both those living overseas as contract workers and those who have permanently settled around the world. This raises questions about the type of homeland politics that the diaspora supports. Using evidence from Filipino-Canadian community newspapers, social media sites, personal interviews and polling data in the Philippines, this paper traces the narratives through which Duterte reached out to diasporic voters before and after his election, the ways in which he was represented in various media, and the changes in representation that occurred after he assumed office, especially as the brutality of extra-judicial killings in the 'war on drugs' became fully apparent. Aside from the specific question of Duterte as a political phenomenon, the paper also speaks to the ways in which both mainstream and alternative political/ economic/ developmental imaginaries are constructed and performed in the diaspora.

Leonora C. Angeles, with Hollie McKeil, Allison Lasocha and Aylin Tavakoli
University of British Columbia

Transnationalizing Migrant Workers Rights and Welfare: The Case of Migrante International and Migrante of British Columbia

Migrante International and its British Columbia chapter advocate for the rights, welfare and protection of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) through public awareness campaigns and advocacy for political reform of the Philippine government's labour export policies and its commodification of Filipino workers. This paper focuses on the transnational connections and impacts made in the course of theses campaigns, advocacy and solidarity between Migrante International and Migrante BC, located in Vancouver, Canada. Migrante's work fits within the alternative transnational migrant economy and, specifically, the solidarity economy through the (1) the economic remittances Migrante members send to their families in the Philippines; (2) the people-to-people transactions and social remittances exchanged between mobile Migrante members who cross borders between the Philippines, Canada and other countries; and (3) the direct service work Migrante members and volunteers provide to OFWs, including para-legal services, counselling, transition housing, political advocacy, community organizing and empowerment, and community building services. We argue that as the work of Migrante reduces the social and economic costs of migration and creates a transnational solidarity economy based on relationships of care, trust, cooperation, respect and reciprocity, it also brings into question of how the emergence of such alternative development practices simultaneously challenge and reinforce neoliberal values, as well as focus on the role of states in brokering labor needs, while deflecting attention away from state's centrality to its causes as they carry out para-state services.

Hazel Dizon

York University

Philippine Housing Takeover: How the Urban Poor Claimed their Right to Shelter

In 8 March 2017, the Philippine urban poor marched to Bulacan calling for their rights to housing. Dubbed "#OccupyBulacan" and lead by the urban poor organization KADAMAY, 5400 families successfully occupied several idle socialized housing projects. The act received backlash from the public, calling the occupation 'illegal' and the occupiers 'thieves'. KADAMAY justified their action as valid since 15000 housing units in Bulacan have been deteriorating without owners while thousands of families are housing insecure or living in slums. The organization steadfastly maintained its stance and a year after the takeover, the Philippine Congress signed a resolution prompting the state housing agency to award the housing units to qualified occupiers. This paper aims to show that the takeover is a counter-project (Lefebvre, 1991), which thwarted a section of the market-based economy of housing, and to retrace how this counter-project achieved victory in one of the largest, if not the largest, takeover of government-built housing. It is postulated that the victory is a result of an ensemble of strategies of resistance and the transformation of a series of critical moments into one revolutionary moment. The ensemble is composed of Tilly and Tarrow's (2015) "repertoire of contention" or the open and collective performances of claim-making, Rossi's (2017) "repertoire of strategies" or the non-teleological actions, and the repertoire of mass movement organizing. The Philippine political climate during the occupation and seizing the fervour of the urban poor movement for a tangible solution to the housing crisis serve as the critical moments.

Kenneth Cardenas*, Christopher Chanco+, Chaya Ocampo Go*
*York University | +McGill University

The Alitaptap Collective

The Alitaptap Collective is an initiative by overseas Filipin@ scholars who believe in the importance of mobilizing critical public scholarship on the Philippines through non-academic platforms and in support of grassroots organizing efforts. Events in the Philippines have left us thinking about action from afar. We are concerned about the creeping authoritarianism; the disregard for human life; the state of public discourse; the vitriol afforded by anonymity; and the way our political lives have regressed into echo chambers. We are, nonetheless, inspired by the persistent efforts of our comrades in the country. We take courage to act, incisively, and in ways that we are in a unique position to do. While we live and work abroad, we keep our eyes, minds and hearts attuned to what is happening in the Philippines. We realize that our distance should not deter us from action; that, as with our access to academic resources and vantage points, and even the security our locations afford us, we should see it as a strength unique to our privileged position. Together our work pursues the following interventions: encouraging fellow graduate scholars to pursue investigative journalism as a mode of mobilizing knowledge and analyses to elevate public discourse in the Philippines; mobilizing resources to support grassroots-based initiatives and front line responses to a variety of disasters in the Philippines; and, building with movements worldwide to strengthen transnational solidarities with the Philippines. This paper will present the thinking and action of the Alitaptap Collective.

Convener: Julie Nguyen
Canada Vietnam Society
j.nguyen@canadavietnamsociety.ca

Discussant: Phuong Dang
Director, Canada Vietnam Society

Canada has had 46 years of diplomatic relations with Vietnam; the two countries signed a bilateral agreement in 2017. With the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and the recent promotion of international education, economic and cultural links, bilateral relations have been closer. The Vietnamese Canadian community has evolved, changing from a humanitarian crisis to economic migration. This panel will look at: (1) Canada and Vietnam from the Cold War to today, (2) how the aftermath of the Vietnam War has affected the Vietnamese Canadian community over the past 46 years, and (3) implications of the exploitation of Vietnamese Canadians for electoral gain.

Abstracts

Canada-Vietnam relations during the Vietnam War and since 1973

This presentation will explore the role of Canada as a member of the UN International Commission for Control and Supervision during the Vietnam War, and bilateral relations between the two countries since 1973 when Canada established diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

Elizabeth McInnch
Canada Vietnam Trade Council

The Vietnamese Canadian community: Opportunities and Challenges for Community Development

The Vietnamese Canadian community has increased in number, from about 50,000 in 1979 to 240,000 in 2016. Reasons for migration has evolved over time, from a humanitarian crisis to economic migration. This presentation examines the opportunities and challenges in the community for integration and development.

Hoang Nguyen
Canada Vietnam Society (Montreal)

Re-examining the History of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Canada

This presentation will re-examine the history of the Vietnamese diaspora in Canada from the perspective of community development. The focus of the presentation will be on how identity politics has influenced in the meaning of heritage and impacted the well-being of community members.

Julie Nguyen
Canada Vietnam Society (Toronto)

Youth Empowerment in the Vietnamese Canadian community

Youth in Vietnamese Canadian community often has a more forward-looking perspective in the context of the influence of the narratives related to the Vietnam War. This presentation explores youth's view on their identity and desire for their own voice in the

community.

Tung Ngo
Vietnam International Student Association

Contemporary politics

Reconsidering the relationship between the state of exception and liberal constitutionalism: Agamben and Schmitt in Thailand's colour-coded politics

Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben are two prominent scholars who study the relationship between the state of exception ('the SoE') and law. Both scholars share the similar view that this concept constitutes a mark of authoritarianism and therefore contrary to liberalism. This paper challenges this position and proposes the alternative relation between the SoE and liberal constitutionalism/the rule of law through the lens of Thailand's colour-coded politics. Scholars normally consider that a series of political crises between 2006 and 2014 reflected the rightist-conservative Yellow faction's attempt to avoid resorting to Schmitt's concept of the SoE, i.e., sovereign authority to decide on the exception, by adopting instead the politicisation of the Constitutional Court to undermine its Red counterpart. For them, such an action led to the stigmatisation of the pro-democracy Red Shirts as public enemies in the Schmittian sense, thus making them subject to violence and extra-juridical killings precipitated by, in particular, emergency powers or, to put simply, to Agamben's logic of the SoE. However, while these critics worry how this scenario undermines the role of law qua normativism and precipitates the problem of injustice/double standards, I argue instead that the colour-coded conflict reveals how Agamben's logic of the SoE helps reinforce a commitment to liberal constitutionalism on the part of the Red government to avoid losing further legitimacy especially when employing emergency powers against Yellow Shirt protesters. I call this the need to avoid overstepping 'the fragile equilibrium'. Besides, the rise of the Red Shirts and pro-democracy groups also drives this logic of the SoE (i.e., the blurring between juridical order and juridical void) into the real-world political arena, thus creating the rift between three types of juristic thoughts—normativism, decisionism, and concrete order—which ultimately forces the Yellow faction to consider the greater importance of a commitment to the rule of law.

Rawin Leelapatana
University of Bristol
t_man3239@hotmail.com

Recycled Power: Trust, Forgiveness, and Predictability in Malaysian and Indonesian Politics

The fall of Suharto in 1998 and Mahatir Mohammad's retirement in 2003 mark new challenges for Southeast Asian countries to seek out and form new circles of progressive political leaders. Over a decade later, however, such democratic endeavours have seemingly hit a glass ceiling with the return of old actors deeply rooted in the previous reigning powers: the return of Mahathir Mohammad, and the rising popularity of Prabowo Subianto, Sudarat Keyuraphan, and Bongbong Marcos.

Based on interviews with political buzzers in Indonesia and Malaysia, my research finds that public acceptance of the 'old' problematic elites is not simply the result of a limited political 'repertoire' (Tilly 2004) to reproduce new actors or of the uncontested resource of the oligarchy (Winters 2011), but is instead an outcome of the threefold public reflection on

post-authoritarian politics. First, with unresolved corruption cases and the perceived economic stagnancy, some people have lost trust in new leaders who had promised economic stability, clean and transparent government. Second, the cultural practice of 'political forgiveness', rather coming to terms with the past, has created an opportunity for the fallen oligarchs to reshape the public memory while glorifying their past. Third, for some, supporting old political actors is a more calculable in risk, since voters can at least use their prior experiences with them to judge that although they are not corruption-free, their political movements are predictable. To conclude, this paper argues that speed of delivery in governance has become an increasing important element of public perception in political transformation.

Ario Seto
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Elite Factionalism in UMNO: Antecedents for Democratic Transition in Malaysia 1987, 1998 and 2018?

My proposed paper examines how elite Malay factionalism associated with the long dominant ruling party of UMNO continues to shape power relations in Malaysia. I focus on three important political personalities: current Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, former Prime Minister Najib Razak, and former Deputy Prime Minister and current Prime Minister in waiting Anwar Ibrahim, and their factional battles both within UMNO, and in their various personalist successor parties of Partai Keadilan (PKR) and Partai Pribumi Besatu Malaysia (PPBM) during three distinct time periods of Malaysian political history.

In 1987, then Prime Minister Mahathir (both with the support of Najib and Anwar) defeated a factional challenge from an internal challenger Tengku Razaleigh. In 1998, Mahathir defeated a second factional challenge (with the support of Najib) from then Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. Finally, in 2018, incumbent Prime Minister Najib was defeated by now opposition leader Mahathir (with the support of fellow opposition leader Anwar).

Ultimately, I want to make two different argument about the nature of these factional power relations in Malaysia. Firstly, factional power relations are decidedly entrenched (same personalities) but are also remarkably fluid (shifting alliances and opponents). Secondly, these same factional power relations have also had unintended consequences of producing moments of political openness in Malaysia, and possibly fueling a nascent democratic transition in its most recent iteration of 2018.

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The Evolution of Factional Identity among China's and Vietnam's Political Elites

Studies have connected elite factions into a range of contradictory political outcomes in authoritarian regimes, especially when it comes to intra-elite conflicts. This is because the literature assumes factions to be a type of political association with fixed form, but overlooks finer organizational aspects of factions. Because factions' organization influences elite behaviors, organizational divergences in turn mediate factions' causal effect. In this paper, I present a novel framework to conceptualize variations in the organizational relations of co-faction members within a faction. The framework focuses on factional malleability, the extent to which individuals can conceal or manipulate their perceived factional membership. Factional malleability is high in factions where the leader

recruits through diverse, opaque ties, and low where members are connected with the leader through a small number of transparent
ties. Through a comparison of the Vietnamese and Chinese Communist Party's history, I explain how authoritarian factions' malleability evolves over time as the result of unique exogenous shocks faced by regime elites. The comparison also weighs in on the debate on factions and elite "code of civility" (Nathan, 1973; Nathan and Tsai, 1995) by demonstrating how factional malleability can predict and explain intra-elite violence in Vietnam and China.

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Disturbing the Peace: Paramilitarism across Southeast Asia

The study of civil war has evolved considerably over the past decade. Recently, we have seen a spike in studies of paramilitaries, militias, and related armed groups. From case-driven qualitative research to quantitative datasets, there is new interest in the formation, behaviour, and effects of paramilitaries. This said, there remain important conceptual shortcomings in how we understand such groups.

Scholars remain wedded to national-level dynamics, seeing paramilitaries as pro-government while overlooking localized power dynamics and rivalries. The goals of paramilitaries are often assumed instead of examined. This paper seeks to challenge dominant view of militias by providing an inventory of paramilitaries across Southeast Asia. In a region known for its diversity, paramilitary forces are immensely varied. Many are pro-government or pro-state, while others are neutral, sometimes opposed, or simply ambiguous. In many cases, paramilitaries are loyal to local power brokers, businessmen with access to capital or leaders of local ethnic minorities. Paramilitaries across Southeast Asia possess complex loyalties and fluid identities, challenging dominant views that they are typically pro-government.

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Contested Spheres of Social Mobilization and the Regulatory State in Southeast Asia

Convener: Nhu Truong
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Chair and Discussant: Jacques Bertrand, University of Toronto

States across Southeast Asia have tightened their grips on cyberspace for political engagement and dissent. In Vietnam, a new cybersecurity law has strengthened state authority to crack down on anti-government content online. Likewise, cyber repression has widened in Thailand since the 2014 coup, followed by amendments of the 2007 Computer Crime Act in 2016. In Cambodia, Council of Ministers spokesman Phay Siphan urged the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Post and Telecommunication to “take legal action” against the use of social media to “defame” government officials. Against this backdrop, the focus of the panel on the underlying dynamics that animate state-society relations and social mobilization in contested spheres both online and offline is especially timely. The

panel further brings the state back in by examining the nature of the regulatory state, its management of social movements and dissent in cyber spheres, and the broader implications for civil society development in Southeast Asia. Akanit Horatanakun's paper first traces the origin of institutionalized human rights civil society and investigates the transnational and local aspects of social mobilization and their linkages in the case of Thailand. Second, Nhu Truong shows how the 2016 self-nomination movement in Vietnam's legislative election is better understood as part of the cumulative development and maturation of contentious politics and civil society in Vietnam. Third, Irene Poetranto examines the role of the state and the trends in cyberspace controls in Southeast Asia. Jacques Bertrand is chair and discussant of the panel.

Abstracts

The Emergence of Institutionalized Human Rights Civil Society in Southeast Asia

Abstract: Why do some civil society organizations succeed in improving states' human rights practices while others fail? What are the necessary conditions that facilitate civil society to alter it? While some scholars associate strong civil society with democratization, others caution that civil society can also be illiberal and support dictatorship. I argue that civil society organizations must be institutionalized to change states' human rights practices. Civil society organizations must be autonomous from state manipulation, internally coherent, complex enough to diversify its functions, and adaptive to changing political environments. The more institutionalized civil society organizations are, the more likely that they will be successful to alter states' human rights practices. In this paper, I will trace the origin of institutionalized human rights civil society in Southeast Asia, and investigate the transnational and local aspects of social mobilization and their linkages specifically in the case of Thailand. The emergence of the global human rights movements in the 1970s and its transnational impact vis-à-vis the mobilization of local political actors in Thailand constitute the emergence of human rights civil society that contributed to change in the country's political order during critical periods in 1973 and 1976.

Akanit Horatanakun
McGill University

Opposition Coordination in Single-Party Elections: Repertoires and Dynamics in Vietnam's 2016 Self-Nomination Movement

Abstract: Although self-nomination has been permitted since 1992, it was not until 2016 that opposition candidates collectively organized to challenge the Vietnamese Communist Party in publicized attempts online and offline. What were the factors that accounted for the increasing coordination among independents from the 2016 self-nomination movement? Under a single-party system, how do opposition candidates coordinate to contest the regime? This article provides a granular account of the repertoires and dynamics of opposition by a group of independent self-nominees in Vietnam's 2016 legislative election. It shows how opposition candidates circumvented, reframed, and revised the grammar of electoral politics in their active engagement with the public through discursive campaigns online. To account for the emergence of the 2016 self-nomination movement, external shifts in the opportunity structure—namely, leadership change precipitated by economic woes as well as pressures from international engagement—constitute only half the story. I argue that the 2016 self-nomination movement is better understood as part of the cumulative development and maturation of Vietnam's contentious politics and civil society, rather than an episode occurring in isolation from other spheres of political engagement and social mobilization. Extending analysis beyond proximate changes in the opportunity structure for a broader perspective of the political process, I show how overlapping linkages through sustained engagement in previous

protests and civil society activism not only allowed opposition candidates to develop connective ties, but also to widen their bases and extend the cycle of contention from other sites of resistance to the electoral arena in 2016.

Nhu Truong
McGill University

Internet, Social Media, and the State in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is a region known for its high double digit growth in Internet penetration, social media penetration, and mobile connectivity. In contrast, according to the International Telecommunications Union, Europe, with 79.6 percent of its population already online, and the Americas, with 69.6 percent of its population already using the Internet, have registered the lowest growth rates in the world with regard to Internet penetration. Realizing the Internet's potential, governments in Southeast Asia have expressed their commitments to increasing broadband penetration, and accelerating information and communication technologies' (ICTs) affordability and usage in the region. However, the challenges posed by Internet- mediated threats—namely cyber crime, online recruitment campaigns and propaganda efforts by Islamic militants, and cyber attacks—have also led governments to institute restrictions on information flows, such as Internet blocking and filtering. This paper will examine the trends in cyberspace controls in Southeast Asia. I will argue that the upward trend in connectivity in Southeast Asia has opened the door to potentially a clash of cyberspace practices, as the Western-style anti-government, libertarian values that informed the Internet's founding and operating principles come into contact with nation-states still grappling with issues over national collective identities and state interests in the digital era.

Irene Poetranto
University of Toronto

Cultural politics

Exchanges, Donations, and Debts: Social Networks and Resilience in Vietnam

The paper deals with a central, yet understudied, aspect of Vietnamese people's everyday life: non-commercial transactions. It refers to all the exchanges (in kind or in cash) that are realized outside the market; they are based on interpersonal relationships between exchangers. They constitute a major tangible expression of the social capital. This circulation is very intense in Vietnam and takes various shapes: gift, loan with or without interest, credit groups... The authors show that this circulation between people draws an assistance network on which everyone can rely when facing a difficulty, becoming a key element of one's resilience. In this respect, it somehow constitutes a social security scheme. In a context where neither market, State, kinship, nor religion are sufficient to maintain social ties, the non-commercial circulation, with its practical utility and social functions, appears to be a key element of the social fabric in today's Vietnam.

The paper is based on two field researches conducted on the Red River Delta. It is based on more than 250 qualitative interviews led in a rural village and in Hanoi. It provides a unique analysis of households' budgets and economic priorities that sheds light on the social weight of exchanges, gifts and debts. It highlights the entitlements that come with such economic embeddedness and discusses their efficiency to help people when facing hardships.

Gwenn Pulliat

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The power of knowledge, the power of symbols. Gender and religious empowerment in Indonesia, Malaysia and India

Religion is one of the cultural agents that shapes gender ideologies. Most major religions are patriarchal development, leadership, authority, and power. They enforce the domination of men over women as appropriate and acceptable. Feminist critiques of religion concern address: the common presentation of God as male, traditions of male leadership, and the exclusion of women from major religious rituals and religious texts that leave out the female experience and legitimize men's authority over women. Therefore, religion masks the injustices of a patriarchal system. While religion can be an agent of women's oppression, it can also become a form of empowerment. This paper elaborates on reformist efforts in feminist theology promoted by Dr. Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, Indonesian scholar and human right activist; Zainah Anwar, Malaysian activist and theologist and founder of Sisters in Islam and the two Indian women, Bindu Ammini and Kanakadurga Koylandi,known as the first women to enter the Hindu Lord Ayyappa temple in Sabarimala, Kerala in January 2019. What is common to their hermeneutics and reform? How are they reexamining religious texts and history in order to promote women's equality and support women's empowerment? These are questions that will be addressed in this paper.

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The Problem and Challenges of Buddhist-Christian Relations in Myanmar

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is the largest country in Southeast Asia. It has isolated itself from the outside world since achieving independence for many decades. It has drooping to being the poorest nation in Southeast Asia. Since 1962, it ruled by a military regime and for 40 years it deliberately isolated itself from the political, social and economic forces that have swept over the rest of the Southeast Asia. Myanmar is a land of religious pluralism. During the British rule the Christianity were introduced to the people of Myanmar. Most of Bamar ethnic are embraced Buddhism and ethnic minority group such as Chin, Kachin, Karen and others embrace the Christian faith. Diversity living has often caused problems and challenges in building a community peace and harmony between religious communities especially between Buddhist majority and other minority religious in Myanmar. Since 1962 there are various conflicts such as racial, social, political, and even religious. There was fear and distrust among ethnic nationalities in Myanmar. Recently some of Burmese Buddhist monk such as Wirathu who is leader of MaBaTha Burmese Buddhist nationalist organization made a tension between Buddhists and Muslim in Myanmar. Today recognition of ethnic minorities as fellow human beings and as part of the society will promote mutual trust and cooperation that will also lead to peaceful democratic transition in Myanmar. The research will examine the problems and challenges of Buddhist-Christian relations in Myanmar. The main objective of the study is to determine what are the problems and challenges in ethnic diversity, issues of majority and minority, social-cultural and religious and how to promote peace and reconciliation in the pluralistic society of Myanmar.

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Social media and institutional development in Vietnam: the failed promise of democratic governance and the sustained illiberal rule

With the ascendency of social media in Vietnam, there have been high expectations that as a democratizing power it can make democratic governance possible or at least help create a distinct political space that is liberal and unrestricted from authoritarian control. However, after initial anathema to social media, the Vietnamese party-state has developed a more nuanced understanding of its power and used it to serve the purpose of ensuring the security of the regime in a more sophisticated way. Social media has equipped the party-state with a new powerful instrument in sustaining the illiberal rule by both enabling it to collect more critical feedback to the system for adjustment and to manipulate the information and public opinion to its advantage. This paper presents this argument by examining the categories of power relating to patronage networks and different public policy issues prominent on the social media, particularly Facebook in Vietnam.

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Engaging Gendered "Empowerment" in Colonial and Contemporary Cambodia

Convener: Lara K. Schubert
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Chair and discussant: Laura Schoenberger

Gendered forms of power in Cambodia are typically read in terms of the expectations for women that were codified in the 'Chbap Srei," a set of behavior standards developed by the Khmer royal court in eighteenth century. While the relationship to the Chbap Srei is complex, it is not always adequately theorized in discussions of power and empowerment. In response, this panel seeks to explore the power in women's empowerment through narratives that center Cambodian women's own understandings and definitions of power within religious, secular, political, and artistic spaces. The papers in this multi-disciplinary panel explore the contestations and realizations of women's power in civil society, the labor market, religion, and the arts. Miller considers how princess schools in colonial times conceptualized the place for elite women in positions of power. Vaznelis-Carlson turns to the power exerted by garment workers who oppose the oppressive industry. Howe seeks to nuance uncritical notions of "empowerment" through ethnographic work with women in contemporary music groups. Schubert's analysis, informed by ethnographic work with women religious, suggests a postsecular feminist theorization of the power of women's empowerment. Together, these papers will explore the multiple lenses for understanding gender and power in Cambodia.

Abstracts

Schools for Princesses: Elite Gendered Responses to the French Colonial Rule in Cambodia (1910–1953)

In September 1911, the colonial administration of the French Protectorate of Cambodia announced the opening of a section for girls at the established l'ecole Norodom. Within

two months after the opening, princesses Malika and Sutharot opened private girls schools for the daughters of royal and elite families. During this same period, the administration attempted to suppress gendered accesses to power—namely concubinage and polygamous marriages—within the royal court. Through my examination of negotiations around the school openings, as well as the "girls curriculum", this paper will argue that princesses Malika and Sutharot, along with longtime teachers Princess PingPeang and Pingpah, developed the schools to disseminate elite royal conceptions of femininity as part of the response to the colonial power's attempt to reshape Khmer gender representations and performances. The historiography on these changing gender representations has argued that the nationalist notion of Khmer womanhood was a form of cultural hybridity that arose out of French colonial influences during the early twentieth century in Cambodia. I engage with the literature by placing the royal female educators and their schools at the center of the narrative and argue that royalist notions of Khmer womanhood taught in these schools was largely influential in the nationalist gender constructions. Furthermore, the development of this girls education by the female members of the royal family indicates an attempt to conceptualize the place for elite women in positions of power in light of a changing political landscape.

Catriona Miller
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Fighting Back: Women's Agency in Cambodia's Garment Factories

A proverb in Cambodia states "men are like gold, women are like white cloth," implying that men can be washed clean, whereas women are always stained, a statement ingrained in the collective consciousness of Khmer people today, that perpetuates the stereotype of Khmer women as docile and speaks to gender inequality in Cambodia. However, women in Cambodia are working to change this patriarchal perception of them. This essay covers tribulations faced by women in Cambodia's garment factories and how some have either left the industry or engaged in protests, flash mobs, and have raised awareness about the physical and sexual abuse workers endure, including long working hours, abrupt factory closings, and non-payment. Notably, these women are breaking "proper" gender roles in Cambodia by working in garment factories and taking a stance against male- dominated oppression within the industry while working to support themselves and their families.Thus, this essay argues that women in Cambodia's garment industry have more agency than is currently represented by scholars.

Ashley Vaznelis-Carlson
University of California, Riverside

Performing Power: Women Artists' Perspectives on Embodiment, Sound, and Social Change in Contemporary Cambodia

As contemporary Cambodian women interrogate the codes of feminine comportment transmitted perhaps most notoriously through the nineteenth-century epic poem known as the Chhbap Srei (Rules for Women), but also through more quotidian embodied practices including music and dance, they are expressing their hopes, their frustrations, and the ambivalences of 21st-century Cambodian womanhood through movements and sounds that complicate conventional understandings of Cambodian femininity. Inspired by scholarship in ethnomusicology, dance ethnography, and choreomusicology exploring how gender is negotiated through music and movement (Thomas 1993; Spiller 2010; Sunardi 2015), this paper grows from a conviction that performance is the ideal place to engage with social complexity, and to bear witness to the working- through of pasts and the envisioning of futures. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork with New Cambodian Artists, an all-female contemporary dance troupe, and Medha, an all-female traditional drumming

ensemble, this paper illuminates the moves and voices of women who are interrogating gendered patterns of behavior through art. At the same time, it nuances uncritical notions of "resilience" and "empowerment" which are often applied on people, top-down, by NGOs in the so- called developing world, offering fine-grained accounts of the complexity of the very idea of social change in a corrupt and authoritarian context like Cambodia. Through its exploration of how history works on the body and how bodies create history, this paper contributes to ongoing debates in the fields of ethnomusicology, anthropology, and gender studies while interrogating the potentials and limitations of music and dance to promote equality and catalyze social change.

Emily Howe
Boston University

Performing Power: Women Artists' Perspectives on Embodiment, Sound, and Social Change in Contemporary Cambodia

Women's empowerment is a ubiquitous goal among organizations working on women's issues in the Global South. What does it mean? Many have critiqued empowerment as a vague goal that can mean virtually anything (including making women better individuals and better participants in global neocapitalist economic system which actually exploits them in the first place.) Critical consideration of "empowerment" must also involve critical consideration of power. In this paper, I will call on the work of Judith Butler and Rosi Braidotti who have somewhat different ideas of subjectivity, but who together provide the theoretical scaffolding for postsecular feminist subjectivity which fits Cambodian women who are leaders in their religious communities. Using this framework, I suggest "power" in empowerment does not refer to dominance nor does it refer to realizing autonomy. Closely aligned with Braidotti's formulation of the ethical ideal in postsecular feminism, it involves the maximization of interrelations, therefore maximizing the possibilities open to postsecular feminist subjects. This work is inspired by ethnographic work in Cambodia supported by work in religious studies but relies heavily on feminist philosophy as well as social theory to contribute to the study of power and the theorization of empowerment in Cambodia and beyond.

Lara K. Schubert
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Federalism, Decentralization and Ethnic Minorities in Myanmar

Convener: Jacques Bertrand
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Since 2011, Myanmar's civilian government has been negotiating with ethnic armed groups to end 60 years of civil war. The cornerstone of these negotiations is "federalism", mostly a vague notion that the organizing principle of the future Myanmar state should be federal units composed of ethnic states and Bamar majority regions. Yet, at the same time, the Myanmar government has proceeded with a policy of decentralizing services across a variety of sectors. This panel reflects on the problems and tensions arising from the current decentralization process, in light of future expectations regarding federalism. It also considers whether gender equality principles adopted by ethnic minority groups and the state are being met in the current process, and how best gender equality concerns could be met in the future. The panel situates the case of Myanmar in relation to decentralization in other parts of Southeast Asia.

We report on the initial findings of survey and interview data as part of a joint project on Gender and Decentralization in Myanmar, funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Jacques Bertrand
Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto

Negotiating federalism in Myanmar: current issues in a comparative perspective

This paper situates the debates on federalism and decentralization in Myanmar within a regional perspective. In light of recent experiments with autonomy and decentralization in Indonesia and the Philippines, I argue that the current discourse surrounding federalism in Myanmar, coupled with decentralization occurring under the 2008 Constitution, has created a very large gap between current status of decentralization and expectations from the current 21st century Panglong negotiations toward a new federal state.

Alexander Pelletier
Cornell University

Education and Health: Symbolic and Pragmatic Dimensions of Decentralization in Myanmar

This paper examines decentralization in the healthcare and education sectors in transitional Myanmar. Specifically, it contrasts the process of convergence between state and non-state providers in those two sectors. It argues that the process has been more successful so far in the healthcare sector because it does not involve symbolic issues related to history and language. The paper then asks how change and accommodation happen in other multination states in highly symbolic policy areas such as education.

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IDRC Myanmar Research Project (MIPS- UofT)

Federal Aspirations: Gender-Sensitive Health and Education Service in a Decentralizing Myanmar.

This paper investigates the readiness, gaps, opportunities and challenges on public service delivery on gender-sensitive health and education sectors in Myanmar. It examines the different ethnic community perspectives, with various levels of conflict exposure (ceasefire, on-going conflict, remote area and non-conflict but impoverished region for comparison), about health and education services received from the state and relevant non-state actors. The paper triangulates the initial findings from a survey (2800 sample size) and qualitative results from both community and service providers at all levels. I argue the need for transition in light of federalisation based on the findings from the government staff from Ministries of Health, Education and Department of Social Welfare and other stakeholders

"Decentralization challenges in Police Sector in Ethnic Minority States: Comparative and Gender Approach".

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Food fights in the city? Emerging practices and impacts of state development visions for urban food systems in Southeast Asia

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Chair and Discussant: Thi Thanh Hien Pham

Urban food systems – including food production, processing, distribution, and consumption – have become a central aspect of urban development and planning discussions globally. In Southeast Asia, the modernisation of food distribution systems and public health related concerns (such as food safety and obesity) are prominent factors that are currently shaping food policies and consumer practices. The goal of this paper panel is to better understand the multiple processes involved in urban food systems and their impacts on people's quality of life and well-being in four urban locales in Vietnam and Thailand. We examine practises ranging from urban agriculture in marginalised urban spaces, to street vending, to food purchasing and consumption preferences, as well as tensions for peri-urban farmers. Concurrently, we pay special attention to state visions of urban development and food modernisation, as well as other impacting processes such as tourism. Through these papers, we hope to shed light on the multiple – and oftentimes contradictory – factors that shape the contemporary foodscapes in these Southeast Asian cities.

Abstracts

'But growing vegetables is not civilised!' Conflicting practices and discourses of urban agriculture in Hanoi

Food safety is among the most important ongoing concerns for urban residents in Vietnam's large cities. Agro-chemical contamination of local fruit and vegetables and distrust of food and chemical products originating from neighbouring China are daily discussion topics.

Home vegetable gardens are thus gaining popularity in Vietnamese cities as a means to access safe food. Yet urban agriculture studies in Vietnam and in the Global South in general, reveal knowledge gaps concerning spatial variations of food gardens across cityscapes, gardener motivations, and possible tensions with urban regulations. In this paper we focus on vegetable gardens on urban-designated land in the rapidly urbanizing Hanoi. Fieldwork, including interviews with resident gardeners and officials and garden mapping, was conducted in seven wards with different degrees of urban density. We find that rapid changes in the city's peripheral urban form are providing unanticipated opportunities for residents committed to urban agriculture, while gardener motivations focus predominantly on health-related benefits and food safety concerns, contrasting with key motivations found elsewhere in the Global South. However, this practice is not always tolerated by local Hanoi authorities due to tight state control, and is labelled a hindrance to urban civility, modernity, and ironically, even 'greenness'. Hanoi's urban agriculture faces a precarious future, raising important questions regarding how residents can sustain access to safe food.

Sarah Turner
McGill University

Street food in Southeast Asia: Food safety against food security?

Street food (defined as food sold within public open spaces, either raw or prepared) is a major feature in Asian cities; yet it faces a strong pressure from public authorities. In Hanoi, Vietnam, the city's municipal government issued a ban on street vending in 2008. In Bangkok, Thailand, the city's authorities banned street vending in 2017, before softening restrictions. This process is common in major cities in Southeast Asia. The argument local governments use is twofold: first, improving traffic flow and second, alleviating food safety issues. Meanwhile, street vending remains an important source of foodstuffs for all urban dwellers but in particular for lower-income households. Additionally, it is a source of income for disadvantaged individuals (such as rural-urban or international migrants). Hence, this paper seeks to investigate whether this increased regulation threatens disadvantaged citizens' food security for the sake of food safety. Hence, I consider the public policies around street food in terms of food justice. This paper will draw upon two case studies: Bangkok and Hanoi. I discuss preliminary results of fieldwork conducted in May-July 2019 including interviews with sellers, consumers and planners in Bangkok, and interviews regarding the quality of foodstuffs (leafy vegetables and fish) sold on Hanoi's streets. I will also draw upon previous fieldwork conducted in Hanoi in 2010-2013, including interviews with disadvantaged households, and in Bangkok in 2016 involving interviews with stakeholders of the city's food system.

Gwenn Pulliat
CNRS (French National Center for Scientific Research)

Le système alimentaire dans un contexte de modernisation et des inquiétudes alimentaires : Permanence ou changement à Hue, une ville provinciale au centre du Vietnam ?

Depuis quelques années, l'État vietnamien tente de « moderniser » le système alimentaire urbain par la rénovation des marchés publics traditionnels au profit des supermarchés à l'Occidental ou par les restrictions de ventes de rue. Ces politiques sont instaurées en raison du manque de standards liés à l'hygiène et à la contamination des aliments. À l'heure où les modes de consommation alimentaires sont questionnés partout sur la planète, il devient primordial de comprendre l'impact de ces politiques sur les pratiques alimentaires de la population locale. Dans cette étude, j'examine le système alimentaire de la ville de Hue, une ville provinciale au centre du Vietnam (environ 350 000 habitants) avec la question de recherche suivante : Comment les pratiques d'achats ou de production alimentaire à Huê sont influencées par l'environnement bâti, l'offre des modes de distribution alimentaire (allant des marchés traditionnels, de vendeurs de rue aux supermarchés), les croyances en matière de qualité des aliments et les caractéristiques socio-économiques de la population ? La collecte de données a été effectuée à l'été 2018, comprenant un recensement des points de vente, un questionnaire distribué à 130 habitants de la ville et des entrevues avec des producteurs et différents types de fournisseurs alimentaires. Les résultats préliminaires montrent que la plupart des répondants utilisent les points de vente traditionnels et informels mais cela varie en fonction des produits alimentaires. Ces résultats seront discutés en relation avec les politiques étatiques de modernité et de revitalisation urbaine ainsi que la littérature sur les petites villes.

Véronique Nicol
Université du Québec à Montréal

Plus de légumes, plus de touristes : Tensions de développement agricole et touristiques en périphérie de Hoi An (Vietnam)

Hôi An, une ville de 95 000 habitants au centre du Vietnam, est reconnue par son quartier ancien daté du 16e siècle, un patrimoine culturel et architectural de l'UNESCO. Elle se trouve parmi les destinations touristiques les plus célèbres du pays. Afin de réduire la charge touristique au quartier ancien, la ville a développé de nouvelles formes touristiques en périphérie, dont les visites et séjours en ferme à Trà Quê - un village maraîcher. Depuis quelques années, à cause du tourisme de masse, les maisons d'hôte et de restaurants se sont multipliées dans le village. Les flux de capital et de touristes modulent la production de tourisme et transforment la production agricole au village. Notre étude a pour but de comprendre les « Le pouvoir en Asie du Sud-Est »
tensions entre les acteurs locaux et les enjeux causés par ces processus de développement liés au tourisme. Nos résultats montrent des mécontentements importants des habitants à l'égard de la répartition illégalité de revenu généré par le tourisme et de leur implication limitée dans l'industrie touristique. La présence des investissements dans l'immobilier entraîne à une forte hausse des prix fonciers, causant des incertitudes. En plus, les villageois se soucient de la perte de leur métier et de l'impact des activités touristiques sur la qualité de l'environnement. Il est donc impératif de réfléchir à des modèles de tourisme plus durable et plus équitable. Nous proposons la création d'un éco-village qui permettrait d'orienter la production agricole vers les produits biologiques et d'encourager l'implication des agriculteurs dans le développement des activités touristiques. Ainsi la valorisation du métier pourrait encourager des jeunes villageois à continuer le travail d'agriculteur.

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Foreign policies and relations

Chair and discussant: Stephanie Martel
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Perception of Powers in the South East Asia: 'Middle Powers' navigating the regional 'Great Power' rivalry

The most potent tool of the Power is the perception of it. Power and South East Asia have not been synonymous terms in the extant international relations discourse. Therefore, this study while analyzing the context the Southeast Asian nations, focus on power in two ways: How these countries perceive themselves in the regional context. Asian regional is the home to most 'Middle Power countries' with several of them located in South East Asia. 'Middle Powers' provide them a classification based upon their material possessions (military, economy, demography etc.) as well as role as the primary actors in the regional institutional and normative architectures. It remains true in the case of international relations where countries acquire their locus standi on the basis of their own power perception at the domestic level.

And secondly, how these countries react in the current context to the 'Great Power' struggle within the Asian region. Further, their actions, reactions and therefore, the relations with the Great Powers at the regional and global level are regulated by the power of the latter as perceived by the former. The paper analyses regional security architectures such as ASEAN, UNCLOS, and Code of Conduct on the South China Seas as the framework of analysis for the state behaviours. The paper argues that hedging, internal and external balancing, and buck-passing at bilateral level with other regional countries while asserting themselves at multilateral arena have been different reactionary policies

that the South East Asian Middle Powers have resorted towards the balancing the impact of power-rivalry.

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China's Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese Patriotism, and Legitimacy

The One Belt One Road project proposes to recreate the ancient Silk Road's economic ties through infrastructure building and trade agreements to link Asia to Europe and Africa. OBOR became a central feature of Chinese foreign policy since 2013, and an important component of Xi Jinping's administration's goal to rejuvenate the Chinese nation. OBOR is increasingly becoming central to power relations between China and other regions of the world, notably Southeast Asia. Although it has been argued that the Chinese international development model has imperialistic tendencies, the official discourse around OBOR is anchored in anti-imperialism. OBOR is portrayed as a benevolent endeavour on the part of a Third World country with the goal of helping fellow third world countries.
The paper will argue that the official anti-imperialist discourse is crucial to the maintenance of OBOR and the CCP's legitimacy, given the importance of the anti-imperialism of Chinese state nationalism, which importantly relies on historical "humiliations" at the hands of imperial powers. The first half of the paper will be a historical analysis of Chinese nationalism and its relation to the official Chinese discourse around OBOR. The latter half will involve gathering original data from a focus group I will hold at Shantou University, China, in May 2019. The theme of the focus group will be the relationship between anti-imperialist discourse and legitimacy, the results of which I will use to substantiate the theory I propose.

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Les infrastructures transfrontalières indo-birmanes, entre néolibéralisme et extension du pouvoir étatique : quels impacts pour les populations birmanes ?

Mise en contexte : Le nouveau gouvernement de Narendra Modi réogarnise sa politique étrangère en 2014, et ce en accordant une plus grande importance aux relations avec les pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est (ASEAN) qui eux-mêmes cherchent à diversifier leurs partenariats économiques devant la forte présence Chinoise. L'élément central de cette réorientation est la mise en place du Act East policy (AEP), soit une politique conçue comme une initiative économique et politiques (Government of India 2015). L'un des objectifs majeurs est la promotion de la coopération économique (commerce) avec les pays de l'ASEAN par le biais d'une connectivité accrue (infrastructures stratégiques) des États du nord-est de l'Inde (interface entre le l'Inde et l'Asie du Sud-Est) (Government of India 2015).

Problématique : Dans ce contexte, les projets d'infrastructures transfrontalières avec la Birmanie (porte d'entrée vers les pays de l'ASEAN) sont particulièrement importants au niveau commercial, et le projet Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport (KMMTT) en constitue l'exemple par excellence. Ce dernier cherche à fournir une route alternative à celle du corridor du Siliguri (pour diminuer le passage des marchandises), et ce en reliant le port indien de Calcutta et celui de Sittwe en Birmanie, mais aussi par une deuxième branche qui relie la ville indienne d'Aizawl à Sittew via un réseau fluvial intérieur (Ranjan Sen 2019). Or la deuxième partie du projet est menacée par différents groupes armés birman (l'Alliance du nord) soutenus par une partie de la population, et dont certains sont

issus de la minorité Rohingya. Les régions frontalières entre les deux pays sont marquées par des cycles de violences et de répression qui ont profondément marqué le paysage politique (région sous tutelle) (Gandelin 2016). Dans cette optique, nous pouvons nous demander si le projet d'infrastructure frontalière entre l'Inde et la Birmanie peut engendrer de nouvelles tensions sociopolitiques dans les États birmans concernés.

Objectifs : Nous émettons l'hypothèse que les conflits violents entre les populations et le gouvernement birman sont ravivés par le projet KMMTT et exacerbés par 1) une dépossession politique des populations locales et 2) d'une aliénation économique de celles-ci. Deux objectifs complémentaires sont également poursuivis : 1) Comprendre par quels canaux et pratiques le gouvernement central affirme son pouvoir coercitif sur les régions, et 2) Déterminer comment les populations locales réagissent au rapport de force existant avec le gouvernement de Naypyidaw.
Méthodologie : Le travail repose sur la collectes de données secondaires recueillies à partir de sources différentes (articles scientifique, revue de rapport annuel du gouvernement) et appuyé sur une lecture régulière de la presse locale, de rapports d'associations de la société civile, et de travaux universitaires (Romun Chiru 2017).

Contribution : Si les persécutions vécues par les Rohingyas et la crise migratoire qui prend racine au sein de celles-ci sont documentées, peu de recherches s'intéressent au lien entre celles-ci et le développement économique de la région. De plus, la région bordant la frontière entre le Myanmar et l'Inde reste un espace très peu documenté.

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Geopolitics of the ASEAN

The Power of ASEAN to Foster International Cooperation in Criminal Matters

Since its inception, the ASEAN has taken a strong political position against terrorism and transnational crime. In fact, ASEAN and its member states believe that transnational crime and terrorism are threats to regional security and stability. In view thereof, ASEAN has come up with different declarations, treaties, and the like that would foster stronger cooperation. This includes stronger commitments with its dialogue partners, such as the European Union, for example, to foster more effective cooperation in the prevention, investigation, prosecution, and punishment of terrorism and transnational crime.

Given the foregoing, a question could arise as to how much influence ASEAN has in fostering and promoting international cooperation in criminal matters, especially in light of its existing normative and decision-making framework. This question gains significance due to the pervasive and global nature of terrorism and transnational crime as well as the need to have effective measures in combating against it.

In tackling said question, the present paper finds it imperative to look into how ASEAN has developed its framework for international cooperation in criminal matters, including existing instruments or agreements on the same. Looking in particular on the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Treaty, the paper through a comparative criminal law approach would not only analyze the regional and member state level, but also the law on the books v. law in practice. This provides not only legal insights but also a gauge of how much "power" the regional organization has in terms of international cooperation in criminal matters.

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Problems and Challenges in Combating Transnational Crime In Southeast Asia: Case Study From ASEANAPOL

For the past 30 years, Southeast Asia has suffered from the various threats of transnational crime such as drugs trafficking, human trafficking, maritime piracy and many more. In response, ASEAN has launched several attempts to tackle transnational crime in the region, one of which is by creating the ASEANAPOL as a formal meeting between the Chiefs of ASEAN Police. Some of the ASEANAPOL objectives are to facilitate and coordinate cross-border cooperation on intelligence and information sharing and to increase regional cooperation efforts against transnational crime (ASEANAPOL, 2017).

This article describes the problems and challenges of ASEANAPOL in combating transnational crime in Southeast Asia. It first introduces the increasing number of transnational crime in global level and specifically in Southeast Asia. It will then examine the regional responses issued by ASEAN in combating the transnational crime through the statements, declarations and joint declarations. The article demonstrates that after the establishment of ASEANAPOL in 1981, the transnational crime relatively increases. ASEANAPOL, as the only concrete response by the region, has failed to reduce the transnational crime in Southeast Asia. By analysing the roles and objectives of the ASEANAPOL and comparing ASEANAPOL with similar efforts from other regions, the paper aims to assess its effectiveness, in terms of institutions and approaches, and suggests appropriate actions for combating and anticipating transnational crime in Southeast Asia.

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The Sea Rises: ASEAN Economic Integration and the Struggle for Captainship in East Asia

This study seeks to shed light on the economic and geopolitical context in which the 10-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) continue to pursue its economic integration for the Southeast Asian (SEA) region under the auspices of the ASEAN Community originally set to be completed, but nonetheless launched by end-2015. By doing so, it is inevitable to discuss and elaborate on the competing integration architecture currently afloat in the wider region outside of SEA: that of East Asia and the even broader Asia-Pacific. Represented by the ongoing negotiations on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement respectively championed by China and (formerly) the United States, the study situates the current position of ASEAN, its economic integration project, vis-à-vis these contending mega-trade deals. Whether the RCEP or TPP will affect the tides of the global economy is without question; the more pressing issue—and perhaps a crucial one—is how ASEAN can or will react towards such developments. Specifically, by drawing on the organization's history, institutional built, and capacity, the possibility, prospects, and challenges of an ASEAN leadership in a region widely tagged as the next theatre for geopolitical struggle are explored.

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Regional Integration in South East Asia: ASEAN and its future Implications

The concept of integration is a significant phenomenon in the current international system which shapes the geopolitical matrix of 21st century. It refers to the status where states link together to resolve common security issues. In this regard the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967 to protect the region from communist led insurrections at the height of the Vietnam war. Though it deals with both traditional and non-traditional security challenges, power implications of India, USA, Japan and China within the region has created a massive challenge to achieve cooperation in the ASEAN.

As the current security architecture represents a system of norms, practices, relationships or alliances developed by nations, above mentioned powers attempt to build their security identity in the region with the aim of minimizing their strategic vulnerabilities. Along with that, India, USA and Japan have joined the ASEAN as dialog partners to be alert on China's power projections within the region. Particularly, as a result of the fostering the concept of Indo Pacific Region by Japanese prime minster Shinzo Abe, trilateral relations of these countries against China's power projection established a unique alliance within the ASEAN. Apart from that, since ASEAN is one of the largest economy in Asia, these countries have formulated very close economic relations with the ASEAN. The significant fact is that the polices of them can be identified as applications of Modi's Act East Policy and as well as Trump's National Security Strategy (NSS) and Abe's Security Diamond policy. The NSS has specifically documented that USA promotes India's dominance in the Indo-Pacific region. On the other hand, security diamond policy of Japan is also compatible with these policies as it focused on building cooperation with both countries. This can be identified as a modification of the 1977 Fukuda Doctrine which was developed by prime minster Takeo Fukuda to win the good heart of post-world war international community. All these facts indicate that the tension between China and these countries have become an unavoidable political reality within the ASEAN.

When this comes to the organizational level, there are conflicts between China and other member countries to gain the dominance of the resources in South China Sea. The South China Sea enriches oil and gas reserves and key shipping lanes that facilitate countries to earn trillions of dollars from the global trade. In this context, ASEAN members and China jointly published the Declaration of the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) in 2002 to provide a peaceful settlement for territorial issues in South China Sea. However still there are the ongoing issues in the region that make impact on the mutual relations among member countries. For instance, the conflict of Philippines and Vietnam with China on the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands have made major challenges for the regional integration of ASEAN. Mainly with the signing of Bangkok Declaration by its initial member states including Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippine, Singapore and Thailand, state practices in promoting peace, freedom and non-use of force were aroused as the key principles of ASEAN. Further, the three institutions of ASEAN known as ASEAN Security, Economic and Social and Cultural Community were formed to obtain common well-being of member countries. But early mentioned realties depict that the key principles of ASEAN are not being practiced by member countries.

Within this landscape, the main objective of this paper is to identify the power projections of India, USA, Japan and China's in ASEAN which has created a massive impact for its integration. The qualitative research method is used in this paper to analyze the data of secondary sources including books and journal articles. Further, the conclusion of this paper will be based on the argument that the balance of power and cooperative actions are prerequisites for a stable ASEAN.

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Geopolitics and Comparative Regionalism: the cases of ASEAN and MERCOSUR

The purpose of this paper is to undertake a comparative analysis between two regional organizations constituted by developing countries, MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South) and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). In this analysis, we focus on the geopolitical dynamics of each of the regional initiatives and studies on regionalism. A geopolitical approach will serve as a guideline for understanding inter-state power relations within regional settings and exposure to the turbulence and geopolitical disputes of extra-regional actors. We carry out a periodization of regional conjunctures, the balance of power and the geopolitical rivalries that prevailed in the period of the Cold War between the states of each region, as well as the unique dynamics provided by globalization and the post-Cold War scenario, which involved the strengthening of the ties of the countries and the emergence of their new international ambitions. In addition, space representations, political economy and the defense and security geostrategy of both organizations will be contemplated in order to understand the international position and policies of regional and global projection of MERCOSUR and ASEAN. Finally, this comparative study seeks to understand how the two regional initiatives behaved in the face of the competitions and rivalries between the great global powers in their geographic space and how they acted to face the risks and opportunities arising from them, especially in view of the growing complexity of the contemporary international system.

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History and Politics of the Philippines

Interrogating the Nationalization of the Post-Colonial Philippines: The Filipinization of Chinese Schools in the Philippines

The education of the Chinese in the Philippines began as informal schooling through tutorial services from elders, which was meant to simply maintain proficiency in the Chinese language and allow them to continue 'being' Chinese serving as a safety net against expulsion from the country. The growth of Chinese Schools was seen during the American period in which 55 recognized Chinese Schools were established by 1935. The Chinese Schools in the Philippines remained under the supervision of the Chinese government until 1947 when the Treaty of Amity was signed between China and Philippines providing equal control over the Chinese Schools in the Philippines. The changing perceptions and constantly fluctuating perception over the role of the Chinese Schools in the integration process became clearer when the Filipinization of the Chinese Schools commenced under the Marcos government in 1975. This as well coincided with the mass naturalization of the Chinese in the Philippines, which further changed the role of the Chinese Schools in the Philippines. The impact of the Filipinization policy to Chinese Schools manifested in different ways. Using the Chinese schools as a focal point to interrogate the nationalization of the Philippines after the Second World War coinciding with the decolonization of the Philippines. This study aims to look as the discrepancy of the nationalization process as seen at the national level and at individual level. Likewise, the concept of nation as moved through the nationalization will be interrogated by

juxtaposing it to the concept of 'bayan' and 'datu-sakop' which present the native's view of what it means to be a 'nation'.

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Representation and Domination: An Exploration on the People of the Sulu Archipelago in the Filipino Heritage the Making of a Nation Encyclopedia (1978)

The Filipino Heritage the Making of a Nation Encyclopedia is perhaps one of the most ambitious intellectual projects that define the Filipino nation during the presidency of Ferdinand E. Marcos. In line with the context of its creation, this paper argues that as part of a Marcosian ethos of rebuilding the nation composed of Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa (One Nation, One Spirit), and through the examination of visual and textual depiction of the people of Sulu, the discourse of normalcy and domination are uncovered. It is argued that these discourses simultaneously integrate the people of the Sulu archipelago into the political leadership's order of things while simultaneously silencing them through exoticism and romanticism, thus rendering them as object of rule. This paper moreover underscores the political nature of knowledge production at that time, as part of the Marcos' authoritarian project for the Philippine nation-state. Expertise is likewise mobilized for the New Society as indicated by the cooptation of the academe, as represented by intellectual luminaries of the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies (PCAS) and the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC). Through their semiotic (re)construction of Sulu as a non-problematic space within the Philippine territorial domain, the people are rendered tame and easily integrated into Marcos' model of the New Society. As such, the Filipino Heritage is not simply a colorful publication. Rather it functioned as an important political instrument for the regime's pursuits of defining the nation in the 1970s.

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From empowerment to disempowerment: How the competing understanding of power in the Philippines by the framers of the 1987 Constitution, Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Commission on Elections resulted in the party- list representation – originally designed to institutionalize electoral participation of civil society groups marginalized by traditional politics –degenerating as the channel for traditional politicians to enter Congress through the backdoor

The Philippine party-list electoral system for electing twenty percent of members of its House of Representatives was understood by the framers of the 1987 Constitution as an explicit democratization reform measure to partly address the infirmities of the elite-

dominated, winner-take-all nature of the more familiar single- member district (SMD) electoral system that has disempowered civil society organizations and smaller political parties since the American period. The intent was to give them an alternative electoral game that would allow them to win seats proportional to the votes they get. However, through the faulty understanding of power and empowerment by key democratic institutions of the Philippines as reflected in the serious flaws in the institutional design of the constitutional provisions on the party list, the enabling party-list law passed by Congress and the series of misguided interventions by the Commission on Elections and the Supreme Court, the original party-list vision instead morphed into the current bizarre electoral system that undermines key principles of a PR electoral system, disenfranchises civil society groups, and has resulted instead in the entry in Congress of hordes of traditional politicians using the party-list backdoor.

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Masters and Servants: Power Relations in Philippine Spanish Period Households (1848-1900)

Power dynamics pervade many aspects of social life. Not only are these forces seen in the public realm, but also in the private home sphere. These power dynamics are especially evident in master-servant relationships in Philippine upper class homes during the late Spanish period (1848-1898). In this paper, I argue that the domestic workers' visibility in historical accounts and invisibility in domestic space reveal paternalistic colonial power relationships between masters and servants. To better understand this phenomenon, I ask: how is power between master and servant expressed in Philippine Spanish period households?; and how did race and class reinforce powers of domination? To uncover these power relations, I will present textual and visual evidence from the first-hand accounts of Manila native Ramon Reyes Lala as well as nineteenth century travelogues by foreigners. This research hopes not only to contribute to a better understanding of power dynamics in the Philippines, but also to add to the broader discourse of colonial politics in Southeast Asia.

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Power as Mass Murder: Extrajudicial Killings in the Philippine Drug War as Manifestation of the Strong Political Will of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte

The paper argues that the popularity of Duterte's drug war was redefined the concept of "political will" of the Philippine president previously understood as the willingness to exercise his power to apply the laws no matter who gets to be hurt to the current understanding of the willingness to exercise power to circumvent the laws and other democratic institutions if needed to destroy what supposedly is an existential threat to the nation. As a research fellow of the Social Weather Stations (SWS), the most prestigious survey firm in the Philippines. I and my co-author mobilize the available three years of SWS surveys on the drug war of Duterte, which enjoys very high satisfaction rating not withstanding public awareness of widespread extrajudicial killings, and correlate them with the record very high satisfaction and trust ratings of Duterte. The paper then moves beyond the quantitative top include the pro-authoritarian pronouncements of Duterte himself, of his key political allies in the other branches and levels of government, of his social media influences and allies in the traditional media to illustrate the successful

vocabulary of the new political discourse of power, and its equation with strong-arm tactics, human rights bashing, misogyny, violence and mass murder in the Philippines.

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Internal Migration in Southeast Asia: Challenges in Governance and Integration

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Chair/Discussant: Lee Joseph Seymour,
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This panel, based on an upcoming edited volume of the same name, seeks to better understand the dilemmas faced by internal migrants –i.e. migrants who do not cross international borders and possess some claim to citizenship with the state in question- in Southeast Asia. What systems of governance exist that can help to integrate internal migrants with host communities? Conversely, what practices tend to spark tensions and competition with host communities, jeopardizing the well-being of migrant and host societies?

Abstracts

Emplacing Mobility: Nationalizing Return Migration in Vietnam

This paper examines the complexities of “return migration” in Vietnam. In the interest of incentivizing further economic and cultural re-engagement from the diaspora, the Vietnamese government has crafted a range of policies to promote homeland return ranging from visa waivers to property and citizenship rights, and established a “Committee for Overseas Vietnamese Affairs”. However, there have been significant challenges to producing a coherent diaspora engagement strategy. First, there are many kinds of “migrants” subsumed under the overarching umbrella term of “overseas Vietnamese”. Second, diaspora engagement models from other countries – often based on voluntary migration histories – do not generally apply well in Vietnam where the majority of the diaspora who left as political refugees. The paper will examine the challenges of state Kiều Bào (overseas compatriot) associations that have sought to emulate Hometown Association collective giving models popular in places like Mexico, but with limited success. Rather than seeing the political aversion of much of the diaspora as a failure, however, the paper will consider the many other ways overseas Vietnamese have contributed – from family to charitable to social remittances, and how these gifts have shaped the dynamics of returnee-host community interactions.

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Displacement and Reintegration in Aceh, Indonesia

In 2005, the Indonesian province of Aceh was recovering from the Indian Ocean Tsunami as well as a decades-long civil war. As the dual disasters were overcome, villages braced for changes. Former rebels would soon return to their home villages, and displaced peoples would also be returning, including ethnic minorities displaced by rebel forces and ethnic Acehnese displaced by the natural disaster. Managing this movement of people and reintegrating them into village life would be crucial not only to avoid violence and conflict recurrence, but also for future development. Despite promises of foreign aid and assistance from the Indonesian government to build houses, it was not clear how Aceh's social challenges would be addressed. Without formal program or organization, village leaders immediately set out to smooth this transition. As people started returning, rural ulama modified a traditional ceremony known as the peusijuek ('cooling off'), meant to signal a change in social status of former residents and to affirm village membership, with the implicit hope of avoiding instability. Unfolding spontaneously across the province, this traditional institution helped Acehnese return home and rebuild. This said, there were mixed results for Aceh's ethnic minorities, showing limitations to traditional integration mechanisms.

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'Adopting migrants as brothers and sisters' –fictive kinship as a mechanism of conflict resolution and conflict prevention in Lampung, Indonesia

This paper expands on the role of local traditional institutions (adat) such as mawori or angkat Saudara (i.e., adopting others as brothers and sisters) as a force to restore peace and order and foster the integration of migrant communities in Indonesia's post-Reformasi era. As brothers and sisters are, perhaps naively, not expected to fight or resort to violence, maworis are repeatedly used today to prevent large-scale communal conflict in the province Lampung via the promotion of Lampungese culture and authority, the facilitation of inter-group interactions, and the development of social capital that generates trust. This ceremonial practice also highlights the changing and relative nature of 'nativism', as individuals who are not born in Lampung –and thus do not fulfil the basic requirement to be 'locals'– are, for all intents and purposes, incorporated into the host society. Yet, this paper also highlights the very real limits of adat as a mechanism of conflict prevention and resolution, focusing in particular on its narrow applicability to groups sharing a religious or cultural background.

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La Belt and Road Initiative en Asie: quels enjeux de pouvoirs sur des territoires?

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Depuis qu'il est devenu le secrétaire général du Parti communiste chinois en 2012 puis président en 2013, Xi Jinping a lancé une série d'initiatives stratégiques à l'intérieur du pays ainsi qu'à l'étranger. Toutes visent à garantir la stabilité politique et la croissance économique du pays, tout en asseyant la Chine comme un nouvel acteur majeur au

niveau international. La démarche la plus notable est sans doute la vision stratégique d'une nouvelle route de la soie, rebaptisée Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) en 2017. Invoquant l'imagerie historique de l'ancienne route de la soie, le projet BRI prévoit la construction d'imposantes infrastructures reliant la Chine au reste du monde. L'objectif est de renforcer les échanges commerciaux et d'améliorer la connectivité entre la Chine et l'Afrique, l'Eurasie, l'Europe, le Moyen-Orient ainsi que l'Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est. Si quelques éléments de ces Nouvelles routes de la soie sont déjà en place ou en cours de construction, l'essentiel du projet n'existe pour l'instant que sur le papier. Néanmoins, cette volonté de connectivité capte l'attention de la communauté internationale. Les États, les entreprises ainsi que les populations le long des itinéraires proposés sont attirés par les moyens colossaux qui, selon les discours de Beijing, seront mobilisés afin de concrétiser cette vision. Dans le même temps, ils restent attentifs aux conséquences géopolitiques liées au fait de devenir un nœud sur ces voies de liaison tournées vers la Chine.

La BRI en Asie du Sud-Est continentale : projets, opportunités et tensions

Le futur réseau ferroviaire panasiatique, conçu dès 1992 sur la base d'idées héritées de l'époque coloniale, a en partie été intégré dans l'initiative des « Nouvelles routes de la soie » (Belt and Road Initiative ou BRI). L'aspect le plus visible de ces Nouvelles routes de la soie est les investissements de la China Railway Group Limited dans de nouvelles voies ferroviaires, qui pousse notamment pour la construction du vieux projet de liaison Kunming-Bangkok-Singapour via trois corridors. La Chine veut assurément tirer pleinement profit des avantages comparatifs des régions parties prenantes en adoptant une stratégie proactive d'ouverture ainsi que de renforcement de la connectivité. En Asie du Sud-Est continentale, le corridor Chine-Indochine de la BRI se raccorde au programme *Greater Mekong Subregion* (GMS), dans la partie péninsulaire de l'Asie du Sud-Est, où la Chine cherche à développer le fret ferroviaire et maritime pour accéder plus facilement à l'Océan Indien, ce qui permet de contourner la mer de Chine méridionale, région stratégiquement contestée, et les détroits sud-est asiatiques (Malacca notamment).

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La « Route de la soie polaire » : une nouvelle étape de la coopération sino-russe?

En 2018, le gouvernement chinois a officiellement ajouté un nouvel axe à son ambitieux projet « Belt and Road Initiative » (BRI) - une « Route de la soie polaire » (冰上丝绸之路). L'intégration de l'espace arctique à la BRI devrait créer des conditions favorables pour les entreprises chinoises qui souhaitent à participer au développement des infrastructures polaires ainsi qu'à la réalisation des différents projets dans cette zone encore peu exploitée. Bien que ce nouvel axe vise tous les États arctiques, pour l'instant, c'est surtout avec la Russie que la Chine parvient à établir une coopération étroite en Arctique dans le cadre de la BRI. L'intérêt chinois pour l'Arctique russe n'est pas nouveau ; ce qui change, c'est l'ampleur des opportunités économiques que la Russie a décidé d'accorder aux entreprises chinoises dans cette région qu'elle considère comme stratégique. La Chine participe désormais aux exploitations de gisements d'hydrocarbures arctiques non seulement comme investisseur silencieux, mais aussi comme fournisseur d'équipements et de technologies. Elle ambitionne également de jouer un rôle important dans l'organisation du trafic commercial sur le passage du Nord-Est, une ambition qui crée toutefois un léger malaise du côté russe. Cette communication va passer en revue les projets que Moscou et Pékin réalisent ensemble en Arctique russe en analysant les principaux enjeux et perspectives de cette nouvelle collaboration sino-russe dans le cadre de la BRI.

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Frédéric Lasserre, professeur titulaire, Université Laval

Cohérence des grands projets ferroviaires de la BRI : un grand dessein, ou une gestion opportuniste?

L'essor des projets de corridors dans le cadre de la BRI, soutenus par de grands projets ferroviaires, est parfois interprété comme le résultat d'un grand dessin planifié. Les projets résulteraient d'un processus structuré de réflexion coordonné. Une analyse plus attentive montre que ces projets sont souvent anciens et ont été repris de manière opportuniste; qu'ils ont parfois débuté depuis fort longtemps, dans un contexte de planification différent ; et que, soumis à des contingences très locales, il est difficile de pouvoir affirmer qu'ils sont coordonnés.

Frédéric Lasserre, professeur titulaire, Université Laval

Language and Power

Examining Rodrigo Duterte's Power of Language and Language of Power

Abstract: Current president of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, despite mounting accusations of human rights violations and massive human loss during the so-called Drug War, occupies the special status of being one of the most beloved presidents in Philippine history. From a linguistic anthropological perspective, Duterte's response to these challenges reveals the power of language and the language of power: here, "disorderly" language is used to great effect as a means by which to build rapport with a core constituency, characterized by liberal swearing in multiple languages, dirty jokes, calls for violence, off- script anecdotes, and characterological assessments that together have secured his place as a president that "speaks like the people" – a straight-shooting, anti-politician ready to die for the cause. At the same time, this alignment contributes to an obfuscation of the massive loss of human life among those at the margins of Philippine society – many have named the Drug War by another name: a "War on the Poor." This paper employs the tools of linguistic anthropology to analyze Duterte's presidential addresses from 2016-present to demonstrate the ways in which language is leveraged as a critical tool of political power; apparent "disorderly language" is shown to be driven by a high degree of metalinguistic awareness and a sophisticated understanding of the effects of this speech on interlocutors both inside and outside of the Philippines. In this way, Duterte's language is demonstrated to be a productive tool in the maintenance and negotiation of power in the contemporary Philippine political milieu.

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Power Struggle in the Form of Language Policies in Myanmar

In Myanmar, with languages and dialects of one hundred and thirty-five national races that officially recognized by the government, language is highly politicized topic. The country, with a pseudo-democratic government, is still struggling to get a peace agreement to end the seventy-year long civil war between the Burmese-speaking majority group and the ethnic minorities and to establish a federal state that will bring equality and equity between different groups engaging in the power struggle. Since ethnic groups speak languages different from Burmese, the official language of the nation, the current and future status of

minority languages is intertwined with the peace process. The struggle of minority languages is mainly manifested in the field of education and around the issues related to teaching and learning those languages and their use as the language of instruction. Myanmar saw some progress for those minority languages in recent years when the Ministry of Education started to allow teaching a couple of minority languages at government schools and provided textbooks on teaching those languages. Moreover, a new Ministry for Ethnic Affairs has been established under the current NLD-led government. However, the progress seems incremental and slow. This paper tries to examine historical and current situation of minority languages in Myanmar's education as a power struggle from the critical inquiry perspective.

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Bringing the Old Clientelist Power Back in Thailand's 2019 Election under the Junta

The aim of the military junta since 2014 is to reverse the balance of political power back to the dates before Thaksin's regime for benefits of the conservative elites. One of its important tasks is to destroy the political networks which parties and politicians deeply established with their people. This paper explores various means the junta government exercised to cut loose the old networks and establish its own. By conducting the in-depth interviews to the political actors in 9 provinces, this paper focuses on how this regime transformed the linkage between people and the political actors. By oppressing the leading politicians, damaging the local democracy, and using the bureaucracy as the center of the networks, the politicians were forced to rely solely on their charismatic linkage, or else to join the junta's party for survival. Motivated by fears, the old form of clientelist power prevailed. Thus, this work discovered at least three important trends of clientelist power in this regime that would last for some years if there is no major change in the power. Firstly, the networks that formed around the bureaucracy, relies on the political brokers who would develop into the old form of godfathers. Second, the charismatic linkage is more prevailing in this era than the programmatic. Third, the old forms of power game would be back in Thai political arena - violence, betrays, money and fear driven power.

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The 1984 Medan Agreement: The Power of Evasion and Internalization

The presence and contribution of foreign labor is deeply entwined with Malaysia's political-economic history. Taking this history into consideration, this paper contributes to an emergent body of work that investigates how migrant persons impact immigration control through an examination of the development, failure, and aftermath of the 1984 Medan Agreement, a bilateral treaty with Indonesia which ended the era of "quiet migration" when undocumented migration was largely ignored. I argue that changes in Malaysia's immigration laws, policies, and practices are not merely a response to shifting business interests or anti-immigration sentiments, they also reflect Malaysia's history of foreign labor dependency.
Using comparative historical analysis, I examine how an unwilling dependency on foreign labor evolved alongside Malaysia's self-understanding of nationhood and its drive for economic prosperity. I demonstrate that Malaysia's dependency on foreign labor transforms the power dynamics between migrant persons and their host country in a way

that makes the state more vulnerable to migrant actions. I consider how migrant persons used two tactics to influence the trajectory of the Medan Agreement: 1) Deploying coercive power – the ability to directly influence the behavior of state actors and employers – migrant persons *evaded* the state-controlled mechanisms of the Agreement rendering them ineffective. 2) And deploying productive power – the ability to produce systems of meaning – migrant persons *internalize* a disciplinary discourse that perpetuated the seemingly inherent "dirtiness" and "cheapness" of certain sectors; this legitimized the practice of hiring undocumented workers within these sectors contrary to official laws and policies.

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Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia 1

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Chair: Gabriel Fauveaud
Discussant: Abidin Kusno

Public or private led master-planned urban projects in Southeast Asian cities have become an important vector of the urban development in the region (Fauveaud, 2015, 2017; Harms, 2015; Moser, 2015, 2017; Shatkin, 2017). Mostly built and financed by local states, Asian developers and investors, these multi-functional urban spaces are generally built for the richest portion of the population and for expatriates, while supporting growing speculative investments at both the local and the regional scales. As the literature generally points out, this "privatization of the urban production" (i.e. the replacement of the State as a planner by private stakeholder) implies profound changes in the relations between the actors involved (e.g. developers, planners, public actors, inhabitants).

In this panel, we would like to question the way urban projects generate, as much as they rely on, new dynamics and relations of power, both at local and international scales. Power relations we believe, need to be investigated at various levels of analysis, as well as in a multi-scalar perspective. Large-scale urban projects not only shape actors' relations at the local scale, they are also part of broader geopolitics of regional investments and economic cooperation. In this sense, as this panel will certainly show, large-scale urban projects are a key driving force of the changing urban politics in the region.

Abstracts

Planting the Seeds for Future Urbanism: Local Governance and Urban Expansion in Southeast Asia

Rapid urbanization, of the sort now being experienced across the region of Southeast Asia, is a socially disruptive process. Critical among the many changes being experienced by villagers on the outskirts of metropolitan territories are shifts in the structures and practices of local governance. Such changes, broadly speaking, are being manifested in two distinct manners: (1) by the establishment of home-owners associations or private

management companies associated with developers who build enclave residential estates on what heretofore have been agricultural lands, and (2) through the changing functions of pre-existing village governance units, who are forced by circumstances to address the rapid urbanization of villages that results from rural migrants and other outsiders seeking accommodation at the urban edge and villagers rebuilding their houses and surrounding environments to urban densities in response.
Conceptual issues to be addressed in this investigation include: the question of whether such developer-led structures of local management might be considered as a form of private government; the implications of these changes for the future development of what have been labeled as "straddler organizations" which facilitate the connectivity between state and society at the lowest rungs of state administrative systems; and the potential long-term implications of such bifurcated urban development at the edge of metropolitan regions. While this paper will be based upon recent research on the edge of Hanoi as the primary site for study, other examples from rapidly urbanizing contexts elsewhere in Southeast Asia will be drawn upon by way of comparison.

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Chinese investment in Malaysia: Power, geopolitics, and real estate

Given the ever-increasing amount of Chinese capital invested in real estate around the world, more attention needs to be paid to understanding the Chinese urban policies circulating internationally, the types of Chinese-driven urban mega-developments in foreign countries, the targets of of Chinese investment, and the broad impacts they are having on local societies. China has recently surpassed Singapore to become the largest foreign investor in Malaysia, resulting in a sudden proliferation of large-scale urban developments in transportation infrastructure, energy, and real estate. This research seeks to gain a critical understanding of the role of Chinese investors and developers and the scale and typologies of recent private urban mega-projects in Malaysia. We identify and map individual urban mega-developments (meaning massive real estate projects, not single buildings) in Malaysia that have been initiated, financed, and / or constructed by Chinese public and private companies, and determine the approximate amount of Chinese investment in each project. A timeline of projects and players involved sheds light on broad trends in urban policy, the regulatory environment in Malaysia, the scale and type of Chinese projects being launched across the country, and the emerging geopolitics of Chinese urban projects on the Malay Peninsula.

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Infrastructures of power. What pipes and cables can tell us about power relationships in New Clark City, the Philippines

This presentation interrogates power relations in urban production through the lens of urban infrastructure provision: it focuses on how utilities reflect, but also drive power dynamics at the urban scale.

Empirically, I document and analyse the on-going construction of New Clark City, a 'smart city' project that is envisioned by the current Philippine state administration as a solution to the crisis that Metro Manila's urban infrastructure is going through. In doing so, the paper explores the material dimensions of 'smart city' initiatives in the context of postcolonial cities where urban utilities are described as deficient. It argues that such projects should not be dismissed as "just another manifestation of urban entrepreneurialism", but analysed in light of postcolonial cities' development agenda.

Theoretically, I seek to integrate science and technology studies' insights on infrastructure provision with the literature on 'worlding' efforts in cities of the global South. This approach, I argue, allows for:

- A fine-grained analysis of the political economy of urban production in the Philippines. By paying attention to the planning, financing, construction and operation of urban utilities, one can generate valuable insights into the dynamics and balance of power at play in the development of mega-projects.
- A more nuanced understanding of disparities in access to services. As such, this presentation offers an alternative, more nuanced narrative to the widely discussed thesis of 'splintering urbanism'.

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Pouvoir et matérialisation des grands projets urbains: l'exemple de U-City à Pusan, Corée du Sud

À l'instar de nombreuses villes asiatiques, Busan fait actuellement l'objet d'un très grand programme de réhabilitation, dénommée « Ville Ubiquitaire » (U-City), visant à redynamiser cette ville post-industrielle en déclin. Lancé par l'État au cours des années 2000, ce programme promeut le modèle de ville intelligente, technologique et culturelle par le développement de projets urbains spécifiques (par exemple, le North Port Redevelopment). Le gouvernement coréen veut faire de U-City un modèle de politique urbaine, qu'il exporte actuellement en Asie et au-delà. Cependant, les ambitions globales du gouvernement coréen s'articulent mal avec les réalités locales. En effet, le projet de U-City prend peu en considération les effets négatifs de la restructuration de quartiers populaires en déclin. En conséquence, de fortes tensions liées aux processus de réhabilitation des espaces locaux émergent.

Au cours de cette conférence, nous verrons que la mise en œuvre du projet de U- City fait émerger de nouveaux rapports de pouvoir entre les parties prenantes de ce grand projet de réhabilitation (les habitants, l'État et les acteurs privés). Après avoir évoqué les particularités des politiques urbaines nationales et locales en Corée du Sud, nous présenterons les résultats préliminaires d'une recherche de terrain s'intéressant aux enjeux sociopolitiques de la transformation de certains quartiers centraux de Busan. Nous verrons comment U-City est négociée à l'échelle locale, et comment les habitants luttent ou coopèrent face à une transformation rapide de leurs espaces de vie.

Si Busan n'est pas une ville du Sud-Est asiatique, nous pensons que l'étude du projet de U-City permet d'apporter un éclairage régional intéressant sur la manière dont les grands projets urbains font émerger de nouvelles dynamiques de pouvoir à l'échelle locale. Notre intervention permettra ainsi de favoriser les échanges et comparaisons au sein du panel.

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Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia 2

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Discussant: Gavin Shatkin

Public or private led master-planned urban projects in Southeast Asian cities have become an important vector of the urban development in the region (Fauveaud, 2015, 2017; Harms, 2015; Moser, 2015, 2017; Shatkin, 2017). Mostly built and financed by local states, Asian developers and investors, these multi-functional urban spaces are generally built for the richest portion of the population and for expatriates, while supporting growing speculative investments at both the local and the regional scales. As the literature generally points out, this "privatization of the urban production" (i.e. the replacement of the State as a planner by private stakeholder) implies profound changes in the relations between the actors involved (e.g. developers, planners, public actors, inhabitants).

In this panel, we would like to question the way urban projects generate, as much as they rely on, new dynamics and relations of power, both at local and international scales. Power relations we believe, need to be investigated at various levels of analysis, as well as in a multi-scalar perspective. Large-scale urban projects not only shape actors' relations at the local scale, they are also part of broader geopolitics of regional investments and economic cooperation. In this sense, as this panel will certainly show, large-scale urban projects are a key driving force of the changing urban politics in the region.

Abstracts

A splintering nation: The rise of racial clustering in Malaysia through master- planned cities

Several decades of sustained economic growth in Malaysia combined with city- centric development policies have resulted in massive nation-wide urban changes, including the creation of several new cities and development corridors. Injections of Chinese investment over the past five years has rapidly accelerated this kind of mega- urbanism and a number of new cities and massive private real estate developments are currently being constructed by both state and private Chinese companies. This paper examines how, in the context of Malaysia's rising ethno-nationalism, and the surge of speculative urbanism and neoliberal policies, these urban mega-developments are resulting in an

intensification of ethnic and religious clustering. While scholars have examined the 'dark side' of urban planning and the various factors that have resulted in splintered urbanism and clustering within cities, little attention has been paid to how the very creation of urban mega-developments and new cities can facilitate national scale socio-spatial inequalities and racialized patterns of growth. I examine the relationship between new cities and urban splintering in two projects in Malaysia, Putrajaya and Forest City, to demonstrate how master-planning urban projects in Malaysia is facilitating racial and socio-economic clustering on an unprecedented scale, resulting in a steep decline in social mixing.

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Notes on Large-scale Urban Projects in Jakarta Today: Frictional Forces and Trajectories

This talk will discuss some current issues related to large-scale urban projects in greater Jakarta area. It will consider the forces that have made the project(s) attach to particular forms – political ones (like the nation), economic ones (more inter-Asia) and imagined ones (against the sense of crisis) as well as corporeal ones (evidenced in race and religion).

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Political Ecology of war, resource conflicts and hydropower development: Local response to environmental transformation, urbanization and ceasefire capitalism in Karen State of Southeast Burma/Myanmar

Urbanization is a global capitalist process that has resulted in uneven urban growth and spatial inequality, and cities are not natural environment but rather socially produced space through political struggles. Hatgyi dam is a hydropower development project that has been proposed to be built in Karen state, along Thai-Burma border. Since 2016, fighting broke out between different Karen armed groups and the Burmese military in an effort to secure the surrounding area for project construction, displacing over 5,000 civilians as refugees. Hatgyi dam is arguably understood as the best 'unpleasant example' of "water grabbing and land grabbing" in the region (Zerruok, 2013). Employing the political ecology framework, this paper argues that a colonial perception of Karen state of Southeast Burma/Myanmar as 'empty space', Asia's last 'resource frontier', and the 'missing link' of the Greater Sub-Mekong Energy Grid Plan functions as an effective counter-insurgency strategy for the Burmese military and civilian government through 'ceasefire capitalism', as Woods (2011) puts it. This paper asks why and how the 'urban' and 'urbanization' process in developed countries, especially increasing energy demand of the rising middle class in neighboring Thailand and China, connect to the political ecology of war, resource conflicts, and hydropower development in Southeast Burma/Myanmar. It concludes with lessons learned about 'the urban' as a process and production of 'urban space' through political struggles from this case study.

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"Moral liquidation" and the embeddedness of privatized urban development in the Philippines, 1986 to the present

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This paper situates the ongoing privatization of urban production in the Philippines within both larger timescales, as well as smaller spatial scales of political contention. It re-examines the lasting imprint on urban development by the reform of government-owned or controlled corporations (GOCC) in the wake of the collapse of the Marcos regime in 1986. It pays specific attention to the internal tensions, partial successes, and unintended consequences of this reform effort: between the neoliberalism of the 1980s, and the democratic, "people-powered" ambitions of the revolutionary government. It then traces how this contradiction was expressed as *moral liquidation*: a historically embedded, place-specific, contradictory form of neoliberalization that conflated state involvement in the economy with corruption and inefficiency; yoked redistributive economic justice to the liquidation of assets; and invoked narratives of national sovereignty in redesigning the Philippine economy. It then traces how moral liquidation had the unintended consequence of creating an oligopolistic market for urban land and infrastructure, which Philippine-nationality conglomerates have come to dominate.

The paper argues that these contradictions shaped the dynamics and relations of power between the Philippine state, the Philippine-nationality conglomerates that now dominate urban development in the country, and the people who live and invest in the resultant landscapes. In the process, it aims to show how understanding the present moment of privatized urban development can be enriched through work on both longer historical timescales, as well as detailed, smaller-scale investigations of sites that are so far overlooked within theory.

Large-scale Urban Projects and Power in Southeast Asia 3

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Public or private led master-planned urban projects in Southeast Asian cities have become an important vector of the urban development in the region (Fauveaud, 2015, 2017; Harms, 2015; Moser, 2015, 2017; Shatkin, 2017). Mostly built and financed by local states, Asian developers and investors, these multi-functional urban spaces are generally built for the richest portion of the population and for expatriates, while supporting growing speculative investments at both the local and the regional scales. As the literature generally points out, this "privatization of the urban production" (i.e. the replacement of the State as a planner by private stakeholder) implies profound changes in the relations between the actors involved (e.g. developers, planners, public actors, inhabitants).

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Abstracts

Financial Sector Actors and Megaproject-Driven Regional Expansion in Greater Jakarta

This paper analyzes the role of financial sector actors in recent plans for the expansion of the megaurban region of Greater Jakarta through the implementation of infrastructure megaprojects. An emergent literature on financialization has argued that, in the contexts of wealthy countries, the politics of the production of urban space has increasingly been shaped by the interests of banks, hedge funds, pension funds, and other financial sector actors. This article argues that any efforts to apply the concept of financialization to contexts of the Global South must take into account two significant potential sources of variation. These are: variation in the role of the state, and especially the national state, in fostering regulatory, fiscal, political, and institutional environments to attract international financial actors; and variation in the sources of finance that are shaping urban outcomes. In Greater Jakarta, the recent wave of proposals for megaproject infrastructure investments have reflected a historically and contextually specific interaction between financial capital and national state actors who seek to extend their power by maximizing their ability to direct urban development in ways that build political coalitions and feed discourses of state developmentalism. These proposals also reflect the current moment of capital switching from China, which has provided the Indonesian state with an alternative source for, and model of, financing urban development. In this context, the Indonesian state's efforts to pursue the financialization of urban production has reflected an effort to strategically tack between various sources of capital to maximize state power and autonomy.

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Cleavage governance: New cities and the reframing of power relations in Hanoi, Vietnam

Since the 1990s, the Vietnamese state-party has been promoting a new policy of housing provision through the construction of new urban areas mainly located at the urban edge. Named *khu đô thị mới* (KDTM), these self-contained, modern, and ordered neighborhoods include housing, shops and public spaces. Although KDTM were originally built by state-owned companies, these latter have been gradually privatized in the 2000s. In parallel, the official governance framework tends to give more and more power and autonomy to private developers to manage KDTM and their residents. These new logics of urban development are happening in a late-socialist context marketed by important socio-economic changes (e.g. the rise of class differentiation and individualism, and of aspiration for new urban lifestyle). KDTM can thus be seen as laboratories of broader evolutions of the Vietnamese urban society.

In this paper, we will show how private developers redefine power relations and governance logics at the local scale. By investigating the way local residents respond to the "privatization of the urban production", we will see that the governance system is becoming more fragmented. On the one hand, part of the local residents organizes

themselves to defend their interests against the domination of the developers. On the other hand, another part of the residents prefers to stay away from these collective initiatives, which they consider as belonging to the “old world”. Beyond these cleavages, this paper ultimately shows how the growing presence of private developers force local actors to redefine their role in the management and organization of their living environment.

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Les grands projets urbains : vecteurs ou produits d’une privatisation de la gouvernance métropolitaine ? L’exemple de Yangon, Myanmar

Depuis les années 2000, à la faveur de l’ouverture économique aux capitaux étrangers et dans le cadre d’une libéralisation importante de l’économie, Yangon, la capitale économique du Myanmar, accueille de nombreux projets urbains de grande ampleur (p. ex. tours de grande hauteur, villes nouvelles, grands ensembles). Ces grands projets génèrent une forte spéculation foncière, autant dans les espaces centraux que périurbains. L’augmentation des prix fonciers et des loyers, la réhabilitation des espaces centraux, ou encore les acquisitions foncières de grande ampleur favorisent un accroissement des inégalités sociospatiales et des évictions foncières.
Si les acteurs privés semblent être les premiers instigateurs de ces nouvelles formes de développement urbain, ce papier souscrit à l’idée que l’acteur public joue un rôle tout aussi important (Shatkin, 2017). À Yangon, celui-ci promeut et facilite directement ces nouvelles formes de production urbaine par l’intermédiaire de politiques incitatives élaborées en collaboration avec des acteurs internationaux du développement. Au cours de cette conférence, nous verrons comment la prolifération de grands projets immobiliers privés s’inscrit dans l’élaboration de nouvelles synergies entre acteurs publics et privés qui se déploient par l’intermédiaire de nouveaux mécanismes de gouvernance et de coopération. À travers des études de cas, nous verrons finalement que ce changement de nature de la gouvernance métropolitaine exacerbe les logiques d’exclusion sociospatiale.

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Maritime Security and Development in Southeast Asia

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Discussant: Bryon Wilfert
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This panel will discuss the critical issues of maritime security and social and economic development in Southeast Asia with a focus on the South China Sea. The history of European colonialism in the region continues to have social and economic impacts on the development of Southeast Asian nations. The geopolitical world order after the Cold War has created new and complex tensions in the region. The rapid power shift in the Indo-Pacific has posed challenges to the future of the international rules-based order.

Abstracts

The South China Sea disputes and challenges to the international rules-based order

The South China Sea is one of the main venues where the future of the international rules based order will be decided. The rapid power shift in the Indo-Pacific has grown the South China Sea issue from a territorial dispute, to a dispute over the interpretation of UNCLOS, to a dispute over how the system of international law works. This is posing critical challenges to the foundation of the international rules-based order. The increasing deployment of the so-called “grey-zone tactics” where gaps in the current legal frameworks are exploited to forcefully assert state’s interests yet under the threshold of warfare further undermine the legal order at sea, with ramifications not only in other regions but more broadly on the role of established rules and norms vs. powers in governing inter-state relations. The survival of the international rules-based order, therefore, should not rest on the claimant states to the South China Sea disputes, but the broader international community as well.

Hung Son Nguyen
East Sea Institute, Vietnam

How Portugal shaped the future of the South China Sea during the Age of Discovery

The discovery of the New World ushered a race between Portugal and Spain to explore other parts of the globe and establish colonial outposts in the 16th century. This presentation examines the origins of European colonialism within the South China Sea with an emphasis on how Portuguese explorers were instrumental in mapping the region, establishing merchant trade routes, developing the Vietnamese Latin-based alphabet, and introducing Christianity to local populations.

Luis Silva
Centennial College

Canada and the South China Sea

This presentation examines the recent developments in the South China Sea related to China’s strategic balance and economic incentives in Southeast Asia. These developments have impacts on the implementation of international law and multinational institutions. The presentation explores the Canada’s national interest with regards to global security and freedom of navigation for trade purposes.

Julie Nguyen
Canada Vietnam Society

Migrations and mobilities

The Precarious Experience of Filipina Live-in Caregivers in Canada

Temporary foreign workers (TFWs) remain as an invisible and underpaid workforce, whose challenges related to precarious migration status and precarious employment conditions remain below the radar of the public debate. One of the ways how Canada promotes temporary labour migration is through the Live-in Caregiver Program. Since 2007, there are approximately 202,992 temporary migrant work permit holders under the Live-in Caregiver Program. In this paper, I examine the precarious working experience of live-in caregivers. The primary objective of this paper is to understand further the complexities of contemporary precarization and how the interlocking systems of domination and oppression shape the experience of migrant caregivers. I carefully analyze three interviews of Filipino immigrants, who entered Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program.

I argue that the live-in caregiver program is deeply rooted in the class, racial, and gendered inequalities that ultimately shape the precarious experience of migrant caregivers. As precarious non-citizens, live-in caregivers are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. The interview reveals that migrants under the Live-in Caregiver Program experience the following circumstances: violation of their contract and job description, lack of health and safety training, lack of access to settlement services, and frequent racial discrimination and abuse at the hands of their employers. Moreover, the program has negative impact on the physical, emotional, and psychological health status of live-in caregivers. Ultimately, the structures of the live-in caregiver highlight inequalities rooted in the intersection of class, race, gender, and legal status and how this matrix of domination manifests in economic and migration policies.

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Not local enough: Opposition to internal migration and subnational migration controls in Indonesia

Regulating population movements has historically been the domain of the state; but recently, provinces and other subnational units have been asking for an increasingly large say over migration –both international and, more controversially, domestic. What explains the rise of opposition to domestic migration? Why was this opposition translated into sub-national decrees regulating migratory movements in some regions but not in others? How did multinational states react to regionally-made obstacles to population movements that encroached into its jurisdiction and challenged the creation of an inclusive democratic citizenship? This study provides an examination of economic/utilitarian motives and nativist discourses used to curtail flows of inter-provincial migrants in Indonesia. Notwithstanding the empirical focus on Southeast Asia, this paper takes stock of local responses to internal population movements around the world and provides important theoretical and policy insights for other developing and developed economies.

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A Story of Remittances: The Impact of Financial Remittances on Political Preferences in Ilocos, Philippines

The monetary remittances sent by migrants back to their families are often conceptualized in their developmental impact and democratization potential for the sending country. Micro-level effects are consequently missed due to the existing literature's preponderant focus on these macro-level impacts. Moreover, few studies have examined the specific impact of

remittances on the political preferences of their recipients. In this paper, I investigate how remittances change the political preferences of citizens in the Ilocos Region of the Philippines. In 2017, remittances sent to the Philippines comprised approximately 10% of national GDP, with $33 billion USD in total sent to Filipino households. Of this, the Ilocos Region received an approximate 10% share of total remittances. Moreover, in 2017, the region had a 9% share in the total amount of Overseas Filipino Workers abroad. The region also has a rich history of emigration, particularly to the United States and Hawaii. I conduct a data analysis of a 2016 survey taken in the Ilocos Region which encompasses 3,740 respondents across 158 barangays. Of this sample population, 30% or 1,121 respondents reported receiving remittances, mostly from one or two sources. My initial findings are focused on political participation and access to government services, and strongly indicate that remittance recipients are less likely to participate in local politics, while being more likely to have a direct connection to the local mayor. Moreover, recipients are less likely to access government services, while their perception of ease in accessing services becomes higher.

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"Illegalization" as a form of resistance against migration infrastructures: The cases of Vietnamese domestic workers and trainees in Taiwan and Japan

This paper will examine the process and the motivation of the "illegalization" for Vietnamese domestic workers in Taiwan and Vietnamese trainees who work in Japan under the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP, Ginou Jisshuu Seido=技能実習制度), This paper mainly discusses how the migration infrastructures (Xiang and Lindquist 2014) between Vietnam and Taiwan/Japan which include government policies and business activities of broker companies create the motivation for "illegalization" of the migrant workers in the host countries. It also examines how they realize their "illegalization" by mobilizing of their capitals and agency with the analysis of their trajectory of undocumented migration in Taiwan and Japan.

Before going to Taiwan and Japan, Vietnamese must pay a high pre-departure cost for broker companies. During the period of the contract, they must pay back the debt for the pre-departure cost and support their family by remittance. While rights of migrant workers in Taiwan and Japan are limited, and even if they face severe problems in their working places, they cannot change their employer, as a result, "illegalization" becomes one of remaining chance for them, although undocumented migrants have the risk of arrest, detention, and deportation. In other words, the migration infrastructures between Vietnam and Japan/Taiwan structurally create motivation of "illegalization" for Vietnamese. While Vietnamese migrant workers mobilize their capitals and agency to realize running away from their working place, their action towards "illegalization" is a form of resistance (Scott 1987), which sharply raises doubts about migration infrastructures.

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Navigating power relations in accompanied research in Southeast Asia

Convener: Christine Gibb
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Chair: Christine Gibb

Being accompanied in the field – by family members by local research assistants, by NGO hosts, by colleagues from North American universities, and others – has epistemological and practical implications. It affects, for example, the choice of research topic, field site, research methods, and the timing of research activities. The gendered, classed, and ethnic positions attributed to a researcher are different depending on whether or not he or she is accompanied. The identities and positions of the accompanying family members or members of the research team also matter in determining access to resources in the field and in shaping research outcomes. This panel aims to facilitate a methodology-focused discussion around power relations in accompanied research in Southeast Asia. Contributions will probe these experiences in depth and how the power dynamics of accompanied research affect different aspects of the research process.

Abstracts

How do researcher's identity, positionality and situated knowledge shape critical scholarship on peacebuilding in Burma?: Important ethical and methodological considerations for research on land grab, ethnic violence and armed conflicts in Southeast Asia

My research is framed and understood as 'situated knowledge' based on feminist ethnographic observation and qualitative inquiry. My theoretical and methodological priorities closely align with a situated approach to knowledge production, and critically reflective and dialogical research methodologies (Haraway, 1991; Engelstad and Gerrard, 2005; Diversi and Moreira, 2009). My identity as a 'Karen refugee' has led me to quest for critical scholarship and question my own place in the world, particularly my complicated relationship to the Burmese state. Indeed, my identity as a 'refugee' has always connected to decades of violent Burmese state- building process, even before I recognize and start questioning it. My training as a social scientist in a Canadian university has privileged me to enter my field site (Karen state, Burma/Myanmar) with a critical methodological approach to knowledge production. However, Schoenberger and Beban (2017) raises important ethical and methodological considerations for research on land grab, ethnic violence, armed conflicts in Southeast Asia. It highlights the ways in which the context of violence (war, armed conflicts, land grab and conservation) affect my knowledge production process, positionality, limitations as a researcher including impacts on my mind, body, everyday life arrangement and spousal accompaniment in research travel. My unique, 'situated' position as a scholar has carefully guided my fieldwork, allowing me to critically question and challenge state-centered view and scholarship on peacebuilding in Burma. My fieldwork led me to question a place I thought I had always known by critically analyzing its current 'peace' process. My research findings show how the Salween Peace Park has emerged as a parallel peacebuilding initiative based on indigenous Karen conservation principles by addressing fundamental root causes of armed conflicts and state violence, and promoting local vision for 'genuine' peace as 'an end to wars, violence, oppression' and the 'presence of justice' in their homeland.

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Research and Advocacy with Frontline Disaster Responders in the Philippines

As a former emergency relief worker post Super Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, I continue to share a commitment among colleagues in Philippine civil society organizations to remain engaged while I pursue graduate studies in Canada. How does one think critically of disasters in the Philippines, not as a lone scholar but also alongside those who serve at

the frontlines? From October 2018 to March 2019, I was accompanied on fieldwork by two female filmmaker friends from Manila to learn about community-based disaster management efforts. As a security measure, our research team was in turn accompanied by staff members of the Citizens' Disaster Response Centre (CDRC) who have been working with women leading grassroots disaster response in their own barangays or villages. In each of the trips to the three field sites we selected, my team negotiated our presence with different configurations of local power relations, positionalities, interests, and security issues, sometimes with and without our cameras. I also observed how of crucial importance it was for my teammates and I to be "good guests" on these brief fieldwork trips as a way of working, living with, listening to, and learning from our informants—a Filipino praxis of respect, humility and solidarity. This paper offers reflections on these methodological practices of research and advocacy, however limited they are, to foster critical and hopeful collaborations in the context of rising authoritarianism and intensifying weather conditions in our country today.

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Writing my family into my methodology

I entered my doctoral program wondering how to make academic life and family life work. Together. The issue is addressed in casual conversations among graduate students and their advisors, in conference side events, and in a growing number of scholarly books. My own ideas on academia-family balance began to crystalise during fieldwork, in that 'leaky space' where personal and professional roles and relationships inevitably overlap (Cupples and Kindon 2003, 212). Perhaps this is because 'successful fieldwork is […] a peak life experience, a time of sensual bombardment with new stimuli, of incredible intellectual excitement, of self-discovery' (Oboler 1986 in Cupples and Kindon 2003, 221). In this paper, I reflect upon my experiences conducting post-disaster research in the Philippines accompanied by my spouse and our then three-month old daughter. My rationale for writing in my family is not to turn the paper into a mommy blog or a confessional tale. As critical scholars point out 'autobiography is a useful mode for analyzing structures of power and generating theory' (Flinn, Marshall, and Armstrong 1998; Frohlick 2002, 50). Rather, in probing the intertwining of the professional and the personal, and the complex power relations underlying accompanied field research, I seek congruence among my methodological, empirical and theoretical approaches.]

Christine Gibb
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Negotiating power in independence era Timor-Leste

Convener: Susanna Barnes,
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan

Chair: Amy Caroline,
Department of Anthropology, University of California San Diego

Discussant: David Webster,
History and Global Studies, Bishop's University

On 30th August 1999, the people of Timor-Leste overwhelming rejected a proposal for

special autonomy as part of Indonesia in favour of independence. To mark the 20th anniversary of this historic event, we reflect on articulations of power within Timor-Leste and between Timor-Leste and the international community. In particular, we focus on notions of power within Timor-Leste and in relation to Timor-Leste from an international perspective and explore the dynamics of power inherent to processes of memorialisation and reconciliation.

Abstracts

The power of suffering: languages of human rights and martyrdom in the Timor-Leste independence movement

Drawing on insights from Clifford Geertz into "deep play" and social texts, James Scott into "weapons of the weak," Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink into the use of "boomerangs" by transnational solidarity movements, and Jacqueline Siapno into the politics of clandestinity, this project analyses the languages used by the Timor-Leste independence movement during the period of Indonesian occupation (1975-99). Timorese independence was often cast as a "lost cause" because of the unequal power relations at play. Indonesia was one of the world's largest countries, with high influence regionally and globally, backed by most of the powerful states in the international community: so much so that it could drop Soviet-supplied napalm from American-supplied aircraft in 1983, a rare sign of superpower cooperation. Timor-Leste was tiny, with few weapons, backed only by relatively powerless outside forces: former Portuguese colonies in Africa and marginalized non-governmental activists in Western countries. Nevertheless, the weaker party managed to win a diplomatic victory by building "soft power" through its use of secular languages of human rights and Catholic themes of martyrdom. This worked in 1975-99 but poses challenges as Timor-Leste remains excluded from ASEAN due to outside perceptions of its weakness.

David Webster
Bishop's University

The reaffirmation of local forms of power and authority in Timor-Leste

Since 1999, communities across Timor-Leste have been engaged in what some observers have described as a 'resurgence of custom'. This resurgence is most vividly associated with the rebuilding of sacred ancestral houses (Tetun: *uma lulik*) but includes numerous other processes of restoration and renewal including: a return to settlements of 'origin' after years of displacement; the physical and/ or symbolic laying to rest of the dead and disappeared at ancestral burial sites; and renewed participation in communal ceremonies and rituals associated with the agricultural calendar. The time, effort and resources entailed in these rituals of return and renewal suggest that such actions are more than a simple reaffirmation of self-esteem following centuries of foreign domination. They involve the re-articulation of distinct forms of sociality structured around networks of kinship and alliance, closely tied to specific claims to land and access to natural resources. While some view the 'resurgence of custom' as a 'barrier' to broader nation-building and development efforts, others suggest it provides local communities with a sense of meaning, order and value. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Timor-Leste, I argue that the 'resurgence of custom' entails the re-negotiation of emplaced forms of power and authority integral to local communities' sense of 'ukuk rasik a'an' (self-determination). Tied to histories of settlement and migration, local forms of power and authority are legitimized by objects, words and practices that link people to the sacred. As such the 'resurgence of custom' is vital to people's sense of prosperity and well-being.

Susanna Barnes
University of Saskatchewan

Reconciliation, memory and power

Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) was established as an independent institution in 2017, to facilitate implementation of the recommendations of Timor-Leste's Commission of Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) and the Indonesia-Timor-Leste Commission of Truth and Friendship (CTF). The establishment of the CNC was the outcome of a decade-long advocacy effort by civil society and victims' groups, reminding the government of its obligation to implement wide-ranging recommendations of the two truth commissions. CNC's mandate is to preserve the memory of Timor-Leste's history for the period of 1974-1999, promote human rights through education and training, build solidarity with the survivors of human rights violations, prevent the recurrence of human rights violations, and foster a culture of peace. In this paper, I discuss the challenges of memorialisation in the context of divergent histories and contested understandings of reconciliation. I argue that the memorialisation of people and events cannot be undertaken without asking fundamental questions of identity, history and power.

Hugo Fernandes
Director, Centro Nacional Chega! - Through Memory to Hope

Remembering the Dead in Timor-Leste: Victims or Martyrs?

At least 102,800 Timorese were killed or otherwise died as a result of the 24-year Indonesian occupation of Timor and the preceding civil war. How have these individuals been remembered in Timor's post-independence period? Timor's truth commission, the CAVR, constructed Timor's first official post-independence narrative of the Indonesian occupation. This narrative focused on past violations experienced by Timorese, framing the deceased in a human rights language of suffering victimhood. This narrative has since been largely displaced by a state-promoted narrative of the past focused on Timorese resistance to Indonesian rule. This narrative frames the deceased as heroes or martyrs of Timor's struggle for independence. A language of suffering is replaced by a language of struggle and agency, with the deceased said to have intentionally sacrificed themselves for the nation and for independence. This paper compares and contrasts these two main frameworks through which the dead have been remembered in post-independence Timor. It focuses in particular on remembrance of those killed in the infamous Santa Cruz massacre of 1991. This chapter is based on over three years of work and ethnographic fieldwork in Timor focused on questions of human rights and post-conflict memory.

Amy Rothschild
University of California San Diego

New Axes and Categories of Power Relations in Southeast Asian Studies

Convener: Teilhard Paradela
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Chair and Discussant: Matt Galway, Hansen Trust Lecturer,
School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne

One significant way the cultural turn in the 1970s and 1980s has greatly enriched global historiography is by drawing attention to how seemingly innocuous and natural social categories are themselves embedded in power relations, and how they could be deployed to assert power over the political or everyday lives of groups and individuals in less visible but no less influential and impactful ways. This panel focuses on unravelling and interrogating the construction and valourization of non-conventional categories– "revolutionary women", "audiences", "peasants", "youth"– in three different Southeast Asian countries (Indonesia, Philippines, and Singapore) across the Twentieth Century. In so doing, the papers present new approaches and insights into how power has been applied, structured, or legitimized through the construction, normalization, or institutionalization of knowledges, images, and ideals that attempt to shape or represent subjectivities and social realities of these non-elite actors and groups for different cultural and political agendas.

Abstracts

Actors of Struggle: Producing Peasants Subjectivity in Agrarian Movements in Indonesia

Studies on agrarian movements in Indonesia have been largely concentrated on the narrative of resistance of the peasants as victims of colonial and postcolonial state oppression. After the annihilation of the Communist Party of Indonesia and its affiliated Peasants Front in 1965, peasants movements grow increasingly constrained and subjugated. This state of victimhood, however, also reveals the political value of the peasants, the importance of their struggle for agency and empowerment in resisting oppression. Inspired by an encounter with a peasants' organization in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, in 2015, this paper attempts to discuss the question of peasant subjectivity within social movements in Indonesia. What are the historical factors that shape peasants subjectivity as part of the narrative of resistance? What is the relationship between peasant subjectivity and autonomy? By tracing how peasants have been constructed as actors in social movements, the paper discloses how the shifting discourse on peasantry affects the making of contemporary social movements in Indonesia. In doing so, it endeavors to reveal how the ideas of autonomy and authenticity within contemporary social movements in Indonesia have been historically shaped by how the peasants themselves have been represented in the works on social movements.

Nila Ayu Utami,
University of British Columbia

Emancipation or Cooptation? - the Revolutionary Women in the Indonesian National Front, (1959–1965)

Between 1959-1965 President Sukarno introduced different measures to consolidate the progressive nationalist forces after the newly established nation experienced separatist rebellions throughout 1956-58. One important body which was meant to become the vehicle for this renewal of social contract was called Front Nasional (National Front). Led by Sukarno himself, it encouraged all Indonesian people to fortify their commitments to the republic, by actively participating in various state development projects, promotion of social welfare, and national defense. Aside from workers, peasants, and youth, women were considered central within the organization. They became involved in what were traditionally perceived to be the male arenas: politics and national defense. This mobilization of women in public spaces did not only redefine the notion of ideal womanhood, but also the power dynamics between men and women in the society. While to some women this experience felt to be liberatory, to the others this appeared to be cooptation of the feminist movement by the patriarchal regime. This paper will examine the complexities of power relations between the women and the state, particularly in the field

where nationalist and feminist thoughts seemed to be contradictory. Based upon oral history interviews with women activists of the period in question, it will also challenge the rigid dichotomy between domination and resistance that has pervasively influenced how feminist scholars analyze women's subjectivity.

Ayu Ratih, PhD candidate,
Interdisciplinary Studies, UBC
University of British Columbia

Becoming Audiences in the Philippines: the Multiple Disciplinarities of Mass Communication

As the Philippines was transitioning from a commonwealth state to an independent republic in the middle of the 20th Century, the local elites of this former American colony began using the audiences a discrete category of analyses. This development emerged as a response, on one hand, to the revitalization of the local media structures after World War 2. But what made these efforts possible was a new social science discipline founded and developed in the US in the early 20th Century. Communication Research provided the local elites with methods, concepts, and paradigms for knowing audiences. In this presentation I chart the importation and appropriation of this particular discipline in the Philippines by tracing the intellectual trajectory of one of its leading proponents. Gloria Feliciano completed her PhD in Communication at the University of Wisconsin. She was part of the wave of Filipino scholars after the Second World
War who mastered academic and technical expertise deemed necessary for nation building. As a researcher, professor, and founding dean of the Institute of Mass Communication at the premier state university, Feliciano established the specific context for and agenda of Communication Research in the Philippines. Her research allowed the local Filipino elites to constitute audiences as citizens, rendering them legible to– and thereby subject to the power of– the state. In tracing Feliciano's intellectual trajectory, I examine how these particular transnational circulations of knowledge underpinned the disciplining of the Filipino audiences.

Teilhard Paradela
University of British Columbia

Nation-building, the Cold War, and the Making of Youth in Decolonizing Singapore, 1945-1965: Age Relations as a Structure of Power in Southeast Asian Studies

The immediate post-war period between 1945 and 1959 were formative and tumultuous years in Singapore. Animated by different forms of nationalisms, anti-colonial aspirations and Cold War anxieties, different groups and communities participated in the imagination and construction of a new modern colony and nation in order to preserve or contest colonial rule. British colonial officials and different groups of adults constructed Singapore's youth as ideal subjects, citizens, symbols, and barometers of a new modern colony/nation. Accordingly, they came together to create new institutions, programs, and publications for the mobilization, socialization and policing of youth, sometimes with American technical expertise and financial assistance. This was a project that the PAP government that came to power after 1959 adapted and expanded for their objectives as well. The case of Singapore hence reveals the convergence between the politics of childhood and youth and the politics of decolonization, where the forging of a new postcolonial society was predicated on an ambitious pedagogical enterprise of social engineering new children and youth. This paper argues that age as a category of historical research and analysis has much to offer for Southeast Asian studies, using the case of Singapore, especially in highlighting the meanings and images of youth as less-visible

structures and artifices of power and in exposing age-relations as another important axis of power that shapes state-society relations and adult-youth relations.

Edgar Liao
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New Nationalism, the Contestation and Consolidation of State Power in Contemporary South East Asia

Convener: Cuong Nguyen
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Chair and Discussant: Tuong Vu, University of Oregon

From 1940s to the 1960s, the themes of nationalism dominated the studies of Southeast Asian politics. During the past decade, nationalism has re-emerged, manifesting itself like in the recent protests involving Cambodians and Thais over Preah Vihear Temple; anti-Sino protests in Vietnam; the Philippines against Chinese ownership claims over the Paracels and Spratly Islands; and frequent mass protests by Muslims in Indonesia against Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and the United States. The emerging 'new nationalism' finds its expressions in religious, linguistic, ethnic, economic, and state discourses cutting across various social fabrics of the Southeast Asian "imagined communities."

The panel theme is mainly concerned with distinctive forms of "new nationalism", as well as challenges or threats they pose to the building and consolidation of state power in contemporary Southeast Asia. The panel brings together a group of comparative politics, foreign policy and area study specialists, who are interested in studying the impact of nationalism in contemporary Southeast Asian states' domestic politics and international relations.

Abstracts

Panelists:

Alexandre Pelletier
Cornell University

Cuong Nguyen
McGill University

Abhin Mishra
McGill University

Louis-Phillippe Brochu
McGill University / Cornell University (from September 2019)

Religion has always been a crucial feature of Southeast Asian politics. Contemporary political movements throughout the region, however, seem to question some of the most enduring post-colonial compromises about the place of religion in Southeast Asian national identities. Yet the rise of religious nationalism has profound implication for the respect of religious minorities and the future of democracy. Alexandre Pelletier's paper seeks to understand why religion is so central to new political nationalist movements in contemporary Southeast Asia. It argues that contemporary patterns of mobilization can be traced back to the debates surrounding the place of religion in the state that took place in the early post-colonial period. These debates left unanswered questions and institutional

legacies that currently resurface in the form of religious nationalist movements. The paper suggests that the relative strength of three crucial constituencies shaped these debates and their outcomes: the secular nationalists, the religious nationalists, and the communists. The paper focuses on the cases of Indonesia and Myanmar, which have experienced assertive religious nationalist movements since their transition to democracy.

Cuong Nguyen's article provides an ideational framework for explaining why anti-Chinese nationalist protests in Vietnam have recently spiralled into a much larger scale than those in the Philippines. The paper argues that the degree of contestation between the dominant ideology of the state and nationalist ideology from below is positively associated with the intensity of nationalist contentious politics. When it comes to nationalist contentious politics any sole emphasis on domestic factors is problematic. In Vietnam, recent waves of anti-Chinese protests have resulted from the ideological contestation between "land nationalism" from below and "revolutionary internationalism" associated with increased normalization in Vietnam-Sino bilateral relations since their conflict between 1979-1991. It suggests that the concepts of "the protection of ancestral land" and "the land protector" have become the key referent object for the mobilization of civilian protests against the growing normalization of Sino-Vietnam relations and Hanoi's security inaction to Beijing's increasingly aggressive policy regarding the ongoing Sino-Vietnam territorial dispute on the South China Sea. In the case of Philippines, populism as the dominant ideology of Republic of Philippines (RP), which has especially become more pronounced since Duterte's presidency, has not been in antagonistic relationship with Filipino nationalism. The RP's active involvement in the South -China Sea tribunal against People Republic of China (PRC) with regards to the legality of the nine-dashed line has served as a symbolic weapon for mitigating the Filipino anti-Chinese nationalism, despite Beijing's dismissal of the court decision.

Keeping an eye on China's growing assertiveness in the region while turning the other toward the Philippines, Louis-Philippe Brochu's paper will explore the linkages between Duterte's politics of dignity and his foreign policy. Duterte's alleged quest to restore the dignity of the Filipino nation has led him to declare his intention to distance his country from the paternalistic and historically painful embrace of Washington. Paradoxically, Manila may find itself in a similar, one-sided relationship with China, threatening Duterte's efforts to salvage the dignity of his supporters in the domestic arena with the prospect of further humiliations on the international stage. Introducing the concept of affective authority, the author contends, on the one hand, that conceding ground to Beijing - which recently made its intimidating presence felt around the coveted Pag-asa island – would significantly undermine Duterte's emotional appeal, just as turning back to Washington for support would. On the other hand, as anti-Chinese protests grow in numbers, it will be argued that Duterte and the Philippines, having to choose between dignity or security, are faced with an "emotional catch-22."

Abhin Mishra's paper seeks to understand the historical structures responsible for the variation in Islamization in Muslim majority states. Through Comparative Historical Analyses of Indonesia, India and Pakistan, the paper suggests that the variation in advent and spread of Islam (historical structure) in the respective states has led to the variation in the degree of Islamization. The paper regards the historical structure as a self-reproducing collection of subjects and practices, but one that is in a constant flux, thereby leaving space for agents and agencies within the continuum of the macro-historical structure. The paper claims that the relative tolerance and lack of Islamization in Indonesia and South India is largely owing to the non-violent spread of Islam, while the Islamization in North India and Pakistan largely owes the causality in its historical structure i.e. spread of Islam through violence and conquest.

Performing Arts

"When Bina Meets Hong Jun: An Encounter at the Intersection of Indonesian Grassroots Cinema and K-Drama"

This presentation explores “My Korean Boyfriend,” Ani Ema Susanti’s first fictional work as a filmmaker. Indonesian migrant worker- turned award-winning filmmaker Ani has built her career as a documentary filmmaker, having worked on the stories of those who live on the “margins,” for instance, as women migrant workers, street children, and people living with HIV/AIDS. In her first narrative film, she has chosen to explore the fantasy of the Indonesian women in the form of a “Korean boyfriend,” materialized and characterized through the elements of Korean TV shows. Mainly focusing on the analysis of the dialogues and interviews with the writer and director, I will examine how this particular flow of Inter-Asia cultural exchange is resulting in transformation of notions critical to the Indonesian society, and influencing and shaping relationships for Indonesian women through intensified, indirect experiences with a highly stylized manifestation of a culture, allowing for an examination of power that interacts with the forces that govern Indonesian women's cultural and social life. The presentation will include excerpts from the 21-minute film.

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Rootedness, Pageantry, and Political Dissent: Contesting Igorot Indigeneities in the *Lang-ay* Festival and *Lakbayan* Protests

Over the past two years, two performing groups of the Igorot ethnic minority of Northern Philippines staged their expressive traditions in large-scale, institutionalized events in front of wide audiences. Core members of the left-wing cultural organization *Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera* took part in the 2017 *Lakbayan* national protests, while residents of Sagada in Mountain Province performed in the 2018 *Lang-ay* Festival. Premised on essentialist views, prevailing postcolonial nationalist scholarship either dismisses these case studies as “inauthentic” representations or unproblematically generalizes them as innovative indigenous musical practices in a so-called “modern” world. In contrast, a deeper, comparative analysis of these case studies reveals the intricate nature of indigenous experience. Through assimilation and resistance, performers navigate various ideological and socio-political structures that underpin these events. These processes of negotiation attest to indigeneity’s contentious, real-life manifestations. Adapting Ortner’s subaltern theory of practice, I discuss the plural, conflicting expressions of indigeneity demonstrated through an examination of the two groups’ performances of the gong-and-dance genre *balangbang* and their extra-musical contingencies.

The tensions between, within, and surrounding these musical acts of representation, I argue, demonstrate that indigeneity is less a broad category of difference than it is a field where identity is constantly negotiated and contested. My paper challenges categorical perceptions of otherness as deployed in ethnomusicology and Philippine studies. I foreground the subjectivities of indigenous persons, shedding light on their struggle for self-determination and the recognition of their complex human trajectories as seen in their creative musical lives.

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Concentric Circular Spaces: Xenakis and Maceda on Diffusing, Translating, and Decentralizing Musical Thought in Southeast Asia

Specializing in the application of mathematics and stochastic processes in compositional praxis, Greek composer Iannis Xenakis conceived his works “Terretektorh” (1965-1966) and “Nomos Gamma” (1967-1968) to require large Western orchestral forces and distribute them in spatial configurations throughout a circular performance space. Within the same timeline, Filipino composer Jose Maceda premiered “Pagsamba” (1968) in the same manner: deploying singers, bamboo instruments, and gongs along the pews of a circular church building to enact a religious mass at a time when Maceda introduced the discipline of ethnomusicology as a decolonization tool through empirical research of indigenous musics in the Philippines. Given their correspondence at that time, similar curiosities on timbres, sound densities and the universality of musical concepts led them to pursue related projects in spite of disparate geographies and social contexts. The construction of sonic space and sound movement becomes evident in the use of physical spatialization, i.e. organizing sound sources within a circular physical structure. While this paper will generally attempt to contextualize these works towards reflections on how Western musical aesthetics diffused throughout East and Southeast Asia, a primary focus will highlight the significance of framing Southeast Asia (specifically the Philippines) as a site for articulating power relations within three areas of interest: (1) the transmission and decentralization of Western music creation and production, (2) the circle as an analogy for understanding centres and peripheries, and (3) the process of translation, decolonization, and indigenization within musical practices as they cross geopolitical and cultural borders.

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The Vernacular Screen: The Development of Philippine Regional Cinemas in Cebu

The rich history of cinema in the Philippines has been simultaneously blessed and cursed with a long series of significant but contentious debates. Much of the disagreement is a result of the nation's historical battles with colonialism and how that experience problematized the concept of an easily definable national cinema. This presentation looks at the development and emergence of vernacular and regional cinemas in the context of these contested histories and argues for the cultural importance of the country's subnational territories and their cinematic expression today. One of the earliest and most prescient questions that served to challenge a coherent narrative about Philippine cinema was the question of language. Where the use of Spanish in the early 20th century Philippines could function to undermine the American imperialism of the period, it was also a dismissal of the over 175 local Filipino languages and dialects. So, with the arrival of cinema in the Philippines and the emergence of films made in Tagalog it seemed that Philippine cinema was on its way to becoming a well-defined national cinema. However, Tagalog was and remains the language of the capital, a language much of the archipelago's inhabitants felt was imposed upon them. Using the cinema of Cebu as a case study, this presentation asks what is this national cinema that only speaks from the vantage point of political and economic power? And, can a Filipino cinema ever be properly national if it only recounts capital narratives in the capital language?

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Clues from the Flowers: A Case Study of (Power and) Empowerment in *Mai Đào: A Glimpse into Vietnamese Culture*

Thematizing the *mai* and *đao* flowers, we look for clues to answer this question: *How is power understood,conceptualized, and represented in different fields of social inquiry, including the social sciences, humanities, and performing arts?* through the mobilization of our shared reflection as artists directly involved in the creation of *Mai Đào: A Glimpse into Vietnamese Culture*, a performance organized by Southeast Asian Cultural Heritage Society (SEACHS). We rupture possibilities of intercultural collaboration as a performative method of peace-building and a re-imagination of community that attempts to practice empathy within the history of war, displacement and dislocation. This performance project was constructed from an artistic vision of suturing a set of mix repertoire of Vietnamese songs, poetry, dance and theatre schematized as a cohesive example of intercultural theatre that connects with Homi Bhabha's image of the staircase that manifests "the process of symbolic interaction" (3-4) where in-betweenness and liminality become possible. In this intercultural project, artists of color and community members were allowed to come to fore by giving them agency in sharing their stories and allowing their bodies visibility through a series of dance, song, orchestral performances, and stage reading. This paper examines the themes of *mai* and *đao* flowers as we reflect on what openness and sharing mean within a creative space of intercultural theatre that attempts to rupture plurality of artistic expression thereby resonating with James Thomson's proposal, "…to make everyone's right to beautiful and radiant things" (11).

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Political ecology

Accumulation by Decentralization: Securing a Future Mining Zone in Papua, Indonesia

While the violence of militarized extractive installations is clear, in some global contexts a variety of less coercive instruments can facilitate transnational companies' appropriation of valuable natural resources. This paper examines government decentralization in relation to mining capital in Indonesia's easternmost province, Papua (also called West Papua). Papua's highlands host one of the planet's notorious militarized open-pit mines, owned by a US-based company and identified by the Indonesian government as one of the country's 'national vital assets'. In a separate and more densely populated highland area,

infrastructural disconnection has left the fringe of the Balim River valley unaffected by large-scale extractive operations, so far. This paper analyzes how government decentralization arrangements–implemented with World Bank support as a means to defuse the conflict between Jakarta and the West Papuan independence movement–work to facilitate investors' access to untapped mineral value. 'Autonomy' programs decentralize development funding and provide for a set of food and cash distribution channels that together drive livelihood change and fragmentation of households and villages. This paper will show how these changes contribute to detaching livelihoods from land, thereby setting the stage for the eventual emergence of a large-scale mining zone around the fringes of the Balim area. As such, this paper argues that decentralization policies, operating under rubrics of indigenous regional autonomy, may work alongside longer-established modes of power to enable transnational capital's appropriation of mineral value.

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Political Ecology of Tin Mining: A Study on Marginalization of Coastal Resource Dependent Communities in Indonesia

This study brought a unique fact of findings by presenting a careful and details analysis of the local governance institutional arrangements in the context of coastal tin extraction in Bangka island. This study specifically compares the governance mechanism issues across two distinct coastal tin producing settings, two different community contexts. Using multiple case study design, this study successfully depicted that for the most part, the decision-making mechanism deployed in the issuance of mining social permit did little to address the primary concerns of all related actors fairly and frequently privileging the interest of mining companies while marginalizing the alternative values and the concerns of affected locals. Public involvement failed to accommodate all stakeholders' views, but the local level cannot accommodate their interests because some local political situation and elites' domination effect have control over the decision-making process for mining permits. both economic and local socio-political factors influenced the local community's acceptance of suction dredging. The compensation offered provided a compelling reason for agreeing to permit the mining licence. Resource depletion and deterioration, a reduction in the quantity and price of fish, and difficulties associated with finding alternative livelihoods were key reasons for opposing suction dredging. Immature democratic processes occur when decisions are made without fully consulting all stakeholders, or fully considering the whole village's views leading to the spawn of grey participation and consequently brought to the imbalance benefits and impacts among all affected locals. The result is unsuccessful democratization that will possibly lead to a rebellion by unsatisfied stakeholders. I suggest that decision-making processes for issuing mining permits should seriously consider both justice and equity from the perspective of all related stakeholders to avoid conflicts of interest. encourage the formation of good mining governance to avoid larger negative impacts on both the community and the environment. Drawing from the study results, I suggest public consultation enhancement, accurate attitudinal surveys, proper communication and information platform, strengthening local democratic institutions, the formation of liaison group, community development initiative, and support for equity and justice as key recommendations for improving the decision-making system of suction dredger social permit issuance in Bangka Island.

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Political history and social struggles (1)

Piety and Power from Makkah to Multan: transnational Islamic linkages and Islamic revivalist movements in Pakistan (1947–2019)

This paper underlines the key vectors contributing to the transmission of authority of transnational Islamist actors between the key regional axes of the Gulf and South-Asia (SA) since the turn of the late 20th century. It identifies the conduits encompassing the vectors of Islamic piety transmission and, in this process, contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical pathways associated with the increasing political salience of Islamist actors following the 1979 Iranian revolution. The paper uses the case of Pakistan, a country of 210 million, as an illustration to analyze the complex and distinctive patterns of piety transmission that contributed to the increasing Arabization of Islam in Pakistan in the 20th century. It adopts a deliberately transgressive engagement with a variety of academic subfields and disciplines to advance a novel framework of understanding piety transmission between the Gulf and Pakistan. Crucially, piety transmission between the Gulf and Pakistan has shifted overtime from encompassing a historically polyvocal pattern to resembling an increasingly uni-vocal one. The paper is one of the first studies of its kind that systematically process trace the mechanisms and processes linking pan-Islamic connections to the rise of Islamist outcomes in Pakistan. It underlines that the process of piety transmission and its actualization into policy outcomes was, by and large, political, non-linear, complex and historically contingent. Future scholarship can benefit through more expansive cross-regional comparisons; for instance, those between the Gulf and SA, and the Gulf and Southeast Asia, for a deeper understanding of transnational religious linkages and their socio-political implications.

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Historical Memory in the Mekong: Identity, Schools, Politics

Southeast Asia is building a regional community through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a multi-national institution comprised of 10-member states. After successfully establishing an economic community in 2015, where capital and people can freely move across national borders, ASEAN and its partners now aim to build a socio-cultural community by 2020. As part of its envisioned regional community, ASEAN wants to construct a regional identity by uniting over 600 million people, which the technocrats believe will be achieved partly through national school systems that teach shared versions of history. What does an ASEAN identity look like? Is it even possible or desirable to establish a common identity across the diverse peoples of Southeast Asia? And how would a regional identity exist alongside national-identity given the divergent memories of history?

This presentation grapples with these questions by exploring issues of shared history, national identity, and schooling in the countries along Southeast Asia's Mekong River Delta: Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, and Myanmar. The Mekong sub-region of Southeast Asia is a valuable place to study the possibilities of regional identity because the countries share certain commonalities (religious, social, and cultural practices) that the

island nations of ASEAN do not. At the same time, historical differences (in language, socioeconomic development, colonization, and political organization) create wide gaps among the Mekong countries, resulting in competing constructions of historical memory. This presentation is based on the forthcoming edited collection *Historical Memory in the Mekong: Identity, Schools, Politics* (under review by Cornell University Press).

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Resistance, Celebration and Repression: The May 1969 Riots in Malaysia Revisited

The May 1969 racial riots is a turning point in the history of Malaysian society. From economic restructuring to ethnic preferences in public-sector jobs, business licenses, educational scholarships and admission to public universities, the New Economic Policy that followed the riots has affected (and continue to affect) many Malaysians. This paper interrogates the experiences of ordinary Malaysians (orang biasa) during the late 1960s in the context of increasing tension between different ethnic groups. Previous scholarship has viewed the riots as either Chinese Communist-inspired following a small Leftist victory at the polls or a coup d'etat against Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister. By using a bottom-up approach where I conduct oral life history interviews with elderly Malaysians (to be done between May and August 2019) on the topics of racial riots, emergency rule and politics, I hope to shed light on the particular role of ethnic identities in outbreaks of violence in Kuala Lumpur. In other words, I hope to extend our understanding of the 1969 racial riots in Malaysia by going beyond what we can piece together through the imperial archives of Britain by taking a different approach from the existing historiography of ethnic violence in Malaysia.

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Ultra-Rightist Currents in Thai Politics and the Troubled Relationship with the People's Republic of China in the Early Years of Diplomatic Ties, 1975–1977

The conventional narrative of Thailand-China relations is that their friendship has continuously flourished since the establishment of diplomatic ties by Kukrit's government in July 1975. However, using both Thai and Chinese-language sources, this article aims to portray the troubled relationship between the two countries in the post-normalization period, as a result of ultra-rightist currents in Thai politics in the mid-1970s which led to the 6 October coup and the rise of Thanin's ultra-rightist government in 1976. The article also shows Chinese Ambassador to Thailand Chai Zemin's attempts to improve the situation by connecting with the royal family and making friends with leading political and military figures. Shortly after Thanin had been ousted by another coup in October 1977, tensions between the two countries de-escalated, followed by mutual visits of high-level leaders in the following year.

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Social media and institutional development in Vietnam: the failed promise of democratic governance and the sustained illiberal rule

With the ascendency of social media in Vietnam, there have been high expectations that as a democratizing power it can make democratic governance possible or at least help create a distinct political space that is liberal and unrestricted from authoritarian control. However, after initial anathema to social media, the Vietnamese party-state has developed a more nuanced understanding of its power and used it to serve the purpose of ensuring the security of the regime in a more sophisticated way. Social media has equipped the party-state with a new powerful instrument in sustaining the illiberal rule by both enabling it to collect more critical feedback to the system for adjustment and to manipulate the information and public opinion to its advantage. This paper presents this argument by examining the categories of power relating to patronage networks and different public policy issues prominent on the social media, particularly Facebook in Vietnam.

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Political persecutions

Denial of the Rohingya Genocide: Problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the 'rule of law' in postcolonial Myanmar

Even as the world condemns it as genocide, the government of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar and democracy icon, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi denied it and refused to accept it as such and mounted a legal defense arguing that what the subsequent response against the attacks as of August 25, 2017 on various police outposts were anchored on the rule of law, that their efforts is to secure the country and instill peace and order.

This premise is at the center of this paper.

What then is the rule of law in Myanmar? What to them was genocide by the standards of the international community? And why do they deny it?

These questions are what this paper problematizes. It is these questions that we seek answers that will ultimately lead us to better understand the meanings and essence of the statements thereafter issued after the Rohingya exodus of August 26, 2017, to Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh.

This paper looks at the public speeches by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as published in her official website to ascertain elements of genocide, both as facts and in context.

Qualitative in nature, this paper will peruse pages of transcripts of speeches to find themes, settings and meanings that will be attributed to problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the rule of law in the postcolonial Myanmar. In analyzing her speeches, this paper used Facauldian Discourse Analysis.

The paper found out that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remained silent on the Rohingya genocide because of, among many others, (1) Her effort to strong and relevant democratic discourse by obscuring the issue of the Rohingya; (2) Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics; and (3) Her detached attitude towards the Rohingya genocide for the fear that the military generals will take back her freedom and liberty.

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Persecution of the Rohingyas: What Matters Beyond the Muslim-Identity?

Despite the intensity of the ongoing Rohingya Crisis, very little has been investigated about its origin. A meagre volume of research that is available on the subject mostly describe the crisis rather than explaining it. Most of the scholarly works in this field identify 'institutionalized islamophobia' in Myanmar as the overarching reason behind the persecution of the Muslim Rohingyas. While this postulation might be true to a certain extent, yet, it fails to explain why nearly 101 Hindu Rohingya families are waiting in the Kutupalong and Balukhali refugee camps of Bangladesh to return to their home in Myanmar. This argument creates the ground for singling out the factors that work in combination with institutionalized islamophobia at the origins of the state-led persecution of the Rohingyas in Myanmar. This study therefore, endeavours to discover those factors based on qualitative interviews of 20 key informant interviewees from various background, and analysis of relevant historical and literary accounts. It opines that- apart from the issue of the religious identity of the Rohingyas, there are certain demographic, historical and geographical factors that have contributed to the victimization of the Rohingyas as political tools in hands of various political elites, consequently exposing them to violent forms of persecution.

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Soundscapes of the Khmer Rouge Labor Camp

Any discussion about power in Southeast Asia should include the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in the 1970s. When Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia in 1975, the regime initiated a nationwide effort to destroy the ancient traditions of the country and replace them with a new utopian culture. The Khmer Rouge immediately evacuated the cities and forced the population into rural labor camps where the Cambodian people could be repurposed as obedient workers for the revolution, with the intent of creating a citizenry that would be amenable to the ideology of Pol Pot. This presentation is an examination of the soundscapes of these labor camps and the auditory strategies designed by the regime to control and collectivize the Khmer people in the new country known as Democratic Kampuchea. The paper is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the intimidation tactics of the Khmer Rouge and how power was conveyed through the sonic landscapes of the camps. The second part examines the aural strategies used to collectivize the Cambodian people and indoctrinate them with Marxist ideology. Finally, the third section focuses on the sounds of subversion--the noises of rebellion that the victims of the Khmer Rouge quietly voiced to register their dissent and undermine the authority of the regime. The Khmer Rouge labor camp was a sonic battlefield where soldiers attempted to transform their captives into a collective and victims struggled to retain a sense of individualism.

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Prison Islands at the Margins of Power: Integration and Dissent on Buru Island and Phu Quoc

From Devil's Island to the Andamans, prison islands have been significant spaces for both the formation and dissolution of colonial and Cold War states. Given Southeast Asia's political and physical landscape, the region's history has been profoundly shaped by

prison islands. This paper considers two prison islands in particular: Phu Quoc in Vietnam, and Buru in Indonesia. The precarious position of both islands at the margins of state power produced similar historical trajectories characterized by piracy, forced labor migrations, and eventually, prisons and penal colonies. The first camps on Phu Quoc were established in 1950 for the internment of 20-30,000 Kuomintang soldiers and their families, sent to reoccupy Vietnam at the end of World War II; upon their repatriation to Taiwan, Phu Quoc became the site of a prison camp for Vietnamese prisoners of war until 1975. Meanwhile, Buru became a prison island from 1969- 79 for up to 15,000 Javanese prisoners detained for their associations with left-wing organizations. Both islands show how colonial and post-colonial Southeast Asian states attempted to simultaneously turn dissenting individuals in the center of the nation into a productive work force in the periphery. Camps on both islands transformed into re-education centers that attempted to form dissenting subjects into obedient citizens. My presentation argues that the construction of prison islands produced unexpected consequences, integrating the islands within larger networks of political power that outlived the governments that created them while simultaneously undermining the legitimacy of the states that controlled them.

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Power and Culture in Indonesia

Challenging Entrenched Power Structures from Below: The Experience of the Labor Movement in Post-Suharto Indonesia

Emerging out of the ashes of Suharto's 30-year dictatorship in the midst of the Asian financial crisis, the Indonesian labor movement was small and divided. Yet despite these unfavorable circumstances, it has been surprisingly successful in advancing working-class interests. This success has not come from alignment with a major political party, nor on collective bargaining in the workplace. Instead, unions united repeatedly in the streets, relying on the disruptive power of contentious politics in urban and industrial areas to beat back policies that it opposed. Over time, it a more sophisticated repertoire of tactics to advance a labor agenda, participating more actively in electoral politics, cutting political deals with executive candidates and running union cadres as candidates for public office.

How and why has Indonesia's labor movement been able to accomplish far more than observers expected? In pointing to how historical legacies, political institutions, and tactical creativity produced this unexpected outcome, this paper challenges much of the literature on Indonesian politics which highlights the power of oligarchs and political and economic elites but sidelines the agency of subaltern actors, in the process demonstrating how lower-class actors can navigate a decidedly unpropitious political opportunity structure.

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The Politics of Framing and Accommodation: The Power-Tafsīr Relation in The Official Qur'ān Translation of the State

This paper discusses the historical dynamics in the production of the official Qur'ān translation by the state, entitled *Al-Qur'an dan Terdjemahnja* during the Guided

Democracy of Sukarno (1960-1967). The translation of the Qur'ān is essentially one of the subgenres in *tafsīr* tradition, which makes it an intellectual pursuit of a certain translator. The production of such literary genre by the state, however, creates a conceptual problem for the very idea of the translation of the Qur'ān. More importantly, it reflects the intersection between two variants of power, political and religious. Making its first appearance in 17 August 1965, the translation was initiated by Sukarno during the Guided Democracy era, shortly before his power stumbled by the supposed violent coup; he did not even make it to the whole three volumes before he eventually stepped down from presidency. Taking place when Sukarno attempted to gather an even more entrenched power in the country, what was the role of *Al-Qur'an dan Terdjemahnja?* How did it relate to his experimented synthetic ideology *Nasakom* (*Nastionalisme* [nationalism], *Agama* [religion] and *Komunisme* [communism])? Analyzing those questions, I argue that the translation did not have the idea of creating the standard religious discourse in the state. Instead of politics of control, the translation represents the politics of framing and accommodation.

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The Spirit of the Gift, the Price of Potency: A Maussian Model of the Southeast Asian state of Luwu

This rereading of Mauss' The Gift shifts the focus of discussion from the Maori hau to another of his examples: *semangat* (potency) among the Toraja of Central Sulawesi. This potency animates an exchange with (human) gods that is at once gift and purchase (*maoli*). By tracing the intersection of this Maussian literature with that on the animist foundation of the Southeast Asian state, I analyse the nature of potent gifts that serve as a form of money in a 'spiritual economy' tying centre with (*Toraja*) periphery in the kingdom of Luwu. This 'money', however, is only a medium for the payment of debt and not a medium of exchange, which gives these 'purchases' the characteristics of a 'gift'. The Maussian analysis of the blurring of person and thing, and of persons and spirits, thus offers new insight into the nature of political power in the SE Asian state.

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Central Javanese Mystic and Syncretic Practices in Modern Islamic Theological Discourse

The dissemination of Islam throughout the archipelagos was different from one island to another island in Indonesia. In most of Java, Islam flourished into a peculiar variant called Agami Jawi or the religion of Java due to its inclination toward mystical Hindhu- Budhist and local belief. As a dramatic explosion in the numbers Javanese Hajjis and Muslim students studying abroad Middle East starting in 1850 occurred, interactions between Muslim Indonesians to the Islam in Saudi Arabia intensified. Those hands-on experiences and interactions opened doors for new perspectives and gave opportunities to the Muslim society in Indonesia to learn and understand Islam more deeply. Due to those interactions, a reform in Indonesian Islam was born , a reform which emphasizes on purification of religious practice eradicates all the elements of non-Islamic mysticism, magic, animism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Studies on Islam in Java like The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz presents a description of Javanese religious life and offers plethora of insights in

Javanese religious life and practice by discussing the tension between the Abangan who practice mystic and syncretic practice and the reformist, who promoted a new way of practicing Islam. In addition to that, Fauzan Saleh, in Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in Twentieth Century Islamic explains the reform movement which introduced a purer Islam by introducing four basic principles: the return to the pristine sources of Islam: the Qur'an and the Sunnah; the encouragement of ijtihad; denouncement of taqlid; and revitalization of Arabic linguistics for properly engaging in ijtihad. However, few studies offer discussion on Central Javanese's perspectives of their mystic or syncretic practices after Islamic reform in the present.

This research paper aims to explain to what extend the effects reformist views in Islam affects Javanese's views of their ongoing mystic or syncretic practices (Kejawen) in the present days of Java. Several interviews were conducted with several Javanese in Plumpungan Village, Central Java to find the answer to the question. This research paper starts by giving a historical background on Islam in Central Java, on the Islamic reform that happened in central Java, and on the reaction toward the reform from Central Javanese. It is discovered that the central Javanese view their Kejawen as identity, Kejawen as complimentary not contradictory to Islam, in addition, they also view the importance of freedom in upholding one's beliefs and finding relatability of their practice to modernity. Understanding the perspectives of central Javanese who conduct mystic or syncretic practice while embracing Islam is worth investigating as it does not only to promote a greater degree of tolerance, but also to provide a channel for the central Javanese practicing Kejawen to express themselves and set straight any misjudgments given to them. This essay also contributes to more insights on the already existing discussion on the discourse of mysticism in Islam outside the Arabic context.

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Power and Relational Dynamics at the Sub-national, National, and Supranational Levels

Convener: Charmaine Willis
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Chair: Charmaine Willis, University of Albany, SUNY
Discussant: Dominique Caouette,
Associate Professor, University of Montreal

The papers in this panel broadly incorporate the theme of power in the context of relationships at various levels. At the sub-national level, Zheng Wang examines the interplay between class and ethnicity and its role in inter-ethnic relations in the cases of Malaysia and Indonesia. At the sub-national and national levels, Charmaine Willis examines the role of frame bridging in social movement success in her study of anti-US base activism in the Philippines and South Korea. Mutti Anggitta then highlights the impact of relationships within supranational institutions by highlighting ASEAN's potential to play a key role in negotiations with North Korea, vis-à-vis North Korea's membership in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Finally, Keith Preble explores the role of "three-level games" on ASEAN member states' policy-making through the cases of Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

ASEAN in the Denuclearization of North Korea: A Study of Its Low-Key Role

The objective of this paper is to study the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the denuclearization of North Korea. This paper will first describe the relations between the ASEAN and North Korea. It will then explore the contribution of the ASEAN in resolving the Korean Peninsula nuclear crises. Finally, it will formulate a set of policy recommendation for the ASEAN so that the organization can continue to play its role, especially in trust building among all the parties involved in the crises. This paper argues that the role of the ASEAN especially through the ASEAN regional forum (ARF) in the denuclearization of North Korea has been and will potentially continue to be small yet significant, particularly in terms of encouraging normal relations between North Korea and its rivals: the United States and its allies, by providing space and opportunities to discuss not only diplomatic matters, but also economic and security issues.

Mutti Anggitta
University of Albany, SUNY

The Logic of Three-Level Games

My paper explores the complex power relations between Southeast Asian countries, China, and the United States. I expand upon the theoretical “two-level game” proposed by Robert Putnam and argue that there exists a "three-level game" in Southeast Asia. A “three-level game” describes the way in which states operate not only with a domestic and foreign policy environment but also within a regional dynamic. This “game” serves as an analytical lens that explains how competing demands affect the construction of a state’s foreign and domestic policies. These three levels – domestic, regional, andinternational – influence the power relations not only between Southeast Asian states but also within Southeast Asian individual states on the domestic level as well as with the two great powers in the region, the United States and China. I use a comparative case study approach to analyze the power dynamics of a “three-level game” using Malaysia, Philippines, and Vietnam. I explore how these three countries navigate complex power dynamics at home, in the region, and between the Great Powers; I demonstrate that these competing demands make consistent and coherent policies difficult to achieve given the dynamic and complex power relations among all the actors involved.

Keith Preble
University of Albany, SUNY

The Role of Crosscutting Cleavages in Stabilizing Ethnic Relations: A Case Comparison between Malaysia and Indonesia

Why does ethnic violence occur in some historical contexts, but not in others? Employing a cross-case comparison between Malaysia and Indonesia combined with process-tracing in each case, this paper seeks to uncover the dynamic behind the change of ethnic relations in Malaysia and Indonesia: in the aftermath of the Financial Crisis in 1998, compared to the disappearance of large-scale ethnic violence in Malaysia, why did Indonesia still experience frequent occurrence of ethnic conflicts? Why did ethnic relation between the indigenous groups and the ethnic Chinese stabilize in Malaysia but not in Indonesia? This paper argues that the major factor that contributes to the spatial and temporal variance of ethnic relation in these two contexts is the formation of crosscutting cleavages between ethnicity and class. The research on these two cases can advance our understanding of the dynamics of ethnic politics and the causes of ethnic violence in general.

Zheng Wang
University of Albany, SUNY

Democratization and Anti-US Base Protest Movements in South Korea and the Philippines

In many countries, the 1980s was marked by state-society contention and struggles for democracy. This trend was particularly notable in East Asia, where people's movements led the way for democracy at the end of the decade in South Korea, the Philippines, and Taiwan. South Korea and the Philippines not only shared this historical moment but also bilateral security arrangements with the United States, allowing the US military to station personnel within their borders. In both countries, the US military presence elicited local resistance due to concerns about crimes committed by military personnel, safety, environmental degradation, and national sovereignty, among others. Despite these similarities, there is a striking difference between the two countries: while the Philippines' anti-US base movements were successful in their struggle to remove the US bases from within their borders, South Korean movements were not as successful. I demonstrate through qualitative case analysis that this difference is primarily because Philippine activists linked anti-base contention with the struggle for democracy whereas their South Korean counterparts did not. In doing so, this study highlights the ways in which structural and cultural factors inhibit or foster activists' ability to both mobilize the public and achieve their goals.

Charmaine Willis
University of Albany, SUNY

State Intervention, Commodification, and Livelihoods in the Uplands

Convenors: Patrick Slack
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Jennifer Langill
McGill University

Chair/Discussant: Jennifer Langill, McGill University

The uplands of the Southeast Asian massif are home to over 200 million people, about half of whom are ethnic minority peoples. These upland ethnic minority households have been subject to over a century of socio-economic and 'development' interventions aiming to increase legibility and exert territorialization (Scott, 2009). State interventions are intimately connected with the growing force of local and global commodity chains, which are drastically shaping semi-subsistence livelihoods across the Southeast Asian borderlands. Despite varying actors behind state intervention and commoditization, they are nonetheless converging towards assimilation. This process is often (re)negotiated based on changing state policies dictating 'acceptable' livelihood activities, often leaving ethnic minority identities and livelihoods in constant fluctuation. In this session, we bring together panelists who explore local implications of these processes, such as state-imposed integration schemes and rampant commodification of agro-livestock production, tourism, and regional trade.

Abstracts

Rolling the Dice with Spice: Navigating the Complexity of Ethnic Minority Livelihoods in the Sino-Vietnamese Borderlands

Upland ethnic minorities in northern Vietnam are subject to ill-informed policies dictated from the national, provincial, and district governments predominantly controlled by the ethnic majority. In the Sino-Vietnamese borderlands, upland ethnic minority farmers are having to find sources of cash more than ever before due to the increased state push for market integration, especially state programmes encouraging farmers to rely on hybrid rice and corn seeds which must be bought yearly, along with agro-chemical inputs. Many upland minority households have predominantly turned to intensifying the cultivation and trade of black cardamom (Amomum tsao-ko) to supply the much-needed cash their lives increasingly require. As a demand for cash and black cardamom have risen, upland ethnic minorities in Lào Cai province are resorting to cultivating black cardamom because of high market prices, suitable climatic conditions, compatibility with local labor calendars, relatively minimal work for high return, and they draw from their traditional ecological knowledge for cultivation. For these reasons, Hmong (Miao), Yao (Dao), and Hà Nhi (Hani) farmers in the Sino-Vietnamese borderlands have shifted from small-scale household collection and trade, to the large-scale cultivation and sale of black cardamom. In the midst of extreme weather events devastating black cardamom crops, fluctuating cardamom prices determined by Chinese traders, and the establishment of a nature reserve that is restricting forest access, upland ethnic minority households are forced to navigate increasingly uncertain and vulnerable livelihood pathways with unpredictable outcomes.

Patrick Slack
McGill University

Hmong and Ethnic Tourism in Sapa: Between Modernity and Micro-resistance

Since 1986, Vietnam faces a double challenge: having to deal with an economic renovation (Đổi mới) while handling a diverse nation comprised of fifty-four ethnicities. To bring modernity to its minority ethnicities, the state organizes ethnicity around a principle of selective cultural preservation, letting ethnicities show their singular identities, provided they do so in a benign and aesthetic fashion. This paper draws from an ethnographic investigation conducted among the Hmong of the Sapa district, northern Vietnam. In this region, the Hmong face challenges in the maintenance of their livelihoods, mostly due to changes in touristic development, split between a form of cultural tourism destined to an international clientele and a semi-luxurious touristic industry where upper-class Kinh families enjoy an array of private- funded amenities. Using theoretical anchors such as concepts of micro-resistance and infrapolitics, devised by James Scott and utilized by Jean Michaud in his work regarding the Hmong of Southeast Asia, I analyse how certain transcripts produced by Hmong take part in tourism activities in Sapa district and how they can be interpreted as examples of micro- resistance, enabling them to commodify select aspects of their culture and shape a singular place for their community in this rapidly evolving context pulled between modernity and resistance.

Antoine Garnier
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The Currency of Critters: How Market Integration and Extreme Weather Events Alter the Livelihood Strategies and Human-Animal Relationships of Hmong and Yao Ethnic Minorities in Upland Northern Vietnam

This research project, comprised of two main components, addresses the changing human-animal relationships and livelihoods of Hmong and Yao ethnic minorities living in the uplands of northern Vietnam. The first component of this research project focuses on how the processes of intensifying market integration and increasing extreme weather events are affecting the ways upland Hmong and Yao ethnic minorities use, perceive, and

value domesticated animals. Gleaned primarily through interviews and participatory drawing, the rising role of animals as 'living' financial capital, especially regarding buffalo and black pigs, indicates a notable reconfiguration of Hmong and Yao 'human-animal relationships'. While both buffalo and black pigs have traditionally held important spiritual positions among these groups, the increasing commodification of buffalo, considering threats posed by extreme weather events, represents a particularly dramatic shift, as these animals encompass an array of identities within Hmong and Yao societies. The second component addresses the ways that changing 'human- animal relationships' have altered Hmong and Yao livelihood strategies. Here, participation in the trade of animals constitutes an increasingly pursued livelihood strategy among Hmong and Yao (mostly men), elicited and mapped through interviews and a commodity chain analysis informed by a systems of provision approach. The implications of this research project are potentially wide-reaching, portraying how seemingly distinct phenomena—market integration, extreme weather events, human-animal relationships, and livelihoods—interact.

Peter Garber
McGill University

Resistance and Flexibility Revisited: The Next Generation of Hmong Livelihood Change in Northern Thailand

Literature on Hmong agrarian-based livelihoods has illustrated the political, social, and economic marginalization that Hmong are subjected to across the Southeast Asian highlands, as well as the fluidity and flexibility of their livelihoods that have been renegotiated across temporal and political contexts. In the context of sedentarization and increasing market involvement in Northern Thailand, many Hmong households entered into the international tourism sector, working as guides or homestay hosts. In this study, I revisit a Hmong village that underwent this livelihood transition 25 years ago, which has since transitioned into widespread fruit tree cultivation, specifically oranges. I draw upon earlier analyses and interpretations of the former livelihood change and question what has persisted or changed with the new generation: Has wealth disparity continued to increase? Are the same households the first to participate in new commodity markets? How do these waves of commodity frontiers contribute to state projects of legibility and assimilation, and what is the Hmong response? I suggest possible trends across intergenerational livelihood change alongside new themes that seem to be emerging in the Thai highlands.

Jennifer Langill
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Taking Stock to Move Forward: Making Space for Southeast Asia in the Study of World Politics

Convener: Stéphanie Martel
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Chair: Stéphanie Martel,
Queen's University

Discussant: Brian L. Job,
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The Asia-Pacific is the focus of growing attention from scholars and practitioners of

International Relations (IR), as the primary terrain where the current transformation of global order unfolds. In this context of renewed major power rivalry between the United State and China, with other regional powers (Japan, India, etc.) striving to mitigate adverse effects, not much attention is being paid to Southeast Asia, which is once again relegated to the margins of the IR discipline. This panel pushes back against this trend, starting from the premise that recent developments highlight an even more fundamental need to better understand the extent to which Southeast Asia and its actors are shaping broader regional and global dynamics, despite a relative weakness in material power.
Panelists adopt different perspectives as they tackle this broad question. Despite coming up with mixed conclusions, they make a similar call for making space for Southeast Asia and ASEAN in the study of world politics. Taking stock of the current state of Southeast Asian IR, the panel also critically engages with constructivism –and norm research in particular– as a predominant theoretical perspective in this field today, making a case for its rejuvenation.

Abstracts

Cyber Norms Contested: Balancing International Politics and Domestic Challenges in ASEAN

Southeast Asian governments have made commitments to accelerating Internet usage, while at the same time dealing with persistent cybersecurity threats that stem from rapid technology adoption and current geopolitical pressures. Regional collaboration on cyber norms is therefore needed to develop trust and build cyber resilience. In 2018, the third ASEAN Ministerial Conference on Cybersecurity endorsed “in principle” the eleven voluntary, non-binding norms recommended by the 2015 UN Group of Governmental Experts (UNGGE). This restrained affirmation of a rules-based cyberspace was considered a bold first step forward, given ASEAN’s absence in past UNGGE processes and lack of discussions on cyber norms more generally. Substantively, for example, one of the norms emphasizes “that States should guarantee full respect for human rights,” including freedom of expression, and yet, cyberspace is increasingly securitized in Southeast Asia, and governments have passed laws that have been criticized by civil society as potentially threatening civil liberties (e.g., Singapore’s anti-fake news law and Vietnam’s Law on Cybersecurity). This paper will investigate the interplay between international politics and domestic challenges using a constructivist approach to explain cyber norms development. The case study of Southeast Asian countries will be used to explain how key ideas, both technical and normative, and shifting power and perceptions enabled actors to frame problems and understand their interests, and how such ideas became embedded in institutions. This analysis contributes to the broader IR literature on the relationship between norms and identities, and extends policy analysis to the domain of cyberspace.

Irene Poetranto
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Regional Responses to the Rohingya Crisis: Theoretical and Practical Challenges for ASEAN

ASEAN’s core principles- sovereignty, non-interference, and consultation and consensus - continue to inform its policies and organizational practices. This “ASEAN- way” also contributes to the dominance of constructivism on the region that, due to a tendency to focus on state-level understandings of regional norms and institutions, often sees ASEAN as inherently ineffectual. This paper argues that an examination of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar- along with regional responses to it - challenges both the core principles of ASEAN as well as the conventional constructivist understanding of them. First, the plight of

the Rohingya raises fundamental questions around the concepts of citizenship, identity, and sovereignty. Second, the Rohingya crisis, by definition, requires the suspension of "non-interference" between members and necessarily disrupts tidy ideas about what - or who - is inside and outside the state.

Third, regional discourses around the Rohingya crisis highlight both the negatives and positives of the ASEAN commitment to consultation and consensus, and challenge simplistic state-centric notions about what constitutes an "effective response" to regional problems. ASEAN's approach to diplomacy, often seen as a weakness, might be precisely what is required to address the crisis of mass murder, forced migration, and gender-based violence that the Rohingya are facing.

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Tracing ASEAN's Normative Influence: An Historical Overview

Many observers argue that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has wielded influence in the Asia Pacific by successfully promoting its norms and values across the region. This paper traces and critically evaluates this process by examining four distinct historical periods wherein ASEAN's influence has been tested: the period immediately following ASEAN's creation; ASEAN's involvement in managing international opposition to Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia; the immediate post-Cold War era; and the contemporary period. The paper argues that, in all of these cases, ASEAN's effectiveness was contingent on internal institutional unity and a permissive external environment.

Shaun Narine
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ASEAN as a Regional Security Community: The Merits and Limits of Social Constructivism

Much has been written about ASEAN, but scholars disagree on whether the regional group is a genuine regional security community. Social constructivists think it is, but realist critics point to the role of power or threat balancing. In spite of the regional norms and identity promoted by its leaders, ASEAN has not become sufficiently institutionalized and is unlikely to develop into a mature security community in the foreseeable future since almost all of its members are undemocratic and unable to stand united in the face of a rising China. Power matters in that power/threat balancing is a fact of international/regional politics, but political regime analysis has greater explanatory power.

Sorpong Peou
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Confronting Encircling Dragons: Asymmetry in Cambodia's Foreign Policy

Cambodia is assumed to lack agency due to its marginal position in world politics and economic dependence on foreign actors. Accordingly, China leveraged Cambodia's chairmanship at the 2012 ASEAN Summit to defend its own national interests in the South China Sea. Yet, the Cambodian government's response to the incident focuses on Vietnam's request for strong language in the joint statement. The conventional great power narrative is thereby devoid of local histories and interests and the power dynamics among regional states, concealing the manipulative strategies of smaller states in Southeast Asia. In contravention, one of the main challenges to regional stability and unity has emanated from the conflictual relations between Cambodia and its two larger neighbors, Thailand and Vietnam. Despite joint membership in ASEAN and the

normalization of relations in the 1990s, the Cambodian government is involved in ongoing disputes with its neighbors. For instance, the 2008-2011 Preah Vihear conflict was widely viewed as a threat to peace in ASEAN. Through analyzing the main areas of dispute with Thailand and Vietnam, this paper aims to re-insert Cambodia as the protagonist in its own foreign affairs and highlight the importance of regional power dynamics in world politics. It argues that the material imbalance germane to asymmetry in foreign policy propels the smaller state to seek alternative avenues such as patronage resources and involvement in multilateral organizations to advance its national interests in the region.

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Transboundary Environmental Governance - Frontiers, protected areas and environmentalism

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Discussant: Derek Hall,
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Abstracts

Social Movements and the Co-Production of Resource Frontiers

Resource frontiers take place in spaces already inhabited by people with their own means of accumulation and production. This creates a tension that inevitably spawns conflict, and often social movements. Yet, these powers of dominance and resistance co-constitute one another and impact space and territory. Social movements are more than just the bi-product of resource frontier activities, they are essential to the production of the resource frontier itself. Based on three years of grounded research and collaborative work within civil society organizations (CSOs), this article uses two sites of resource extraction in Shan State, Myanmar—The Tigyit Coal Mine and Power Plant and the Mong Ton Hydropower Project—to examine how the military-government-private partnerships that extract resources and their corresponding social movements co-constitute one another. In this article I argue that resource frontiers produce points of crisis that activate new and reshape old social movements, which in turn influence the space and extent the resource frontier. The two projects in this paper differ; the effects of the Tigyit Coal Mine and Power Plant create a material point of crisis, whereas the future risks of the Mong Ton Hydropower project create a discourse point of crisis. The later, generating new CSOs organized to protest the construction of the dam, whereas the former refocused the efforts of established CSOs to investigate the environmental and health hazards of the coal project. In both cases, the dominant powers of these resource extractors activated the CSOs and their networks in new ways, and these CSOs have impacted both the spatial extent and operations of these resource extractors. In looking at how regional, national, and international actors with a vested interest in producing or inhibiting the resource frontier interact and intersect, the ways in which the resource frontier takes shape become evident.

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‘Peace’ as ‘peace for business and development’ or ‘peace’ as ‘an end to violence, oppression’ and ‘presence of justice’?: Understanding Karen people’ assertion of ‘genuine’ peace and peacebuilding process through the Salween Peace Park

Employing Wood’s (2011) concept of “ceasefire capitalism”, this paper examines and discusses how ceasefire and peace talk since 2015 have become a catalyst for capitalist accumulation by dispossession of ethnic civilians of their land, identity and cultural traditions in Karen State of Southeast Burma/Myanmar. On the one hand, ongoing state oppression and violence by the Burmese military is disguised in liberal notion of peace as ‘peace for business’ and packaged as ‘development’ through ceasefire with Karen armed groups. On the other hand, local Karen leaders and civilians, who have survived seven decades of wars and political conflicts conceptualize ‘genuine’ peace in a positive notion as “presence of justice” and “an end to state violence and oppression”. This paper highlights one grassroots peacebuilding process that addresses fundamental root causes of long-standing conflicts, grievances and political injustices through an establishment of the Salween Peace Park. This peace park arguably functions as a discursive power and political tool for local communities and leaders to organize based on indigenous Karen identity, rights and environmental relations and to mobilize strategically against increased militarization and large-scale infrastructure and extractive development projects in ethnic territory. The paper concludes that this indigenous-led conservation movement for political purposes, embodied in the Salween Peace Park, not only protects ethnic civilians’ land and territory against widespread land grab (or capitalist accumulation by dispossession facilitated by violent state’s land management laws such as the Virgin, Vacant and Fallow Land Law) but also exemplifies an innovative model of federal resource governance system in Burma/Myanmar.

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'With the Salween Peace Park, We Can Survive as a Nation': Mobilizing Power for Resistance in an Indigenous Conservation Initiative

Protected areas have a long history of displacing Indigenous and rural peoples from their lands, which contain many of the world's most intact and biologically-rich ecosystems. Southeast Asia is no exception. Throughout the region, protected areas have been used to consolidate state power over Indigenous peoples' ancestral territories, undermining community-based governance and access to forest resources. However, a new innovation in global conservation is challenging these trends: Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas and Territories (ICCAs). This paper critically examines the mobilization of Indigenous conservation politics in the Salween Peace Park, a 5,485-square kilometre conservation initiative in the autonomous Karen territory of Kawthoolei, otherwise known as Karen State in Myanmar. Karen villagers, civil society, and the Karen National Union (KNU) envision the park as a grassroots initiative for peace in an area emerging from decades of armed conflict between the Myanmar military and the Karen movement for self-determination. The paper examines two broad categories of power in Indigenous conservation projects such as the Salween Peace Park. Engagement with international biodiversity conservation affords opportunities to draw on external sources of discursive, institutional, and material power. Conversely, Indigenous conservation projects derive internal power as they mobilize cultural and political traditions for counter-governance. This paper explores intersections and tensions between these political strategies and suggests pathways forward for similar community-led conservation projects in Southeast Asia.

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Authoritarian environmentalism: an exploratory comparative review of recent forest and land reforms in mainland Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Thailand, Laos)

In the last decade, in mainland Southeast Asia, we have witnessed the rise or consolidation of authoritarian leaders and populism, a trend which has key implications for environment politics (McCarthy, 2019). During the same period, sustained economic growth has resulted in important social and environmental costs, notably in rapid forest loss, especially of primary forests. To curb these alarming trends, national governments have embarked on sweeping reforms and strategies around forest/land governance and protected area management. Much has been written on individual national cases, however, much less writings have offered comparative analyses across the region (see MRLG, 2019). This said, this paper will unpack the socio-political dimensions of several key reforms, by 1) reviewing and comparing the neoliberal context of their emergence, and 2) critically analyzing their implications, more specifically in regard to the extension of customary land rights registration and the re-delineation of forest categories. The paper will draw from an exploratory review of three forest and land governance reforms: 1) the reform protected area network in Cambodia (2015+, for this case fieldwork data will also be presented), 2) Thailand's new forest policy (2018+) and 3) Laos' review of its land law (2018+). In conclusion and in line with the panel and conference's theme, the paper concludes by exploring how environmental issues and politics must go hand in and hand when studying these contexts.

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Transboundary Environmental Governance – Mobility

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Abstracts

The Powers of Women in Urban Flooding: A Case Study in Can Tho City, Vietnam

Like other cities in Southeast Asia, Can Tho City is growing rapidly and is of increasing importance to these countries' development trajectories. It is highly vulnerable, however, to the risks posed by climate change, particularly floods, because of its geographic location, limited governance capacity, and uncurbed urbanization. Both floods caused by urbanization and climate change impact the urban population who is particularly poor and vulnerable groups in the city, especially to women. Power can see everywhere in society

as for how people practice controlling the other and one own self and they resist in their society. This paper applies urban political ecology in order to understand community vulnerability in the context of urban and climate change. Also, this paper looks power in three different dimensions of experience, knowledge, and participation. We find that urban community in Can Tho City is vulnerable by flooding because of urban planning and climate change. Women experience flooding, they use their own knowledge and their participation in public and private meetings to negotiate with different stakeholders in multi-levels in order to cope with floods. Women, they use their experiences and participation as being their bodily functions, their emotion, and communication skills in order to be their knowledge to communicate to their relative at home, workers in the community and officers in the local authority to make achievement and change their perspective positively. They are the agent of change in urban flooding case. This paper applies ethnographic studies: survey, in-depth interview, participant observation, mapping, and secondary data to gather information and data.

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Assessing the role of mobile technology in solving 'slavery scandals'

The media spotlight on controversial 'slave labour' practices in Thailand and beyond has highlighted poor labour conditions across the seafood production sector. One response within the seafood sector globally is to explore the use of Smartphone Apps, screening tools and blockchain technology to identify labour abuse situations. Thai NGOs, businesses, aquariums and governments have endorsed the idea of mobile technology as a tool that could help deal with labour challenges. However, there has been limited analysis on how mobile technology is concretely addressing labour abuse within the seafood sector or what can even realistically be assessed vis-à-vis mobile technology, including in Southeast Asian fisheries. This systematic review examines the state of knowledge and trends in the peer-reviewed literature related to the use of mobile technology in the seafood sector. I ask the following questions: a) how are mobile technologies being promoted to address labour abuse in the seafood sector; and b) under what conditions might mobile technologies help to address labour abuse challenges, in particular within the Southeast Asian context.

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From Sand to Land

This paper is about sand and land as both form and process. Taking inspiration from the sub-fields of materiality and resource geographies, this is an attempt to think through how "matter matters" in shaping the workings of power around land formation in Southeast Asia. I look at new processes of 'making land' through large-scale land reclamation projects that challenges the idea that "land is not like a mat. You cannot roll it up and take it away" (Li 2014, 584) to suggest that sand is that mat. This case looks at the intensive work to manipulate the coast via the extraction and shipment of sand in Cambodia, one of the top-ten global exporters of sand, to be poured into the sea to expand the coastline and territorial claims of Singapore, the world's top sand importer. I explore this case as a step towards responding to questions and arguments raised in the recent volumetric and material turn in the literature on territory that suggests the land/sea relation might complicate ideas of territory. I also examine the implications of what it means to lose the

material substance of territory to processes that displace it elsewhere and the important ethical, political and legal questions this trade raises.

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Governing Mobilities in the Commercial Fishing in Asia

The paper presents the results of a preliminary mapping of the relations among the movements of workers, fish, and vessels in the commercial fishing industry in Southeast and East Asia. Our goal is to explain the labour process in fishing as the outcome of these and other mobilities, as well as transboundary governance practices including the management of fisheries and the movement of workers. We show how governance and management practices involve not only state practices defining what is legal, reported and regulated; but also interaction among many other agents including vessel owners and captains; labour brokers, workers, and aquatic ecologies. While the project is not tied to a particular state, we provisionally intend to focus on fisheries based in Thailand and Taiwan, and workers from Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

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Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies
Consel Canadien Ètudes Sur L'Asie Du Sud-est

The Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS) brings together scholars, students, policy makers and activists with an interest in the academic study of Southeast Asia and its connections to the rest of the world. It organizes a biennal conference and publishes a newsletter twice a year. Its Executive is elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Association, held during the biennal conference.

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