

People, Power, Politics, Pandemics, and Other Perils in Southeast Asia Peuples, Pouvoir, Politique, Pandémies et Autres Périls en Asie du Sud-Est 35th Biennial conference of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies 35e conférence biennale du Conseil canadien des études sur l'Asie du Sud-Est Thursday, 21 October to Sunday, 24 October 2021

Du jeudi 21 octobre au dimanche 24 octobre 2021

#### **PROGRAMME**

All times are Pacific Time (UTC – 07:00) Les heures sont exprimées en heure avancée du Pacifique (UTC – 7:00)

|               | Thursday, 21 October 2021   Day 1   |
|---------------|---|
| 10:00 – 11:30 | Graduate Student Workshop Chair and Organizer: Victor V. Ramraj, University of Victoria   |
| 11:30 – 12:30 | Break   |
| 12:30 – 13:00 | Conference opening  |
| 13:00 – 14:30 | Keynote Roundtable: Canada and Southeast Asia   |
| 13.00 – 14.30 | Chair: Kai Ostwald, University of British Columbia  |
| 14:30 – 14:45 | Break   |
| 14:45 – 16:15 | Opening Keynote Lecture  Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung, University of Massachusetts Lowell  Academic Research in Post-coup Myanmar: Challenges in Ethics, Values, Safety, and Best Practices |
| 16:15 – 16:30 | Break   |
| 16:30 – 17:45 | COVID-19 Roundtable: COVID-19 in Southeast Asia: Law, Policy, and Public Health Perspectives Convenor and Chair: Victor V. Ramraj, University of Victoria                               |



|               |  | Friday, 22 October 2021  | 1   Day 2   |   |
|---------------|--|--|---|---|
|               | Venue 1  | Venue 2  | Venue 3   | Venue 4   |
| 09:00 – 10:45 | People, Power, and Politics Panel 1:<br>Community, Education, and Democracy  | Panel: China and America in Southeast Asia   | Panel: Authoritarianism and Resistance:<br>Dynamics between Government and Society        | Roundtable: Pathways to Women's<br>Political Participation in Myanmar and<br>Cambodia           |
| 10:45 – 11:00 | Chair and Discussant: Jim Glassman, University<br>of British Columbia<br>Break   | Chair: Brian Job, University of British<br>Columbia  | Chair and Discussant: Nhu Truong, Yale<br>University                                      | Convener and Chair: Kyoko Kusakabe, Asia<br>Institute of Technology                             |
| 11:00 – 12:45 | Roundtable: People's Power and Resistance in Southeast Asia in Southeast Asia in Southeast Asia  Convenor and Chair: Nhu Truong, Yale University  Gender Panel 1: Gender, Peace, and Security in Southeast Asia Convenor and Chair: Stéphanie Martel, Queen's University       |  |   |   |
|               |  | Discussant: Yvonne Su, York University   |   |   |
| 12:45 – 13:45 | Lunch Break  |  |   |   |
| 13:45 – 15:30 | Precarity, Territory and Identity Politics Panel 1: Identity and Inequality in Southeast Asia  | Commemorative Roundtable 1: Southeast Asian Politics: Celebrating the Work of Diane Mauzy  | Pandemic Panel 2: Impacts and Responses in Southeast Asia                                 | Myanmar Roundtable 1: The Myanmar Coup and its Aftermath: What is Next for Democracy and Peace? |
|               | Convenor: Eitan Paul, University of Michigan   | Convenor: Shane Joshua Barter, Soka<br>University of America   | Chair and Discussant: Yves Tiberghien,<br>University of British Columbia                  | ,   |
|               | Chair and Discussant: Amy Liu, University of<br>Texas at Austin<br>Discussant: Meredith Weiss, University at<br>Albany   | Chair: Brian Job, University of British<br>Columbia  |   | Convenor and Chair: Jacques Bertrand,<br>University of Toronto                                  |
| 15:30 - 15:45 | Break  |  |   |   |
|               | Poster Session Perceptions of Child Physical Discipline among  | Poster Session  Parental Decision Making Among Economic  Migrants in the Thai-Myanmar Border Region:   | Precarity, Territory, and Identity Politics Panel 2: Southeast Asia and the Transboundary | Myanmar Roundtable 2: Unchain Burma:<br>A New Generation of Burmese Activists in<br>Canada      |
| 15:45 – 17:30 | Burmese Migrants Living in Mae Sot, Thailand   | A Qualitative Analysis Using Bourdieu's<br>Multiple Forms of Capital   | Convenor and Discussant: Ben Tran, Vanderbilt<br>University                               |   |
|               | Sapriya Birk, Queen's University; Colleen M. Davison, Queen's University; Susan A Bartels, Queen's University; Heather M Aldersey, Queen's University; Nway Nway Oo, Mae Tao Clinic Child Protection; Pue Pue Mhote, Burma Medical Association; Eva Purkey, Queen's University | Katrina Streef, Queen's University; Sherri<br>Dutton, Queen's University; Nway Oo, Mae<br>Tao Clinic, Thailand; Tee Tar Sway, Health<br>Information Systems Working Group, Mae<br>Sot, Thailand; Supaporn Trongsakul, Mae Fah<br>Luang University; Eva Purkey, Queen's<br>University; Susan A Bartels, Queen's | Chair: Joanne Leow, University of<br>Saskatchewan   | Convenor and Chair: Jean-François<br>Rancourt, Université de Montréal                           |



University; Heather M Aldersey, Queen's University; Colleen M Davison, Queen's University

|               |  | University  |   |  |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|
| 17:30 – 17:45 | Break  |   |   |  |
|               | Pandemic Panel 3: Impacts And Responses In Indonesia and Timor-Leste | "Surat Cinta Dari Pantura" (Love Letter From Pantura) screening   | Land and Resources Panel 1: Everyday Forms of Land Appropriation and Natural Resources Control in Southeast Asia: Multiple Views, | Kyoto Review Special Issue Panel: Myanmar's transition stalled – from opening to coup                                      |
|               |  | Director: Ari Trismana  | Sites, and Dynamics   |  |
| 17:45 – 19:30 | Chair and Discussant: John Roosa, University of<br>British Columbia  | Producers: Andhy Panca Kurniawan, Dandhy<br>Laksono<br>Production House: WatchdoC Documentary                                       | Convenor: Dominique Caouette, Université de<br>Montréal   | Convenor: Kai Ostwald, University of British<br>Columbi, and Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Centre for<br>Diversity and National Harmony |
| 17:45 – 19:30 |  | Maker<br>Length: 63:40 minutes  | Chair: Julie Guernier, McGill University  |  |
|               |  | Chair: Rita Padawangi, Singapore University<br>of Social Sciences<br>Discussant: Hendro Sangkoyo, School of<br>Democratic Economics | Discussant: John Devlin, University of Guelph   |  |

|               | Saturday , 23 October 2021   Day 3  |   |  |   |
|---------------|---|---|--|---|
|               | Venue 1   | Venue 2   | Venue 3  | Venue 4   |
|               | Vietnam Panel 1: City Making in<br>Vietnam: Experiencing, Negotiating,<br>and Contesting Plans and Policies For<br>'Modern' Cities In A Socialist State                                     | Environment Panel 1: Challenges of Long-Term<br>Conservation Initiatives in Productive Forest<br>Landscapes in Indonesia        | Panel: Indonesia and Timor-Leste   | Myanmar Mini-Conference Open Discussion   |
| 09:00 – 10:45 | Convenors: Sarah Turner, McGill<br>University; Danielle Labbé, Université<br>de Montréal; Pham Thi Thanh Hiên,<br>Université du Québec à Montréal<br>Chair: Sarah Turner, McGill University | Chair: Agni Klintuni Boedhihartono, University of<br>British Columbia<br>Discussant: Jeff Sayer, University of British Columbia | Chair and Discussant: John Roosa, University of British Columbia   | Convenor: Kai Ostwald, University of British<br>Columbia                                  |
| 10:45 - 11:00 | Break   |   |  |   |
| 11:00 – 12:45 | COMMEMORATIVE ROUNDTABLE 2:<br>Remembering Lisa Drummond's<br>Contributions to Southeast Asian<br>Urban Studies   | Environment Panel 4:  | Land and Resources Panel 2: Appropriation des terres et contrôle des ressources naturelles au jour le jour en Asie du Sud-Est : Pluralité de perspectives, de lieux et de dynamiques [SESSION 2] | Precarity, Territory, and Identity Politics<br>Panel 4: Ethnicity and Conflict in Myanmar |
|               | Convener and Chair: Danièle Bélanger,<br>Université Laval   | Chair and Discussant: Louisa-May Khoo, University of<br>British Columbia  | Convenor: Dominique Caouette, Université de<br>Montréal  | Chair and Discussant: Htet Thiha Zaw,<br>University of Michigan                           |



Chair: Julie Guernier, McGill University Discussant: Alexandre Paquin-Pelletier, Cornell University

| 12:45 - 13:00 | Break   |  |   |  |
|---------------|---|--|---|--|
| 13:00 - 14:00 | CCSEAS General Meeting  |  |   |  |
| 14:00 – 14:15 | Break   |  |   |  |
|               | Vietnam Panel 2: Youth and Public<br>Spaces in Hanoi  | Environment Panel 2: Tracking an Emerging 'Crisis': Sand and Sand Extraction in Southeast Asia             |   | Myanmar Roundtable 3: Tea Circle in the Wake of Myanmar's Coup: Supporting Public Scholarship and Building Intellectual Networks |
| 14:15 – 16:00 | Conveners: Danielle Labbé, Université<br>de Montréal; Sarah Turner, McGill<br>University; Pham Thi Thanh Hiên,<br>Université du Québec à Montréal | Convenor: Wendy Medina de Loera, York University   |   | Convenor and Chair: Matthew Walton,<br>University of Toronto   |
|               | Chair and Discussant: Danielle Labbé,<br>Université de Montréal   | Chair and Discussant: Melissa Marschke, University of Ottawa   |   |  |
| 16:00 – 16:15 | Break   |  |   |  |
| 16:15 – 18:00 | Vietnam Panel 3: Vietnamese<br>Discursive Spaces  | Environment Panel 3: In Search of Social-Ecological<br>Transformation in Indonesia's Urbanizing Landscapes | Work At Sea: Regional and Global Perspective on Southeast Asian Migrant Workers in Industrial Fishing— Recruitment, Migration, Reproduction | Democracy Panel: Myanmar Amidst a<br>Pandemic and a Coup   |
| 10.15 – 16.00 | Chair and Discussant: Dominique<br>Caouette, Université de Montréal   | Convenor and Discussant: Rita Padawangi, Singapore University of Social Sciences                           | Convenor: Peter Vandergeest, York University  | Chair and Discussant: Constant Courtin,<br>University of British Columbia  |
|               | ·   | Chair: Merlyna Lim, Carleton University  | Chair: Melissa Marschke, University of Ottawa   | , ,  |
| 18:00 – 18:15 | Break   |  | Discussant: Phillip Kelly, York University  |  |
| 18:15 – 20:00 | Canadian Foreign Policy Journal workshop (potential working dinner)   |  | -   |  |

|               | Sunday, 24 October 2021   Day 4                                |   |   |  |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|
|               | Venue 1  | Venue 2   | Venue 3   | Venue 4  |
| 09:00 – 10:45 | Gender Panel 2: The Filipina Beyond<br>Her Reproductive Labour | People, Power, and Politics Panel 2: Precarity, Possibilities and the Post Pandemic | Mobility and Precarity Panel 1: Migrants from Malaysia, Vietnam, Myanmar, and the Philippines | Myanmar Digital Issue Panel: Shifting narratives of democracy and inclusion in the online space - what we learned from engaging half a million netizens in Myanmar |



Chair and Discussant: Alifa Bandali, University of British Columbia

Chair and Discussant: Valerie Damasco.

The Pandemic as Social Movement in Pericolonial Southeast Asia

University of Toronto

Chair and Discussant: Geraldine Pratt, University of British Columbia

Chair and Discussant: Ivo Balinov and Tom Cormier, Parliamentary Centre of Canada

| 10:45 - 11:00 | Break  |   |  |   |
|---------------|--|---|--|---|
| 11:00 – 12:45 | Querying/Queering Imaginaries and<br>Memories Panel 1: Archipelagic<br>Imagination and Decolonial Aesthetics:<br>Enduring Imperial Duress, Colonial<br>Detritus, and the Fantasies of National<br>(Be)longing        | Overseas Absentee Voting and the 2022 Philippine<br>National Elections: Implications of Postnational<br>Citizenships to Political Democracy and Participation | Mobility and Precarity Panel 2: Theorizing Filipinx Diaspora Mobilities, Circulations, and Entanglements           | Precarity, Territory and Identity Politics<br>Panel 5: The Rohingya Crisis and Response |
|               | Convenor: Ferdinand Lopez, University of Toronto   | Convenor and Chair: Leonora Angeles, University of  | Convenor: John Paul Catungal, University of<br>British Columbia<br>Chair: Cecilia Federizon, University of Toronto | Chair and Discussant: Mohamed Salihin<br>Subhan, University of British Columbia         |
|               | Chair and Discussant: Roland Tolentino,<br>University of the Philippines   | British Columbia  | Discussant: Dennis Gupa, University of<br>Victoria / University of Winnipeg  |   |
| 12:45 - 13:45 | Lunch Break  |   |  |   |
| 13:45 – 15:30 | Querying/Queering Imaginaries and<br>Memories Panel 2: Postscripts from the<br>Pacific: Reflections on Archival<br>Research into Cultural Memory,<br>Historical Trauma, and Political<br>Struggle in the Philippines | People, Power, and Politics Panel 3: Developing Lands and Cities  | Precarity, Territory and Identity Politics<br>Panel 3: Nation, Ethnicity, Intimacy, and<br>Sexuality               | Environment Panel 5: Modernisation,<br>Technologies, and Innovations                    |
|               | Convenor: Lara Maestro, University of<br>British Columbia  | Chair and Discussant: Nila Ayu Utami, University of<br>British Columbia   | Chair and Discussant: John Paul Catungal,<br>University of British Columbia  | Chair and Discussant: Y-Dang Troeung,<br>University of British Columbia                 |
|               | Chair: Chandu Claver, Damayan Society for Migrant Education and Resources  |   |  |   |
|               | Discussant: Vanessa Banta, University of<br>Toronto Scarborough  |   |  |   |
| 15:30 – 15:45 | Break  |   |  |   |
|               | Closing Keynote Lecture  |   |  |   |
| 15:45 - 17:30 | Oona Paredes, University of California Los   | Angeles   |  |   |



# **ROUNDTABLES/ TABLES RONDES**

| COMMEMORATIVE ROUNDTABLE 1   | Friday, 22 October 2021                  |
|--|--|
| Southeast Asian Politics: Celebrating The Work Of Diane Mauzy  | 13:45 – 15:30                            |
|  |  |
| COMMEMORATIVE ROUNDTABLE 2   | Saturday, 23 October 2021                |
| Remembering Lisa Drummond's Contribution To Southeast Asian Urban Studies  | 11:00 – 12:45                            |
| COVID-19 ROUNDTABLE  | Thursday, 21 October 2021                |
| COVID-19 in Southeast Asia: Law, Policy, and Public Health Perspectives In Southeast Asia  | 16:30 – 17:45                            |
| MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 1 The Myanmar Coup and its Aftermath: What is Next for Democracy and Peace?   | Friday, 22 October 2021                  |
| ,  | 13:45 – 15:30                            |
|  |  |
| MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 2   | Friday, 22 October 2021                  |
| Unchain Burma: A New Generation of Burmese Activists in Canada   | 15:45 – 17:30                            |
| MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 3  Tea Circle in the Wake of Myanmar's Coup: Supporting Public Scholarship and Building Intellectual Networks                       | Saturday , 23 October 2021               |
|  | 14:15 – 16:00                            |
| OVERSEAS ABSENTEE VOTING AND THE 2022 PHILIPPINE NATIONAL ELECTIONS Implications of Postnational Citizenships to Political Democracy and Participation | Sunday, 24 October 2021<br>11:00 – 12:45 |
| PATHWAYS TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MYANMAR AND CAMBODIA  | Friday, 22 October 2021<br>09:00 – 10:45 |
| PEOPLE'S POWER AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA  | Friday, 22 October 2021<br>11:00 – 12:45 |



## **ROUNDTABLES**

MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 1/TABLE RONDE SUR LE MYANMAR 1: The Myanmar Coup and its Aftermath: What is Next for Democracy and Peace?/ Le coup d'État au Myanmar et ses conséquences : Quelle suite pour la démocratie et la paix ?

On 01 February 2021, the Myanmar military (Tatmadaw) launched a coup on the day that the National League for Democracy (NLD) party was to begin its second parliamentary term. The coup ended the 10 years of experiment with the military-led transition to semi-democratic rule, which had seen the election of the NLD in 2015, vast improvements in freedoms and political participation, a dialogue toward ending 60 years of civil war as well as economic renewal. This roundtable will discuss and reflect on the sources of the failure of the democratic experiment, the deterioration into violence and repression after the coup, and its consequences for democracy and peace.

**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président**: Jacques Bertrand, Political Science, University of Toronto

### Participants:

Jacques Bertrand, Political Science, University of Toronto
Zaceu Lian, Political Science, University of Toronto; Advisor, Myanmar peace process
Wa Lone, Political Science, University of Toronto; Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist
Matthew Walton, Political Science, University of Toronto
Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Political Science, McGill University

# MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 2/TABLE RONDE SUR LE MYANMAR 2: Unchain Burma: A New Generation of Burmese Activists in Canada/ Désenchaînez la Birmanie : Une nouvelle génération de militants myanmarais au Canada

Following the 01 February 2021 coup d'état, a sense of urgency has pushed young Burmese in Canada to organize themselves. In several provinces, associations were created, events were organized, and increasingly strong voices were heard. These new social leaders have been contacting elected officials and influencing policies, conducting investigations, initiating awareness campaigns, fundraisings, etc. Aware of the gap that separates them from the older generations, especially on the Rohingya issue, these young activists are laying the foundation for a new sociopolitical movement. While each participant has a unique path to socio-political engagement, these paths are largely based on the same trigger and are littered with similar trials and learning.

The roundtable aims to give a voice to them, by reflecting on a variety of questions: How and why does one gets involved in a sociopolitical movement, despite the distance from its country of origin? What are the main challenges and difficulties associated with this engagement? How are these new forms of sociopolitical activism perceived within the Canadian-based Myanmar communities? What are the internal issues at the community and organizational levels? What are the challenges of inter-organizational coordination? How does this participation change the relationship of these young leaders with their country of origin?



**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président:** Jean-François Rancourt, Université de Montréal

### Participants/Participantes:

Banyae Hong, Coalition Myanmar-Québec

Calvin Yin, Political Science, Simon Fraser University; Myanmar Students' Coalition

Millen Kim, Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Linden Kyaw, Computer Science, Simon Fraser University; Myanmar Students Coalition

Mimi Yee, Myanmar Student Association Ontario

MYANMAR ROUNDTABLE 3/TABLE RONDE SUR LE MYANMAR 3: *Tea Circle* in the Wake of Myanmar's Coup: Supporting Public Scholarship and Building Intellectual Networks/ Le blog *Tea Circle* dans le cadre du coup en Birmanie: aider la recherche et construire des réseaux d'intellectuels

Tea Circle is a Burma/Myanmar blog founded in 2015 and housed at the Asian Institute since 2018. Following the military coup in Myanmar in February 2021, the Tea Circle editorial team—with funding from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada—expanded its activities to respond to the new circumstances of the coup, with increased security protocols, a new mentoring and networking initiative, and a new commitment to publishing in Burmese as well as English. Members of Tea Circle's team from U of T and elsewhere will reflect on the challenges of working with authors amidst the heightened threat of the coup and the role of public scholarship initiatives like this in forming and nurturing robust intellectual communities across borders.

Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président: Matthew Walton, University of Toronto

#### Participants:

Matthew J Walton, University of Toronto

Siew Han Yeo, University of Toronto

Ye Htet Aung, Tea Circle

Htet Thiha Zaw, University of Michigan

Matthew Venker, University of Wisconsin-Madison

COMMEMORATIVE ROUNDTABLE 1/ TABLE RONDE COMMÉMORATIVE 1: Southeast Asian Politics: Celebrating the Work of Diane Mauzy/ Politique d'Asie du Sud-Est : Hommage au travail de Diane Mauzy

This roundtable celebrates Diane K. Mauzy's many contributions to the study of Southeast Asian politics, in Canada and beyond. As the first female Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, Dr. Mauzy's work examined the shifting landscape of ethnic coalition politics and the development of dominant political party systems in Malaysia and Singapore, respectively. This long overdue roundtable brings together friends, colleagues,

and past students share how Diane Mauzy's work has informed their approaches to Southeast Asia. Together, they paint a picture of her enduring contributions to understanding politics in Southeast Asia and an indelible legacy as a scholar, teacher, and mentor. The panel will consist of brief paper presentations by five of Diane's former students and colleagues, and will be complemented by brief videos shared by folks around the world that are unable to attend in person.

**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président**: Shane Joshua Barter, Soka University of America

Chair/Président: Brian Job, University of British Columbia

#### Participants:

Peter Dauvergne, University of British Columbia | Understanding the Consequences of Local Politics for International Relations: Lessons from Diane Mauzy's Teaching and Research on Southeast Asia

Nathan Allen, St. Francis Xavier University | Democratization under Ruling Party Dominance: Managing Competition and Reform in Southeast Asia

John Funston, Australian National University | Chronicling a new Multi-ethnic State: Diane Mauzy on Malaysia

Trevor Preston, Centennial College | Barisan Nasional: The History of an Idea, 1974 and 2021

Shane Barter, Soka University of America | Southeast Asia on its own Terms: Studying Ethnicity and Conflict across the Region

# COMMEMORATIVE ROUNDTABLE 2/ TABLE RONDE COMMÉMORATIVE 2: Remembering Lisa Drummond's Contributions to Southeast Asian Urban Studies/ Se souvenir de la contribution de Lisa Drummond aux études urbaines en Asie du Sud-Est

This roundtable celebrates the life and scholarship of Lisa Drummond, a long-time CCSEAS member, Faculty Associate of the York Centre for Asian Research, Associate Professor in the Urban Studies Program in the Department of Social Science and a member of the Graduate Program in Geography, all at York University. She passed away on 19 January 2021 after a long illness. Lisa completed a BA in International Relations and an MA in Geography at the University of British Columbia, and then completed her PhD (2000) in Geographical Sciences at the Australian National University. She was an expert in modern and postcolonial cities and suburbs, with particular interests in Southeast Asian cities, especially Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City; urban social life; space, gender and sexuality. Lisa conducted research in Vietnam for almost 30 years. From 1992 to 1997, she worked as a consultant to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, and other agencies on various development projects and programmes. This roundtable remembers Lisa's contributions to Southeast Asian urban studies, feminist geography, and city planning.

Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président: Daniele Bélanger, Université Laval Participants:

Abidin Kusno, York University

Danielle Labbé, École d'urbanisme et d'architecture de paysage, Université de Montréal

Leonora Angeles, University of British Columbia

# COVID-19 ROUNDTABLE/ TABLE RONDE COVID-19: COVID-19 in Southeast Asia: Law, Policy, and Public Health Perspectives in Southeast Asia/ COVID-19 en Asie du Sud-Est: Perspectives en matière de droit, de politique et de santé publique

The starting point for this roundtable is a book edited by Victor V. Ramraj, entitled COVID-19 in Asia: Law and Policy Contexts, published in December 2020 by Oxford University Press. The book considers Asia's legal and policy responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, identifying cross-cutting themes and challenges. The collection begins with an epidemiological overview and survey of the law and policy themes and then presents cross-cutting thematic essays and case studies covering five topics: first wave containment measures; emergency powers; technology, science, and expertise; politics, religion, and governance; and economy, climate, and sustainability. The participants, all of whom are contributors to the book, will consider recent developments in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia in particular—as well as Southeast Asia more generally—identifying some of the legal, policy, and public health themes that have emerged since the book was published. The discussion will focus on some of the unintended consequences of legal and policy responses to the pandemic, relating to: (a) longer-term changes to the role of the state in realizing security and surveillance; (b) the impact of COVID-19 on well-being of older adults and the gaps in well-being that have emerged as a result of circuit breaker and social distancing measures taken to combat the pandemic; and (c) changes to democratic institutions, executive powers, and the relationship between state and non-state actors, including religious groups and institutions. The contributors will use this roundtable as an opportunity to identify critical themes to include in a planned second edition of the book.

**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président:** Victor V. Ramraj, Faculty of Law and Director, Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives, University of Victoria

#### Participants:

Maartje de Visser, Law, Singapore Management University Nadir Hosen, Monash University

Paulin Straughan, Sociology, Singapore Management University Azmil Tayeb, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Overseas Absentee Voting and the 2022 Philippine National Elections: Implications of Postnational Citizenships to Political Democracy and Participation/ Le vote par correspondence à l'étranger et les élections nationales Philippines de 2022

Postnational citizenships have implications not only for community and international development, and directions of Canada-Philippines bilateral relations, but also for Philippine and Canadian democracy. Postnational and other forms of denationalized citizenship arise out of transnational activities of immigrants and native-born residents and their revived cosmopolitanism, strengthened by the rise of deterritorialized global cultures. As more

Filipino post/nationals take up dual citizenships, work overseas, keep their Philippine passports, and postpone taking up foreign citizenships, they are eligible to vote in Philippine national and mid-term elections. This roundtable discusses the challenges that Filipinos experience in Overseas Absentee Voting registration, polling, and elections, which in turn shape their transnational identities, sense of nationalisms, attachments, and loyalties as dual citizen Filipinos, permanent residents, international students, and temporary foreign workers in Canada.

**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président:** Leonora Angeles, University of British Columbia

#### Participants/Participantes:

Maria Andrelita Austria, Consul General, Philippine Consulate General-Vancouver Erie Maestro, Migrante BC; Malaya Movement BC

Treenee Lopez, Malaya Movement BC; Global Filipino Diaspora

# Pathways to Women's Political Participation in Myanmar and Cambodia/Les voies de la participation politique des femmes au Myanmar et au Cambodge

Women's political participation has been low in Myanmar, just 5 per cent of Members of Parliament (MPs) before 2015. This increased in the 2015 election to 11 per cent and to 17 per cent in the November 2020 election. However, the coup in February 2021 have nullified the achievements made in terms of women's advancements in politics. The male-dominated political system is difficult to crack even for a democratic country, but even more difficult under military rule.

In this roundtable, participants will discuss women's pathways to political participation. The concept of pathways provides a better understanding of barriers at multiple levels of governance as well as factors that push or pull individuals or movements towards political participation. Pathways looks at individual women's trajectories, what may have been enabling and what may have undermined their path toward more political power. This approach based on pathways helps us to connect ways that power gained in political systems is accumulated outside of it, through social mobilization, networks, and community organizing. We will discuss the concept of pathways using examples from Myanmar and Cambodia—two countries in Southeast Asia where women are active economically, but have been systematically excluded from political decision-making

**Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président:** Kyoko Kusakabe, Asian Institute of Technology

#### Participants:

Women's Political Leaders and Pathways to Political Participation: A Study of Women Parliamentarians in Myanmar

Philippe Doneys, Stockholm Environment Institute Kyoko Kusakabe, Gender and Development Studies, Asian Institute of Technology Joyee Chatterjee, Gender and Development Studies, Asian Institute of Technology

Women's Political Participation in Cambodia

Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Political Science, McGill University Netra Eng, Cambodia Development Research Institute Sophany San, Cambodia Development Research Institute Léa Gruyelle, McGill University

Women's Political Participation in Myanmar: Historical Overview and the Role of Civil Society

May Sabe Phyu, Gender Equality Network (GEN), Myanmar

Quantitative Assessment of the Participation of Female and Male Individuals in Political Activities at the Local Level: The Case of Myanmar

Franque Grimard, Institute for Study of International Development, McGill University

# People's Power and Resistance in Southeast Asia/ Pouvoir et résistance populaires en Asie du Sud-Est

Democracy has eroded to various extent in Southeast Asia over the past few years. To direct attention to important moments of people's struggles and voices of resistance in response, this roundtable offers an avenue for dissecting and understanding opposition pushbacks against democratic backsliding within and beyond Southeast Asia. Panelists will discuss cases from Myanmar, Thailand, and Hong Kong, and draw comparisons of the linkages and solidarity of people's power across these respective cases.

Shedding light on the latest episode of Myanmar's pro-democracy struggle following the February 2021 military coup, Van Tran will document the conventional and digital strategies employed by both the Tatmadaw and anti-coup resistance. Tran will further discuss the patterns of online narratives and disinformation, and their impacts on contentious dynamics on the ground by analyzing the most viral social media contents on Facebook and events of protests and violence during the first few months after the coup. Akanit Horatanakun will then comment on the ideological contestation between state and popular nationalism, as manifested in the emergence of the 2020 student movement in Thailand. Horatanakun suggests that Thailand's popular nationalism, particularly its liberal variant, has recently been consolidated through digital political learning, diffusion, and networks of connective actions of the young digital natives. Pimsiri "Mook" Petchnamrob, human rights activist, cultural critic, and documentary filmmaker, has stood on the front line of Thailand's prodemocracy movement. In sharing her experience, Petchnamrob will bring a crucial perspective of the mobilization and precarity that students, protestors, and activists face in Thailand. Extending beyond Southeast Asia, Maggie Shum will speak about the evolution of protest repertoires resulting from the intensification of crackdowns by the Hong Kong government and Beijing on opposition and dissent at all levels in Hong Kong. Moreover, Shum will focus on resistance efforts by Hong Kong diasporas, and alliances formed by Hong Kongers with other democracy movements, such as the Milk Tea Alliance, from around the globe. Lastly, Erik Martinez Kuhonta will discuss the common and contrasting challenges that democracy and its activists and citizens currently face in Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. In particular, Kuhonta will focus on the tactics of violence and repression that states have employed as well as the organizational, social, and collective responses that have come from ordinary people.

Convenor and Chair/Animateur et président: Nhu Truong, Yale University

# **Participants:**

Akanit Horatanakun, McGill University
Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Political Science, McGill University
Pimsiri Petchnamrob, ARTICLE 19
Maggie Shum, University of Notre Dame
Van Tran, Cornell University



# **PANELS**

# **AUTHORITARIANISM AND RESISTANCE/ AUTORITARISME ET RÉSISTANCE**

Dynamics Between Government and Society/Dynamiques entre le gouvernement et la société

| Friday, 22 October 2021/<br>Vendredi 22 Octobre |  |
|---|--|
| 2021  | 09:00 – 10:45  |
|   |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:                             |  |
| Chair/Président:                                | Nhu Truong, Yale University  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:                         | Nhu Truong, Yale University  |
|   | Papers   |
|   | Face of the Regime, Face of the Nation: Anthropomorphism, Cult Promotion, and Personalization of Power in Four East Asian Autocracies  |
| Paper/Article 1                                 | Paul Schuler, University of Arizona; Mohammad Khan  How do personality cults emerge under authoritarian rule? Existing political science research suggests that regime-sanctioned cults of personality follow institutional personalization. As leaders consolidate power and sideline rivals, they promote cults to cement their dominance over elites and society. We concur that this process explains some forms of cult production. However, we also show that many intra-regime rivals promote leaders as faces of the regime even before the leader personalizes power. This cult promotion gives the leader a leg up on rivals to consolidate institutional personalization after regime consolidation. Given this advantage, why would a regime promote a leader as the face of the regime? Using social psychology research on anthropomorphism, we argue that aspiring authoritarian regimes have an incentive to promote a leader as the "face of the regime" under conditions of great political uncertainty and where awareness of the regime is low. Using four cases from East and Southeast Asia—China, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia—we conduct process tracing exercises to demonstrate the plausibility of our theory.  |
| Paper/Article 2                                 | Post-populist Moment in Thailand: From Protests to Redefining Political Legitimacy Shenghua Zhang, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS, University of London  Populism involves the use of anti-establishment appeals and the symbolic production of social identities, which together construct an "us versus them," or "the people versus the elite" divide in society. While many academic studies of populism in Thailand focus on the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra—the archetypal populist of this country—this paper moves on to the aftermath of populism and suggests that we may be witnessing a post-populist moment rendered by the recently politicized young Thais. It analyzes the political tensions in Thailand that escalated after the 2019 general election and were instantiated by a string of demonstrations, which culminated in August 2020, when a group of student protestors openly demanded reform of the monarchy.  Drawing on the author's fieldwork data collected in Thailand during the 2019 election period, this paper argues that the recent protest movements signify a spontaneous attempt to challenge and redefine the political legitimacy of the Thai state. Such an attempt is mainly prompted by the novel social identity of the younger generation, which emerged from social media campaigning during the latest populist moment—the 2019 election period—and crystallized in the struggle against issues of injustice, such as the dissolution of the opposition Future Forward Party. These events reveal the transformative |



|                 | potential of populism. Therefore, instead of positing a simple dichotomy between populism and democracy, this paper suggests that the dynamics of populist politics are fundamentally complex and that, in the Thai context, populism could actually pave the way towards democratization.   |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 3 | Religious Rhetoric in Politics: Competition versus Alignment  Mohamed Salihin Subhan, University of British Columbia  Why and how do governments use religious rhetoric? In this paper, I argue that governments use religious rhetoric in response to potential electoral threat from religious political actors, and that the nature of religious rhetoric usage depends on the perceived level of electoral threat. Political incumbents use competitive religious rhetoric when faced with low electoral threat from Islamists and aligning religious rhetoric when faced with high electoral threat from Islamists. I explore the above research question and formulate the framework of religious rhetoric usage through a historical comparison of two government administrations in Malaysia. Specifically, I compare the use of Islamic rhetoric in the Mahathir Mohamed administration (1981–2003) and the Najib Razak administration (2009–2018). I argue that the difference in the use of Islamic rhetoric by the Prime Ministers across the two administrations can be attributed to the difference in perceived Islamist electoral threat at different points in time. I identify three factors that influence the relative electoral threat of Islamists to political incumbents: 1) the political strength of the incumbent; 2) support for Islamists; and 3) the competitiveness of religious markets. The ways in which political incumbents respond to the growing political strength of Islamists have implications for the status of democracy and the political and social rights of religious minorities. As the salience of religion in the politics of these societies grow stronger, the effect of religious rhetoric on political mobilization is likely to deepen polarization among religious cleavages in plural societies. |
| Paper/Article 4 | Breaking the Royal Taboo: Anatomy of the Youth-Led Protest Movement in Thailand and the Corresponding State's Response  Grégoire Legault, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa  Thailand, a flawed democracy and coup-prone country, saw unprecedented political protests in 2020. The protests, led primarily by youth, called not only for Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha to step down, for the drafting of a new constitution to replace the current one drafted under military diktat, and new democratic elections, but also for the reform of the monarchy as an institution. The protesters, middle-class urbanites, took to the streets and used various creative ways to spread their revindications, including references to pop culture and aligning their movement to the emerging "Milk Tea Alliance" against dictatorship. While the state has by and large been successful in repressing the movement via targeted "lawfare" against key youth figures, in the process, protesters have broken the previous taboo of discussing the monarchy and its role in Thai society. This paper examines how this protest movement fits into the literature on social movements, and explores the various strategies deployed by the state to snuff out dissent. It will show the limits of online mobilization in semi-authoritarian states as well as the long-lasting chilling effects of repeated coups d'état in Thailand on the country's societal fabric.   |

# CHINA AND AMERICA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA/LA CHINE ET L'AMÉRIQUE EN ASIE DU SUD-EST

Friday, 22 October 2021/ Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 09:00 – 10:45

Convenor/Animateur:  $\mathsf{N}\mathsf{A}$ 



| Chair/Président:        | Brian Job, University of British Columbia  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Brian Job, University of British Columbia  |
|                         | Papers   |
| Paper/Article 1         | Understanding Key Differences in Chinese and American Engagement with Southeast Asia <i>Kylie Luu, University of British Columbia; Jonathan Brasnett, University of Ottawa</i> In recent years, Southeast Asian countries have become more firmly divided along two camps. On the one hand, Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Thailand have shown an allegiance to the People's Republic of China (PRC), while on the other hand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, and Vietnam remain aligned with the United States of America (US). In order to analyze how this geopolitical division will impact progress in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on paramount issues like combatting climate change, addressing poverty and overcoming global health issues like the COVID-19 pandemic, it is necessary to understand the differences between the PRC and the US in terms of their objectives and approaches in Southeast Asia. This paper seeks to distill these broader questions by examining the relations between these two superpowers and the ASEAN member states in three key areas: (1) trade and investment; (2) international assistance; and (3) security cooperation. This study concludes that, whereas American involvement in the region is ideologically driven, Chinese involvement is drive by Beijing's pursuit of power, which will ultimately hinder progress in key areas of development. |
| Paper/Article 2         | Vietnam's 2020 Chairmanship and Security in the South China Sea  Jacob Benjamin, Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo  The year of Vietnam's ASEAN chairmanship had many Sino-Vietnamese flashpoints—just like those of years prior—such as the deployment of fighter jets and an H-6J bomber to the Paracel Islands in late August 2020. The year also came with new Vietnamese initiatives that reinforced sovereignty rights in the face of Chinese expansionism in the South China Sea, such as requiring foreign companies to comply with nationalist maps of the Spratly and Paracel islands. While working within a world battling COVID-19, Hanoi's chairmanship attracted international support for its South China Sea interests and sovereignty. In the very first week, Vietnam directly threatened China with litigation. Vietnam used ASEAN to more robustly emphasize the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). It has referred to the South China Sea as the East Sea in ASEAN proceedings. Using the year of Vietnam's ASEAN chairmanship as a time frame and focal point, this paper will analyze how Vietnam navigated and balanced China's expansionism in the South China Sea amidst an enormously complicating global cataclysm.  |
| Paper/Article 3         | COVID-19 Pandemic and the New Geopolitics Between the Philippines and the People's Republic of China in the South China Sea Region  Rommel C. Gavieta, Far Eastern University, Philippines  The COVID-19 pandemic has sent the global economy into the first simultaneous recession since the 1930s. It has, arguably, already altered the course of globalization and the long-term movement of people, talents and services, and even goods. The demographic-economic-political health under stress and the social fabric strained of the Philippines and Peoples' Republic of China (PRC). The two countries is in a region now that finds itself becoming the global epicentre of geopolitical rivalry. The coronavirus crisis has become a measurement of the geopolitical stability in the Philippines and the PRC. A review of the geopolitical indicators that will weigh on the response of the Philippines and the PRC on a multiplicity of issues, in some cases even challenging their survival. This paper will present geopolitical scenarios post pandemic that will be the basis for geostrategic options in resolving the potential conflict between the Philippines and the PRC in the South China Sea.  |



# From Nanhai to Nanyang: The Images of Southeast Asia in Late Imperial China Lin Sun, School of History, Beijing Normal University The understanding of Southeast Asia has always been dynamic over the past centuries. Both Nanhai and Nanyang are Chinese words referring to the "Southern Sea" or "Southern Ocean." It was a familiar and unfamiliar maritime world to Chinese imperial states between the 16th and 19th centuries. The word Nanhai was frequently used by the Ming court (1368–1644). By contrast, the Qing court adopted the word Nanyang (1636–1911) and later it became a more general term indicating Southeast Asia in both Eastern and Paper/Article 4 Western academia. The difference between the words and Southeast Asia images in the two imperial Chinese courts' eyes remain unclear. This article explores the changes behind the words, arguing two power shifts led to the word choice. In this presentation, the first part shows the Ming-Qing power shift that allowed the Qing court to choose Nanyang thereby replacing Nanhai. The second part indicates that Nanyang had two different political meanings, i.e., south China and Southeast Asia, after the Opium War in 1840. Therefore, this paper reveals the words' changes and their underlying causes over the past three centuries.

# DEMOCRACY PANEL / PANEL SUR LA DÉMOCRATIE Myanmar Amidst a Pandemic and a Coup/ Le Myanmar face à une pandémie et un coup d'État Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre 2021 16:15 - 18:00 Convenor/Animateur: NA Chair/Président: Constant Courtin, University of British Columbia Discussant/Intervenant: Constant Courtin, University of British Columbia **Papers** Ethnic Insurgent Cohesion and Fragmentation in Post-Coup Myanmar Alexandre Paquin-Pelletier, Cornell University This paper examines the factors that account for insurgent cohesion and fragmentation in Paper/Article 1 the post-coup context in Myanmar. It argues that although contextual and ideational factors matter to insurgent cohesion, cohesion is more robust where insurgent groups build their movement on strong pre-war networks and are able to provide public goods. These two factors help create inclusive inter-elite alliances and turn individuals into



|                 | "citizens" of a larger ensemble shape inter-ethnic dynamics. The paper examines the case of Kachin, where the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) has experienced pushbacks from Rawang, Lisu, and Shan-ni minorities. The paper shows that interethnic tensions in Kachin are the outcome of: 1) incomplete inter-elite alliances due to the uneven spread of Christian networks through which nation-builders worked; and 2) the variable and declining capacity of the KIO to provide public goods inclusively across all their state. The paper concludes by suggesting that pre-war networks and state-like capacity will determine whether EAOs remain cohesive or fragmented in this new phase of Myanmar's long civil war. Patterns of cohesion and fragmentation are crucial to the future of Myanmar's civil war, whether the main cleavage remains the same or shift into interethnic conflict.  |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 2 | The Impact of COVID-19 on Ethnic Minority Women in Myanmar's Conflict Zones Cassandra Preece, Political Science Department, McMaster University; Elaina Nguyen, Social Justice Institute, University of British Columbia; Aye Lei Tun, Political Science Department, McMaster University  Predating the COVID-19 pandemic, women in Myanmar's conflict zones such as Rakhine state have experienced significant inequalities in areas such as labour, food security, education, availability of health services, and access to information. These have only been exacerbated since the start of the pandemic. Despite common knowledge that the impacts of COVID-19 are raced and gendered, there is an alarming lack of information that thoroughly accounts for how the COVID-19 pandemic and government policy have impacted ethnic minority women in Myanmar. This paper explores the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on ethnic minority women in Myanmar's conflict zones by drawing upon qualitative data sources including local and national newspapers and NGO reports. We focus on three areas where the interaction between COVID-19, government responses, and conflict-related circumstances has negatively impacted ethnic minority women: 1) marginalized ethnic women and domestic sexual violence, exacerbated by both armed conflict and lockdown policy responses to COVID-19; 2) ethnic minority women and access to health information during regional internet shutdowns; and 3) disproportionate economic consequences brought about by restrictions on assembly and lockdowns. Findings from this paper contribute to our understanding of the pandemic's long-term security consequences for ethnic minority women in Myanmar, elucidating areas where future responses and aid will be necessary. Of particular significance considering the recent February 2021 military coup in Myanmar, this research will reflect on the overlap between crises like the pandemic and the disparities associated with conflict. |
| Paper/Article 3 | Min Thang, Theology Department, Shan State Baptist Theological Seminary Since independence in 1948, Myanmar has faced civil war and ethnic and religious conflicts for many decades. Since 1962, Myanmar has been under the military control and there have been abuses of human rights. After almost 70 years, again the military seized power in a coup on 01 February 2021, overthrowing the elected civilian government. The military has detained a number of politicians, artists, and civilian leaders. Before the coup, Myanmar faced challenges due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the ban on large gatherings but in the following weeks, there were a few people protesting and later on massive protests in major cities and rural areas alike, calling for the release of all political detainees and a reinstatement of the democratically elected government. The so-called Generation Z is playing a key role in anti-coup protests—it is the biggest protest movement since 1988 and the 2007 Saffron Revolution in Myanmar. According to AAPP as of 10 August 2021, 965 people are now confirmed killed during the coup and total of 5,534 people are currently under detention. The international community condemned the military coup, the  |



|                 | so-called State Administration Council, and the name change into the caretaker government. Today, many youth and civilians are resisting the coup with handmade guns— <i>Tu Mae</i> in the local language—calling it the Tu Mae Revolution. This paper attempts to explain the coup, the Tu Mae Revolution, and the political crisis in Myanmar. This paper examines the challenges of civilians and youth resistance during the coup and during the COVID-19 pandemic in Myanmar. What are the domestic and international communities responses to the military coup in Myanmar?  Reform, COVID-19, and the Coup: Myanmar Teachers' Voice in Authoritative Institutional  |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 4 | Culture and During Crisis Time  Thu Ya Aung, Texas State University  Myanmar education started to become centralized just before the country's independence from the British in 1948. Since then, centralization has gained momentum, particularly during the successive authoritarian regimes after the 1962 coup. With the transition to a pseudo-democratic government in 2011, Myanmar embarked on education reform. However, the top-down nature of policy implementation is still prevalent despite some decentralization moves. The COVID-19 pandemic has slowed down the education reform process, and schools have been closed for about a year. After the military staged a coup on February 1, the situation has been deteriorating day by day. Despite all of the chaos, the State Administrative Council (SAC), which was founded by the military, has been organizing training workshops and pressuring all school principals and teachers to attend. Many teachers have joined the Civil Disobedience Movement to prevent the SAC from fully running the government. In fact, the voice of Myanmar teachers was virtually silenced before the 2011 political transition. However, with the establishment of teachers' unions, teachers have been able to reveal their voices after the 2011 political transition, particularly in unofficial spheres. By analyzing the Facebook posts from a Facebook group called 'The forum where basic education teachers express their feelings' (Translation from the Burmese), this study explores Myanmar teachers' attitudes towards education reform activities, the Myanmar Government's COVID-19 response in the education sector, and the February 1 military coup. |
| Paper/Article 5 | Pre-colonial Roots of Colonial Coercion: Evidence from British Burma  Htet Thiha Zaw, University of Michigan  Given fiscal constraints, how did colonial states allocate coercion within their territories?  This paper proposes a new explanation for variation in colonial coercion: the extent of pre-colonial state consolidation. When the pre-colonial state achieved control over local society via capture of local agents, the latter became more compliant to the state's demands and received less coercion from the colonial state. I evaluate this argument in British Burma, exploiting two novel data sources: revenue inquests collected by the precolonial state that recorded the new local headman appointments in 1784, and colonial gazetteers that recorded the distribution of colonial police in 1912. I find that villages closer to locations with newly-appointed headman before colonization received significantly fewer colonial police. The main results are not explained by spatial correlation, local tax base, or the presence of other colonial institutions. Further evidence shows that these differences in colonial coercion also influence political violence patterns after independence.  |

# **ENVIRONMENT PANEL 1/ PANEL SUR L'ENVIRONEMENT 1**

Challenges of Long-Term Conservation Initiatives in Productive Forest Landscape in Indonesia/ Défis des initiatives de conservation à long terme dans les paysages de forêts productives en Indonésie



Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre

2021 09:00 – 10:45

Landscapes in the tropics are changing rapidly. We report on long-term collaboration programs with partners and communities in the islands of Indonesia. Governance and decision-making processes influence the changes in these landscapes. Conservation in Indonesia is still not deeply rooted in understanding the link between people's behaviour and social-ecological systems that would shape the future of the landscapes. We try to build long-term relationships with actors in landscapes and understand how their behaviour influences conservation and development outcomes.

What would be the way forward in these changing landscapes? Would an integrated approach be significant component of the puzzle to reach more sustainable landscapes? How will these changes impact on peoples' ability to deal with challenges such as COVID-19. We will have four panelists to discuss their experiences in different islands of Indonesia at different stages of development—with conservation of biodiversity and sustainable livelihoods as the main

| goal.                   |   |  |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| Convenor/Animateur:     | 0   |  |
| Chair/Président:        | Agni Klintuni Boedhihartono, Department of Forest and Conservation Science, Faculty of  |  |
|                         | Forestry, University of British Columbia; Director, Tanah Air Beta, Bali, Indonesia   |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Jeff Sayer, Department of Forest and Conservation Science, Faculty of Forestry, University of British Columbia  |  |
|                         | Papers  |  |
|                         | Seram, an Island in Transition: More Small-holders Forest Enterprises or Conservation as way Forward?   |  |
| Paper/Article 1         | In these challenging times, communities on Seram Island, in Maluku, seek different alternatives to improve their livelihoods. After several years of observation and work with local communities, we have observed changes in cultivation and marketing of spices, essential oils, and other traded goods. What could be the best way forward? Can markets drive the future of an island in transition? The Government of Maluku is trying to revive the idea of Spice Islands trade and essential oils that are known originally from the Maluku Islands. These may provide opportunities for communities in the islands of Maluku, but can they compete with the demand for land for agriculture, biofuels, mega food production, and mining? Investment coming into the island includes cacao, oil palm, sugar cane, and shrimp farming and this will change the land use system and the culture of the island with its important and high endemic biodiversity. How have traditional communities fared in the face of COVID-19 in comparison with communities connected to global supply chains?  |  |
| Paper/Article 2         | The Political Ecology of Infrastructure Investment in Eastern Indonesia  Rebecca Riggs, Faculty of Forestry, University of British Columbia, Tanah Air Beta; James  Langston, Faculty of Forestry, University of British Columbia; Tanah Air Beta  Major investments in roads, ports, estate crops, and other extractive industries are drivi  change in eastern Indonesia. We report on our observations of the broad-based  sustainability impacts of these investments in North Sulawesi. In Indonesia, infrastructur  has been correlated with improved scores on the Sustainable Development Goals. Our  observations raise questions about governance challenges facing local communities as  they navigate the opportunities and threats brought by infrastructure investments. Loca governance that historically managed development and conservation according to the parameters set locally are now in flux as landscapes change. In North Sulawesi, local governance regimes either contest or cooperate with external governing actors, which include both the government and market players arriving with investment programs.  Power differentials raise concerns of inclusion, and therefore the suitability of investment for sustainability and accumulation of local benefits. We reflect on the challenges posed |  |



|                 | externally driven investment and the complexity of managing conservation and development trade-offs at the landscape scale. We explore how local actors might play a stronger/more strategic role in governing infrastructure development to capture benefits and mitigate risks for current and future aspirations. We seek to integrate lessons learned from Sulawesi into future research agendas, contributing to innovative models of governance for sustainable and inclusive development.   |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 3 | Rethinking Community-based Approaches to Biodiversity Conservation in the Time of the COVID-19 pandemic: Case Study from Central Kalimantan and Riau Rumi Naito, Institute for Resources, Environment, and Sustainability, University of British Columbia  The current COVID-19 pandemic has added new challenges to biodiversity conservation. It has caused a global economic recession and created crises for all sectors. Because today's conservation initiatives are firmly tied to the global economy, the pandemic has also negatively impacted many projects on the ground. This sheds light on an urgent need to rethink current practices in biodiversity conservation and transition to more sustainable approaches. Here, we present two cases of community-based biodiversity conservation projects in Indonesia. One is an example of a failed attempt, and the other demonstrates sustainable approaches. We critically discuss how each project was designed and implemented, what factors led to each outcome, and what we can learn from these experiences. Based on the data collected through semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field observations, and demographic records at these two sites, we highlight five key factors to sustainable outcomes in community-based biodiversity conservation: 1) strong support from local stakeholders, 2) effective communications, 3) community involvement and leadership, 4) clear benefit mechanisms, and 5) local-based socioeconomic development. Moreover, this study suggests an integrated approach to simultaneously achieving these factors by drawing insights from various disciplines including psychology and sociology. The implication of this study should apply to a wide range of conservation projects beyond regional and contextual boundaries. |
| Paper/Article 4 | Conservation Concessions Could be the Way Forward for Restoration and Protection of Peatland Forests?  Noviyanti Nugraheni, Sebangau National Park, Kalimantan, Indonesia; M. Iqbal Firdaus, Restoration Ecosystem Concession, WWF, Jambi, Indonesia  Conservation Concessions have been an interesting approach that tried to restore and conserve ecologically important high conservation value areas in productive landscapes in Indonesia. Several NGOs and private sector companies have applied this Conservation Concession model with support including government, donors, and companies. Here we will discuss case studies from a Ramsar Wetland site and the Sebangau National Park in Central Kalimantan, Bukit Tiga Puluh in Jambi, and the Kampar Peninsula in Riau. We present lessons learned from peatland restoration led by different organizations in a national park, a site led by WWF Indonesia, and a site run by a private company. The integrated production-protection models show a potential way to achieve environmental as well as social and economic objectives. Would this be a new model of partnership between the private sector, government, and communities to reach more sustainable forest management goals? Have people in these areas been better able to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic?   |

# **ENVIRONMENT PANEL 2/ PANEL SUR L'ENVIRONEMENT 2**

Tracking an Emerging 'Crisis': Sand and Sand Extraction in Southeast Asia/ Suivi d'une « crise » émergente: Le sable et son exploitation en Asie du Sud-Est



| Saturday, 23 October    |  |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre |  |  |
|                         |  |  |

14:15 - 16:00

Sand—a granular material that is ubiquitous and undervalued as a commodity—brings this panel together. It focuses on sand through exploring how sand extraction, trade, and transformation (re)shapes and changes places, ecosystems

| on sand through exploring how sand extraction, trade, and transformation (re)shapes and changes places, ecosystems, and livelihoods in multiple sites and forms but also beyond state territorial borders. Case material from Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Indonesia are woven into the panel's analysis of sand processes and experiences in Southeast Asia. |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| Convenor/Animateur:   | Wendy Medina de Loera, York University  |  |  |
| Chair/Président:  | Melissa Marschke, University of Ottawa  |  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:   | Melissa Marschke, University of Ottawa  |  |  |
|   | Papers  |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | Towards a Mobile Political Ecology of Sand and Shifting Resource-based Livelihoods in Southeast Asia  Vanessa Lamb, School of Geography, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, University of Melbourne; Zali Fung, School of Geography, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, University of Melbourne  Southeast Asia is experiencing an unprecedented rise in sand extraction, with sand mined from rivers and coasts, and this is impacting resource-based livelihoods. Sand flows move beyond state territorial borders, suggesting the need to analyze how these flows move across political boundaries and (re)shape place. We adopt a mobile political ecology approach (Elmhirst et al. 2018) to understand the links between resource-dependent livelihoods and migration in the Myanmar (Burma)-Thai borderlands in the Salween River Basin. We bring van Schendel's (2002) conceptualization of "flows" in borderlands to this work to understand the complex links between shifting livelihoods, migration flows, and sand extraction. In doing so, we make two key contributions. First, we rethink the fixity of people and resources in monsoonal Southeast Asia. Our research shows that existing migration patterns—which are complex and intergenerational—are being exacerbated by sand mining for export and environmental change, and interact with histories of conflict. Second, our work reveals not only how flows reshape place, but how place and practice reconfigure and reroute flows as they move through localities and interact with various actors. In highlighting these interlinkages, we provide new insights into often overlooked mobile resources and migration flows in our analysis, we build on work that seeks to conceptualize place and scale in novel ways, thereby moving beyond state-centric analyses of transboundary resources.  Livelihoods Built on Sand: Exposing the Precarity of Labour in Cambodia's Sand Extraction |  |  |
| Paper/Article 2   | Industry  Lukas Van Arragon, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa  Although Cambodia banned sand exports in 2017, under-regulated sand extraction in rivers across the country continues, driven by demand from rapid urbanization and land reclamation around Phnom Penh. In the last decade, the industry has come under intense scrutiny for its role in riverbank erosion and degradation of aquatic ecosystems, with some activists and scholars highlighting how this damages livelihoods and displaces rural Cambodians. At the same time, the sand boom in Cambodia has created a demand for labour, offering opportunities to rural Cambodians who have few other livelihood options in their home provinces. However, the vast majority of wealth from sand extraction does not accrue to sand labourers. Using qualitative data gathered from various sand extraction and transportation sites along the Mekong in and around Phnom Penh, this paper reveals   |  |  |



|                 | new insights into the sand industry, showing that sand labour in Cambodia is characterized by precarious employment conditions, including work in remote and isolated locations, separation of families when men leave for sand-related labour, a lack of formal work contracts or rights, an inability to diversify income sources, and unpredictable cycles of intermittent work. This paper aims to explain how the drive to extract sand from the Mekong River in Cambodia elucidates the interplay between precarious labour, resource extraction, and livelihoods. In doing so, this paper helps to broaden our understanding of the implications of a little understood yet hugely important resource extraction industry.   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | Vibrant Coasts: The Role of Sand in Building and Protecting Coastal Cities  |
|                 | Lukas Ley, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany  |
| Paper/Article 3 | Urbanization and global population growth are fuelling a surge in demand for sand, especially in Asia and Africa (Bendixen 2019). The average use of sand per person per day has reached 18 kilograms (UNEP 2019), making sand the second most used raw material after water. Large-scale coastal infrastructure projects in Asian countries that use sand in reclamation and construction have come under critique. Singapore is most infamously known for (illegally) importing sand from Southeast Asian countries to protect national assets and enlarge its territory (Whitington 2016). But not only states and investors need sand to protect shores and fortify land against rising seas. This paper considers the appropriation of sand in the context of everyday infrastructural projects aimed at protecting coastal settlements. Following Bennet (2011), it considers sand not as an inert material, but as an active ingredient of coastal life-worlds that inflects social relations and choice, both individual and collective. A focus on sand, it argues, opens up creative possibilities to study the urban environment beyond a limited focus on capital flows and governance. It reveals unseen inhabitations, techniques, and types of coastal infrastructures grounded in historically specific sociocultural formations around increasingly volatile coastal landscapes. A political ecological approach captures how residents recast the coast as a lifeworld according to patterns of seasonal variation and climate change but also global economic shifts and material affordances. |
|                 | The shaping of an extractive sector in South Sulawesi, Indonesia: sand and stone extraction from the Jeneberang river   |
|                 | Wendy Alejandra Medina de Loera, Geography Department, York   |
|                 | University  |
| Paper/Article 4 | University  This paper attempts to emphasize the potential paying attention to materiality has for making our studies of the configuration and dynamics of mining and quarrying sectors even more complex. It explores how both the particularities of river sand and stones and the specificities of the geographical space where they are extracted from shape the sector that extracts them in terms of the actors who participate and the relationships these actors have with each other. The analysis in this paper is based on the case study of sand and stones extraction from the Jeneberang river in Gowa regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The rapid urbanization of Makassar -capital city of the province and the main urban hub in Eastern Indonesia- and its increasing demand for construction aggregates are the main drivers for the development and dynamism of a thriving extractive sector in Gowa whose proximity to Makassar makes it an ideal supplier of river sand and stone materials.   |

# **ENVIRONMENT PANEL 3/ PANEL SUR L'ENVIRONEMENT 3**

In Search of Social-Ecological Transformation in Indonesia's Urbanizing Landscapes/ À la recherche d'une transformation socioécologique dans les paysages urbanisés de l'Indonésie



Saturday, 23 October 2021/Samedi 23 octobre 2021

16:15 - 18:00

Social-ecological transformation is a term that represents societal changes, which involves political and strategic aspects, to address the social-ecological crisis. Such crises include environmental degradation, hazards, and their unequal social impacts that have been the subject of discussions, critiques, and debates in Indonesia. Literature on the topic have shed light on the prevalence of disasters as combinations of natural hazards, development-induced environmental quality, and structurally perpetuated social inequalities. Whilst the distribution of social and environmental hazards and risks remain unequal, the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the elite few exacerbates social and spatial injustices, from the impacts of industrial pollution and disasters and displacement of traditional societies to problematic access to public services, to name a few. Given the entanglements of social, economic, political, ecological, and cultural aspects in the making of these inequalities, what are the necessary forms, factors, and actions of social-ecological transformation to address the crisis? To what extent does the COVID-19 disruption affect possibilities for social-ecological transformation? This panel critically discusses manifestations of the social-ecological crisis in Indonesia and possible avenues of social ecological transformation on various scales. Specific attention is given to the role of civil societies in constructing transformative knowledge and social movements towards sustainability.

| attention is given to the re | ole of civil societies in constructing transformative knowledge and social movements towards sustainability.  |  |  |
|------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Convenor/Animateur:          | Rita Padawangi, Singapore University of Social Sciences   |  |  |
| Chair/Président:             | Merlyna Lim, Carleton University  |  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:      | Rita Padawangi, Singapore University of Social Sciences   |  |  |
|                              | Papers  |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1              | Extended Agrarian Question in Concessionary Capitalism: The Jakarta's Kaum Miskin Kota Bosman Batubara, Department of Water Governance, IHE-Delft Institute for Water Education, Delft and the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Noer Fauzi Rachman, Department of Psychology, University of Padjadjaran, Indonesia  This article recalibrates the agrarian question by using the ongoing explosion in urban and urbanization theories to explain Jakarta's urban poor (the Kaum Miskin Kota, KMK) as an extended agrarian question. It does so by showing how the two capitalist development trajectories identified by Lenin, Russian, and the American paths, the feudal large- and small-scale landholders transformation into capitalists, are not the case for a near-South country like Indonesia, but a "concessionary capitalism" of large-scale land claims and allocations by the state. This specific process produces a specific agrarian question of soil/land and labour through which the KMK germinate. It closes with a political project, that is, to open more alliance-building possibilities between urban and rural social movements. |  |  |
| Paper/Article 2              | Moral Politics of Victimhood: Cultures of Social Movements to Cope with Indonesia's Lapindo Mudflow, 2006  Anton Novenanto, Department of Sociology, Universitas Brawijaya, Indonesia; AIFIS-Luce visiting fellow, English Department, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Kansas, Lawrence  Environmental disaster victims are frequently perceived as powerless due to the physical and mental sufferings that they experience in the aftermath of geophysical hazards. They not only already had to lose their time, energy, and materials, they must also recover from all of the backwardness and abnormalities. Calling from a critical ethnography in doing longitudinal engaged research with victim groups and environmental activists, the paper aims to describe how victims of the Lapindo mudflow in Porong, East Java have been maintaining their victimhood and inventing their own agency to struggle in the battle of social construction of the event/process through ongoing, yet unequal power relations with other actors in power. Recalling and challenging various cultural, traditional features,  |  |  |



|                 | narratives, and conceptions of power, they have emerged as one subject to shape the history of environmental social movements in a post-authoritarian Indonesia era.   |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | Pantura Stories: Resistance and Healing Across Regimes of Progress   |
|                 | Hendro Sangkoyo, School of Democratic Economics  |
| Paper/Article 3 | The defining terms of this panel, an affirmative social-ecological transformation amidst a growing urban dystopia, deserve a sober scrutiny of both the radical proposition and that hegemonic, knotty processes of change. The present schematic essay wishes to address such entanglements in the case of the so-called pantura, a shorthand for pantai-utara, conventionally designated for the north coast of Java Island. The pantura parlance as such reveals a serial chronospatial re-framing, not only of the dominant modes of life on Java, but also of the social mobilizatory regimes, the epoch-specific energy signature and its extractive lynchpin, the operational and institutional modalities of capital expansion, the spatial re-organizations of labour, and the run-away social-ecological entropy at all levels of life-forms therein. Whereas such a matrix of transmutation goes beyond the process of becoming urban, it is a part of a larger topogeny of organized misery, hidden behind the camera obscura of progress, yet which has always been embedded within the nonlinear life-story of industrial urbanism. Against such backdrop, the call for a countervailing transformation, a resistance at the broadest sense, must first address the dark sides of urbanism through an engaged social-learning practice across the pantura of historical lifespaces. Likewise, to move forward in such a crucial direction, it is imperative to |
|                 | confront the coded words such as ecological modernization, urban sustainability and resilience, energy transition, or nature-based solution, which thinly veil the same addiction to the extrinsic nature of urban social metabolism.  |
| Paper/Article 4 | Unsettling the Urban: Migration, Indigeneity, and Urban Formation in Jayapura, West Papua  Esther Haluk, STT Walter Post, Jayapura, West Papua; Veronika Kusumaryati, Edmund A.  Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University  This presentation aims to explore the impact of migration on socio-ecological transformations among the indigenous Papuans living in Jayapura, the capital city of Indonesia's easternmost and marginalized province of Papua. While migration has been seen as one of the main drivers of socio-ecological transformation in the urban space, most studies on the formation of urban space in Indonesia have focused mainly on rural to urban migration. This study, on the contrary, will consider the broader regional study of inter-island migration and its impact on the indigenous population to examine how indigenous Papuans understand and frame this demographic change in their urban area. By focusing on the shift of Papuan livelihoods and their relationship with the land in the city, this study will also discuss how Papuans articulate and claim a political agency against the backdrop of complex political histories between West Papua and Indonesia.   |
| Paper/Article 5 | Environmental Social Movements in Indonesia: Quo Vadis?  Rita Padawangi, Singapore University of Social Sciences; Merlyna Lim, Carleton University  Amidst intensifying attention to invite global investments for development projects, environmental activism remains a strategic angle to continue the political functioning of civic spaces in Indonesia. Environmental activism in the literatures have its normative and non-negotiable positioning on sustainable urban practices, but environmental issues are also potentially strategic to initiate civic discussions in places where social activism on other issues is limited (Marolt 2014; Sullivan and Xie 2009). Environmental activism has grown to be nuanced, as there are groups that work closely with government organizations while others are oppositional. As environmental campaigns have intertwined with technocratic approaches of environmental improvements, and green-sustainable  |



recycling and clean-green practices, to what extent are environmental social movements able to be political? What are the tools, spaces, and strategies for political environmental social movements? What are the possibilities and challenges in questioning imbalance of power in environmental sustainability, to address social inequalities and environmental injustices? How has the recent COVID-19 pandemic affected these social movement tools, spaces, strategies, possibilities, and challenges?

| ENVIRONMENT PANEL 4/ PANEL SUR L'ENVIRONEMENT 4         |  |  |  |
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|   | Governance and Resource Management/ Systèmes et institutions   |  |  |
| Saturday, 23 October<br>2021/ Samedi 23 octobre<br>2021 | 11:00 – 12:45  |  |  |
|   |  |  |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:                                     | NA   |  |  |
| Chair/Président:  | Louisa-May Khoo, University of British Columbia  |  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:                                 | Louisa-May Khoo, University of British Columbia  |  |  |
|   | Papers   |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | Tin Mining and The Marginalized Coastal Resource Dependent Communities in West Indonesia Isma Rosyida, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Final International University  This study brings unique findings by presenting a careful and details analysis of the local governance institutional arrangements in the context of coastal tin extraction on Bangka Island. It specifically compares the governance mechanism issues across two distinct coastal tin producing settings and two different community contexts. Using multiple case study design, this study successfully depicts that for the most part, the decision-making mechanism deployed in the issuance of mining social permits 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 bringing an imbalance in terms of benefits and impacts among affected locals. The result is unsuccessful democratization that will possibly lead to a rebellion by unsatisfied stakeholders. |  |  |
| Paper/Article 2   | Good Governance for Riverine Ecosystem, Fisheries Resources, and Biodiversity Richness of Paunglaung River, Middle Paunglaung Hydropower Project, Myanmar Mie Mie Kyaw, Department of Zoology, University of Mandalay, Myanmar; Myat Mon Kyaw, University of Information Technology, Myanmar; Khin San Httay, Department of Zoology, Monywa University, Myanmar  The Middle Paunglaung hydropower project (hereafter, the project) is situated in the east of Naypyidaw, Myanmar. Its installed capacity is 150 MW and its implementation period is  |  |  |

from 2017 to 2025. There are some environmental challenges associated with the project: deforestation, decreasing biodiversity richness, and habitat degradation. This study is intended to make comparisons of the impacts regarding good governance before and after the project's implementation. Water quality was analyzed for its physicochemical indicators, heavy metals, and Biochemical Oxygen Demand (B.O.D). In this study, the impacts are more or less heading towards the socioeconomic challenges of local indigenous communities, including diminishing natural resources, especially fisheries resources (about 32 fish species were collected). On the other hand, it is also important to cover the electricity shortage in order to balance demand with supply. There is a need to meet higher socioeconomic levels by monitoring natural resources with stakeholder mapping in order to avoid an environmental crises and to sustain natural resources. There are small-scale threats and large-scale threats; it is of vital importance to have good governance with stakeholder mapping to conserve fisheries and biodiversity richness. Four objectives are to observe/mitigate the environmental challenges, to sustain natural resources, to develop the socioeconomic situations of the local communities, and to inform stakeholders by enhancing public awareness that enables a knowledge-based evaluation. Therefore, it is important to mitigate the environmental stress with stakeholder mapping for the sake of the communities with effective convergence multidisciplinary approaches regarding the Sustainable Development Goals.

Gramscian Political Ecology and 'Lively Capital': An Analysis of Animals in the Tourism Industry

Megan Whitney, Human Geography, York University

This paper will develop a conceptual framework to understand how animals are embedded in capitalist social relations and how they are "valued" in Thailand's market for wildlife tourism. In Thailand, the elephant trekking industry has become the subject of contentious debates concerning animal welfare, ethical approaches to tourism, competing economic interests, and the conservation of a national icon. Initially proposed as a transition for unemployed mahouts and their elephants following Thailand's 1989 logging ban, investigations into elephant tourism have exposed distressing conditions for elephants, connections to illegal wildlife trading, and poor work conditions.

Paper/Article 3

My paper will analyze the relationship between labour justice and animal welfare. To do this, I will draw from political-ecological readings of Gramsci's theory of hegemony and the concept of "lively capital" to examine the ethical and political dimensions of "value," and how this can deepen understandings of animals as labourers and commodities in tourism. My paper will put Gramsci's theory into conversation with feminist and decolonial scholars to examine the gendered and racialized dimensions of labour organization. Next, I will link these perspectives to ecological readings of Marx's theories of value and labour to understand the circumstances of animals in tourism. The objectives of this paper are to understand the gendered and racialized dimensions of selling encounters with animals, the relationships between human and non-human workers, and to analyze how regimes of labour are organized to extract value from encounters with animals.

#### **ENVIRONMENT PANEL 5/ PANEL SUR L'ENVIRONEMENT 5**

Modernization, Technologies, and Innovations/ Modernisation, Technologies et Innovations

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24 octobre 2021

13:45 - 15:30

| Convenor/Animateur: |  |
|---------------------|--|
|                     |  |



| Chair/Président:        | Y-Dang Troeung, University of British Columbia  |
|-------------------------|---|
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Y-Dang Troeung, University of British Columbia  |
|                         | Papers  |
| Paper/Article 1         | Ecological Modernization: Distorted Institutionalization and its Adverse Effects on Environmental Decision-Making  Wei See Chan, School of Social Science, University of Aberdeen  Political institutionalization is often seen as a positive or encouraging development that serves public interest (Huntington 1968, 24; Moe 2005, 215). But the political institution is also a power structure that enables particular actors to gain agenda control for their own gain (Moe 2005, 215–216). Institutionalization without a set goal of serving the common good might serve private interests and neglect public interests. Malaysia has long been reputed as one of the most institutionalized party-states in the developing world (Slater 2003, 81). Its functional bureaucratic institution and procedural democratic institution have provided for national order and stability. However, decades of single-party domination in the country has also laid the foundation for authoritarian rule. As a result of concentration of power in the Prime Minister's role and the development of state capitalism, institutionalization in Malaysia tends to reinforce despotic power instead of constraining it (ibid.). Such a political development has a profound effect on environmental decision-making, as seen in the case of the Bakun hydroelectric dam (which spans from the 1980s to 2010) in which government machineries and government-linked entities were manipulated to ensure the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's ambition to bring the project to fruition. This shows institutionalization in the sense of expanding organizational, legal, and procedural orders alone is inadequate to protect the environment and safeguard environmental justice. Instead, the development of political institutions must entail the pursuit of the public interest, if ecological modernization is desired. |
| Paper/Article 2         | Ontological Politics and Conservation in Northern Thailand: Do Rivers Open up new Possibilities for Communities?  Peter Duker, Geography, York University  This presentation will draw on the results from my master's research on community-based riverine governance in the Ngao River Basin of Northern Thailand. The Thai state's environmental governance regime is typically known for its history of marginalization and displacement of local people. However, this governance regime is juxtaposed by the unique form of community-based governance in the Ngao River Basin created by local Sgaw Karen or Pga K'nyau (referred to as "Karen" hereafter) people. My study seeks to better understand the emergence of a grassroots-level river conservation initiative, which has scaled up to more than 50 communities, in this river basin. This case deserves attention due to the apparent successes at restoring ecological health and ensuring food security for local people. Both Karen people and the Thai state discursively use conservation to justify their management of land and resources. However, both sides mobilize a much different conception of conservation that is founded in their differing relations with the environment and ontologies. Thus, the struggle for land and resources in the Ngao river basin is also a struggle over the legitimacy of these human environment relations and ontologies. Scholarship on the impacts of the politics of conservation on communities in Southeast Asia has typically focused on forest governance, or, in the context of rivers, on the "top-down" impacts of hydropower development. This presentation will explore how community-based riverine governance as a distinct collective from that of forests opens up new possibilities for marginalized communities in   |
| Paper/Article 3         | their struggles for more self-determination.  Climate Change Technologies and their Mismatches with Everyday Lives: A Feminist Political Ecology View   |

Bernadette P. Resurrección, Global Development Studies, Queen's University
In many quarters and due to the urgency of the climate and disaster crisis, science is now being touted as a benign force coming to the rescue. In an earlier era, the science-policy interface came from the need to increase food, energy, and water productivity through scientific research and technology diffusion, alongside engineering appropriate infrastructure to meet these purposes. In recent years, climate information, mapping techniques, and forecasts are deemed critical for climate change adaptation and disaster risk management. All of these efforts are designed to make climate change more intelligible and manageable.

This paper responds to present challenges principally from feminist political ecology and STS perspectives that specifically aim to unpack how science "lands" in policy environments setting in motion "messy" power dynamics that are often ignored but are key to producing particular outcomes with their reality-producing effects. This discussion is not intended to undervalue the role of science or scientific inquiry, rather it aims to examine how society engages and relates with science in climate change contexts, building on the foundational premise that science is intrinsically socially created. I then argue that the interface between science and policy is not only a site of power but where hierarchized and gendered subjects emerge and are shaped.

The paper will present examples from Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Philippines, and Indonesia) to demonstrate how adaptation (and also mitigation), as currently conceptualized and practised, are often disentangled from the everyday lives of women and men from different social groups.

## **GENDER PANEL 1/ PANEL SUR LE GENRE 1**

Gender, Peace and Security in Southeast Asia/ Genre, paix et sécurité en Asie du Sud-Est Friday, 22 October 2021/

Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 11:00 – 12:45

The 20th anniversary of the launch of the United Nations' Women, Peace, and Security Agenda is a good opportunity to take stock and reflect on the many promises and challenges that mark its diffusion and localization in regional context. This panel brings scholars at various stages of their academic career and working on various facets of gender, peace, and security in Southeast Asia to discuss areas of convergence and divergence in how the interconnections between gender, peace, and security manifest in distinct spaces and issue-areas within the region. Some papers on this panel look at the ramifications of gender, peace, and security in Southeast Asia, and the often tense encounters that arise as it is being actively reinterpreted and challenged by regional states, institutions, and civil society actors. Others move beyond the UN agenda itself and explore understudied dimensions of how gender and (in)security play out in unanticipated ways on the ground and at domestic levels (e.g., Indonesia, Singapore, Myanmar). Many do both of these things. Taken together, these papers develop new and productive areas of inquiry in the study of gender and security beyond the West, and in Southeast Asia in particular, that give serious attention to local actors' agency and the

|   | existence of competing meanings and alternative perspectives.                               |  |
|---|---|--|
| Convenor/Animateur: Stéphanie Martel, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University |   |  |
| Chair/Président:  | air/Président: Stéphanie Martel, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University        |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:   | Yvonne Su, York University  |  |
| Papers  |   |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | Women's Participation and Visibility in Anti-Authoritarian Social Media Movements           |  |
|   | Bella Aung, PhD Student, Queen's University   |  |
|   | When Myanmar formally began its transition into a new democracy in 2010, women were         |  |
|   | hopeful for an improvement in their political representation. After Aung San Suu Kyi joined |  |



|                 | the parliament in 2012 and became the de facto leader of the country in 2015, many women attempted to enter politics. However, with very few exceptions, Burmese politics remained highly dominated by men. This male dominance is finally being challenged in the aftermath of the military coup that took place in Myanmar on 01 February 2021. Indeed, women are at the forefront of three important anti-military movements that arose out to organize civil resistance to the coup: the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), frontline protests, and a social media awareness movement. Not only do these movements feature many women participants, but more than a handful have taken on leadership roles. This paper takes Myanmar as a case study to investigate the role of violence as a catalyst for women's political leadership in traditionally conservative societies, where feminism has historically been frowned upon. The goal of this research is to explore how and why nationwide violence mobilized women into political leadership instead of the support roles they served in previous movements. This paper will focus on the social media awareness movement and how violence has influenced the activism of its women leaders. I will conduct a social media content analysis of Facebook and Twitter posts under the hashtag "#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar," examining how feminism has become increasingly central to the movement over time.  |
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| Paper/Article 2 | Opportunities for Peace: Analyzing the Intersection of Security and Disasters in Southeast Asia  Emma Fingler, Queen's University  Southeast Asia has an average annual economic loss of US\$ 676 billion from disasters (UNESCAP 2019). Yet, resiliency policy and disaster response have only recently begun to translate into policy change at the regional level, with ASEAN introducing a new Disaster Management Framework in 2020. The purpose of this framework is to build collaborative resilience in the region, and it presents an opportunity to align disaster governance with regional security governance. This nexus has become increasingly relevant as global warming increases the severity and frequency of disasters, potentially leading to new security risks. However, the relationship between disasters and security remains surprisingly understudied, particularly in Southeast Asia, and is often lacking gender-based analysis as a core component. Thus, this paper asks how can ASEAN effectively align disaster with security governance and include gender-based analysis to decrease risks and promote opportunities for peace? It argues that ASEAN has a vested interest in expanding its role in disaster governance and that if done effectively and with gender-based analysis, this can greatly enhance and strengthen regional security and stability. To demonstrate this, I use an intersectional lens of analysis and a mix of secondary data from the literature on peace, disasters, and conflict. I undertake a review of ASEAN's security and disaster policies, outlining possible areas of further collaboration. This paper aims to improve our understanding of how disaster and security governance can be combined to provide opportunities for peace in relation to the incipient Women, Peace, and Security agenda in Southeast Asia. |
| Paper/Article 3 | Multiple Meanings and Practices of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in the Asia-Pacific: A Multi-Scalar Regional Analysis  Sarah Sharma, Queen's University; Jennifer Mustapha, Huron University College at Western; Stéphanie Martel, Queen's University  Although the UN's Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda is now over 20 years old, it has only recently gained traction in the more formal national and regional workings of the Asia-Pacific. States in the region have started to articulate official WPS national action plans (NAPs). Regional institutions are beginning to adopt joint statements on the WPS agenda, signalling an emerging regional view. Multi-track diplomacy networks are increasingly investing in WPS-focused regional security dialogue. As a result, new opportunities for actors of Asia-Pacific security governance are arising, for both  |



|                 | engagement and contestation, around the WPS agenda. This paper explores the emergence of a regional, multi-scalar field of multiple meanings and practices relating to WPS. It analyses how dynamics of diffusion, localization, and resistance unfold in various regional spaces of conversation as they pertain to the WPS agenda. The paper argues that new areas of ambiguity, friction, and tension are emerging as competing meanings of the intersection between gender and security are developed, negotiated, and opposed at the regional and national levels, but also outside the state.  |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 4 | Red Weddings in the Khmer Rouge: Conceptualizing Conflict-Related Forced Marriages <i>Zhi Ming Sim, Politics, York University</i> Examining the newly concluded and released Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) documentation and testimonies (dating 2009–19) of Case 002/02, this paper argues that "red weddings," or conflict-related forced marriage enforced during the Khmer Rouge, were employed to reconstruct a new political order under the Khmer Rouge regime for a total collectivization of the economy. I liken the implementation of forced marriages to a Homo Sacerliked project where it is a practice, a mechanism, and a tool in reorganizing social relations of power. It works to render the family institution secondary to the Party by abolishing and recoding social and political ties and relations built through the family institutions from the previous Sihanouk regime. Concurrently, forced marriages are also opportunistic rites for the leadership to bolster its political legitimacy through its claims as both parent and a divine being. Under the imposition of forced marriage, Cambodians are rendered "rightless" subjects to be mobilized in building a total socialist utopia.  This paper is significant in entrenching forced marriages into the conditions of interstate |
|                 | conflict, addressing the Khmer Rouge's implementation of forced marriage as a form of social reproduction of its sovereign power. Finally, this paper challenges dominant feminist renditions that forced marriage, as a conflict-related gender-based violence is a "weapon of war." Rather, I show that forced marriage practices restructure governmentality with deeper roots in patriarchal relations than just a weapon of war and points to the morbid forms of masculinity that socialist or capitalist sovereignties are inscribed.   |

# **GENDER PANEL 2/ PANEL SUR LE GENRE 2**

The Filipina Beyond Her Reproductive Labour/ La Philippine au-delà de son travail reproductif

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24

octobre 2021 09:00 – 10:45

This panel explores the role of the Filipina Migrant Worker in Canada and beyond in terms of her reproductive labour. Panelists will explore how her labour is understood in terms of knowledge building in a post-COVID world, emotional labour and affective relationships, and womanhood in hetero-normative frameworks.

| labour and affective relationships, and womanhood in hetero-normative frameworks. |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| Convenor/Animateur:   |   |  |
| Chair/Président:  | Valerie Damasco, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:   | Valerie Damasco, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto  |  |
| Papers  |   |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | The Filipina Narrative in a post-COVID world: Understanding the Filipina Migrant Worker as Producer in the Knowledge Commons  |  |
|   | Darlyne Bautista, Women and Gender Studies, University of Toronto   |  |
|   | For Marxist Feminists Sylvia Federici (2019) and Maria Mies (2014), neoliberalism via World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies have evolved into "new enclosures," |  |



|                 | which steal, colonize, and commodify "the commons" in the name of development and modernization. The COVID-19 pandemic has only further demonstrated this violence as a structural determinant to global health. Access to hospital care, effective vaccines, physical distancing, financial supports, and safe work have brought into question the needless disparities found globally (Buyum, et al. 2020). Yet throughout this troubling and uncertain time, the racialized body, specifically that of the Filipina, endures to provide the social reproduction and labour necessary to flout today's emanating global economic crisis. As the Filipina migrant is hyper-visiblized as a care worker and essential employee, how do we understand her knowledge, culture, and language within the realm of "the commons" in a post-COVID world? Do we feature her then as a commodity? Or do we argue of her work instead as a producer towards our collective survival? This presentation is an epistemological investigation of today's Filipina migrant workers in care work and essential labour. Analyzing media reports on Filipina labour during the pandemic, I employ Virgilio Enriquez's (1992) Sikolohiyang Pilipino and Marxist-Feminist theory to argue that the Filipina narrative is needed to convey the knowledge necessary to decolonize care and rationalize global health towards our collective survival.  |
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| Paper/Article 2 | "Who Gets to be a Part of the Family?": Love and Labour for Migrant Filipina Workers  Dani Magsumbol, Politics, York University  Bettio et al., in their analysis of care work in the Mediterranean, put forward the thesis that there has been a "transition from a 'family' model of care to a 'migrant in the family' model of care" (2006, 272). I explore how the work of social reproduction in Canada has experienced a similar transition, one that has led to a new model of care—the "migrant as part of the family." I investigate the process of how migrant workers in Canada who provide this labour are incorporated into the family units of their employers. This process of inclusion is presented as a positive act, one that is representative of the tolerance and acceptance that migrants can expect in multicultural Canada. However, the incorporation of the migrant worker leads to the obfuscation of the wage relationship and the exploitation of the worker; it creates conditions that attempt to subsume labour that is paid for by a wage, into labour that is expected as part of the social, affective relationship between and amongst family members. Thus, the collapsing of the lines between what is considered to be waged work and what is considered to be a labour of love invisibilizes the family unit's dependency on and ongoing exploitative consumption of transnational, affective labour—in the Canadian case, often provided by women of Filipino descent.           |
| Paper/Article 3 | BABAE: Embodying Vernacular Sexuality and Alternative Diasporic Ethics  Bennette Dayno Baguisa, Women and Gender Studies Institute, University of Toronto  A considerable amount of literature on Filipino women in Canada has been published focused on caregiving and reproductive labour, yet there has so far not been enough feminist attention to conceptualizing the figure of the Filipino woman beyond these parameters. Motivated by the desire to honour Filipino women's labour, I ask how this labour gets translated to produce a certain model of womanhood inherently attuned to the demands of neoliberal capitalist globalization and easily mobilized by heteronormative institutional frameworks. Building on an archive of Filipinx/Canadian cultural productions including Tita Collective's Tita Jokes, Han Han's Babae Ka and Lester Valle's Walang Rape sa Bontok, I trace a broad sketch of imaginative possibilities pertaining to an emergent diasporic and feminist consciousness embodied in the construction of babae. Tagalog for woman, babae not only invokes ancestral and precolonial understandings of feminine power, but also highlights the contemporary context of its vernacular function as a hybridized form of the local and the global. Using theories of queer affect, performance, and pedagogy, I argue for babae as a reparative project that can bridge varied articulations of Filipino womanhood. Against the current landscape of political and ecological crisis in |



the Philippines, this paper sutures a critique of the aesthetics of diasporic womanhood and vernacular cosmopolitanism with new indigenisms in multicultural Toronto to think through the political potential of their interconnections.

# INDONESIA AND TIMOR-LESTE / INDONÉSIE ET TIMOR-LESTE Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre 2021 09:00 - 10:45Convenor/Animateur: Chair/Président: John Roosa, University of British Columbia Discussant/Intervenant: John Roosa, University of British Columbia Central Javanese Mystic and Syncretic Practices in Modern Islamic Theological Discourse Agam Syahrial, Ohio University 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. A dramatic explosion in the numbers of Javanese Hajjis and Muslim students studying abroad in the Middle East started in 1850, and 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 that put an emphasis on the purification of religious practice to eradicate all of the elements of non-Islamic mysticism, magic, animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Studies on Islam in Java like The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz present a description of Javanese religious life and offer a plethora of insights in Javanese religious life and practice by discussing the tension between the Abangan, who practice mystic and syncretic Paper/Article 1 practice and the reformists, who promoted a new way of practicing Islam. In addition to that, Fauzan Saleh, in *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in 20<sup>th</sup> Century* Indonesia: A Critical Survey, explains the reform movement, which introduced a purer Islam through four basic principles: the return to the pristine sources of Islam: the Qur'an and the Sunnah; the encouragement of ijtihad; denouncement of taglid; and revitalization of Arabic linguistics for properly engaging in ijtihad. However, few studies offer a discussion on Central Javanese perspectives of their mystic or syncretic practices after Islamic reform in the present. This research paper aims to explain to what extent reformist views in Islam affect Javanese views of their ongoing mystic or syncretic practices (Kejawen) in present day Java. Several interviews were conducted with Javanese in Plumpungan village, Central Java, to find the answer to this question. This presentation 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 the 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. This study 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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| Paper/Article 2 | Challenge the Wind: Canadian Policy Towards East Timor, 1975–99   |
|                 | David Webster, Bishop's University In 1975, Indonesian armed forces invaded East Timor, a small country that had declared independence a few days earlier. During a 24-year military occupation, more than 100,000 Timorese died. Contrary to Ottawa's claims to be a strong voice for international human rights, the Canadian government consistently supported the Indonesian occupation. Yet at the same time, several activists worked alongside the Timorese people in supporting the right of self-determination.  |
|                 | This paper describes Canadian policy, paying equal attention to the actions of government and non-governmental organizations, and drawing on untapped archives from both government and non-governmental sources. These records reveal a government that began campaigning in support of Indonesia but, over time, changed its position. Canadian politics evolved under pressure from activists based in churches, unions, student groups, and especially organizations in solidarity with Timor. Finally, in 1998, the Canadian government came to support the right to self-determination. The history of Canadian politics on East Timor focuses on the key role of activists in influencing and shaping international relations. The Canadian government is not defending human rights. Yet more and more, it is forced to take note of and respond to pressure from activists.  |
| Paper/Article 3 | Indonesian Autonomies: Explaining Divergent Self-Government Outcomes in Aceh and Papua  Shane Barter, Associate Professor, Soka University of America; Hipolitus Wangge, Australian National University  Territorial autonomy is essential for overcoming separatism and protecting minorities. Indonesia provides two cases through which we can better understand what makes autonomy work. In Aceh, autonomy helped to overcome conflict and can be regarded as successful, while in Papua, autonomy has failed, evident in continued unrest. Within the same country, the same institutional response to separatism at the same time has generated varied outcomes. Why has autonomy succeeded in Aceh, but failed in Papua?  Utilizing case and temporal comparisons, this paper suggests that the content of autonomy may be less important than the process through which it unfolds and whom it empowers.  Early in Aceh and in Papua, autonomy was essentially imposed, empowering corrupt leaders and undermined by political interventions. Aceh's ultimately successful autonomy did not differ significantly in content, but was negotiated and empowered former rebel groups. Papua's failed autonomy centres on transfer payments, disbursements that fuel dependence. |

## LAND AND RESOUCES PANEL 1/PANEL SUR LES TERRES ET RESSOURCES 1

Everyday Forms of Land Appropriation and Natural Resources Control in Southeast Asia: Multiple Views, Sites and Dynamics/Appropriation des terres et contrôle des ressources naturelles au jour le jour en Asie du Sud-Est : Pluralité de perspectives, de lieux et de dynamiques

Friday, 22 October 2021/

Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 17:45 – 19:30

Today, many forms of appropriation of territorially based resources are at play in countries of the South. Beyond the conversion of vast areas of land into different uses such as agribusiness, mining projects, and urban development, the intensification of land transactions at all scales remains a major issue. However, this phenomenon is far from new, only taking new forms in a context of economic revaluation of land and financialization of the resource economy. In fact, the rise in land values—which has triggered a new land rush—and the heightened interest for some strategic natural



| resources is closely related to the presence of new international, national, and local actors exerting pressure on the markets. Yet any attempt to transform resource access, especially when regulatory frameworks remain weak, bears important implications for local populations who are highly dependent on these resources for their very existence. Following the latest wave of international land grabs in the 2000s, many influential voices in the field of land politics have expressed the urgent need to better understand the ongoing processes of territorially based resource |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| -   | attendant changes in resource access regimes. Our panel looks at the processes in different   |  |  |
|   | d various types of land acquisitions and use: mining, agribusiness, tourism, and conservation.  |  |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:   | Dominique Caouette, Université de Montréal  |  |  |
| Chair/Président:  | Julie Guernier, McGill University   |  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:   | John Devlin, University of Guelph   |  |  |
| Papers  |   |  |  |
|   | "Conservationland" in Southeast Asia: The Role of Private Actors in Green Grabbing  |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | Clara Leroy, Université de Montréal  This paper will focus on the rising phenomenon of the management of protected areas and national parks in Southeast Asia by foreign conservation NGOs and multinational firms.  More precisely, it will analyze the cases of Cambodia and Laos and try to demonstrate that the private governance performed in these protected areas pertains to a new form of appropriation of territorially based resources, namely green grabbing. Focusing on the environmental ends of land grabbing will allow us to take in consideration the colonial roots of this process as well as issues of climate governance. To understand how and why private actors assume such capacities, a contextual and critical approach is essential: whether it is for ecotourism, biofuel market, carbon stock, or biodiversity conservation, green grabbing almost always implies a complex web of international, regional, and local actors. It can rekindle ethnic tensions and create a breeding ground for emerging conflicts, especially in already fragile countries such as Cambodia and Laos.  |  |  |
| Paper/Article 2   | Canadian Mines, Ancestral Domains, and Indigenous Self-determination in the Philippines Angela Asuncion, University of Guelph  The Canadian mining industry has historically been scrutinized for exploitative operations in the Global South, particularly in the mineral-rich nation of the Philippines. Canadian multi-national corporations (MNCs) are known for causing extensive ecological devastation and exhausting areas of its social and culturally valuable resources. With over 60 per cent of mines operating in ancestral territories in the Philippines, clashing worldviews on land ownership have driven violent confrontations between Indigenous communities, governments, and corporations. Increasing conflict in mining regions has manifested community militarization, extrajudicial killings, and the erosion of Indigenous self-determination. Despite growing pressures against MNC mining, Canadian governments and corporations demonstrate resistance to binding regulatory reform in the mining sector. Instead, voluntary accountability mechanisms under the umbrella of corporate social responsibility have become the primary instruments overseeing mining externalities. Our research examines the nuances of Canadian mining behaviour and the effectiveness of CSR mechanisms within local host communities in the Philippines. |  |  |
| Paper/Article 3   | Sustainability and Community Agency: An Analysis of Maricalum Mining Corp. (1942–2019) in Negros Occidental, Philippines  John Edison Ubaldo, University of the Philippines and Dominique Caouette, Université de Montréal  Mining projects arguably provide opportunities to enhance the economic and social infrastructure of local communities but once mines are closed, oftentimes abandoned, corporate responsibility for rehabilitation and detoxification are often neglected. Such was the case for the Sipalay copper project on the island of Negros Occidental, Philippines. The  |  |  |

Maricalum Mining Corp. (MMC) mine operated from 1942 until 2001, almost 60 years. Yet, when it closed down, no funds for infrastructural protections were allocated and developed for decontamination and land regeneration. The paper aims to offer a nuanced and counterintuitive perspective on the issue of sustainable mining development during and after the operation of MMC. Highlighting the various local understandings of these two periods, more specifically around peoples' livelihoods, environmental sustainability, and municipal revenues, we show how people directed affected by MMC understood quite clearly the positive and negative consequences at the community, governmental, and corporate levels. As time passed, affected families and hamlets learned to maximize possible gains while minimizing negative consequences, revealing a significant agency when dealing with a financially powerful and politically influential external force.

#### LAND AND RESOURCES PANEL 2/ PANEL SUR LES TERRES ET RESSOURCES 2

Appropriation des terres et contrôle des ressources naturelles au jour le jour en Asie du Sud-est : Pluralité de perspectives, de lieux et de dynamiques/ Everyday Forms of Land Appropriation and Natural Resources Control in Southeast Asia: Multiple Views, Sites and Dynamics

Friday, 22 October 2021/ Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 11:00 – 12:45

Aujourd'hui, les processus d'accaparement des terres (parfois aussi appelés « acquisition massive des terres ») mobilisent et préoccupent de plus en plus les collectivités rurales et paysannes, non seulement du Sud, mais aussi du Nord. Bien qu'il n'existe pas de données absolues, on estime aujourd'hui qu'entre 43 et 45 millions d'hectares de terres sont touchées par ces processus, par ailleurs en nette progression. On peut parler d'accaparement lorsqu'il y a capture ou prise de contrôle (ou les deux à la fois) d'importantes étendues de terres et d'autres ressources naturelles. Cela peut se faire en utilisant différents mécanismes qui nécessitent d'importants investissements de capitaux en vue de modifier l'utilisation de ces ressources à des fins extractives ou de conservation environnementale. Cette marchandisation de la terre et son exploitation intensive – souvent sous la forme de monocultures parfois destinées aux marchés domestiques, mais habituellement aux marchés extérieurs – constituent la conséquence de la triple crise, alimentaire, énergétique et financière, de la première décennie du XXIe siècle, d'une part. D'autre part, ces accaparements sont aussi la conséquence directe des pressions grandissantes qu'exercent des groupes d'investisseurs et de pays émergents, entre autres ceux du BRICS (Brésil, Russie, Inde, Chine, Afrique du Sud), pour l'accès et le contrôle des ressources naturelles. Le panel examinera différents processus d'acquisition et de contrôles des terres et ressources naturelles au sein de différents États de l'Asie du Sud-Est, que ce soit pour des projets de plantations,

d'extraction minière, tourisme et conservation

| Convenor/Animateur:     | Dominique Caouette, Université de Montréal   |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Chair/Président:        | Julie Guernier, McGill University  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Alexandre Paquin-Pelletier, Cornell University   |  |
| Papers                  |  |  |
|                         | Tourisme haut de gamme : une solution durable au tourisme de masse?  |  |
|                         | Alexandre Veilleux, Université de Montréal   |  |
| Paper/Article 1         | En 2019, la Thaïlande recevait près de 40 millions de visiteurs et ce nombre devrait doubler d'ici 2030 pour atteindre 79 millions. Face aux effets négatifs associés au tourisme de masse, la pandémie du COVID-19 a donné l'occasion à plusieurs destinations de repenser leurs façons de faire du tourisme. Pour diminuer l'impact du tourisme sur l'environnement sans pour autant diminuer les revenus générés par ce secteur, l'Autorité du Tourisme de Thaïlande a mis en place une politique de développement touristique durable qui passe par un tourisme de qualité plutôt que quantitatif. Par tourisme de qualité, la Thaïlande mise sur un tourisme de luxe ayant une haute valeur monétaire dans lequel moins de touristes visitent le pays, mais où ces derniers sont plus fortunés, et dont |  |
|                         | la gestion est assurée par des acteurs privés nationaux et internationaux. Cette recherche   |  |



|                 | vise à explorer les objectifs de développement du tourisme à travers le prisme de l'économie politique tel que développé par Susan Strange. La recherche démontre que le discours dominant sur la croissance d'un tourisme haut de gamme s'inscrit dans un modèle de développement néolibéral qui renforce les structures de pouvoir existantes. Ce changement de cap vers un tourisme de qualité permet donc aux grands groupes économiques d'accroitre leur part de marché, au détriment des entrepreneurs locaux de petites et moyennes entreprises. Les politiques de tourisme durable en Thaïlande viennent ainsi renforcer les structures de pouvoir existantes plutôt que de générer un développement local et durable du tourisme.  |
|-----------------|---|
| Paper/Article 2 | Documentaire « The Canadian Talk »  Erika Ranke-Farro, Université de Montréal  La moitié des sociétés d'exploitation minière et d'exploration cotées en bourse à l'échelle mondiale sont Canadiennes. Les grandes sociétés minières canadiennes sont attirées par des congés fiscaux et par des politiques de contrôle réglementaires qui sont quasi absents dans les pays du Sud où la corruption, la négligence des droits de la personne, la destruction de l'environnement et la volonté de se développer économiquement et socialement se heurtent. Le projet vise à déconstruire et rendre accessible le discours sur la responsabilité sociale et environnementale des entreprises minières en abordant par une série d'entrevues avec des spécialistes de différents domaines l'impact des entreprises minières sur les communautés locales. Cette série documentaire s'inscrit dans un projet de collaboration entre le Third World Studies Center de l'Université des Philippines, l'Université de Montréal et des collègues de l'Université de Guelph.   |
| Paper/Article 3 | Extraction minière et droits de la personne : Étude sur les impacts du néo-extractivisme aux Philippines  Kellyane Levac, Université de Montréal  Source économique importante pour plusieurs pays du Sud, l'industrie extractive était perçue par les économistes du 19e et 20e siècle comme une voie vers le développement et l'industrialisation. Toutefois, l'extraction des ressources naturelles se veut dévastatrice pour les communautés où ces projets prennent place, affectant leur économie et environnement. Cette recherche portera sur la transition vers le néo-extractivisme et l'implication plus marquée des gouvernements dans l'administration de leurs ressources avec comme étude de cas les Philippines et la minière canadienne OceanaGold. Notre analyse vise à démontrer que les nouvelles pratiques associées au néo-extractivisme perpétuent la dépendance aux matières premières en plus de poursuivre et parfois augmenter les impacts sociaux et environnementaux liés à ces activités. La recherche établit que les taxes et devises supplémentaires provenant des compagnies extractives étrangères ne mènent pas à un développement économique plus rapide des pays avec une économie minérale et que les droits de la personne y seraient plus fragiles |

# Mobility and precarity panel 1/ Mobilité ET précarité panel 1 Migrants from Malaysia, Vietnam, Myanmar, and the Philippines / Migrants de la Malaisie, du Vietnam, du Myanmar et des Philippines Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24 octobre 2021 09:00 – 10:45 Convenor/Animateur: Chair/Président: Geraldine Pratt, University of British Columbia Discussant/Intervenant: Geraldine Pratt, University of British Columbia



### Papers

Beyond the Good or Global Governance of Migration: Governmentality of Irregular Migrant Workers in Sabah, Malaysia

Omer Faruk Cingir, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya Southeast Asia is one of the densely populated regions of the world in terms of migrant workers. Particularly, the Malaysian labour market is highly dependent on migrant workers. This situation raises the importance of scrutinizing the migrant workers' conditions and management in Malaysia. Especially, Southeast Asian countries are quite weak in terms of governance of migration and being party to the multilateral conventions and frameworks. The elite actors of governance such as governments, intergovernmental organizations, and regional non-governmental organizations associated with power and clout on migration governance have managed risks and uncertainties. Andrew Geddes emphasizes that looking at the "repertoires of migration governance" and these "repertoires" is crucial to comprehend the situation (2021, 2–3). These repertoires consist of narratives' stories, social interactions, emotional or instinctive responses, and performative actions rather than state policies or international frameworks. These kind of "repertoires" drive and form migration governance in Southeast Asia. In this study, in order to understand migration governance and its inadequacies in Malaysia in-depth, national and regional migration policies and international legal frameworks as well as the repertoires of immigrants and representatives of non-governmental organizations that have direct contact with migrants, are the focus. This paper specifically deals with the overall outlook of undocumented immigrants in Malaysia before, during, and after the COVID-19 era and the practices to which they were exposed. Finally, increasing inequalities, human rights violations, and disciplinary powers of governments attract

Paper/Article 1

The new Face of Vietnamese emigration: A Comparison of Vietnamese International Students' and Migrant Workers' Mobilities

Anne-Cécile Delaisse, Department of Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy, University of British Columbia; Tamsin Barber, Sociology, School of Social Sciences, Oxford Brookes University

attention and the importance of human-oriented policies emphasizing irregular migrants.

While Vietnamese international students and temporary migrant workers (whose migration depends on a temporary contract for domestic or factory work) used to represent minor flows of emigration, their numbers have steeply increased in the past two decades and they have become the new face of Vietnamese emigration. Both groups fall under recent Vietnamese emigration policies and their migrations are patriotically framed as fostering Vietnam's "development," economic growth, and international competitiveness. However, their respective experiences of mobilities differ greatly based on intersecting identity markers and contextual factors. This presentation will draw from the literature about both Vietnamese international students and migrant workers and use the mobilities paradigm to critically compare the two groups' migration experiences. Different aspects of their mobilities will be considered: (1) their physical mobilities and the conditions of their movements between Vietnam and other countries (2), the movement of different forms of capital associated with the movement of their bodies across borders, and (3) their social mobility resulting from their migration. While international students' mobilities open a path to cosmopolitanism and upward social mobility, migrant workers' mobilities are controlled and delimited in time and space and their outlooks remain local in Vietnam where their social mobility is limited. We will highlight the constraints but also the differential agency that the two groups exercise to navigate a post-colonial, capitalist, and neoliberal world through their mobilities.

Paper/Article 2



|                 | Geographies of Production and Reproduction: The Case of Myanmar Migrant Workers in Thailand   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | Carli Melo, Graduate Program in Geography, York University  |
| Paper/Article 3 | The COVID-19 pandemic has illustrated the vulnerability of global production networks as supply chains in all sectors have been disrupted by worldwide lockdowns. The impacts of such disruption have been especially devastating for industrial workers in the global South. What has been less noticed is that many such workers are migrants, either internally from other regions of the same country or internationally across borders. The employment of migrant workers has further implications because it means that the impacts of global production networks extend not just to the factories in which goods are made, but also to |
|                 | the distant places of origin from which migrants are drawn, to which they often send their earnings, and to which they will often later return. In Thailand, the employment of Myanmar migrant workers in global production networks, and the everyday lives of these workers and their families, have been disrupted not only by the COVID-19 pandemic, but  |
|                 | also by a coup d'état in Myanmar. Drawing on a preliminary literature review conducted  |
|                 | for my doctoral research proposal and my involvement in a collaborative research project  |
|                 | with the Mekong Migration Network, this paper will explore some of the impacts of these   |
|                 | political, social, and economic crises on Myanmar migrant workers in Thailand and on their  |
|                 | families in their places of origin.   |
|                 | Araw araw, tinataya namin ang buhay namin (Everyday, we Gamble with our Lives):   |
|                 | Filipina Migrants in Canada and Care Work   |
|                 | Mycah Panjaitan, York University; Jessica Ticar, York University; Ethel Tungohan, York University   |
|                 | In the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, Southeast Asian migrants, specifically Filipina   |
|                 | migrant care workers in receiving countries such as Canada, have been impacted by   |
|                 | experiences of insecurity around immigration, problems of mobility, and the devaluation   |
|                 | of an "essential" service such as care work. Using Participatory Action Research (PAR)  |
|                 | methodology and photovoice methods, our project examines the experiences of Filipina  |
| Paper/Article 4 | care workers in Canada during COVID-19 in the areas of their work, home, and personal   |
| raper/Article 4 | lives. This project included 19 focus groups with a total of 74 participants of care workers (including Registered Nurses, Licensed Practical Nurses, Personal Support Workers, and   |
|                 | Caregivers) with varying employment roles, immigration statuses, workplace situations,  |
|                 | and socio-economic backgrounds. The narratives shared by the women further underscore   |
|                 | the issues that were present even prior to COVID-19, such as the undervalued status of  |
|                 | care work that is particularly racialized and gendered. The temporary status and  |
|                 | inconsistent implementation of the pandemic pay throughout Canada, for example, poses   |
|                 | an urgent critique to the mainstream lauding of "essential" care workers as "heroes."   |
|                 | Moreover, in applying an intersectional approach in examining the narratives, we find that  |
|                 | gender, race, class, immigration status, and the migration pathways that these women use  |
|                 | to enter Canada affect their experiences during COVID-19.   |
|                 | Balancing Reproductive and Productive Responsibilities: Care Strategies Implemented by  |
|                 | Migrant Mothers in Mae Sot, Thailand  |
|                 | Lisa Wight, Queen's University; Nway Oo; Tee Tar Sway; Supaporn Trongsakul; Eva Purkey;<br>Susan Bartels; Heather Aldersey; Colleen M. Davison  |
| Paper/Article 5 | Conflicts between ethnic minorities in Myanmar, the government, and the military have   |
|                 | been ongoing for the past 50 years. Enduring unrest has caused thousands to flee to the   |
|                 | region around Mae Sot, a city on Thailand's western border. Women around the world  |
|                 | assume a combination of reproductive and productive responsibilities, and during  |
|                 | situations of armed conflict and displacement, conditions for women often worsen. This  |
|                 | study sought to investigate the parenting experiences of female migrants from Myanmar   |
|                 | living in protracted refugee situations in Mae Sot.   |



This research was part of a mixed-methods international comparative study on the experiences of parenting in adversity across five countries. In this analysis, 62 first-person qualitative narratives that were shared by migrant mothers were inductively analysed using the Qualitative Analysis Guide of Leuven method.

The results highlight how migrant mothers undertake significant reproductive responsibilities, such as giving birth, breastfeeding, and child-rearing as well as productive responsibilities, including paid labour in the agricultural, formal, and informal sectors. In situations of migration-related adversity, productive responsibilities are placed upon women without the alleviation of their existing reproductive responsibilities. Migrant mothers must make difficult decisions about how to spend their time in order to simultaneously care for their children and financially support their families. Migrant mothers in Mae Sot utilize several different care strategies to either prioritize one responsibility over another or distribute their responsibilities amongst their children and extended family members.

Further research directions specific to migrants living in the Thai-Myanmar border region will be discussed.

# MOBILITY AND PRECARITY PANEL 2/ MOBILITÉ ET PRÉCARITÉ PANEL 2

Theorizing Filipinx Diaspora Mobilities, Circulations, and Entanglements/ Théoriser les mobilités, circulations et enchevêtrements de la diaspora philippine

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24

| octobre 2021            | 11:00 – 12:45   |
|-------------------------|---|
|                         |   |
| Convenor/Animateur:     | John Paul Catungal, University of British Columbia  |
| Chair/Président:        | Cecilia Federizon, University of Toronto  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Dennis Gupa, University of Victoria/University of Winnipeg  |
|                         | Papers  |
|                         | Working the sidelines: Selling home, investment and the city life in between Dubai and Manila   |
| Paper/Article 1         | Vanessa Banta, University of Toronto In the last few decades, overseas Filipino workers (OFW) have been the target market for various investment schemes for property development in major cities of the Philippines. While this phenomenon has been explored in some critical studies (Ortega, 2018; Pido, 2017; Faier, 2013) in this presentation, I consider this dynamic through a case study of contractual real estate brokers travelling to or based in Dubai who sell property to fellow Filipino migrant workers both as a form of investment and safety net for their impending return from the Middle East. Specifically, I will highlight their crucial role in extending Philippine property markets beyond the nation's territorial borders. I do this as a way to work through how Philippine real estate has also become increasingly reliant not just on migrant remittances, but also on their valuable but precarious transnational labors. By following the work of these contractual agents, I also draw attention to the complex social and diasporic networks that help facilitate these overseas investments. |
| Paper/Article 2         | Queering Dislocations: Returning to Filipinx Kinship as Ethno-specificity and Critique in Diasporic Filipinx Educational Organizing in Vancouver  John Paul Catungal, University of British Columbia  |



|                 | This paper examines the strategic mobilization of Filipinx kinship relations (including the roles of ate, kuya, and katapid) in community efforts by Filipinx Canadian organizations in Greater Vancouver to address educational incompletion among diasporic Filipinx youth in the city-region. Drawing on a community partnered research project with the Kababayan Academic Mentorship Program (KAMP) and their history of educational programming, organizing, and activisms for the local Filipinx diaspora, I theorize diasporic Filipinxs' return to Filipinx kinship relations as a transnationally inflected political practice through which Filipinx youth and community organizers name, critique, and refuse the queering of the migrant family by both the Canadian and the Philippine nation-states. I highlight three functions of the return to Filipinx kinship: (1) as a powerful assertion of ethno-racial intimacy in contexts of diasporic displacement and racial minorization, (2) as a subtle critique of the state-sanctioned violence of family separations resulting from migration and labour policies, and (3) as a foundational practice of peer and intergenerational support in the face of abandonment by racialized educational institutions and systems. In short, in their return to Filipinx kinship terms and forms, diasporic Filipinx youth and organizers not only untether the "familial" from the biological, but also refuse educational incompletion as a manifestation of the racialization and queering of diasporic Filipinxs in Vancouver   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | "Spiritual Shopping": Religious Returns in the Lives of Queer Filipinx in Vancouver   |
| Paper/Article 3 | May Farrales, Simon Fraser University Racialized immigrant communities, particularly Filipinx, are being lauded for reinvigorating organized religion, particularly in Catholic Churches across the city. As the story goes, when Catholic Churches were facing dwindling congregations, the migration of Filipinx helped to stave off the institution's irrelevance. In this story, religion is spatialized in particular ways—Vancouver is cast as an inherently secular space while the Filipinx diaspora is cast as irrevocably Catholic or religious. In this paper, I attend to another set of narratives offered by queer Filipinxs that might give a more nuanced look at the ways that Filipinxs negotiate their relationships with religion and the church. Building off the work of queer of colour scholars and Filipinx diaspora studies, this paper highlights the ways that queer Filipinx complicate assumptions about the diaspora as wholly Catholic. In dialogue with Indigenous scholarship that traces the gendered and sexual ways that settler colonialism dispossesses through institutions like the church and scholarship that centres the knowledges and resistance of Indigenous women, queer, and Two-Spirit peoples and communities, the paper troubles the assumption of the secularism of the city. By following how queer Filipinx navigate the white settler colonial city and their complicated relationships with religion in the diaspora, I argue that the lives, negotiations, and embodied knowledges of queer Filipinx can show the workings of multiple colonialisms (from the Philippines and in Canada) in ways that invite those of us in the Filipinx diaspora to reconsider normative narratives about the Philippines and Canada. |
| Paper/Article 4 | Mailing Back Pesos and Politics: The Relational Dynamic of Remittances and the Impacts on Recipients' Political Behaviour in the Philippines  Phebe M. Ferrer, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada  Migrant remittances are typically conceptualized in their macro-level impacts on development and democratization in the migrant's home country. Micro-level impacts, such as on the sender and recipient, are missed in this literature. In this paper, I draw on the concept of "social remittances" (Levitt 1998) to emphasize the inherent relational dynamic of remittances, and how these signify distant relationships that are created and maintained through monetary transfers between the sender and recipient. I therefore theorize remittances primarily as a relationship between the sender and recipient, one where the sender can shift the latter's political behaviour and choices. I analyze the   |

relational dynamic of remittances in the context of Filipino migration, specifically for recipients in the Ilocos Region of the Philippines. I conducted a quantitative analysis of a 2016 survey taken in Ilocos, which encompasses 3,740 respondents across 158 barangays. My analysis focuses on three areas—access to government-provided services, political networks and participation, and voting behaviour—and my initial findings show a mix of impacts on recipients' political behaviour. First, my findings strongly indicate that while remittance recipients are less likely to access government services, their perception of ease in accessing these services increases. Recipients are also shown to be more likely to have a member of their household in office as well as have a direct connection to the local mayor. Finally, my analysis shows that remittance recipients weigh the opinion of family relatives and friends more heavily in their voting decisions compared to non-recipient respondents.

MYANMAR DIGITAL ISSUE PANEL /PANEL SUR LA PROBLÉMATIQUE DIGITALE AU MYANMAR
Shifting narratives of democracy and inclusion in the online space - what we learned from engaging half a million netizens in Myanmar

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24 octobre 2021

09:00 - 10:45

Presenters: Shlomit Broder, Digital Public Square (DPS); Ivo Balinov, Parliamentary Centre Discussants: Myanmar human rights activists (TBC)

This panel will explore the potential of leveraging digital social listening and digital engagement platforms to identify and better understand shifting narratives in public online spaces in Myanmar following the coup. This session will also discuss how social listening analysis can be used to support democratic actors in Myanmar and engage decision-makers in Canada and international networks.

The Parliamentary Centre and Digital Public Square (DPS) are Canadian NGOs that have been engaged in Myanmar, pre and post coup. The Parliamentary Centre has been working with elected members of government, civil society and peace process actors in Myanmar at the national and sub-national level since 2013, when it facilitated the first exchange between parliamentarians from Canada and Myanmar on issues of democratization and the role of elected assemblies. Since 2019, DPS has led a program in Myanmar that seeks to increase tolerance and inclusion for religious and ethnic minorities. Working closely with multiple local partners and experts in the country, DPS has deployed two nationwide digital surveys of opinions and beliefs on issues related to tolerance, online harassment, and religious freedoms. In October of that year, DPS launched a mobile-optimized educational tool that seeks to promote social cohesion in Myanmar by helping people test their knowledge on - and learn more about - world religions and religious freedoms. The product was very well-received and to date has engaged over a half a million people in Myanmar. In 2021, the Centre and DPS engaged in a pilot program to explore the potential of leveraging social listening to identify and better understand shifting narratives in public online spaces in Myanmar, following the Coup. The pilot was possible with the support of the Knowledge for Democracy program, implemented by the International Development Research Centre with financial support from Global Affairs Canada.

This analysis revealed shifts in Myanmar's online information environment that suggest expanding space for public engagement with religious and ethnic tolerance following the coup. This session will include a presentation of some of the key findings that have been documented by this pilot and preceding initiatives; some of the methods that were leveraged for digital engagement around sensitive topics and the subsequent online community response; the main findings from a comparison of pre- and post-coup datasets and more recent findings from post-coup social listening, as it relates to inclusive constitution drafting and religious tolerance; the relevance of social media listening findings for democratic actors in Myanmar, Canadian decision-makers and international networks engaged in promoting Myanmar's return to democracy.



| Convenor/Animateur:     | Tom Cormier, Parliamentary Centre of Canada; Ivo Balinov, Parliamentary Centre of |
|-------------------------|---|
|                         | Canada  |
| Chair/Président:        | Tom Cormier, Parliamentary Centre of Canada; Ivo Balinov, Parliamentary Centre of |
|                         | Canada  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: |   |

|  | PANDEMIC PANEL 2/ PANEL PANDÉMIQUE 1   |
|--|--|
|  | and Responses in Southeast Asia/ Impacts et réponses en Asie du Sud-Est  |
| Friday, 22 October 2021/<br>Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 | 13:45 – 15:30  |
| vendredi 22 octobre 2021                             | 13:45 – 15:30  |
| Convenor/Animateur:                                  |  |
| Chair/Président:                                     | Yves Tiberghien, University of British Columbia  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:                              | Yves Tiberghien, University of British Columbia  |
|  | Papers   |
|  | Lessons from Asia: A Review of Five National Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic  |
|  | Erlinda Palaganas, University of the Philippines Baguio  |
| Paper/Article 1                                      | Since its discovery in China, the outbreak of COVID-19 caught nations off guard, sparking different responses and measures to control the spread of the pandemic. Here we review the national responses of five Asian nations, namely: China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, and the Philippines. Using a scoping review of existing literature, the effectiveness of their responses are evaluated using the frameworks detailed by the World Health Organization's Strategic Preparedness and Response Plan on addressing the COVID-19 pandemic. Both frameworks outline long-term objectives of reducing viral transmission and reducing disaster risks and losses. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, both frameworks provide clear goals to which countries can pattern their responses. Although there are stark differences in terms of the economy across the countries in this study, their varied responses contain lessons that we can derive from to effectively realize the objectives set by both frameworks, particularly: strategic preparedness and wilful implementation and adaptation of the national action plan based on the rapidly changing COVID-19 situation.  |
| Paper/Article 2                                      | COVID-19 Lockdown and Mothers' Employment  Geoffrey M. Ducanes, Ateneo de Manila University; Vincent Jerald Ramos, Humboldt University Berlin  Hard lockdowns have a larger negative impact on the ability to work of women who have children who are minors compared to women who do not have children who are minors. Among Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines is among the hardest-hit by the COVID- 19 pandemic, in terms of both the number of infected and its economic toll. A big reason for the relatively large negative economic impact of the pandemic in the country is the hard lockdown imposed at the beginning of the pandemic in the country's three most populous and economically-important regions: Metro Manila, Calabarzon, and Central Luzon. Using logistic regression on pooled LFS data for these three regions, we show that female household heads or female spouses with children were about 5 percentage points less likely to have work during the hard lockdown when compared to female household heads or female spouses without children, even after controlling for important covariates. Moreover, having more children who are minors increases the negative impact of a hard lockdown on their ability to work. A big part of the explanation is the increased domestic |



responsibility of women during hard lockdowns, given that children are forced to be at home and to do distance learning. The Tolerance of Dao Mau—a Vietnamese Indigenous Religion—with Diversity and Difference Tran Thi Thuy Binh, University of Auckland Spirit mediums of Dao Mau, a Vietnamese indigenous religion, have been officially required to suspend all of their religious activities with other religious practitioners for certain periods since 26 July 2020. The suspension for twice times has been applied with the aim to prevent COVID-19 from spreading in urban and rural communities in Vietnam. Although these mediums have worshipped similar deities and spirits, they have had different interpretation about the invisible response of deities and spirits. Some argue that humans did so much karma that deities and spirits caused the pandemic to threaten Paper/Article 3 humans. They have organized ritual practices and pilgrimages in order to ask for the blessing of deities and spirits. Others propose that deities and spirits are so kind that they always protect their followers. Ritual activities increase the spread of COVID-19 when a number of cases being affected by coronavirus have not been identified. It might distort the image of Dao Mau as an evil religion and mediums as superstitious individuals. Dao Mau practitioners should pray by themselves rather than in a large group when it performs social responsibility of spirit mediums. In spite of different opinions, spirit mediums still show their respect with the acts and thoughts of others. Based on open-ended interviews with three mediums and online observation of 10 public social media accounts of Dao Mau's practitioners, I argue that various interpretation of spirit mediums about thoughts of deities and spirits reflect Dao Mau's tolerance with diversity and difference. COVID-19 Pandemic, Changing Views of Mobility and Migration's Aspiration-Ability Model: A Critical Reflection of Nepal-Malaysia Migration Corridor Andika Wahab, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, National University of Malaysia For decades, Malaysia has been dependent on unskilled and temporarily-contracted migrant workers to fulfil labour gaps in critical economic sectors. While Malaysia's economy continues to rely on migrant workers, the alleged discrimination, neglect, and lack of workers' protection aggravated during the COVID-19 outbreak has changed their (migrants) views of mobility in Malaysia. In-depth interviews with Nepali migrant workers conducted between July 2020 and June 2021 in Malaysia revealed incidence of employers' abandonment and labour rights violations, compounded by a prolonged isolation, crisis of Paper/Article 4 legal identity, and the absence of redress mechanism. Besides, workers are no longer benefiting from the competitive wages, subsequently limiting the value of their remittance to the origin country. The pandemic has drastically shifted their views on work migration in Malaysia, both monetary and labour conditions, and that they began persuading aspiring Nepali workers to reconsider their migration dream to the country. This raises both empirical and theoretical questions: (i) empirically, what does this imply to future migration landscape, particularly in Nepal-Malaysia migration corridor; (ii) theoretically, how the changing views of mobility among the existing Nepali workers in Malaysia shape the emigration environment in which social construction of migration exists in Nepal? This study reflects the migratory realities in Nepal-Malaysia migration corridor, subsequently responds to the evolution of migration's aspiration—ability model.

## PANDEMIC PANEL 3/ PANEL PANDÉMIQUE 3

Impacts and Responses in Indonesia and Timor-Leste/ Impacts et réponses en Indonésie et au Timor-Leste Friday, 22 October 2021/
Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 17:45 – 19:30



| Convenor/Animateur:     |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Chair/Président:        | John Roosa, University of British Columbia   |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | John Roosa, University of British Columbia   |
|                         | Papers   |
| Paper/Article 1         | Learning from Ritual: COVID-19 Public Health Measures and Messaging in Timor-Leste <i>Susanna Barnes, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan</i> In this paper, I reflect on the significance of ritual activity directed towards COVID-19 in Timor-Lest. What, if anything, it tells us about East Timorese beliefs and attitudes regarding infectious disease and why understanding the cultural dimensions of infectious disease are critical to public health responses. For the majority of the population of Timor-Leste, especially those living in rural areas, lived experiences of illness and disease are interpreted primarily through and by customary beliefs and practices. Drawing on social media posts and press media circulated widely in Timor-Leste and among East Timorese diaspora, I examine the scope and content of COVID-19 rituals in Timor-Leste. I argue that the rituals directed towards COVID-19 demonstrate a clear understanding of the nature of infection, contamination, disease, models of causality, and fears around infection. They also reveal local capacities to contain epidemics and the ability to learn with the bio-medical response. The levels of participation observed in COVID-19 rituals online and local support for these initiatives expressed on social media suggests at the very least that health authorities should engage with local communities in a two-way dialogue to discuss beliefs and existing |
| Paper/Article 2         |  |
| Paper/Article 3         | "Not With the Government's Vaccine": Narratives and Consequences of People Refusing the Government's Vaccine in Indonesia  Dimas Iqbal Romadhon, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington In Indonesia, many scientifically literate people refuse to be vaccinated if the vaccine and the vaccination are provided by the government. Why do they refuse the government's vaccine? What are the consequences of this refusal? What does this kind of refusal tell us about issues of trust and authority behind state securitization projects in general and national vaccination programs in specific? Based on data collected from interviews and   |



|                 | observations in Banda Aceh and Malang, Indonesia, in 2018–2019, I explore the complex entanglement between public health, trust, securitization, and the politics of authority behind the refusal. I also discuss possible public health and sociopolitical consequences of this kind of refusal.  |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | Asset Liquidation and Localizing Pilgrimage: The Absence of Tourism in Bali during the COVID-19 Pandemic   |
| Paper/Article 4 | Ario Seto, Memorial University of Newfoundland  This paper discusses tourism workers' financial and spiritual strategies in Bali during the COVID-19 pandemic years. Attracting around six million international visitors annually, Bali is one of world's largest tourist destinations and in the wake of the pandemic, the provincial government quickly locked the island down to limit people's mobility. Prior to 2020, around 15 per cent of permanent residents are employed in tourism-related sectors. The absence of tourism has left streets, hotels, performance halls, and art markets empty, and nearly 28 per cent of tourism workers have been laid off. Real unemployment numbers, however, is likely larger than recorded as many employers decided to send their workers home without officially terminating their work contracts so there would be an available workforce once the lockdown lifted.  |
|                 | Unemployment has resulted in personal destitution as massive unemployment stresses social safety nets. Modes of social reciprocity have failed to function when most members of a cohort, for example, villages with a large group of tourism workers or extended family with members working in the tourism industry, are laid-off. Balinese people have tackled this situation with two common strategies. First, to secure daily consumption, impacted workers sell their belongings, including work assets, such as art equipment and motorcycles. Second, because of their financial precariousness, Hindu Balinese have reduced the scales of their rituals and offerings. Both realistic decisions were chosen only with anxiety since Balinese people started to realize that they cannot rely on tourism—which in Bali has become a cultural identity—to sustainably support religious practices. The pandemic years thus mark a period of livelihood disorder that led to a rebellious reflection on Balinese cultural identity. |

# PEOPLE, POWER, AND POLITICS PANEL 1/ PEUPLES, POUVOIR ET POLITIQUE PANEL 1 Community, Education, and Democracy/ Communauté, éducation et démocratie Friday, 22 October 2021/ Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 09:00 – 10:45 Convenor/Animateur: Chair/Président: Jim Glassman, University of British Columbia Jim Glassman, University of British Columbia Discussant/Intervenant: **Papers** Transforming University Education in Myanmar through Gender and Development Studies Sanda Thant, Socio-Economic and Gender Resource Institute; Kyoko Kusakabe, Asian Institute of Technology; Philippe Doneys, Stockholm Environment Institute; Joyee Chatterjee, Gender and Development Studies, Asian Institute of Technology; Cho Cho Thein, Paper/Article 1 Yangon University of Economics Myanmar universities have been isolated from the rest of the world for a long period of time. With attempts at democratization taking place in Myanmar, universities have been opening up to outside partners and expanding their program offerings to meet the



|                 | emerging needs up until the coup in 2021. There was also increased demand for higher education as well as professional graduate-level education for development workers and experts meeting the needs of the country's socio-economic development. The collaborative project between the Yangon University of Economics and Asian Institute of Technology, presented in this paper, went from a situation under a heavily controlled university education to a more grounded and open discussion-based education, including the introduction of gender and development courses and qualitative research methodologies. With the recent coup and associated protest movements, the universities are fighting for what they have gained during the short period of transformation to academic openness. The presentation will discuss the power of gender and development education in transforming university education and its limitation in a context of a fluid political situation. The buy-in to gender and development education within the leadership of the university was crucial as well as the university's linkages with civil society groups. However, the public nature of the university as an institution is vulnerable to the changes in rector appointments as well as to the wider political climate.  |
|-----------------|--|
| Paper/Article 2 | Engaging in Foreigner Friendships: Learning English and More Outside the Classroom in Rural Vietnam  Georgina Alonso   PhD Candidate, University of Ottawa; Nguyen Hieu Thao, School of Foreign Languages, Tra Vinh University  In recent decades, Vietnam has structured itself to be more open to international integration, which has encouraged increasing numbers of foreigners from the Global North and elsewhere to spend time working, volunteering, or researching in Vietnam. Vietnam has also been developing a national strategy for encouraging English-language learning in line with economic growth plans that aim to move the country into upper middle-income status by 2035. This paper seeks to understand how friendships between English-speaking Global North foreigners on temporary placements abroad (volunteers, workers, and researchers) and Vietnamese students studying English become entangled with national policy goals, personal and professional development goals, and the social status of English-language learners in rural Vietnam. Through a case study at Tra Vinh University in the Mekong Delta involving a survey and qualitative interviews with Vietnamese students, we unpack how Vietnamese students who are motivated to improve their English-language skills perceive the presence of English-speaking foreigners in their community and how the dynamics of friendship seeking unfold. While much has been written about intercultural interactions based on temporary placements of Global North participants in Global South communities around the world, many studies have centred on the Global North participant's identity, motivations, privilege, ethics, and/or impact. We chose to add to this literature by focusing principally on the underexplored agency of the recipient community in pursuing or engaging in intercultural friendships, even when these community members are not directly involved in the work or projects of the foreigners in their communities. We also seek to understand how the presence of Global North foreigners is percei |
| Paper/Article 3 | Nationalist Discourses in Thai Language Textbooks  Bavo Stevens, McGill University/Ubon Ratchathani University; Atchara Simlee, Ubon Ratchathani University  Schools and textbooks have long been recognized as crucial to state building and the formation of national identity. This paper examines how the state and its agents shape nationalist discourse in Thai language textbooks. While previous papers have explored how the Thai government shapes nationalist discourses through history and civics textbook, and how schools are structured to orient children towards the state, this paper focuses on   |



how the stories in Thai language textbooks reinforce a royalist national identity that emphasizes the kwampenthai or Thai-ness, of unified and virtuous citizens. Using critical discourse analysis, this paper examines the short stories and poems at the start of every chapter in Thai language textbooks at the elementary school-level (Prathom 1 to 6). We find that while these stories teach children vocabulary about topics ranging from nutrition to the Olympics, the stories also orient students towards accepting state authority. Although the stories centre on the activities of children, it is adults, and frequently teachers, that provide resolution to their central conflicts. These adults are the moral and paternalistic centers of the stories, emphasizing the importance of cooperation, harmony, and obedience. Furthermore, stories frequently take place in idyllic rural communities, where villagers live simple but pleasant agriculture lives, harking back royalist nationalist narratives of sufficiency and living within ones means. inscribed.

Capacity Building in Southeast Asia: Challenges and Solutions for MSMEs in a Post-Covid World

Phebe M. Ferrer, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada; Justin Kwan, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada

The COVID-19 pandemic continues to have a devastating economic impact for Southeast Asian economies. Among the most affected are micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), which are the foundation of many Southeast Asian economies, and a crucial source of economic opportunity for the region's populace. To ensure a sustainable recovery, it is vital that post-pandemic recovery efforts incorporate an inclusive and gender-based lens, which considers distinct and gendered experiences in entrepreneurship in the design of recovery policies and programs. The authors ask: How can Southeast Asian economies operationalize an inclusive and gender-based lens in their national recovery efforts, that works toward sustainable economic inclusion of women and youth, among other groups? The authors explore the usage of this lens using reflections from the implementation of the APEC-Canada Growing Business Partnership. The Partnership is a joint development initiative of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Secretariat, designed to build the capacity of MSMEs in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The authors argue that the Partnership can provide an effective example of a project-based inclusive and gender-based lens, which has contributed to successful capacity building efforts. The authors focus on the Partnership's project design, which prioritized pre-programming research, consultation, and gender-based analysis, and targeted initiatives such as the project's mentorship program for women entrepreneurs. Adopting lessons learned from APEC's overarching

frameworks, the authors will demonstrate that effective capacity building efforts stem from an intrinsic inclusive and gender-based analytical lens, and sustained collaboration

Paper/Article 4

PEOPLE, POWER AND POLITICS PANEL 2/PEUPLES, POUVOIR ET POLITIQUE PANEL 2
Precarity, Possibility, and the Post Pandemic/Précarité, possibilités et la post-pandémie

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24

octobre 2021 09:00 – 10:45

with local partners.

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| NA                      |   |
| Convenor/Animateur:     | NA  |
| Chair/Président:        | Alifa Bandali, University of British Columbia |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Alifa Bandali, University of British Columbia |
| Papers                  |   |



|                 | Is Electoral Accountability Possible in a Single-Party Regime? Experimental Evidence from Vietnam   |
|-----------------|---|
| Paper/Article 1 | Edmund Malesky, Duke University   |
|                 | A growing body of evidence attests that legislators are responsive to the policy preferences of citizens in single-party regimes, yet debate surrounds the mechanisms driving this relationship. We experimentally test two potential responsiveness mechanisms—electoral accountability and upward accountability—by provisioning delegates to the Vietnamese National Assembly (VNA) with information on the policy   |
|                 | preferences of their constituents and reminding them of either (1) the competitiveness of the upcoming 2021 elections or (2) a party mandate that legislative activities should reflect constituents' preferences. Consistent with existing work, delegates informed of citizens' preferences are more likely to speak on the parliamentary floor and in closed-session caucuses. Importantly, we find that such responsiveness is entirely driven by the election reminders; the upward accountability reminder has virtually no effect on behaviour.  |
|                 | Populist Authoritarian Seizure of Pandemic Emergency Powers in India and the Philippines  |
|                 | Leonora C. Angeles, University of British Columbia  |
| Paper/Article 2 | Using key ideas of classical Frankfurt School Critical Theory, I examine how Asian populist authoritarian regimes, such as the Philippines under its President Rodrigo Duterte, seize the COVID-19 pandemic context for regime maintenance and power consolidation. I demonstrate how the pandemic unravels in the Philippines, highlighting three aspects in the political economy of development to contextualize the State's response to COVID-19: (1) the pursuit of neoliberal economic policies that charted phenomenal economic growth rates without addressing structural socio-economic inequality; (2) the predisposing conditions of failed political promises, increased opportunities for rent-seeking and corruption, and increasing inequalities under constricted liberal democracies that gave rise to populist authoritarian leaders; and (3) combined forces of neoliberalism and populist authoritarianism, setting the stage for conflictual and contested government and public responses to the pandemic and conveniently merging pre-pandemic imperatives for power consolidation and regime maintenance. I highlight how populist authoritarianism persists during pandemics through three significant connected elements of fear-based ideologies propagated through mass media, the hetero-patriarchal family, and educational system. |
|                 | #DuterteTraydor: Hashtags as Forms of Address in the Contemporary Philippine Political  |
|                 | Milieu  |
|                 | Dana Osborne, Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, Ryerson University   |
|                 | This analysis interrogates the ways in which hashtags in the contemporary political milieu  |
|                 | of the Philippines have emerged as semiotically productive forms of address and are indexical of political sensibilities and subjectivities. In March of 2021, the sudden increase  |
|                 | of Chinese vessels in the West Philippine Sea launched a firestorm of discourses focused  |
|                 | on the question of Philippine national sovereignty and the need for the active protection   |
| D (A.:.) 2      | of the EEZ (exclusive economic zone) of the region. In response, the current president of   |
| Paper/Article 3 | the Philippines delivered a series of speeches addressing the matter, and on 28 April 2021  |
|                 | asserted that: "I'm stating it for the record, we do not want war with China. China is a good friend. Mayroon tayong utang na loob na marami pati 'yong bakuna natin." (We owe a  |
|                 | great debt of gratitude for the many vaccines). This longstanding position, much to the   |
|                 | dismay of many government insiders, academics, and those in the international   |
|                 | community, precipitated a massive increase in responses decrying the potential danger of  |
|                 | the failure to take a strong stance, from diplomatic protests, official academic statements, statements by foreign governments, and grassroots organizations who took to social   |
|                 | media and other fora to express concern, disapproval, and outrage. This analysis will focus   |
|                 | on tracing an archaeology of the ways in which the wildly popular hashtag,  |



#DuterteTraydor (traitor), has emerged and circulated on social media in response to the president's perceived duplicity and weak stance in relation to the recent events in the West Philippine Sea. It will go on to demonstrate the ways that other key hashtags critical of the current regime are generated and flow in online fora in critical ways and often percolate from grassroots stances to officialized ones, becoming part of the ecosystem of discourses and legible political positionalities. In the end, this analysis will explore the ways in which these digital forms of address are generated, circulated, and recognized, and frame them as important social semiotic sites for the generation and negotiation of political subjectivities and stances in fraught and often dangerous political contexts.

# PEOPLE, POWER, AND POLITICS PANEL 3/ PEUPLES, POUVOIR ET POLITIQUE PANEL 3 Developing Lands and Cities

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24

| octobre 2021            | 13:45 – 15:30  |
|-------------------------|--|
|                         |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:     |  |
| Chair/Président:        | Nila Ayu Utami, University of British Columbia   |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Nila Ayu Utami, University of British Columbia   |
|                         | Papers   |
| Paper/Article 1         | Beyond the Developmental City: Communitarian Development and Urban Planning in Singapore  Louisa-May Khoo, School of Community and Regional Planning, International Doctoral Fellow, University of British Columbia  A tiny "red dot" of 720 square kilometres without any natural resources, Singapore has transformed itself from a British colonial outpost to a global city in less than half a century. The explanation by urban scholars is because Singapore is a "developmental city state" (Castells 1992; Perry et. al 1997; Olds and Yeung 2004). Reasons offered often fall along the well-rehearsed lines of a comprehensive regime of State social control, authoritarianism and the subjugation of civil society, and the assertion of State capitalism and hegemony in determining the functional form of the city, all effectively galvanized par excellence to build the model city (Shatkin 2015). In tracing Singapore's development milestones through interviews, discourse analyses, and auto-ethnography, I reflect on the accuracy of the caricatures of Singapore in urban scholarship, highlighting how urban strategies have been mobilized in Singapore towards a more communitarian model of development through State capitalism (Chua 1995; 2017). I explore how over the last two decades, a harnessing of Singapore's global city standing and investments in technology have ameliorated land pressures to enable urban planning strategies to shift from a bulldozer approach towards a temper of calculated governance and paced transformation in Singapore. Yet, while seeking to attenuate the unequal effects of wanton neoliberal capitalism with a greater sensitivity to heritage and nature conservation issues and a redistribution of wealth through public housing tools, these efforts remain contested with mixed results. |
| Paper/Article 2         | Moving Beyond Negative Peace and Working Towards Positive Peace: The Salween Peace Park as an Embodiment of Justice, Freedom, Equality, and Self-determination for the Karer Nation  Sheila Htoo, Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change, York University  This paper asserts that the Salween Peace Park is an embodiment of positive peace that   |

Indigenous Karen people have envisioned and mobilized through conservation. This



positive, lasting, and everyday peace that Karen people and leaders in the Salween Peace Park are working toward goes beyond the absence of war, fighting, and conflicts in their homeland. Rather, it entails justice that guarantees fundamental freedoms, equality, and rights to self-determination for Karen people as a nation. Positive peace as "presence of justice" fundamentally addresses the root causes of longstanding conflicts in the country and guarantees the safety and opportunities for displaced people and refugees from Karen state to return and rebuild their livelihoods and cultures lost during conflicts and civil war. This paper details three core aspects of positive peace embodied in the Salween Peace Park: (1) the protection of Indigenous Karen land, territory, and resource governance system against widespread land and water grab and state territorialization; (2) the affirmation of Karen identity and position in the Mutraw district as peace builders in the changing political context of Burma/Myanmar's ceasefire and peace-making process; and (3) the preservation of Karen cultural traditions and identity against an increasing threat of "Burmanization" and centralized state control over Karen autonomous territory and everyday life.

Jakarta's Redevelopment: A Case Study of the "Insta-famous" Alam Sutera and M Bloc Space

Daniel Yonto, Department of Geology and Geography, Georgia Southern University Compared to the west, Indonesians are very social. With Indonesia's active social media users, sharing life stories and everyday occurrences is a common and important way of socializing and staying in touch. Moreover, with smartphone cameras, the destination for these digital memories includes Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, Tiktok, WhatsApp, or Line. Nowadays, two of the more famous neighbourhoods seen across all social media platforms are the "Insta-famous" Alam Sutera and M Bloc Space. However, behind the selfies lies a complex story of how these neighbourhoods have changed. Our study explores the complexity and the diversity of capital reinvestment and social conflict in Alam Sutera and M Bloc Space. Results reveal a complex relationship between local government's aim to redevelop into a tourist city and many who use the streets who desire to share the land. To prevent what local officials label as "negative things" that are not specifically for tourism, undesirable street vendors have been largely barred from these neighbourhoods. Instead, bicycle rentals, statue performers, and street painters can stay as they have "something to do with art and culture." Although many street venders and local artists were relocated to an alternative market area, few people visit these places, which, in turn, leads to a substantial loss of income for community members. The processes and outcomes of Indonesia's changing neighbourhoods highly depends on the context. However, revitalization projects must take into account the long-term socioeconomic, racial, and/or ethnic injustices it could cause. Otherwise, revitalized

Paper/Article 3

# PRECARITY, TERRITORY, AND IDENTITY POLITICS PANEL 1/ PRÉCARITÉ, TERRITOIRE ET POLITIQUE IDENTITAIRE PANEL 1

Indonesian neighbourhoods will only be reserved for certain populations.

Identity and Inequality in Southeast Asia/ Identité et inégalité en Asie du Sud-Est

Friday, 22 October 2021/

Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 13:45 – 15:30

Drawing on original data from Indonesia, Myanmar, and the Philippines, this panel explores themes of identity and inequality in the provision of public goods and services in Southeast Asia. In recent years, many countries in the region have faced ethnic conflict and abuses of state power. However, some democratic openings and policy reforms have also created windows for wider representation of marginalized citizens. The ability of reforms to expand representation and equality may depend on the design of local institutions and the identity of decisionmakers. This panel presents new evidence demonstrating how specific dynamics of state-society relations and local governance shape citizens'



perceptions of the state and the distribution of public resources. Two papers on Myanmar explore issues of statesociety relations pertaining to the experience of ethnic minorities and non-state welfare provision respectively. A paper on the Philippines demonstrates how female mayors implement reproductive health policies in strongholds of the Catholic Church. Finally, research from Indonesia shows how inclusive budget consultations increase the representation of women's preferences and decrease the clientelistic distribution of COVID-19 cash transfers. Together, the new evidence presented in these papers showcases persistent challenges and emerging opportunities for equitable development in Southeast Asia.

| evidence presented in   | n these papers showcases persistent challenges and emerging opportunities for equitable development in Southeast Asia.  |
|-------------------------|---|
| Convenor/Animateur:     | Eitan Paul, University of Michigan  |
| Chair/Président:        | Amy Liu, The University of Texas at Austin  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Amy Liu, The University of Texas at Austin; Meredith Weiss, University at Albany  |
|                         | Papers  |
| Paper/Article 1         | Can Encounters with the State Improve Minority-State Relations? Evidence from Myanmar Jangai Jap, George Washington University Why and how do members of politically non-dominant ethnic groups develop an attachment to the state? Using qualitative and quantitative data (election data, an original survey conducted in 2019, and a survey experiment conducted in spring 2021) from Myanmar, this paper examines the effect of ethnic minorities' everyday encounters with the state (i.e., interpersonal interactions between citizens and agents of the state in local government offices) on their attachment to the state. It also tests whether everyday encounters with the state have an ameliorating effect in a conflict prone setting as well as the effect of power-sharing on improving minority-state relations. Attachment to the state is defined in my research as an emotional bond an individual feels toward their country of citizenship. Existing explanations for minority-state relations focus on macro-level factors such as power-sharing, nation-building policies, and public goods provision. In contrast, I propose a novel theory that highlights the role of interpersonal interactions. I argue that ordinary citizens' attachment to the state is informed by their most tangible experiences of the state, which tend to occur in local government offices. Ordinary citizens in much of the developing world visit local government offices for routine matters. There at the office, citizens encounter street-level bureaucrats who provide privileged contacts with the state. Ethnic minorities who had positive encounters with the state develop stronger attachment to the state. |
| Paper/Article 2         | Precarity and Polarisation: Political Identity and the Politicization of Pandemic Response in Pre-coup Myanmar  Gerard McCarthy, National University of Singapore In the wake of the pandemic, Myanmar's elected government announced a limited stimulus package to support formal companies and some poor households. Yet in a context where the informal sector is more than half the economy and pre-pandemic government social safety nets were patchy at best, state support often failed to reach the neediest. Informed by analysis of a national political and economic survey of 1,500 respondents conducted in January 2021, supplemented by interviews with ordinary people, civil servants, and political candidates before and after Myanmar's November 2020 election, this paper examines how political identity and the pandemic combined to exacerbate political polarization in the run up to Myanmar's 01 February 2021 coup. We find that weak targeting of government aid allowed for claims of corruption and politicization of state aid by minority party supporters ahead of the 2020 election, exacerbating pre-pandemic grievances around the majoritarianism of Myanmar's political system in the months ahead of military takeover. With government aid sparse and poorly targeted, and most local welfare groups facing a shortage of donations, regardless of partisan affiliation many households were forced to take new credit—often at predatory  |



|                 | rates—to survive the pandemic; a situation which has worsened considerably since the economic implosion caused by the coup. The paper concludes with reflections on the role of the pandemic in exacerbating political polarization ahead of the 01 February coup and argues for rapid investment in state-led safety nets and debt forgiveness once civilians return to power.   |
|-----------------|---|
| Paper/Article 3 | Woman vs. Church: How Female Mayors Implement Reproductive Health Policies in Strongholds of the Catholic Church in the Philippines  Nina McMurry, WZB Berlin Social Science Center; Nico Ravanilla, University of California, San Diego  We evaluate the success of female leaders in implementing reproductive health policies in strongholds of the Catholic Church after the passage of the Reproductive Health Law (RH Law) in the Philippines. While many women were strongly in favour of the law, the Catholic Church staunchly opposed it. Using regression discontinuity and differences-in-differences approaches with fine-grained data on local government spending and vital statistics, we find that female elected leaders differentially increased spending on reproductive health after the law's passage. However, the relationship does not hold in localities that are bastions of the Catholic Church. Formal institutional reforms help female leaders effectively implement their preferred policies, but only where they are not constrained by other prevailing traditional institutions.   |
| Paper/Article 4 | Raising Representation? Inclusive Participation in Indonesian Village Budgeting  Eitan Paul, University of Michigan  How can capture by male elites be overcome to expand the substantive representation of women's interests? While pursuing institutional reforms to make policymaking more inclusive is a common approach, these interventions often do not meaningfully expand the participation or representation of women and other marginalized groups. To improve representation, several districts in Indonesia enacted regulations in 2016–19 requiring separate forums, called musyawarah inklusif, for women and other marginalized groups to submit proposals for village development plans and budgets. This paper uses original data from surveys, survey experiments, and village planning documents to evaluate the effects of this novel reform. Overall, the reforms succeed in amplifying the voices of female community leaders but fail to shift actual spending towards women's priorities. The analysis shows that inclusive consultations increase the representation of women's preferences in non-binding village development plans. However, inclusive consultations do not shift spending priorities towards women's preferences in binding annual budgets. Moreover, improvements in female representation lead to development plans that more closely resemble the preferences of pre-existing female community leaders than the preferences of ordinary women in the village. A survey experiment with village heads confirms that village heads do not change their policy priorities in response to information about women's preferences. Collectively, the evidence suggests that political power and elite capture—not a lack of information and participation—can be the key obstacles to improving the substantive representation of ordinary women's interests. |

# PRECARITY, TERRITORY AND IDENTITY POLITICS PANEL 2/ PRÉCARITÉ, TERRITOIRE ET POLITIQUE IDENTITAIRE PANEL

Southeast Asia and the Transboundary/ L'Asie du Sud-Est et le transfrontalier

Friday, 22 October 2021

Vendredi 22 octobre 2021 15:45 – 17:30

This panel explores the conceptualization and limitations of "transboundary" in Southeast Asia. In the context of Southeast Asian international and regional politics, "transboundary" has gained geopolitical significance in a number of agreements between Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members to combat and prevent "transboundary



| haze"—air pollution that crosses national borders. At the crux of these agreements is the tension between each nation states' sovereign rights and the accountability for pollution that travels into another nation's areas. ASEAN's invocation of the transboundary is circumscribed to and premised upon the very problem it attempts to address: national interests and sovereignty over the well-being of the public, regardless of boundaries. Our panel critically examines how the nation-state remains the geopolitical infrastructure and paradigm of neoliberal globalization that dictates how Southeast Asian issues and solutions continue to be framed. To do so, we study how the transboundary outlines the imperatives of Southeast Asian states—while also offering alternatives—through our analyses of the oil industry, visual imaginaries and weather reports, banana republics, and digital theatre. Collectively, the papers argue for comparative approaches, shifting away from Southeast Asian transboundary regionalism to studies of border crossings that account for capitalism, empire, and narratives of economic development. |  |
|--|--|
| Convenor/Animateur:  | Ben Tran, Vanderbilt University  |
| Chair/Président:   | Joanne Leow, University of Saskatchewan  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:  | Ben Tran, Vanderbilt University  |
|  | Papers   |
| Paper/Article 1  | Visibilities of Inequality in Infrastructural Imaginaries of Transboundary Haze and Environmental Vulnerability  Elmo Gonzaga, Division of Cultural Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong  This paper analyzes how visual imaginaries of transboundary haze pollution define the parameters of agency of institutions and infrastructures to respond to natural and manmade ecological disasters. Sociological studies of "developing" or "emerging" economies of Indonesia and the Philippines tend to examine their susceptibility to natural calamities like eruptions and earthquakes as part of "Pacific Ring of Fire." The inability of their existing infrastructures to withstand the potential for catastrophe and return to the normalcy of life is supposed to distinguish them from the so-called "advanced industrialized" Japan and Taiwan. These contrasting representations of agency echo the developmental discourse of the international press about the vulnerability of Southeast Asian nations to destruction and death due to lack of political will and material wealth. If natural calamities such as typhoons and tsunamis test the authority and resources of national governments to confront them, man-made environmental problems like forest fires and air pollution are framed as requiring the cooperation of institutions and organizations on different scales. Transnational haze pollution from palm oil plantations in Sumatra and Kalimantan has recurrently plagued Singapore and Malaysia with the impression that this environmental problem is beyond the control of prosperous nation-states. Vulnerability from haze is articulated through CNN and BBC photos of rust-coloured skies. Facebook jokes and memes highlight the helplessness of everyday victims. Online satellite maps by the World Air Quality Index and ASEAN Specialized Meteorological Center |
| Paper/Article 2  | visualize it as a catastrophe to be solved only through the intervention of a nascent regional community.  Reading for Oil in Singapore and Beyond  Joanne Leow, Assistant Professor of Transnational, Diasporic, Decolonizing/Postcolonial  Literatures, University of Saskatchewan  Singapore is a key node in Southeast Asia's extractive zones as the region's largest and most prolific refiner of petrochemicals. Its refineries are all situated in offshore islands that were once home to indigenous communities who were displaced and then amalgamated through land reclamation. These corporatized spaces are now staffed by a large percentage of the 750,000 migrant workers who work in the island-state, supervised by American, European, and Australian expatriate managers—a clear example of what Amitav Ghosh has noted: that the spaces of oil are often suppressed, invisible, deterritorialized,   |



| contemporary Singaporean coastal photography, art, and documentary that exist in spite of the country's glossy City in a Garden exterior. I examine how photography, art, and even official documentary forms offer us alternate, affective methods of accessing what is an often-elided aspect of Singapore's postcolonial economic success. Read contrapuntally, texts like Darren Soh's night photography of oil refineries, visual and site-specific performances at littoral zones, and official state narratives like the Channel NewsAsia documentary "The Islands that Made Us," depict cross-border, generational, and familial complicities in Singapore's energy industries. Thus, my work posits a more intimate look at oil as it has affected the ways in which reclaimed land, migrant labour, and national community are represented in the island republic. |
|--|
| The Digital Turn in Southeast Asian Theater: New Routes Through a Global Pandemic  |
| Sheela Jane Menon, English, Dickinson College  |
| In Staging Nation, English Language Theatre in Malaysia and Singapore, Jacqueline Lo asserts that "theatrical representation is a practice that intervenes in contemporary history. 'Doing' theatre entails more than producing a reflection of society; rather, the act   |

Paper/Article 3

of re-presentation assumes the potential for commentary on and intervention in the ideological reproduction of the nation and its subjects." Lo emphasizes theatre's potential as a mediating force, one which actively shapes our past and present. In the midst of this global pandemic, Southeast Asian theatre makers have showcased this dynamism at a moment of social and political crisis. Despite dire conditions, they rallied to reimagine theater in the time of COVID, employing Zoom, social media, online streaming, and virtual talk-backs. In this presentation, I trace how three theatre makers— Jo Kukathas (Malaysia), Sim Yan Yang (Singapore), and Kwin Bhichitkul (Thailand)—designed innovative forms of digital theatre that reconfigured geographic, cultural, and material boundaries. By providing an inside view into these theatre makers' perspectives, shared during a Facebook Live roundtable hosted by Singapore's WILD RICE Theatre, I illuminate the creative and critical approaches that guided the digital turn in Southeast Asian theatre. I demonstrate how these artists have circumvented established boundaries for performance and participation; crossed national boundaries in circulation and collaboration; and exceeded the boundaries of form and convention. In charting these new routes, these artists have intervened in urgent conversations surrounding race, identity, and belonging and they have brought global audiences along with them.

### Asia's Banana Republic: Rethinking Empire in the Transnational Philippines

Paper/Article 4

Alyssa Paredes, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan The term "banana republic," a racializing pejorative most commonly used to describe Central American economies, does not usually conjure images of Southeast Asia. Yet it has become a common moniker for the state of the Philippines' political and economic systems as well as its transnational relationship with Japan. Both journalistic and academic writing have used the label to characterize every administration from Ferdinand Marcos (1965–1986) to Rodrigo Duterte (2016–current), citing foreign intervention in politics, a state of bloodshed and rebellion, the persistence of kleptocracy in high office, the lack of government accountability, and the rampancy of inequality. These popular references offer opportunities to rethink the nature of empire. This paper thus turns to the export banana zones of southeastern Mindanao as both the metaphoric root and a material source of the power asymmetries that define the Philippine south's transboundary ties to East Asian consumer markets. It offers historical comparisons between the Southeast Asian nation and Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras to demonstrate how scholarly understandings of the "banana republics" shift in this regional context. Focusing on (1) new land control schemes devised by the same American fruit conglomerates; (2) foundational ties to import markets in Japan, rather than to the United States and Europe;



and (3) a history of internal settler colonialism, this paper shows the role that the industry has played both in shaping local political and economic conditions, and in differentiating Philippine banana trade from networks in the same commodity elsewhere in the world.

# PRECARITY, TERRITORY AND IDENTITY POLITICS PANEL 3/PRÉCARITÉ, TERRITOIRE ET POLITIQUE IDENTITAIRE PANEL 3

Nation, Ethnicity, Intimacy, and Sexuality/ Nation, ethnicité, intimité et sexualité

| Nation, Ethnicity, Intimacy, and Sexuality/ Nation, ethnicité, intimité et sexualité |  |
|--|--|
| Sunday, 24 October<br>2021/ Dimanche 24  |  |
| octobre 2021   | 13:45 – 15:30  |
|  |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:  |  |
| Chair/Président:   | John Paul Catungal, University of British Columbia   |
| Discussant/Intervenant:  | John Paul Catungal, University of British Columbia   |
|  | Papers   |
|  | Transpacific Brown   |
| Paper/Article 1  | In North America, "brown" often signifies racial groups who hail from the Global South, but who don't fall under signs of blackness or Arabs: Latino/a/xs, Filipino/as, and South Asians (Sharma). At the same time, races seen as "yellow" or "white" were once conceived of as brown (Japanese, Koreans, Italians) and brownness has been a significant marker within communities-of-color ("brown" African Americans). Once we broach the confines of America and into Asia, entirely different racial formations emerge, wherein brownness plays a role: the "brownness" of mest+D20izo/as in the Philippines, the colour "brown" to signify Malays or Southeast Asians more generally, and American military operations that brought together "brown brothers." How has brownness operated within the transpacific as a marker of particular bodies, and as metaphor? This presentation conceives of a transpacific brownness in relation to other forms of brown to produce a storied manifest for brown theory. By activating "the transpacific" as both the imperial relations among Asia, Oceania, and America, and as an epistemological paradigm that navigates the disciplinary logics produced through these encounters, I treat brownness in the transpacific to untangle a story of how some people in Asia went from resembling a wild and uncontainable threat to a form of brownness that became necessary for the reproduction of the global north. In other words, the story brownness tells is about how some people in Asia and Oceania were shaped as "domesticatable." |
|  | Queer Diasporic Filipino-Catholicism's Transnational Movements through Joella Cabalu's "It Runs in the Family"  Cecilia Federizon, University of Toronto  This paper traces the transnational movements of Filipino Catholicism in the Filipino diasporic community in Canada, focusing on the ongoing negotiations and resistance of Filipinos' genders and sexualities. Religion is a marker of "Filipinoness" for diasporic   |
| Paper/Article 2  | subjects and enables queer diasporic communities to make sense of their situation (Manalansan 2003). Through an examination of Filipino-Canadian diasporic artist Joella Cabalu's 2015 documentary, "It Runs in the Family," I hope to trace Catholicism's movements with the Filipino diaspora and the ways in which its meanings are constantly changing with movement. I hope to examine religion, not merely as a nationalist ideology, but as an object in which diasporic Filipinos relate with to understand and negotiate notions of love, "family," and "home." "It Runs in the Family" follows Joella's gay younger  |



|                 | brother Jay, as he travels from Vancouver to the United States and the Philippines to meet with other queer family members and to understand a supposed family curse that "made" them queer. The documentary enables a queer reading of religion that centres the contradictory affectual connections of queer Filipinx experiences with the Catholic Church's (homophobic) teachings. Following Eng's (2010) queer diasporic approach, I explore the valences of diasporic Filipino Catholic intimations "through the lens of queerness, affiliation, and social contingency" in addressing the "nostalgic demands of diaspora" (p. 13). Catholicism, I argue, is not a stable institution but a malleable religion that creates a connection back to "home" and "family."  |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | Embracing the Nation: Strategic Deployment of Sexuality, Nation, and Citizenship in Singapore  |
|                 | Minwoo Jung, Sociology, University of Southern California  |
| Paper/Article 3 | How do sexual minorities navigate and negotiate with nationalism? While some scholars consider nationalism as a primarily exclusionary force against sexual minorities, how might we understand sexual minorities' engagement with nationalism? I address these questions by exploring the strategic deployment of sexual and national identities of LGBT movements through the case study of Singapore's annual LGBT-inclusive event, Pink Dot. In response to the authoritarian and heteronormative state's construction of sexual minorities as non-national Others, Pink Dot mobilizes both sexual and national identities in an effort to forge a space of inclusion while ensuring its survival. By portraying itself as a uniquely Singaporean event and espousing national identity and belonging through symbolic and performative practices, Pink Dot leverages national identity to minimize differences from and foreground similarities to the majority. In this way, sexual minorities in Singapore endeavor to embed themselves within the narratives of the nation and claim their legitimate belonging while simultaneously projecting a nation more inclusive of sexual difference. The aspirational inclusion of sexual minorities in the national imagery, however, inevitably elicits the state's backlash that narrowly defines the physical and symbolic boundaries of the political project. This analysis advances our understanding of the interactions between the state and social movements in shaping the relationship among the nation, sexuality, and citizenship. |
| Paper/Article 4 | Reimagining the Civic: Legal Performativity, Sexuality, and LGBTIQ in Indonesia  Arief Rianto Kurniawan, Centre for Human Rights Research and Development, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Jakarta, Indonesia; Ahmad Fathony, Centre for Human Rights Research and Development, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Jakarta, Indonesia   |
|                 | This presentation seeks to elucidate the interrelationship between power, public intimacy, and the vernacularization of human rights. By focusing on the LGBTIQ discourse in several court decisions on criminal, civil, administrative, and judicial review cases, we suggest that the construction of human rights has been largely dependent on the political populist agenda. Through the lens of legal performativity on the court of law's reasonings, we could basically see an ideological myriad in understanding gender, sexuality, and identity of the sexual minority groups. These reiterative practices have been exerting the deviancy or threat of LGBTIQ beyond sexual behaviour—as commonly understood, while on the other occasions, they rather perform LGBTIQ as part of identity that should be legally protected from discriminatory speech. Gender and sexuality of LGBTIQ group are thus better understood as an assemblage of various materialities that exist in modern Indonesian society.   |



# PRECARITY, TERRITORY, AND IDENTITY POLITICS PANEL 4/PRÉCARITÉ, TERRITOIRE ET POLITIQUE IDENTITAIRE PANEL Ethnicity and Conflict in Myanmar/Ethnicité et conflit au Myanmar Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre 2021 11:00 - 12:45NA Convenor/Animateur: NA Chair/Président: Htet Thiha Zaw, University of Michigan Discussant/Intervenant: Htet Thiha Zaw, University of Michigan **Papers** Why Politically Included Ethnic Groups Rebel: Decolonization, Ethno-nationalism, and Within-Group Heterogeneity Jangai Jap, George Washington University Recent advances in the empirical literature demonstrate that ethnic rebellion is causally linked to an ethnic group's political status, specifically political exclusion. In other words, political inclusion has a peace-inducing effect. Yet, ethnic groups that are included in meaningful power-sharing arrangements do rebel. Why do politically included ethnic groups rebel? What motivates ethnic rebellion? I argue that the conflict-dampening effect of political inclusion is undermined by heterogeneity within ethnic minority communities. I propose a theory of ethnic rebellion that emphasizes within-group heterogeneity, colonial Paper/Article 1 legacy, and ethno-nationalism. This explanation involves two related components: an ethnic group consists of many factions, holding different ideas about how to relate to the post-colonial state, and ethnic identity is more fixed for some members of an ethnic group than others and these individuals develop strong ethno-nationalist views. Given the heterogeneity, ethnic rebellion may still be initiated by ethno-nationalists even if an ethnic group has political representation. I substantiate these claims by conducting a subnational study of Burma. Through a comparative case study of how ethnic rebellion began in Burma's ethnic communities, this paper shows that the onset of rebellion occurred in ethnic communities in spite of political inclusion and that the onsets of rebellion in politically excluded ethnic communities are not due to political exclusion. Ethnic Voting in Myanmar: How Subnational Dynamics Moderate Ethnicity's Effect on **Voting Behaviour** Isabel Chew, Political Science, University of British Columbia Who votes for ethnic minority parties and why? Using an original survey experiment from Myanmar, I argue that we need to pay attention to how subnational boundaries sharpen regional identity and create new majority-minority dynamics. These determine the kind of Paper/Article 2 political community (ethnic, regional, or national) that ethnic minorities see themselves as being part of, and in turn affects the rate of ethnic voting. At the same time, subnational dynamics can also influence how ethnic minority parties are perceived by voters. When the ethnic party in question seeks to represent the subnational majority, subnational minorities may view themselves as potential beneficiaries of the party's platform, facilitating cross-ethnic voting. Violences of the Peace Process: How State-defined "Peace" as "Peace for business and development" has Failed to Address Longstanding Political Grievances and to end State

Sheila Htoo, Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change, York University

Burmese military-state building development through ceasefire agreement, known as ceasefire capitalism, has fundamentally failed to address longstanding political grievances

Violences against Karen Civilians

Paper/Article 3



and state violences against Karen civilians. Rather, territorial expansion and heightened state control over Indigenous Karen people in Mutraw district have been disguised as "peace" and "peace process" defined and crafted by the Myanmar military. Karen civilians, who continue to experience state violences and oppression do not trust this state-designed peace process and thus, they do not easily buy into escalating state violences packaged as "development" and "control" disguised as "peace." This paper shows how the state-defined "peace" and state-designed "peace process" are an illusion for Karen civilians in Mutraw district and calls for genuine peace that ends state violences and oppression, and guarantees justice in people's everyday life, as envisioned in the Salween Peace Park.

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| PRECARITY, TERRITORY A                                  | PRECARITY, TERRITORY AND IDENTITY POLITICS PANEL 5/PRÉCARITÉ, TERRITOIRE ET POLITIQUE IDENTITAIRE PANEL 5   |  |
| Sunday, 24 October<br>2021/ Dimanche 24<br>octobre 2021 | e Rohingya Crisis and Response/La crise des Rohingyas et la réponse<br>11:00 – 12:45  |  |
|   |   |  |
| Convenor/Animateur:                                     |   |  |
| Chair/Président:  | Mohamed Salihin Subhan, University of British Columbia  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:                                 | Mohamed Salihin Subhan, University of British Columbia  |  |
|   | Papers  |  |
| Paper/Article 1   | "#SayNoToRohingya": A Critical Study on Malaysians' Amplified Resentment Towards Rohingya Refugees on Twitter during Times of 2020 COVID-19 crisis  Mohd Irwan Syazli Saidin, Center of the Research in History, Politics and International Affairs, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia; College of Social Sciences and International Studies, University of Exeter  This article seeks to investigate how resentment towards refugees becomes amplified on social media during times of crisis. The focus of this presentation is the public discourse of Malaysians on the social media platform, Twitter, regarding the Rohingya refugees during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Through a qualitative content analysis of Tweets from Malaysian Twitter users during the county's Movement Restriction Order in April 2020 and case studies of refugees from other nations in Malaysia, this presentation aims to identify the cause of grievances among Malaysians towards the Rohingya refugee community. This article argues that amplified resentment towards Rohingya refugees on social media during times of crisis is caused by the citizens' echo chambering of implicit insecurities. Additionally, there is a deeper problem rooted in the nation where the distinction between refugees and undocumented migrants does not exist, and the inconsistencies of government policies towards refugees of different nations. This presentation concludes by proposing future research on policy gaps regarding refugees that can outweigh the grievances of citizens. |  |
| Paper/Article 2   | Canada's Response to the Rohingya Crisis in Bangladesh: Feminist International Assistance Policy in Action  Ishrar Habib, Political Section, Embassy of the People's Republic of China, Dhaka,  Bangladesh  Although Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) has been extensively studied in terms of its theoretical bearing, research investigating how the policy manifests   |  |

itself in its execution has been inadequate. In its official strategy for responding to the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and Bangladesh, Canada seeks to meet the "unique needs of



women and girls" which is in line with the FIAP. As a result, the country has been directing its funding to purposes that address gender-based issues; one of them is gender-based violence (GBV), which is also one of the core priority areas mentioned in the FIAP. In order to study how this priority manifests in action, this paper evaluates Canada's humanitarian assistance/funding towards the GBV sector in the 2018, 2019, and 2020 Joint Response Plans for Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis. It also made a comparative study of the funding offered by Canada and other national government donors towards the GBV sector in each of the mentioned year's JRP. It has been found that Canada's contribution alone makes up 45.4 per cent of the total funding received for GBV purpose in 2019. Moreover, while Canada was the fourth largest donor in 2018, it stood first in 2019 and 2020 among all country donors of the GBV sector. Analyzing the findings, the paper marks that Canada's Feminist International Assistance policy rightfully plays out in its response to the Rohingya crisis, thus reinforcing Canada's reputation as a gender-sensitive donor among other countries having similar pro-gender norms within their foreign policy frameworks.

### Humanitarian Assistance to Rohingya Refugees: Achievements and Challenges

A N M Zakir Hossain, Faculty of Public Governance and International Studies, National University of Public Service, Budapest, Hungary

The numbers of refugees increased all over the world while humanitarian organizations are challenged to support this vast population in different parts of the world. Rohingya refugees are forced to flee from Myanmar which became augmented in 2017 when the military crackdown started. While many are internally displaced, Bangladesh is hosting about one million Rohingya in the world's largest refugee camp where humanitarian support is becoming challenging due to legal and environmental vulnerabilities. International law becomes restricted for refugees in Bangladesh as it is not the signatory to the international convention of refugees. The camp area is vulnerable to climate change and natural disasters. These people have numerous health issues that put pressure on the humanitarian organizations to manage the crises. This paper aims to identify the pros and cons to delivering humanitarian support to the Rohingya. It also intends to discover how humanitarian services are enabling refugees and rebuilding their future. The research will try to answer: under what conditions and how humanitarian assistance is delivering to the Rohingya? What are the challenges of humanitarian organizations during their activities to Rohingya during COVID-19? Is this assistance good enough for these refugees' sustainable future, why and why not? The paper will follow a system approach and be based on secondary sources of data to answer the questions and attain the objectives.

Paper/Article 3

# QUERYING/QUEERING IMAGINARIES & MEMORIES PANEL 1/INTERROGER/RUINER L'IMAGINAIRE ET LES SOUVENIRS PANEL 1

Archipelagic Imagination and Decolonial Aesthetics: Enduring Imperial Duress, Colonial Detritus, and Fantasies of National (Be)Longing/ Imagination archipélagique et esthétique décoloniale: Endurer la contrainte impériale, les débris coloniaux et les fantasmes du désir national

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24 octobre 2021

11:00 - 12:45

This panel probes the interconnectedness of the geo-political, historical, and cultural imaginaries of the insular, and the archipelagic ways of being and becoming, doing and undoing, making, and remaking in the Philippines and in the Filipino global elsewhereness. We explore the temporal-spatial connections between the sea of islands and the imperializing continent—the hauntings of empire that conjure abiding abjection, violence, death, and displacement. The empire's recyclable rubbles, and ruins, durable detritus and debris are juxtaposed with the repeated refusal, rejection, and resistance of the archipelagic in constituting colonial reciprocities and resilient residual relations. Fictions of belonging and fantasies of nationhood endure as rubbish remainders and reminders of racial capitalism, patriarchal heteronormativity, and imperial homo-nationalism. Meanwhile, islandic relations, intimacies, and diverse modes of



| Convenor/Animateur:     | mbedded in art production, circulation, reception, and consumption.  Ferdinand Lopez, University of Toronto  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Chair/Président:        | Roland Tolentino, College of Mass Communication and Likhaan Institute of Creative Writing, University of the Philippines   |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Roland Tolentino, College of Mass Communication and Likhaan Institute of Creative Writing, University of the Philippines   |
|                         | Papers   |
|                         | The Weapon of Cultures: Necropolitics and Death in the Cinema on the Indigenous People of Mindanaw   |
| Paper/Article 1         | Jay Jomar Quintos, University of the Philippines  This paper probes the contours of Lumad (a collective term for Indigenous Peoples in Mindanaw) and death in "Ang mga Tigmo sa Akong Pagpauli" (Riddles of my Homecoming (dir., Arnel Mardoquio, 2013), a film based on Mindanaw settler's belief that the souls of dead Lumad return to their homeland to resolve unfinished businesses. Through a set of tableaux and other surreal images in the sphere of dreams, the film may seem to homogenize various Lumad circumstances and life-worlds. On the one hand, it may be deduced as essentialist construction, but on the other, may be opined as productive articulation of Lumad collective experiences, forgotten and sidelined in the detritus of the Philippine national imagination.   |
|                         | Using Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics, this paper explores how the rendering of death in the film is entwined in the unequal economic distribution, anti-poor policies that favour foreigners, and draconian power interplay propagated by the Philippine state. The systemic disenfranchisement towards the Indigenous Peoples is significantly evident in natural disasters, human rights abuses, and political violence in Mindanaw, specifically during the Rodrigo Duterte regime. Finally, this paper investigates how Lumad death in the film can be conspicuously tragic but at the same time, a weapon of cultures.  Hail Mary, Full of Waste: Philippine Postcolonial Residue in Mia Alvar's "The Virgin of Monte Ramon"   |
| Paper/Article 2         | Matthew Mucha, University of Toronto In her collection, In the Country, Mia Alvar examines the postcolonial legacies manifested in the modern-day Filipino subjects. She problematizes the marginalization of certain groups in Philippine society, and by extension, delineates their social stratification along the lines of class and ethnicity. In the short story, "The Virgin of Monte Ramon," character are ostracized because of their physical conditions. Danny, an upper-class mestizo boy, is born without legs. His friend, Annelise, a lowly negrita girl, suffers from excruciating menstrual cramps during her periods. In conceptualizing the relationship between history and trash, Susan Morrison declares that "In the search for a narrative, we inevitably create waste," forcing subjects and their stories to the margins. |
|                         | This essay examines the author's employment of American neo-colonial legacies in the Philippines as imperial detritus. Through the use of characters that embody various historical entanglements and their interactions with each other, Alvar presents the absurdity of internal divisions among postcolonial subjects who pursue fictions of nationhood. Her postmodern narrative unflinchingly stares at the more than three centuries of imperial decay, colonial abjection, and toxic cultural garbage in the Philippine archipelago.  |
| Paper/Article 3         | Queering Folklore: Reading Diwata as Archipelagic Mythologizing of Desire and (Be)Longing  |

Ferdinand Lopez, University of Toronto
As divine beings, these old deities are literally entangled with stars and oceans, heavens and earths not to mention forms belonging to the allegedly "opposite sex" and other possible embodiments.

– Zairong Xiang, Queer Ancient Ways: A Decolonial Exploration

Since a myth is a type of speech, everything can be a myth, provided it is conveyed by a discourse.

Roland Barthes, Mythologies

Diwata: Queering Precolonial Philippine Mythology is an online photography exhibit of young queer and trans folx from Mindanao: Renz Botero, Natu Xantino, and Ram Botero. This visual art display is a part of the month-long Southeast Asian Queer Culture Festival held last February 13 until March 13 2021 on the theme, "Be/longing." The artists-mythmakers and curators reinterpret figures from pre-colonial Philippine history, and folklore to explore the various instantiations of queer (be)longings and transformations. While the general reception of the virtual exhibit remains positive, critics interrogate the limits of cultural appropriation, the extent of artistic license, the slippages in conceptual translation, and the lack of faithfulness to the archival sources informing the 16-piece visual art collection.

What I propose to do in this paper is to deploy the notion of "strange temporalities of use" conceptualized by Sarah Ahmed, in order to map the messy entanglements of queer desire, and (be)longing exemplified in Diwata's mythopoetic ekphrasis. I use archipelagic elsewhereness (extending Rabasa and Xian) to strategically read the out-of-use, wild, strange, queer, and startling transformations of beings in Diwata.

Dramaturgy in Lockdown: Re-Thinking the Role of the Dramaturg in the Digital Space

Dominique Beatrice T. La Victoria, Ateneo de Manila University

The transposition to digital theatre by Filipino theatre artists due to the COVID-19 pandemic should prompt a necessary shift in the Filipino dramaturg's role in a theatre production. Using the Auction of Yoyoy Moonbuggy's Head (2021) performance under the "MAKBETAMAXIMUS: Theatre of Destruction" online production—a deconstruction of Shakespeare's Macbeth by university theatre organization Tanghalang Ateneo—as a case study, this presentation traces a shift in the dramaturg's role: defined by scholarly research and public relations and confined to one physical space pre-pandemic. In this production, the dramaturg takes on a role that fuses directorial and curatorial work, collaborating with performers and designers to devise a performance streamed live online to a public audience. Negotiations of physical space scale up due to the confinement of participants in different parts of Metro Manila, with the dramaturg having to negotiate inter-city restrictions (i.e., checkpoints and curfews). This concern for space has also expanded to an ephemeral digital space, wholly dependent on third world resources (i.e. internet access, reliability, rotating brownouts). Given the politically charged nature of the performance (drawing on the fanaticism of the Rodrigo Duterte regime prevalent in the online space), and the ethnographic relationship between Filipinos and social media, the dramaturg's role in relation to the audience extends to social media strategy: discerning the best platform to host the performance and optimal time of streaming, while ensuring the safety of the performers. As we move towards a post-pandemic theatre, the Filipino theatre industry must begin to see dramaturgs as creators, curators, and planners able to negotiate spaces and audiences beyond their pre-pandemic responsibilities.

Paper/Article 4



# QUERYING/QUEERING IMAGINARIES AND MEMORIES PANEL 2/ INTERROGER/RUINER L'IMAGINAIRE ET LES **SOUVENIRS PANEL 2**

Postscripts from the Pacific: Reflections on Archival Research into Cultural Memory, Historical Trauma, and Political Struggle in the Philippines / Post-scriptum du Pacifique: Réflexions sur la recherche archivistique concernant la mémoire culturelle, les traumatismes historiques et les luttes politiques aux Philippines

Sunday, 24 October 2021/ Dimanche 24 octobre 2021

13:45 - 15:30

The value of archival memory-keeping practices to the structure of social and cultural life is often explained through the universal human instinct for "collective cultural self-preservation." But rarely do traditional archives venture outside archival institutions or outside the boundaries of the archival discipline to interact with and learn from other areas of study.

This panel discussion brings together four scholars, two from archival studies, one from history, and another from applied theatre, who share a common experience of studying archives and memory work in the Philippines. The Philippines is home to many archival traditions, including Indigenous memory-keeping practices and a national archives born of the Spanish and American colonial projects. Though researching different topics, these panelists nevertheless encountered similar questions regarding the role that archives play in national and local consciousness. What is the importance of archives in maintaining cultural and community memory around historically significant or traumatic events, such as the audience engagement approach of the Marcos dictatorship, the Igorot struggle against the Chico Dam, the aftermath of a natural disaster, or a global pandemic? How have community efforts to collect and preserve records contributed to present day political struggles for survival and self-determination, and against state repression?

| Convenor/Animateur:     | Lara Maestro, University of British Columbia  |
|-------------------------|---|
| Chair/Président:        | Chandu Claver, Damayan Society for Migrant Education and Resources  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Vanessa Banta, University of Toronto Scarborough  |
|                         | Papers  |
|                         | Alternative Becomings, Alternative Belongings: Cordillera Case Studies of Records in Context  Lara Maestro, Master of Archival Studies and Library and Information Studies Graduate,  |
|                         | University of British Columbia  |
| Paper/Article 1         | The creation, maintenance, transmission, and preservation of knowledge over time is common to human cultures around the world. Knowledge-keeping practices differ based on social and cultural context, and can take a variety of forms, including the oral, the embodied, and the written word. This paper considers two examples of knowledge-keeping mechanisms—the bodong and Cordillera Day— in order to determine community-based approaches to the subjects of the record and the archives: the bodong system and Cordillera Day. It provides an analysis of how the bodong, an Indigenous socio-political system used in the Kalinga province of the Philippines, functions as a record among the |
|                         | Basao, Butbut, and Tanglag tribes. It also provides an analysis of how Cordillera Day, an annual political and cultural event bringing together the various Indigenous tribes in the Cordillera region of Luzon, functions as a living archive. This exploration was conducted using unstructured interviews, participant observation, and content analysis during fieldwork conducted in the Cordillera region of the Philippines, primarily in Kalinga province. The study concludes that the bodong and Cordillera Day function in such a way that they are analogous to established archival definitions of the archive and the record,   |

ancestral lands and for self-determination.

but that they do not need to be understood as such by the community in order to be useful or successful. Further, this thesis finds that the recordkeeping practices of these Indigenous communities is inextricably linked with political struggles for the defence of



|                 | Reconstructing Mass Media Audiences in the Philippines: Notes on the Salvage of Archival Debris   |
|-----------------|---|
| Paper/Article 2 | Teilhard Paradela, University of British Columbia   |
|                 | This paper traces the intensification of the imperative for audience discipline in the Philippines by examining mass communication research, programs, and policies from the commonwealth period (1930s–1940s) to the Marcos regime (1960s–1980s).  Using the pioneering on "media exposure" in the early decades of the Philippine republic, this dissertation examines how the local elites imagined the audiences as belonging to—and thereby manifesting the existence of—a market, a public, and even a nation. Such performative imaginings had powerful implications on how the state engaged "the people" and how the people participated in national affairs as well as how they related to each other. The declaration of Martial Law in 1972 by then President Ferdinand Marcos pushed into stark relief the particular currency of knowing the audiences. As it took full control of the mass media, the state under Marcos wielded audience research to support the disciplining, in both its repressive and productive sense, of the people. At stake for the state was the sole power not only to communicate to the people but also to constitute them as audiences of Marcos's spectacular dictatorship. By engaging what the author calls "archival debris," the paper reflects on the challenges of archiving in the Philippines from environmental disasters to institutional indifference and their impact on collective                     |
|                 | memory, history making, and political action.   |
| Paper/Article 3 | Performing Disasters: Indigenous Ecological Knowledge in/within Applied Theatre as Post-Disaster Response  Dennis Gupa, University of Victoria/University of Winnipeg  In this paper I will illustrate decoloniality in dramaturgy work by using the processes and enquiry of applied theatre informed by ontology of ritual performances and fishing traditions. I will build my discussion of climate change, Indigenous environmental epistemology, and applied theatre through multi-narrative discourse that underpins creativity, agency, and relationality. Through my methodological interventions, I formulated a theatrical practice deployed in a typhoon-battered site in Eastern Samar, Samar Province, Philippines that reinforces social emancipation through collective performance creations and curations. This theatrical practice uses a performance method informed by the ritual of sociality and fishing traditions and was conceptualized through a series of collective and collaborative artistic-academic processes of transforming disaster stories into community-based theatre performances. The conceptualization of this performance method aimed to theorize applied theatre as a practice of post-disaster response art. Eventually, I argue that by Indigenizing a performance method, community-based-theatre performances mobilizes a decolonial theatre that broadens, equalizes, and diversifies climate change dialogues. |
|                 | Haunting, Imagined Records, and Indigenous Intergenerational Memory   |
| Paper/Article 4 | Isabel Carlin, University of British Columbia  Using archival theories of haunting and imagination, this project examines the imagined harp of the author's Indigenous grandmother, which functions as a personal and political record in the northern Philippines. It seeks to answer the question: What is archived and what is not archived in/about Indigenous communities in the northern Philippines, and how does this parallel the absence of the imagined harp as record? Political theories of haunting use ghosts, which are materially absent but deeply felt, such as the sociological "ghost" of imperialism or the more literal ghost of an ancestor passed, to uncover the affective dimensions of political violence and oppression. Like haunting, imagined archival theory also reckons with political violence, by surfacing human rights issues and desires for unattained perspectives and justice through imagined or impossible records. The political  |

implications of this imagined harp as a record will be uncovered through participatory research based on Indigenous methodologies of relationality, with the aim of understanding this harp in the context of Indigenous political resistance against sustained state terror. Building on the political activism and worldviews of Indigenous communities in the northern Philippines, theories of imagined archives, and the phenomenon of haunting, this project politicizes personal archival records and leverages archival theories to serve Indigenous intergenerational memory. This project contributes to a history of Indigenous political resistance in the northern Philippines and offers a political intervention in critical archival theory.

Sarah Turner, McGill University; Danielle Labbé, Université de Montréal; Pham Thi Thanh

### **VIETNAM PANEL 1/PANEL SUR LE VIETNAM 1**

City Making in Vietnam: Experiencing, Negotiating and Contesting Plans and Policies for 'Modern' Cities in a Socialist State/Faire la ville au Vietnam: Expérimenter, négocier et contester les plans et politiques pour les villes "modernes" dans un État socialiste

Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre 2021

Convenor/Animateur:

09:00 - 10:45

Over the last 30 years, impressive volumes of cement and steel have been redefining and remoulding Vietnam's urban skylines, encouraged by particular political discourses of what is needed to create "modern" progressive cities. Despite many residents being concerned about rising pollution, traffic congestion, and the volume and speed of rural-urban migration, contemporary cities with their towering high rises, residential enclaves, and broad highways are hailed by government officials as the means to expand the country's economic growth and "advance" society, albeit while maintaining political order. In this panel, we bring the politics and practices of Vietnam's urban environments into the limelight, drawing particular attention to the ways by which city planning, (re)organization, and expansion are central to the reconfiguration of space and control over people's livelihoods, mobilities, leisure time; indeed, all aspects of their daily lives. Spanning the length of Vietnam, our case studies capture a range of city-building dynamics and controversies in the capital Hanoi, the economic powerhouse Ho Chi Minh City, that city's "gateway province" Bình Dương, and more remote Tây Ninh province. Along the way, we highlight debates over urban public-space creation and control, concerns over foreign involvement in urban railway construction, the role of state-owned enterprises in the making of New Towns, and discords between state and residents' ideal imaginaries for their cities.

|                         | Hiên, Université du Québec à Montréal  |  |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| Chair/Président:        | Sarah Turner, McGill University  |  |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | NA   |  |  |
|                         | Papers   |  |  |
|                         | Can Vietnam Rely on the Private Sector to Produce Open Public Spaces in Cities? The Case of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City   |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1         | Danielle Labbé, École d'urbanisme et d'architecture de paysage, Université de Montréal The production of open public spaces, such as parks, public gardens, and playgrounds, has experienced major changes in urban Vietnam in the last two decades. Starting in the late 1990s, public policies have sought to transfer a significant part of the responsibility to invest, design, build, and manage these spaces from the public to the private sector. Twenty years on, few studies have examined the outcomes of this major policy shift. This paper presents the results of a pilot study responding to this gap. Drawing on the cases of two areas at the near periphery of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, it critically reviews the policies and institutional mechanisms governing the private production of open public spaces in Vietnamese cities and assesses their outcomes in terms of the quantity, types, and quality of the spaces produced. We find that current policies do not provide sufficient incentives to ensure the provision of enough open public spaces in newly urbanized |  |  |



|                 | districts. We further find that most of the open public spaces produced by the private sector consists of very small or decorative spaces that support very few activities, or are exclusive spaces. Moreover, the few larger open public spaces produced by the private sector provide insufficient basic facilities and equipment. Governmental authorities therefore need to reconsider the balance of responsibilities between the public and private sectors with regards to open public space provision, to avoid the development of urban areas severely deficient in these essential amenities.   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | Inequitable Infrastructure: Mobility In/justices Accompanying Hanoi's New Urban Railway Line 2A   |
| Paper/Article 2 | Sarah Turner, Binh N. Nguyen, Madeleine Hykes; Department of Geography, McGill University  In 2008, the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam approved a major infrastructure project for the capital city Hanoi—the construction of an urban rail network consisting of eight lines spanning 318 kilometres. Line 2A, the first line of this Hanoi Urban Railway System, has been under construction since 2011, and while originally slated for completion in 2013, it remains non-operational as of February 2021. Spanning 13 kilometres across the city centre, Line 2A has encountered more than just construction setbacks, its reputation being tarnished by accidents, public scepticism over accessibility and convenience, and contractor choice. Indeed, two-thirds of the original financing came from loans from China, conditional on the consultants, construction, and materials being sourced from China. This paper focuses on how Hanoi residents relate to, experience, and negotiate this Chinese-Vietnamese infrastructure project. Drawing on interviews with Hanoi residents and urban planners between 2017 and 2021, we focus first on public perceptions of Line 2A, and how the Line's intimate ties with China have resulted in pointed commentaries, arguably cementing long-standing socio-political critiques. Second, we analyze how the Line's construction has impacted the livelihoods of informal motorbike taxi drivers, and how this might pan out in the future. While the Vietnamese state considers investing in urban infrastructure—such as Hanoi's new railway system—as an important symbol of modern mobility, we find that Line 2A is not only creating new mobility privileges and inequalities, it is also raising broader concerns regarding the city's future. |
| Paper/Article 3 | A Socialist Growth Machine? The Role of Political-entrepreneurial Partnerships in the Making of Bình Dương's New Towns, southern Vietnam  Tran Khac Minh, Organisation et la Diffusion de l'Information Géographique (PRODIG), Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne  Since 1986, the liberalization of the Vietnamese economy has resulted in the restructuring of the public sector including the creation of numerous state-owned enterprises in which the state retains significant control through majority or significant minority ownership. New forms of these state-owned enterprises continue to be piloted, especially in the country's provinces considered to have potential for greater industrialisation and urbanization. In this paper, I focus on Bình Dương province, located in southeast Vietnam, now emerging as a rival to Ho Chi Minh City with regards to local and overseas investment, due to its large industrial base and proliferation of new towns during the last 15 years. My aim is to decipher the role of Becamex, a large state-owned enterprise, in shaping Bình Dương province's new town development policy. Becamex has been actively participating in redefining the economic and territorial configuration of Bình Dương province through the creation of multiple urban and industrial megaprojects. I scrutinize the particularities of Binh Duong's new towns, notably their spatial and functional organization involving a complexity of real estate projects, and industrial and hi-tech parks. I also examine the emergence of new trans-provincial development corridors and Bình Dương's competitive position compared to Ho Chi Minh City's metropolitan region, in relation to the Province's   |



|                 | new town policy. Focusing on the roles of state-owned enterprises in Vietnam's urban design and growth uncovers the complexity of territorial development and regional construction in Vietnam, while also starting to reveal the adaptability and reinvention of the national public sector.   |
|-----------------|---|
| Paper/Article 4 | "No Flooding or Traffic Jams Here, but no Jobs Either!" Urban Imaginaries in Small Border Towns in Tây Ninh Province, southern Vietnam Pham Thi Thanh Hiên, Département d'études urbaines et touristiques, Université du Québec à Montréal; Tran Khac Minh, Organisation et la Diffusion de l'Information Géographique (PRODIG), Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.  Drawing on current postcolonial calls to decipher so-called "ordinary" cities and their everyday lives (Robinson 2006, Roy 2009), in this paper we examine "What does it mean to be urban in the Vietnam context?" With the Vietnamese state encouraging the proliferation of cities, aiming to create 1,000 new cities by 2025, this question has never been so crucial. We focus on the urban system within Tây Ninh Province to attempt to provide answers to this question, paying particular attention to the state's visions, the imaginaries of this Province's cities by different actors, and everyday experiences of urbanization. Sitting on the border with Cambodia, and part of the transnational "Greater Mekong Subregion," Tây Ninh's turbulent past, ethnic diversity, and role as a core locale for Caodaism, make it a fascinating case study for the theorization of "ordinary cities." Drawing on over 60 in-depth interviews since 2017, we find that provincial planning agencies have been trying different ways to boost urbanization. These have included a heavy reliance on the border economy, taking advantage of the proximity to Ho Chi Minh City (including building highways and a border [ghost) town), creating multiple industrial zones, and vigorously pushing for town "up-ranking." While local residents tend to enjoy the services that come along with the upgraded status of their towns such as water infrastructure and sidewalks, they remain concerned regarding a lack of real socioeconomic opportunities, including employment and health care, revealing complex clashes in ideal urban imaginaries. |

### **VIETNAM PANEL 2/PANEL SUR LE VIETNAM 2**

Youth and Public Spaces in Hanoi/Les jeunes et les espaces publics à Hanoi

SaturdaY, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre

2021 14:15 – 16:00

The landscape of public spaces is changing rapidly in the Vietnamese capital city. In the last few years, new types of public and semi-public spaces have been introduced by the state, by the corporate private sector, and by groups of citizens. At the same time, various parts of the state and of society are actively redefining the purpose, meaning, and usage of old and new public spaces in the city. This panel looks at the position and roles of different groups of youth in this ongoing transformation of Hanoi's publicscape. More specifically, the papers in this panel explore how young graffiti writers, experimental and contemporary artists, drivers working for ride-hailing platforms, and rural labour migrants interact with different public spaces in the Vietnamese capital and ways in which they contribute to shape them.

| Convenor/Animateur:     | Danielle Labbé, Université de Montréal; Sarah Turner, McGill University; Pham Thi Thanh<br>Hiên, Université du Québec à Montréal |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Chair/Président:        | Danielle Labbé, Université de Montréal   |  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Danielle Labbé, Université de Montréal   |  |
| Papers                  |  |  |
| Paper/Article 1         | Writing the Southeast Asian City: The Everyday Politics of Graffiti in Hanoi, Vietnam  |  |
|                         | Michelle Kee, McGill University  |  |

|                 | Graffiti has long been recognized as a form of contentious political participation in the Euro-American context. However, the roles these inscriptions play in the urban landscapes of Southeast Asia have received minimal scholarly attention. In the context of Vietnam, a socialist state with little tolerance for public dissent, I investigate how, and by whom, graffiti is created, and to what degree it transgresses public space norms in the country's capital city, Hanoi. I analyze how young graffiti writers negotiate the social, physical, and cultural boundaries which serve as either deterrents or catalysts for graffiti creation, and consider whether strategies of compliance or everyday resistance are employed in order to create their work. Although there has been minimal academic research on the burgeoning street art scene in Vietnam, the effects that globalization and urbanization have had on the region, and the tactics citizens employ to negotiate state-imposed censorship and restraints, have been studied, positioning this research within a broader area of study. As such, the main objective of this presentation is to explore the motivations behind the creation of graffiti and street art in order to determine how youth identities are constructed and spaces are contested in the controlled urban spaces of Hanoi, Vietnam.   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | Spaces of Innovation and Resistance: An Investigation of Creative Hubs in Hanoi  Celia Zuberec, McGill University   |
| Paper/Article 2 | Within Hanoi, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the past decade has witnessed the proliferation of Creative Hubs. Such spaces embody the values of collaboration, innovation, and community and have greatly contributed to the city's burgeoning contemporary art scene. From experimental music centres to contemporary film studios, such hubs are establishing a new precedent for what it means to create "Vietnamese art." However, such advances have not been made in a frictionless environment. Indeed, although numerous hubs have emerged within the past years, scores of others have closed. The first intention of this paper is thus to establish the reasons for the emergence and disappearance of Hanoi's Creative Hubs. I find that while these spaces provide the city's youth and artistic communities with access to platforms, support networks, and educational resources, strict censorship laws, lack of state policy support, and financial restrictions produce major hindrances to their operations. The second part of this paper therefore seeks to investigate the strategies that Creative Hubs utilize in order to ensure their stability. Significantly, I find that hub owners draw on a collection of formal and informal politics in order to attempt to influence new policies while evading those that are restrictive. Informed by 80 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2019 with hub owners and users, state officials, and local NGO representatives, this paper argues that by challenging state policies, Creative Hubs are able to engage in a process of alternative-value creation that has already begun to impact the city's socio-cultural norms. |
| Paper/Article 3 | Urban Youth Motorbike Mobilities and App-based Livelihoods: Competitions, Conflicts, and COVID-19 Concerns on the Streets of Hanoi, Vietnam   |
|                 | In Vietnam's capital city Hanoi, the recent rise of new ride-hailing platforms has radically altered and disrupted the activities of "traditional" motorbike taxi or xe ôm. As direct competitors to the informal xe ôm, these platforms predominantly employ much younger drivers aged between 16 and 30 years old. Yet, as with their elder xe ôm compatriots, youth ride-hailing drivers often work under precarious employment arrangements with minimal labour protections. In addition, youth ride-hailing drivers also encounter numerous challenging legal and infrastructural conditions in Hanoi's present-day mobility scene, including an imminent ban on motorbikes in downtown Hanoi by 2030, and the growth of mega infrastructure projects as part of the Government's plans to modernize the city's transport network. This paper aims to investigate the livelihood strategies of   |



|                 | youth ride-hailing motorbike taxi drivers in Hanoi, set against the backdrop of such competitors, challenges as well as the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic, despite being largely under control in Vietnam, continues to amplify the precarity and difficulties facing youth drivers in their everyday work and mobility. By drawing on semi-structured and drive-along interviews with youth ride-hailing drivers, I focus on how they gain access to the city's streets and navigate new urban infrastructures in their political, physical, and technological dimensions. Furthermore, the youth drivers' daily frictions and conflicts with both the management of their ride-hailing platform companies and with conventional xe ôm drivers reveal a number of broader concerns regarding the future of this two-wheeled livelihood on the streets of Hanoi. |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | Youth Migrants towards Approach and Use of Public Spaces in Hanoi  |
|                 | Pham Quynh Huong, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences   |
|                 | Public spaces play an important role in the social life to ensure the sustainable  |
|                 | development of the environment. Based on analysis of qualitative survey data in five urban   |
|                 | wards of Hanoi, with 102 in-depth interviews, the paper explores the approach and use of   |
| Paper/Article 4 | public spaces (sidewalks, parks, flower gardens, squares) among youth migrants from  |
|                 | rural to urban areas and the relationship of public spaces to their development (livelihood support, stress relief, communication, etc.). The initial results show that, due to the nature   |
|                 | of work, youth migrants who work as street vendors are very closed to public spaces.   |
|                 | Especially, youth migrants mainly prefer unofficial public spaces rather than official ones.   |
|                 | In addition, the article will clarify issues related to the negative experiences of young  |
|                 | migrants in public spaces such as fraud, stigmatization, discrimination, and their coping  |
|                 | strategies to deal with/to adapt to these troubles.  |

|                         | VIETNAM PANEL 3/ PANEL SUR LE VIETNAM 3   |
|-------------------------|---|
|                         | Vietnamese Discursive Spaces/Espaces discursifs vietnamiens   |
| Saturday, 23 October    |   |
| 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre |   |
| 2021                    | 16:15 – 18:00   |
|                         | Т   |
| Convenor/Animateur:     | NA NA   |
| Chair/Président:        | Dominique Caouette, Université de Montréal  |
| Discussant/Intervenant: | Dominique Caouette, Université de Montréal  |
|                         | Papers  |
|                         | L'intégration au marché mondial des espaces ruraux au sud du Việt Nam: Adaptations paysannes dans les provinces de Tây Ninh et de Tiền Giang  |
|                         | Antoine Beaulieu, Département de géographie, Université Laval   |
| Paper/Article 1         | La pauvreté extrême au niveau global persiste malgré toute une panoplie d'efforts à différents niveaux administratifs (international, national, régional, local) pour éliminer le problème. L'une des stratégies, l'intensification agricole (augmentation des rendements agricoles), était supposée contribuer à assurer la sécurité alimentaire pour tous. Toutefois, de nombreuses études ont montré à quel point l'agriculture mondialisée produit des effets néfastes à plusieurs égards, dans un contexte obnubilé par la croissance, la compétitivité et le productivisme. Pour les petits exploitants agricoles ou paysans, assurer la continuité de leurs productions présente ainsi plusieurs défis. Au Việt Nam, l'intégration récente et accélérée de son économie au marché mondial a poussé ses paysans à orienter leurs moyens de subsistance vers des activités agricoles commerciales et, plus récemment, vers des activités économiques non agricoles afin d'assurer la pérennité du foncier rural. Cet |



|                 | objectif demeure toutefois plus difficile à atteindre pour les paysans aux marges du réseau rural-urbain, en particulier les groupes ethniques minoritaires. Cette communication est exploratoire et, à l'aide d'une revue de littérature et de statistiques officielles, dresse un portrait de l'intégration des régions rurales au sud du Việt Nam entre 1995 et 2020, en analysant spécifiquement les formes de stratégies paysannes d'adaptation face à ce processus dans les provinces de de Tây Ninh et de Tiền Giang, en particulier la diversification des moyens de subsistance, ce qui inclut les activités agricoles et non agricoles.  |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | The circulation of Women and Cities International Discourse in Vietnam   |
| Paper/Article 2 | Mélissa Côté-Douyon, Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique  Since the Habitat II conference in 1996, the women and cities approach has become part of the discourse of several international organizations. This approach, consisting of a set of ideas and practices that aim to intervene in urban settings by taking into account the differences between men and women, has been present in Vietnam for several years.  Contributing to scholarship on the international circulation of urban policies, this paper examines how the international discourse on the women and cities approach is translated into the Vietnamese context. The analysis of this translation takes the form of a case study of the women and cities practices found in Vietnam. The analysis is based on interviews conducted with international and Vietnamese organizations, a literature review, and a press review. The results show that the international discourse on women and cities is based on certain conceptions of cities, gender equality, and how to intervene in the city. In Vietnam, these ideas are translated into practice in different ways. The results highlight the structuring influence of the political and social context in the process of adoption and local adaptation of the women and cities approach. Ultimately, based on the case of Vietnam, this paper sheds light on the importance of the role of the state in the circulation of urban policies.   |
|                 | Using an inclusiveness framework to evaluate climate change adaptation policy in Vietnam   |
| Paper/Article 3 | Promoting inclusiveness in climate change adaptation are of the utmost importance to ensure that the lives of the many who are traditionally excluded or marginalized and disadvantaged in society, those being most vulnerable to climate change adverse, are protected and further improved. Vietnamese government recognizes the importance of and targets at adaptation with the diversified stakeholder engagement, meaningful participatory processes, and just outcomes. However, the adaptation in Vietnam revealed to be unsuccessful attempt for meaningful stakeholders' engagement found in official reports of international developmental organizations as well as in academic research. In the paper, I assessed how inclusiveness has been embedded into climate change adaptation policy, identifying the gaps as well as opportunities of inclusive approach in climate change adaptation in Vietnam. There are totally 56 policy documents consisting of national adaptation plans and sectoral adaptation action plans have been collected and analyzed. I limit myself to content analysis of policy documents and the results presented demonstrate a high level of variation in how inclusiveness perspectives are integrated and planned for implementation in adaptation policies in Vietnam across different governance levels and throughout a time periods 15 years from 2008 up to present. The analysis also reveals four main kinds of inclusive gaps, including moral gap, knowledge gap, management gap, and learning gap. My paper also brings the new concept of "inclusive climate change adaptation" to the current debate of adaptation, testing the appropriateness and applications of this concept in adaptation policy making and practices. |



WORK AT SEA: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON SOUTHEAST ASIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN INDUSTRIAL FISHING—RECRUITMENT, MIGRATION, REPRODUCTION / TRAVAIL EN MER: PERSPECTIVE RÉGIONALE ET MONDIALE SUR LES TRAVAILLEURS MIGRANTS D'ASIE DU SUD-EST DANS LA PÊCHE INDUSTRIELLE—RECRUTEMENT, MIGRATION, REPRODUCTION

Saturday, 23 October 2021/ Samedi 23 octobre

021 16:15 – 18:00

This panel explore issues related to Southeast Asian migrant workers in industrial fishing. The focus is on workers from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam working in the global fishing industry, with a focus on Taiwan as well as workers in the Vietnamese fishing industries. We are interested to explore why and how workers seek jobs in fishing, given the often difficult working conditions and long periods of isolation at sea as well as the experience of working on industrial fishing boats. Themes for research in source countries include the gendering of work family relations and recruitment practices, and the histories through which Indonesia and the Philippines have become important sources of labour power for the global fishing industry. With respect to fishing vessels owned and operated from Taiwan, themes include the everyday experiences of working on different kinds of fishing vessels and the effects of recent

| themes include the everyday experiences of working on different kinds of fishing vessels and the effects of recent policy responses to the increasing attention to unacceptable working conditions in industrial fishing. |   |
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| Convenor/Animateur:   | Peter Vandergeest, York University  |
| Chair/Président:  | Melissa Marschke, University of Ottawa  |
| Discussant/Intervenant:   | Philip Kelly, York University   |
| Papers  |   |
| Paper/Article 1   | Workers at Sea: Recruitment and Placement of Indonesian Migrant Fishery Workers Wendy A. Medina de Loera, Geography, York University; Peter Vandergeest, Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change, York University Indonesia is an important supply source of workers for the international fishing industry and Indonesian crewing agencies are key in the supply of this workforce. The actual number of agencies operating in the country is still unknown as there are many operating without licenses. Official figures indicate that, as of December 2020, there were over 480 agencies with permits to recruit and place workers on ships in general (not exclusively on fishing vessels). Crewing agencies' central role in the deployment of Indonesian fishery workers and their mushrooming make it imperative to explore them in depth. This paper explains some of the ways in which Indonesian crewing agencies recruit Indonesian fishery workers and place them on foreign vessels. Apart from identifying patterns in their modus operandi, the paper also analyzes some of the complex relationships these agents establish with a variety of actors such as Indonesian fishery workers, other Indonesian recruitment agencies, foreign crewing agents, ship companies, and the Indonesian government. The paper draws on a variety of sources that include stories told by some agencies about the recruitment process and their relationships with a vast diversity of actors, stories told by workers about their relationships with the agencies, social media, interviews with Indonesian support organizations, and statistical data produced by both these organizations and the Indonesian government. |
| Paper/Article 2   | Finding Filipino Fishermen: Infrastructure, Institutions and Illegibility in the Deployment of Sea-Based Labour in the Philippines  Hazel Dizon, Work at Sea Project, York Centre for Asian Research, York University; Philip Kelly, Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change, York University  Among the millions of overseas workers deployed from the Philippines each year, a small and easily-overlooked contingent supply the crews of fishing vessels engaged in deep sea operations in international waters. Official figures (undoubtedly therefore an underestimate) suggest that approximately 7,000 Filipino men are sent every year to work   |

|                 | on such fishing fleets—many of them based out of Taiwan. Of all the possible deployments for Overseas Filipino Workers, these fishing vessels are perhaps the most inherently dangerous workplaces and involve labour relations that are the most open to abuse. While labour conditions in the fishing industry have been widely assessed and criticized, much less is known concerning what Xiang and Lindquist (2014, 122) call the "migration infrastructure"—"the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility"—which in this case serves to record, recruit, train, deploy and regulate such workers. Using administrative data collected by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, and interviews with government officials, NGOs, manning agencies, and training institutions, this paper seeks to develop an understanding of the infrastructure that delivers labour from the Philippines to Asian (and especially Taiwanese) fishing vessels. Ultimately, however, our goal is to understand what aspects of recruitment practices, training, workers' experiences, and the actions of employers are made legible through data collection to the authorities tasked with protecting workers. And, conversely, which aspects of practices in the industry that supplies labour, and the industry that supplies fish, are rendered invisible to regulatory authorities.   |
|-----------------|--|
|                 | The Influence of Fish Ecologies with Associated Gear Technologies and Marine Spaces on Labour Practices in Taiwanese Distant Water Fisheries   |
| Paper/Article 3 | Mallory MacDonnell, Geography, York University Fisheries labour in Taiwan is a multifaceted relationship involving fisheries management, migrant workers, seafood commodity chains, movement of vessels, fishery ecologies, types of gear used on vessels, and environmental conditions. All of these aspects together produce distinct labour situations and processes. This paper examines three variables within this relationship: fish species ecologies, associated fishing vessel technologies and marine spaces, and how they intersect with working conditions and practices on distant water fishing vessels operated out of Taiwan. Potential variation within these three facets stems from the ecological niche of target species. Different gear technologies are required depending on the size of the species, where the species are at, the time scale, or species assemblages. This difference in gear is important, since the time length at sea can lead to poor or unacceptable working conditions and can create situations where workers are prone to more labour abuses. Decisions on labour standards within fisheries policy and regulations have not distinguished between the species of fish that fishermen are catching, the type of gear fishermen are operating, or the marine spaces where fishermen are working. These variables especially come to light when the fishermen are migrant workers in a space that has previously been and continues to be viewed as problematic in regard to labour practices. Migrant fishermen within Taiwan's distant water fisheries are excluded from labour laws under the Ministry of Labour (Labour Standards Act) and are instead regulated by the Fisheries Agency (Act for Distant Water Fisheries). The labour protections under the Fisheries Agency do not meet the basic standards that domestically employed foreign workers have while covered under the Ministry of Labour. |
| Paper/Article 4 | Navigating the Waters of Precarity: Labour Dynamics and Masculinities in Vietnam's Offshore Fisheries  Georgina Alonso, University of Ottawa  This research examines compounding challenges faced by Vietnamese offshore fishers amid ecological decline and ongoing fisheries reforms in Vietnam, and examines the ways in which fishers navigate these challenges and adapt to change. As a dangerous, environmentally dependant job where pay is tied to inconsistent catch amounts and where fishers become subject to the legal authority of multiple states as they move through international waters, fishing is precarious work. Furthermore, the gendered division of labour results in a work environment that idealizes and enforces certain masculine norms.   |
|                 | Through qualitative interviews and observation, this research illuminates the perspectives   |

of workers, captains, and boat owners in southern Vietnam to uncover the ways in which precarity shapes the lives of those involved in offshore fishing. In examining both the material and social aspects of fish work, including several constraints and divisions, the research demonstrates that in addition to financial incentives, efforts to maintain an adequate labour force also rely on notions of masculinity. The research further finds that the declining ability to make a decent livelihood from offshore fishing results in perverse incentives on the part of fishers, captains and boat owners. I argue that the framing in international media of Vietnamese fishers as drivers of overfishing in the region misses the larger context of ecological decline and squeezed livelihoods. Rather, the root cause of precarity among offshore fishers is the same as that which is driving the overexploitation of fish: capitalist growth.

"We pray for the storm": encountering the legal-spatial practices of exclusion, labour precarities and solidarities of Indonesian migrant fishers across Taiwan's port cities Jonathan S. Parhusip, Graduate Institute for Social Research and Cultural Studies, National Chiao Tung University; Yannis-Adam Allouache, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore

State-sanctioned categories define migrants' socio-legal relationship to/with a state and shapes their experiences of precarity. While securing a legal status entitles migrants to certain rights, benefits and material conditions, states also deploy various spatial-legal tactics to demarcate sovereignty in ways to deflect and avoid protection responsibilities. In Taiwan, being a 'wailao' (blue-collar migrant worker) in the fishing industry entails working either in offshore or distant water fisheries. These are two categories of workers that articulate distinct yet overlapping realities of labour precarity and migrant struggles that intersect in/across the landscapes of Taiwanese port cities at particular moments in time. In this paper, we problematize this categorisation by scrutinizing the structural conditions and legal processes which attempt to 'fix' migrant fishers in time and space, render them out of place and locate them as racialized others. Based on our long-term ethnographic research and interviews conducted between 2017 and 2020 on the politics of labour migration from Indonesia to Taiwan, we explore the legalspatial practices of exclusion that shape the experiences of precarity of migrant fishers at sea and across Taiwan's port cities. These are practices that involve constellations of actors, such as states, employers, labour agencies and their brokerage practices, among others. We discuss how the combination of these factors hinders the ability for migrant fishers to act, to seek state support and to denounce their predicament when facing disputes with employers, brokers and others, impacting their well-being. However, we also illustrate how migrant fishers actively seek to rework their precarious subjectivities through place-making practices and acts of solidarity which mitigate the intensities of precarity across their working and living spaces. More than a legal existence or an administrative construct, we argue that the status and categories of migrants represent the racialized biopolitical practices that inform the provision of migrant labour across nation-state borders and define the migrant experience.

Paper/Article 5



# POSTER SESSIONS/PRÉSENTATIONS PAR AFFICHE

| Saturday , 23 October 2021 |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| Day 3/ Samedi 23 octobre   | T: 45.45.47.00   |
| Convener/Animatour:        | Time 15:45 – 17:30   |
| Convenor/Animateur:        | NA   |
| Chair/Président:           | NA .   |
| Discussant/Intervenant:    | NA   |
|                            | Poster/Affiche   |
|                            | Perceptions of Child Physical Discipline among Burmese Migrants Living in Mae Sot, Thailand  Sapriya Birk, Queen's University; Colleen M. Davison, Queen's  University; Susan A Bartels, Queen's University; Heather M  Aldersey, Queen's University; Nway Nway Oo, Mae Tao Clinic Child  Protection; Pue Pue Mhote, Burma Medical Association; Eva Purkey, Queen's University  Despite the United Nations' disapproval of child physical discipline and its association with numerous negative outcomes, physical discipline continues to be used globally and is often present in countries experiencing financial or political instability. Burmese migrants living in Mae Sot, Thailand experience instability due to their experiences of socioeconomic disadvantage, cultural and religious discrimination, and forced migration. Exploring the perceptions of child physical discipline in this at-risk population could elucidate reasons for its use and provide direction for future educational and child protection interventions. The main objective of this study is to explore parenting in adverse circumstances. In particular, this study aims to understand the attitudes and beliefs regarding child physical discipline among Burmese migrants in Mae Sot. This analysis included 80 micro-narratives about a current or previous parenting experience from Burmese migrants who self- identified as a parent. SenseMaker® technology was used to collect qualitative micro-narratives. Inductive thematic analysis and directed content analysis using the Grid-group theory was conducted. The themes identified from the micro-narratives align with the four distinct cultural environments described by the Gridgroup theory (hierarchical, fatalistic, individualistic, and egalitarian), showing a spectrum of acceptability of child physical |
|                            | discipline. A three-pronged approach that focuses on establishing legislation, shifting cultural attitudes, and addressing social  |
| Poster/ Affiches 1         | determinants should be considered to address the use of child physical discipline in this migrant population.  |
|                            | Parental Decision Making Among Economic Migrants in the Thai-<br>Myanmar Border Region: A Qualitative Analysis Using Bourdieu's<br>Multiple Forms of Capital<br>Katrina Streef, Queen's University; Sherri Dutton, Queen's<br>University; Nway Oo, Mae Tao Clinic, Thailand; Tee Tar Sway,   |
| Poster/ Affiches 2         | Health Information Systems Working Group, Mae Sot, Thailand;   |

Supaporn Trongsakul, Mae Fah Luang University; Eva Purkey, Queen's University; Susan A Bartels, Queen's University; Heather M Aldersey, Queen's University; Colleen M Davison, Queen's University Conflicts between ethnic minority groups in Myanmar and the government and military have been ongoing for the past 50 years. Enduring unrest has caused thousands to flee to the region around Mae Sot, a city on Thailand's western border. This study investigated parenting decision-making among economic migrants from Myanmar living in protracted displacement in Mae Sot. This was part of a mixed-methods international comparative study on the experiences of parenting in adversity across five countries. In this analysis, 69 first person qualitative narratives shared by economic migrant parents facing "a lot" of or "extreme" adversity were inductively analyzed using the Qualitative Analysis Guide of Leuven (QUAGOL) approach. The motivations behind each decision were analyzed using Bourdieu's multiple forms of capital; economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. It was expected that parenting decisions made by economic migrants would primarily be driven by a desire to acquire more economical capital for themselves, their family and their children, but other types of capital were equally important. Six overarching themes focused on specific decision-making emerged: parent leaving home for work while children live with other relatives, parents asking children to leave school to work, parents sending child to Burmese schools instead of Thai schools, parents not letting their children play with Thai children, parents discouraging sons from engaging in risky behaviour, and parents imposing heightened protection over their daughters. Each decision related to Bourdieu forms of capital in different ways. Further research directions will be discussed.