



# CRISEA

COMPETING REGIONAL INTEGRATIONS  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

## e-newsletter

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## EDITORIAL

### Why « Competing Regional integrations in Southeast Asia » (CRISEA)?

For too long, academic research has overlooked the need for a combined approach when studying the different modes of existence of SEA as a “region”. On the one hand, it has sought to examine a progressively established institutional framework, with its successes and uncertainties, which represents an ideal of regional identity. On the other, it has investigated the ongoing evolution of major economic, political and cultural change, driven by numerous state and non-state actors, and the accelerated globalization of the region, which has been brought about by a plurality of newly created internal and external connections. The goal of CRISEA is to consider the full range of these diverse dynamics of regional construction, with the conviction that they are not elements in a linear process, but rather that they are multiple forces competing for legitimacy in several arenas.

The research perspective embraced by CRISEA therefore takes into account analyses on several different levels and aims to rise to the challenge of confronting their conclusions. Not only will this involve the investigation of ASEAN's political agenda in the global context of the rapid transformation of the region, but also the integration of macro-level data on flows of goods, capital, people, knowledge, political models, ideologies etc. with micro-level data generated by field studies that shed light on the local impact of these flows and emerging transnational connectivities on populations that are actively participating in regional transformation or passively enduring its effects.

With this in mind, CRISEA has adopted a resolutely multi-disciplinary approach that is both quantitative and qualitative, which brings together economists, political scientists, development experts with sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and geographers, all of whom are renowned for their work on Southeast Asia. Five ‘arenas’ of competing regional forces have been selected for study by CRISEA's thematic Work Packages, which are presented in this initial newsletter: The Environment, The Economy, The State, Identity, and The Region.

In taking up the challenge of this ambitious project, CRISEA draws on the talents of an extensive consortium of 13 prestigious research institutions in Europe — with the Universities of Cambridge, Hamburg, Lisbon, Lodz, Naples L'Orientale, and

Oslo — and in Southeast Asia — with the Universities of Chiang Mai, Malaya, Mandalay, Ateneo de Manila, CSIS (Jakarta) and VASS (Vietnam). The consortium is led by the French School of Asian Studies (EFEO) and the project will benefit from the EFEO's ten field centres located across the region.

Our primary objective is the production of high-level research informed by a wide-ranging perspective and multi-disciplinary approach that can significantly renew the field of Southeast Asian Studies. The aim is to go beyond limitations of general studies of the region, which only provide an overview, and at the same time to broaden the scope of localized case studies that are too often restricted to a narrow national context.

This broader perspective and the new high-quality data generated by the project will enable CRISEA to fulfill its second objective, which is to contribute to increasingly fruitful exchanges between the research community and governmental and non-governmental actors: policy-makers, stakeholders, diplomats in SEA and also in Brussels, and representatives of the Press.

With regard to the project's third objective, which is to reinforce the academic network of Southeast Asian and European researchers working on SEA, it should be noted that cooperation in CRISEA will benefit from the significant development of the existing network already established by a preceding European FP7 project SEATIDE (Integration in SEA: Trajectories of Inclusion, Dynamics of Exclusion). Collective effort within CRISEA's thematic Work Packages, which will result in online papers and a range of publications, and the several research workshops planned in Asia and Europe to publicize results of surveys carried out by individual participants will also contribute to the forging of new alliances.

In funding CRISEA, the European Commission has recognized the need for high-quality research on the dynamics of regionalization at work in SEA, and acknowledged that, notwithstanding differences in integrative processes underway in both Europe and SEA, both regions are now faced with a range of similar questions. But perhaps most importantly, it has taken the initiative to encourage greater cooperation between European and Southeast Asian researchers which will be of benefit to all.

**Yves Goudineau**  
CRISEA Coordinator

## Kick-Off Meeting, Chiang Mai, 2-3 December 2017



CRISEA got off to an enthusiastic start with a Kick-Off Meeting held in Chiang Mai on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2017. The kick off meeting saw CRISEA's Scientific Coordinator, Dr Jacques P. Leider, outline the project's research agenda focusing on the five arenas where regional forces in Southeast Asia compete: the environment, the economy, the State, the identity of SEA's peoples, and the Region. Project Manager, Ms Elisabeth Lacroix, explained the rigorous accounting and reporting procedures required for this Horizon 2020 project. For the Work Package Leaders and Co-Leaders this was an opportunity to engage with new members of their research teams and to establish their work schedules and division of labour in anticipation of the first Research Workshop planned for March 2018. Dr Medelina Hendytio and Ms Christine Tjhin, from CRISEA's Indonesian partner, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta responsible for the Dissemination Work Package, presented the structure of the web site to the participants. Dissemination was a major topic discussed during the first CRISEA Steering Committee meeting held previous to the kick off meeting.

Chiang Mai, Thailand's second largest urban agglomeration was chosen as the site for our first meeting given the centre-periphery problematic that is essential in CRISEA's research agenda. It also meant the participants could enjoy the setting of the EFEO Library and Research Centre – a major hub for Buddhist and Southeast Asian studies – on the banks of the Ping River. Professor Chayan Vaddhanaphuti is the University of Chiang Mai's representative in CRISEA and his outstanding research groundwork in a previous EU-funded project, SEATIDE, has led to the environment being a major concern in CRISEA's research agenda.

Following the Chiang Mai meeting, an Ethics Board was established in January 2018 comprising Professor Paulo Castro Seixas (Institute of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon), chair, Dr Andrée Feillard (Centre de l'Asie du Sud-est, EHESS, Paris) and Professor Tim Harper (Faculty of History, University of Cambridge).

## First Research Workshop, Hanoi, 28-30 March 2018

From 28 to 30 March 2018, over sixty European and Southeast Asian scholars participating in CRISEA met at the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences in Hanoi for the first of three Research Workshops. Over a period of two days, five working groups corresponding to the project's five main 'arenas' of competition for integration – the Environment, the Economy, the State, Identity and the Region – developed their research strategy and identified the objectives and methodologies of the case studies to be undertaken and their organisation into distinct research modules. The Hanoi meeting demonstrated the efficacy of the dual coordination for each Work Package – with one leader drawn from Europe and the other from Southeast Asia – and the collaborative spirit that underlines the CRISEA project.

Prof. Silvia Vignato (University of Milano-Bicocca) introduced the first of CRISEA's three transversal research themes, gender, initiating a lively discussion as to how this theme could best be addressed in the five Research Work Packages. The Research Workshop itself was preceded by a meeting of CRISEA's Steering Committee held at the EFEO centre in Hanoi.

**A Round Table on Integration** in Southeast Asia, CRISEA's first outreach activity open to the general public, was organized at the French Cultural Institute (L'Espace) in Hanoi on the Thursday evening. In this Round Table a panel of speakers – including anthropologists, sociologists and historians – addressed the question: how do the realities of an integrating region impact on the lives of ordinary people, in the cities, towns, homes and workplaces of Southeast Asia? Their observations drew on recent field research funded by the European Commission (SEATIDE project, [www.seatide.eu](http://www.seatide.eu)) and offered a panorama of Southeast Asian modernity. CRISEA seeks to build on SEATIDE's impressive research output by bringing in new institutions and new researchers.



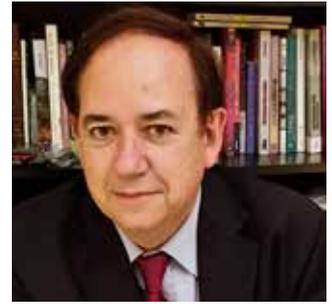
The Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) is a leading European institution in the study of Asia, specialized in classical and contemporary studies, possessing a unique network of 10 field centres in SEA. As coordinator of the FP7 funded projects 'Integrating and Developing European Asian Studies' (IDEAS) and 'Integration in Southeast Asia: Trajectories of Inclusion and Dynamics of Exclusion' (SEATIDE), EFEO is at the heart of a wide network of international partner institutions and plays a key role in the integration of the European Research Area (ERA). EFEO will undertake the project's overall coordination and management.



The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is in charge of communicating project results through the organization of events for targeted audiences to be held in both Europe and Southeast Asia (workshops, public lectures, briefing sessions, policy forums and conferences) as well as scientific publications, press coverage, documentary films and policy briefs. In addition to producing innovative research on Southeast Asia, CRISEA aims at improving the dialogue initiated in the EFEO's FP7 projects IDEAS and SEATIDE between social scientists and policymakers.

### CRISEA COORDINATOR

Yves Goudineau (Prof.), director of the French School of Asian Studies, École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) from 2014–2018, holds a chair in “Comparative Anthropology of Southeast Asia” (EFEO-EHESS) and was honorary research fellow at the University of Hong Kong (1997–2001) and visiting professor at the University of Oxford (2008–2011). He has carried out extensive ethnographic fieldwork in the Mekong Region with an interest in ethnohistory and rituals among Austroasiatic ethnic groups. He conducted also research on development issues in Mainland South-East Asia: ethnic minority resettlements, cross-borders relationships. He was head of the EFEO Centres in Chiang Mai and in Vientiane and has been a regional consultant for UNESCO and UNDP. He coordinated the FP7 project “Integration in Southeast Asia: Trajectories of Inclusion, Dynamics of Exclusion” (SEATIDE) from 2012–2016.



### SCIENTIFIC COORDINATOR

Dr Jacques P. Leider is a historian of Myanmar and has headed the research centres of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Yangon and Chiang Mai. He is currently the head of the EFEO office in Bangkok. A trained teacher with extensive professional experience, he had stints in diplomacy and consulting with UN organizations on contemporary conflict issues.



### DISSEMINATION COORDINATOR

Dr David Camroux is Honorary Senior Research Fellow within the Centre de Recherches Internationales (CERI). At Sciences Po he is also an Honorary Associate Professor at the Institut d'Études Politiques (IEP) in Paris where he has taught on contemporary Southeast Asian society, EU-Asian relations and Asian regional integration. In September 2016 he was appointed as Professorial Fellow at the Vietnam National University (USSH), Hanoi. He is the Dissemination Coordinator for the CRISEA project, appointed by the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.



### PROJECT MANAGER

Elisabeth Lacroix is European project manager for the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) since 2010. She has coordinated the FP7 projects 'Integrating and Developing European Asian Studies' (IDEAS) and 'Integration in Southeast Asia: Trajectories of Inclusion, Dynamics of Exclusion' (SEATIDE) which were both led by the EFEO. She has previously worked for the international relations departments of University Pierre et Marie Curie (UPMC), the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENSC) and the Agence universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF). With a background in sociology, she has completed two masters' programmes at the University of Liverpool and the University Paris Descartes, where she studied cooperation in education and development.



### SPECIAL ADVISOR

Andrew Hardy was educated in England, France and Australia (PhD, Australian National University, 1999). He heads the Hanoi centre of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), where his research and teaching focuses on Vietnamese migration, ethnic relations in Southeast Asia and the history of Champa and Central Vietnam. His first book – Red Hills: Migrants and the State in the Highlands of Vietnam (NIAS Press, 2003) was awarded the Harry J. Benda Prize for Non-Fiction on Southeast Asia by the Asian Studies Association (2005). Since 2005, with Nguyen Tien Dong (Vietnam Institute of Archaeology), he has co-directed a multi-disciplinary project on the Long Wall of Quang Ngai, a 127 km frontier built in 1819, designated a national monument in 2011.



### COMING EVENT

CRISEA's first Policy Briefing Session on 'The Influence of China on Southeast Asia' will take place at the EEAS headquarters in Brussels on 19 June 2018.

## PROJECT DISSEMINATION TEAM



### DISSEMINATION LEADER

**Medelina K. Hendytio** is currently Deputy Executive Director and a researcher at the Department of Politics and Social Change, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Jakarta. Her research areas covering: Administrative Development,

Bureaucratic Reform, Education and Gender. She teaches graduates students on Public Policy Analysis at the Diponegoro University.



### DISSEMINATION MANAGER

**Christine Susanna Tjhin** is currently the Convenor for CSIS' China Study Group, she primarily delves into studies, including: Belt and Road Initiatives in Indonesia and the region; New actors in foreign policy; Sino-Indonesian comprehensive strategic partnership.

She has long built an expertise in Chinese Indonesian politics and pluralism in Indonesia through research and activism.



### WEBMASTER

**Talitha Fredlina Azalia** is a creative editor at Nusantara Technology, where she researches and curate written content for an online media, Yukepo.com. She graduated from Universitas Gadjah Mada, with bachelor degree in International Relations in

2015. Her interests include movies, literature and politics.



### GRAPHIC DESIGNER

**Lucynda Gunadi** spent 5 years in London studying Graphic & Media Design and honing her craft in a multimedia company before returning to Indonesia in 2001. She later joined a leading English language newspaper as a Freelance Art Director. Now, this

mother of two finds joy in juggling work and motherhood.

## INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

- Chair: **Prof. Amitav Acharya**, Professor of International Relations and Director, ASEAN Centre, American University, Washington DC
- Prof. Alice Ba, Professor of International Relations at the University of Delaware USA
  - Prof. Mark Beeson, Winthrop Professor of Political Science and International Studies, University of Western Australia, Series Editor *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Palgrave Macmillan
  - Prof. Michele Ford, Director of the Sydney SEA Centre, University of Sydney
  - Prof. Evelyn Goh, Shedden Professor of Strategic Policy Studies and Research Director at the Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University
  - Prof. Helen Nesadurai, Professor of International Political Economy, Monash University, Malaysia
  - Prof. Jonathan Rigg, Director of the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
  - Dr Michael Montesano, Visiting research fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, and Managing Editor of *Sojourn*

## STAKEHOLDERS ADVISORY BOARD

- Chair: **Dr Enrico Letta**, former Prime Minister of Italy, president of the Associazione Italia ASEAN and Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs (Sciences Po).
- Dr Bridget Welsh, Southeast Asian Coordinator, Asian Barometer Survey
  - Andrew Gibbs, Investment manager at Henderson Rowe, London
  - Fraser Cameron, former EU Official, Director EU-Asia Centre, Brussels
  - Prof. Richard Higgott, Emeritus Professor of International Political Economy, University of Warwick and Distinguished Professor at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels
  - Dr Jean-Pierre Verbiest, former Asian Development Bank Country Director in Vietnam (1996-2000) and Thailand (2005-2010). Presently principal consultant for the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) on Greater Mekong Subregion "border economic zones"
  - Dr Daniel Novotný, Asia Expert, Institute of International Relations, Prague, and organizer of the Bali International Winter Schools

## THE ENVIRONMENT: Securing the Commons

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHIANG MAI, Thailand, and the University of Lodz, Poland, lead the team research on the extent to which competition over regional 'commons' – in the milieu of sea, river, land, forest and air – is reaching a tipping point, with potentially wide-ranging consequences for the region's security. Failure to face transnational environmental challenges could undermine ASEAN's legitimacy.

The environment remains at the heart of many development dilemmas in Southeast Asia. New actors and technologies, changing domestic politics, policies, and economies, as well as shifting geopolitics, all hold implications for nature-society relations in the region. In this WP, we are particularly concerned with how contestation over "commons" – for land (e.g. forests), seas, rivers or even air – at scales ranging from the local to the regional (transborder) – is emerging as processes of regional economic integration and regionalism unfold, surrounding three themes, namely: sea; rivers; and transition to a low-carbon economy.

Our main conceptual approach considers the co-production of ecological knowledge and ecological governance. Drawing on the work of Sheila Jasanoff (2004) and Shubhra Gururani and Peter Vandergeest (2014), amongst others, we consider the production, circulation and consumption of ecological knowledge at and across the local, national and global scales and its relationship to ecological governance. Through macro and micro case studies, we relate this dynamic process of co-production to other concepts, including: environmental justice; (re)territorialization; accumulation by securitization; mobile political ecology (Elmhirst et al, 2018); and feminist political ecology.

Regarding "sea", our research addresses two topics. One project examines the impacts of sand mining and land reclamation in Indonesia. A second project examines the marine resources of the South China Sea. Here, consideration is given to the evolving regional demand for fishery products and its political economy, including the competitive relationship between industrial-scale and small-scale fishing practices.

For the theme of "rivers", five research projects focus on two major transboundary rivers, namely the Salween River and Mekong River. Both rivers are simultaneously seen as (potential) engines of economic growth, in particular for large-scale hydropower dams and irrigated agriculture; as well as natural resource foundations of rural subsistence livelihoods; and as important domains for environmental conservation. Two projects explore the hydropolitics of the Mekong River, including the shifting relationship between China and downstream countries that has emerged with the China-led Lancang Mekong Cooperation Framework and offers new challenges and opportunities for transboundary governance. More locally, a third project examines the impact of resettlement at a large hydropower dam from the perspective of human security. For the Salween River, a fourth project will analyze the history of cross-border teak trade and its implications for border-making, whilst the last project examines the contemporary politics of the 'Salween Peace Park' recently created in Karen State, Myanmar and the reterritorialization it implies within the complex, fragmented sovereignties of that area of the basin.

Our final theme, "transition into a low-carbon economy", entails two research projects. The first examines sustainable energy transition in ASEAN, considering the political economy of the electricity sector and under what conditions entry of more sustainable technologies might occur. The second explores international cooperation through knowledge exchange networks between Southeast Asia cities. Here, the particular interest is how ecological knowledge for improved city planning, for example on energy efficiency, is facilitated by these regional and global knowledge networks.



**Leader**  
CHAYAN VADDHANAPHUTI

**Institution**  
Chiang Mai University

**Bio-note**  
Chayan Vaddhanaphuti (Dr.) is an anthropologist and the Director of Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSDD) and of the Center for Ethnic Studies and Development (CESD) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, CMU. He earned his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1984 and received an Honorary Doctorate in Social Anthropology from Goteborg University, Sweden, in 2004. He has edited numerous books the most recent being, *Transcending State Boundaries* (2011).



**Co-Leader**  
TOMASZ KAMINSKI

**Institution**  
University of Lodz

**Bio-note**  
Tomasz Kaminski is a political scientist who graduated from University of Lodz with Ph.D. thesis entitled "The EU policy towards China 1995-2008". His research interest is on the EU foreign relations with Asia, the role of subnational entities as well as political role of the sovereign wealth funds (SWF). He has conducted many research projects, financed by the EU or Polish National Science Centre in the domain of international relation [Chinese foreign policy instruments, Asian SWFs, the role of subnational actors in Asia].



**Co-Leader:**  
CARL MIDDLETON  
**Institution:**  
University of Chulalongkorn

**Bio-note:**  
Carl Middleton teaches and researches in international development studies and environmental politics. He graduated with a Ph.D. in environmental chemistry from the University of Manchester, UK. He is Director of the Center for Social Development Studies (CSDS) in the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.



**Leader**  
EDMUND TERENCE GOMEZ

**Institution**  
University of Malaya

**Bio-note**  
Edmund Terence Gomez is Professor of Political Economy at the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya. He specializes in state-market relations and the linkages between ethnicity, politics and capital development in Malaysia and Southeast Asia. He received a doctorate in Development Studies from the University of Malaya in 1993.



**Co-Leader**  
PIETRO MASINA

**Institution**  
University of Naples L'Orientale

**Bio-note**  
Pietro P. Masina is associate professor of Asian history at the University of Naples L'Orientale. He was Secretary (2004-07) and then Chairman (2007-10) of the European Association of Southeast Asian Studies (EuroSEAS). He coordinated and/or participated in a number of EU funded research projects, including more recently SEATIDE. His current research focuses on industrial development strategies in Southeast Asia and their impact on labour. His publications include: *Vietnam's Development Strategies* (Routledge, 2006); *La Cina alle Nazioni Unite* (Carocci, 2012); *Il Sud Est Asiatico in Trappola* (Nuova Cultura, 2013).

## THE ECONOMY: Competing Models and Practices of Capitalism



THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, Malaysia, and the University of Naples L'Orientale, Italy, lead study to assess development models adopted in ASEAN economies and to determine the impact of locally- as well as globally-driven economic change on the legitimacy of these models and their underlying political frameworks. *Module 1: Competing models of developmental capitalism*, involves an assessment of the varieties of capitalism

employed in specific institutional contexts, structured by the state, domestic enterprises of different sorts and global engagements; *Module 2: Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and industrial parks*, will undertake a review of regional production networks examining whether integration has supported or hampered Southeast Asian countries from pursuing industrial upgrading; and *Module 3: Labour mobility across different regimes and social security frameworks*, involves an appraisal of 'circulatory migration', the lives of industrial workers (and, specifically, industrial workers) after they cease to participate in industry, and the consequences and implications for social security policy of the precarization of labour.

### MODULE 1

A review of the scholarly literature on the evolution of ASEAN countries would indicate the stress on the state's role in achieving structural change and high economic growth, through a model described as the 'developmental state'. However, although Southeast Asian countries were inspired by the developmental state model, they had not adhered to its fundamental tenets for reasons ascribed to historical context, the evolving regional division of labour and underlying institutional differences. Moreover, most governments of these countries have been equally inspired by a vastly different model of development, neoliberalism, which endorsed universal-type policies in an open economy with minimal state intervention, while actively promoting the privatization of the public sector, liberalization of trade, deregulation of the economy and a decentralization of administrative functions. By factoring in the importance of crises we propose to undertake both a more informed discussion on how models of development are conceived and in SEA and how these models inform forms of enterprise development, modes of industrialization and state-business-labour relations.

### MODULE 2

FDI-led and export-oriented industrialization is promoted as the most viable model for emerging Southeast Asian economies leading to the creation of Special Economic Zones. The study on SEZs and industrial parks – within the context of evolving regional production networks – will be based on selected cases in Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia Myanmar, the Philippines and Cambodia.

### MODULE 3

This module will look at the mobility of industrial workers across different labour regimes and different social security frameworks. The large-scale expansion of industrialization in Southeast Asia since the late 1980s was characterized by a more fluid movement of people between rural and (often peri-urban) industrial areas, in a process that was described as "circulatory migration". Precarization of labour has not only occurred at an early stage of industrial development, but also appears to represent a characteristic feature in the process of regional economic integration. Given that a precarious and transient labour force characterizes industrial development in the region, what is the implication for social protection mechanisms in the region?

## THE STATE: Contesting the Liberal State



SOUTHEAST ASIA'S POLITICAL HISTORY has been marked by the emergence of states characterized by a great diversity of regime forms, institutional capacities, and ideological orientations. This diversity is a product of the region's ethnic and religious heterogeneity, varied colonial experiences, the uneven impact of Cold War-era conflicts, and of differing patterns of economic development. Amidst this diversity it is perhaps not surprising that many Southeast Asian states continue to face serious questions concerning their claims to political legitimacy.

This work package takes as its starting point the fact that the liberal/illiberal character of the state has been, and remains, one central dimension of ideological and political contestation across Southeast Asia. It is, furthermore, based on the assumption that liberalism and democracy may fruitfully be regarded as analytically distinct and that states are akin to mosaics in that they combine liberal and illiberal and democratic and undemocratic elements in different, perhaps unique, ways. As others have recognized, the formal and informal institutions and practices assembled within the state are often in tension, not only with one another, but also with legitimating ideas. We posit that the frictions thus generated drive, at least to a certain extent, political change in southeast Asia. By mapping these assemblages and identifying the areas of friction, WP3 will advance our understanding of political change, not only at the macro level but also in a variety of distinct institutions and policy areas. In the study of Southeast Asian politics, questions concerning democratization have been privileged, while the fate of political liberalism has been less well understood. Seeking to partially redress this imbalance, the research conducted within this work package therefore takes "the liberal state and its discontents in Southeast Asia" as its overarching thematic focus. The central research question is: How is the character and legitimacy of the Southeast Asian state contested, and with what consequences?

WP3 takes political ideology seriously. It explores how ideas about the state—and especially its relationship to rival conceptions of "the people"—have been articulated across Southeast Asia. Recognizing that faith remains an important source of legitimating ideas in the region, we will explore how religious movements, beliefs, and practices continue to provide powerful challenges to liberal rationalities and modes of governance. The relationship between political regimes and state practices will be explored, with particular attention paid to civil-military relations and to civil-society activism. Finally, we ask to what extent institutions such as courts and national human rights commissions are able to protect enclaves of political liberalism within the state itself as well as within civil society.

A caveat, the research to be undertaken as part of this work package does not assume that the liberal state exists or has ever existed, in any perfect form, in Southeast Asia (or anywhere else, for that matter). However, it does assume that the politically liberal state has been and remains an important but deeply contested point of reference in discourses of political legitimation—domestically, regionally, and globally.



### Leader

TOMAS LARSSON

### Institution

Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge

### Bio-note

Tomas Larsson received a PhD in Government from Cornell University in 2007.

His award-winning dissertation was revised and published by Cornell University Press (*Land and loyalty: Security and the development of property rights in Thailand*, 2012). For the past 10 years, he has taught Southeast Asian and comparative politics to undergraduate and graduate students at the University of Cambridge. His recent research has focused on the politics of GMOs, on Buddhism and politics, and on state formation in Southeast Asia. From 1990 to 2000, he worked as a journalist based in Thailand.



### Co-Leader

PHAM QUYNH PHUONG

### Institution

Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences

### Bio-note

Pham Quynh Phuong is an anthropologist who graduated from La Trobe University (Melbourne, Australia) with Ph.D. thesis entitled *Hero and Deity: Empowerment and Contestation in the Veneration of Tran Hung Dao in Contemporary Vietnam*. She teaches graduate students and supervises M.A. and Ph.D. thesis. Her research interest is on the relationship between state and society in contemporary Vietnam, how the socialist state exercise its power through discourse, and how the ordinary people, with their agency, find their own ways to practice everyday culture and produce everyday politics that might not be in the same language of the state. Her recent research projects include the religious transformation in Central Highlands of Vietnam; and the rise of LGBT movements in Vietnam.

**Leader****VOLKER GRABOWSKY****Institution**

Asian-Afrika-Institut, University of Hamburg

**Bio-note**

Volker Grabowsky (Prof.) is chair of Thai Studies and head of the institute's Southeast Asia Department. He specialised in the history, traditional literatures, and manuscript cultures of the Tai peoples in mainland Southeast Asia and Southwest China. Of his numerous publications the most recent (with Renoo Wichasin) is *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng: A Tai Lü Principality of the Upper Mekong* (Silkworm Books, 2011).

**Co-Leader****Jayeel Serrano Cornelio****Institution**

Ateneo de Manila University

**Bio-note**

Jayeel Serrano Cornelio is the Director of the Development Studies Program, Ateneo de Manila University. He was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen. He is a recipient of various research grants including a UK ESRC Urgency Grant on disaster response and a research grant from Tearfund UK on disaster preparedness. He is also a co-investigator on Vote of the Poor 2016, a major study funded by the Institute of Philippine Culture. He edited with Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce the special issue of *Asian Journal of Social Science* on religious philanthropy in Asia. He is the lead editor of a new project, the Routledge Handbook on Religion in Global Society (with Linda Woodhead, Francois Gauthier, and Tuom).

**IDENTITY:****Forging Regional Belonging**

THE INTEGRATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA is typically framed in economic terms. Its institutional configurations, especially those related to ASEAN, are couched in intergovernmental agreements, increase mobility and the circulation of goods and professionals in key areas. These agreements take advantage of the region's productive sectors composed of a highly educated youth, aspirational middle class households, and skilled professionals. The awareness that ASEAN integration is thus perceived as elitist serves as a backdrop to our Work Package's interest in the role of non-state actors in fostering alternative regional identities. More specifically, WP4 investigates different modes of alternative regionalist projects in which non-state actors such as NGOs, transnational corporations, and various types of social networks and movements are involved. This form of regional integration that takes place from below influences the ways citizens think about themselves as members of an ASEAN or Southeast Asian community. It also has an impact on the strategies they deploy to collectively address issues confronting the region today.

The WP will explore how a sense of regional identity related to ASEAN has emerged in recent years and seeks to ascertain to what extent this identity is very much shaped by and confronted with different sets of national, ethnic, religious, and other Southeast Asian identities. These imaginings go far beyond the purely politico-economic realm and also take into account the increasing awareness of the interrelatedness of the region's diverse cultures. The emphasis of cross-cutting ethnic patterns, over and beyond the nation-state, represents a promising new approach to imagining the region. In this light, WP4 is interested in how integration takes place outside or on the fringes of the official institutions of the ASEAN community. Our general research question thus is as follows: *What factors are instrumental in forging regional identities in Southeast Asia?*

This broad question will be addressed in three respects. First, we investigate the state of mind of ASEAN youth (millennials), who make up a significant portion of the population. We explore their attitudes toward openness and integration, concerns and priorities for strengthening national identity, and understanding of their role for the future of ASEAN. Second, we seek to explore the role of transnational formations in the region based on ethnic and religious affinities. Third, in our two inter-related research modules on *Generations* and *Violence*, we shall study how violence or, to be more precise, the perception and memory (as well as forgetting) of violence shapes and transforms collective identities.

As a transversal theme we will study *multiple mobilities* – notably mobile populations such labour migrants, pilgrims, tourists, and refugees – to explore whether movements compete with or legitimise forms of Southeast Asian identity. Another transversal theme is the importance of security for regional solidarity among the peoples of Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. As we explore identity construction, gender is another transversal theme that informs our studies. A gendered perspective informs our studies on religious resurgence among Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists based on various motivations including pious feminism, nationalism, prosperity, and proselytization.

## THE REGION: ASEAN's Contested Centrality



THIS WP EXAMINES THE EVOLUTION of the ASEAN project within the global geopolitical and geo-economic context, with particular attention to the Association's legitimacy – both in the process of its enlargement, past and present – and in the face of, what has been argued, is a crisis of globalisation. This WP will examine the dynamics of integration and disintegration, namely the centrifugal and centripetal forces, impacting on the Association in multi-lateral,

'mini-lateral' and bi-lateral contexts. We propose to examine the perception and reality of ASEAN as an institution by in four research modules, examining the Association as such, membership experiences, and ASEAN within wider regional and global contexts.

*Research Module 1 examines ASEAN's specific characteristics and norms* and to what extent they have contributed to an imagined regional identity. Is ASEAN, as some neo-realist scholars would have it, more about "process than progress"? This module will involve studying ASEAN practice in areas such as energy security, military cooperation and maritime connectivity. This WP seeks to examine the rhetoric of the ASEAN way in the cold light of the praxis of ASEAN members.

*Research Module 2, will undertake a comparative study of ASEAN enlargement*, by looking at new domestic / foreign interfaces through a comparative case study of a recent existing member, Myanmar, and a candidate for ASEAN membership, Timor Leste. These case studies will address questions of social learning and norm diffusion through a study of domestic actors.

*Research Module 3 focuses on ASEAN's centrality in the context of competing regional projects.* For example, competing FTA projects (CPTPP, RCEP), involving in the latter case only some ASEAN members, could at least, potentially be divisive. Moreover, is Foreign Direct Investment – especially that from China under the Belt and Road Initiative – in certain ASEAN members a factor facilitating or, on the contrary, one which is both divisive and thus, potentially, capable of undermining ASEAN's centrality? It has been argued, for example, that both Cambodia and Laos are Chinese client states very reluctant to express solidarity with other ASEAN members who feel threatened, for example, by assertive Chinese behaviour in the South China Sea. Moreover, significant cross border actors, such as the Chinese province of Yunnan, would appear to have their own agenda in relation to their very close Southeast Asian neighbours.

*Research Module 4 examines SEA regional integration in a wider global context* and asks whether ASEAN is really central in the evolution, not only of East Asia, but also in relation to other regional constructions such as the Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific. We propose to examine the impact of external forces – Sino-American rivalry, Russia's East Asian thrust and a global European Union – in engendering integration or disintegration within ASEAN. The resurrection of the Quad – a partnership involving Australia, India, Japan and the United States – and the concomitant promotion of the Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical entity, is merely the latest regionalist development impacting on ASEAN.



### Leader

SOPHIE BOISSEAU DU ROCHER

### Institution

Institut français des relations internationales

### Bio-note

Sophie Boisseau du Rocher is a political scientist, graduated from Sciences Po Paris. She taught international relations, regional integration and Southeast Asian affairs at Sciences Po (Paris campus, Le Havre campus 1997 - 2010) and Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok 2010 - 2011). Dr Boisseau du Rocher has been pursuing her research on regionalism and regional integration in South-east and East Asia. She is currently working on the impact of China on current regional and consequently, global configurations. Sophie Boisseau du Rocher is also working on national challenges to political transition in the ASEAN member States.



### Co-Leader

MOE MA MA

### Institution

University of Mandalay

### Bio-note

Moe Ma Ma graduated from University of Mandalay with Ph.D. thesis entitled *Myanmar's Economic Response to Globalization with Special Reference to Agricultural Sector: Case Study- Rice*. She teaches undergraduate and graduate students and supervises M.A. and Ph.D. thesis focused on Southeast Asia, Myanmar Foreign Policy and Myanmar's Foreign Relations. Her ongoing research is *The Role of ASEAN in Disaster Management*.



### Co-Leader

NATTHANAN KUNNAMAS

### Institution

Chulalongkorn University

### Bio-note

Natthanan Kunnamas, Ph.D. (Leeds) is Jean Monnet Chair, Director for Interdisciplinary Department for European Studies and an Assistant Professor in International Relations, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University. She is also an editor of the Journal of European Studies, Chulalongkorn University under the Centre for European Studies, Chulalongkorn University. From September 2016, she has been the first Jean Monnet Chair in Southeast Asia and won the grant for two Jean Monnet Modules.

## LIST OF RESEARCHERS IN CRISEA



École française d'Extrême-Orient, France:

- Yves Goudineau, Coordinator
- Jacques Leider, Scientific Coordinator
- David Camroux, Dissemination Coordinator
- Andrew Hardy, Special Advisor
- François Bafoil (Sciences Po)
- Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Leader of WP5 (IFRI)
- Vanina Bouté (CNRS-CASE)
- Olivier Evrard (IRD)
- Rémy Madinier (CNRS-CASE)
- Vatthana Pholsena (CNRS-CASE)
- Jérôme Tadié (IRD)



University of Hamburg, Germany:

- Volker Grabowsky, Leader of WP4
- Monika Arnez
- Marco Bünte (GIGA)
- Janina Pawels (GIGA)
- Oliver Tappe (University of Cologne)
- Andreas Ufen (GIGA)
- Jan van der Putten
- Jorg Wischermann (GIGA)



The University of Naples L'Orientale, Italy:

- Pietro Masina, Co-leader of WP2
- Dennis Arnold (University of Amsterdam)
- Michela Cerimele
- Antonia Soriente
- Giacomo Tabacco (University of Milano Bicocca)
- Silvia Vignato (University of Milano Bicocca)



The Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Portugal

- Paulo Castro Seixas
- Nuno Canas Mendes
- Andreia Valente



The University of Lodz, Poland:

- Tomasz Kaminski, Co-leader of WP1
- Dominik Mierzejewski
- Małgorzata Pietrasiak
- Edyta Roszko (University of Copenhagen)
- Michał Zaręba



The University of Oslo, Norway:

- Kristian Stokke
- Arve Hansen
- Hege Merete Knutsen



The University of Cambridge, UK:

- Tomas Larsson, Leader of WP3
- Iza Hussin
- Rachel Leow
- Natasha Pairaudeau



The University of Chiang Mai, Thailand:

- Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Leader of WP1
- Kwanchewan Buadaeng
- Natthanan Kunnamas, Co-leader of WP5 (University of Chulalongkorn)
- Prasit Leepreecha
- Carl Middleton, Co-leader of WP1 (University of Chulalongkorn)
- Manoj Potapongh
- Amnuayvit Thitibordin (Kamnoetvidya Science Academy)



The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia:

- Medelina K. Hendytio, Leader of WP6
- Yose Rizal Damuri
- Vidhyandika D. Perkasa



Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines:

- Jayeel Serrano Cornelio, Co-leader of WP4
- Filomeno Aguilar
- Lisandro Claudio
- Leonardo A. Lanzona
- Marissa Maricosa Paderon



The University of Malaya, Malaysia:

- Edmund Terence Gomez, Leader of WP2
- V.G.R. Chandran
- Evelyn S. Devadason
- Nathalie Fau (CNRS-CASE)
- Danny Wong Tze Ken



Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam:

- Pham Quynh Phuong, Co-leader of WP3
- Dao The Duc
- Do Ta Khanh
- Hoang Cam
- Nguyen An Ha
- Nguyen Bich Thuan
- Nguyen Phuong Dung
- Pham Anh Tuan
- Vu Ngoc Quyen



Mandalay University, Myanmar:

- Moe Ma Ma, Co-leader of WP5
- Aye Aye Myat
- Thida Tun