

De/Centering Southeast Asia

The 5th Biennial International
Conference 2024

18-20 July 2024

University of the Philippines Diliman
(GT-Toyota Asian Center Auditorium and School of Economics)



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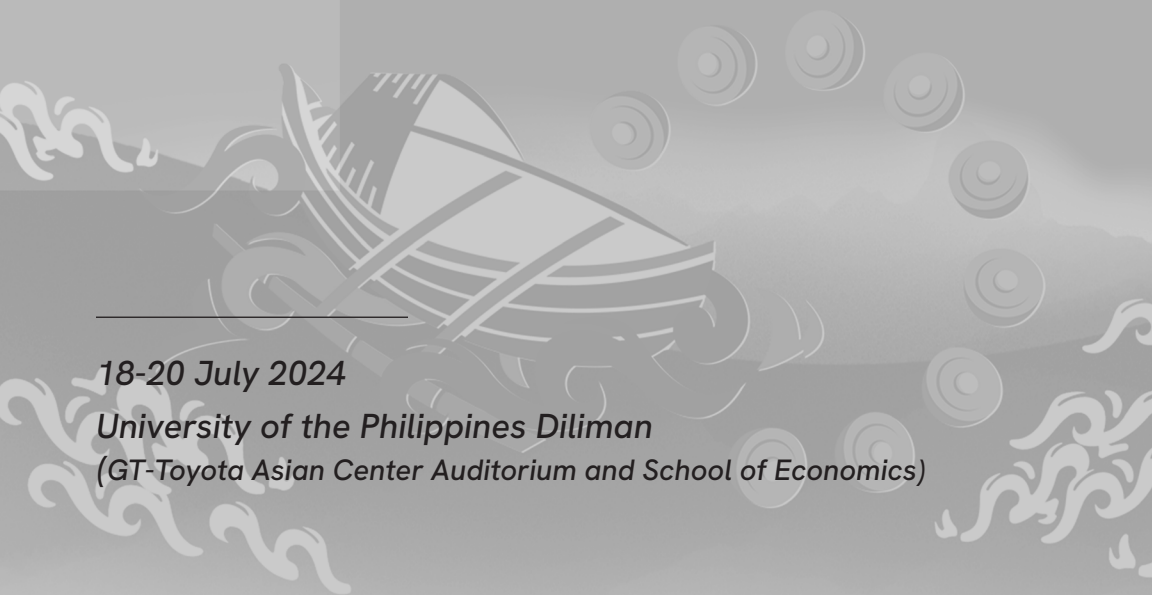
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Table of Contents

1 Opening Program

- 1 Introduction of Guest of Honor
 - 2 Message from the Secretary of the University of the Philippines
 - 4 Message from the Chair of the SEASIA Governing Board
-

9 Parallel Session 1

- 9 Autonomous Knowledge Production
- 13 Cultural Fluctuations in Southeast Asia: Text, Television, and Technology
- 15 Political History and Narrative Arcs
- 17 Decolonizing Area Studies
- 20 Contesting Authoritarianism: Southeast Asian Film and Video
- 23 Local Crisis Response
- 27 Transnational Culture in SEA

31 Parallel Session 2

- 31 Appraising Rodrigo Duterte's Legacy in the Philippines (Part 1)
- 34 Building Cosmopolitan Lifeworlds: Southeast Asian Migrant Women's Narratives from the Margins
- 37 From Objects of Study to Emblems of Heritage: Local Expertise and the Making Southeast Asian Natures
- 41 Cybersports, Games, and Digital Media
- 43 Heritage Textiles and Fashion

- 47 Roundtable on "Strategizing the Role of Think Tanks in Shaping Southeast Asian Regional Policies in the Indo-Pacific Region: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects"
- 48 Inequality in the Formal and Informal Sectors

53 Parallel Session 3

- 53 Appraising Rodrigo Duterte's Legacy in the Philippines (Part 2)
- 55 New Wealth Creation in Emerging Economies
- 59 Local Knowledge
- 63 Empire and Epistemology
- 66 Examining the ASEAN, Alliances and Maritime In/Security Dynamics
- 68 Social Responses to Technological Change

73 Parallel Sessions 4

- 73 Confronting Marginality: Reflections and Lessons from the Field
- 76 Decolonizing Science
- 80 Economic History
- 82 Social Responses to Ecological Crisis
- 84 Political Narratives and Power
- 87 Norms and Values
- 90 Accountability and Governance

95 Parallel Session 5

- 95 Part A: Rethinking and Decentering Trade, Exchange and Engagement in Island Southeast Asia

98	Political Ecology of Climate Change
100	Islam and Identity Politics
103	Roundtable Discussion with Short Film Screenings "An Experiment of Fluid Digital Database Making: Historical Films of the Philippine Osaka Bazaar in the Philippine and Trade in Southeast Asia (1920s-1930s)"
104	Labor Migration and Human Trafficking
107	Peripheries and Development
110	Southeast Asia and Beyond: Inland and Maritime Dynamics Surrounding the Region

115 Parallel Session 6

115	Part B: Rethinking and Decentering Trade, Exchange and Engagement in Island Southeast Asia
118	ASEAN's Regional Diplomacy
122	Post-Pandemic Southeast Asia: Systemic Perils and Peoples' Alternatives
125	Sociology of Migration, Mobility's Integration
129	Navigating Contentious Politics in Southeast Asia through Activism and Civil Society
132	Practices and Projection of Power

137 Parallel Session 7

137	De/Centering Philippine Music in Four Case Studies
140	Politics and Social Media
142	Elections and Weakening Democracy
146	Localizing Wartime History: Cases from the Visayas region, the Philippines

- 148 Discovering New Skylines on the Edge of the Unipolar World:
Awakening the Power of Multilateral Cooperation
- 152 What is Comfortable and Sustainable Cooling? Exploring the
'Airconditioning Nexus' from a Multi-disciplinary Perspective

157 Parallel Session 8

- 157 From Non-State to State Actors: Post-Peace Agreement
Governance in Aceh and the Bangsamoro
- 159 Performance and Heritage
(Re)Creating SEA
- 163 Geopolitics and Society
- 167 The politics of friendship in the construction of empires and
nations in Southeast Asia, 16th to 20th centuries
- 169 Transnationalism and Placemaking
- 172 Labor Regimes

176 Book Launch 1

- 176 Philippine Politics from Duterte to Marcos Jr: A Roundtable

177 Book Launch 2

- 177 The Geopolitics of Green Colonialism: Global Justice and
Ecosocial Transitions

178 Film Screening

- 178 Karatuan: Kudyapiq sa Lumang Maguindanao

183 Keynote Lecture 1

Syed Farid Alatas

197 Keynote Lecture 2

197 The Impact of Western Art and "Music" on the Cultures of
Southeast Asia

Ramon P. Santos

203 Plenary Roundtable Discussion

203 Dr. Syed Farid Alatas

206 Dr. Caroline Hau

210 Dr. Ping Tjin Thum

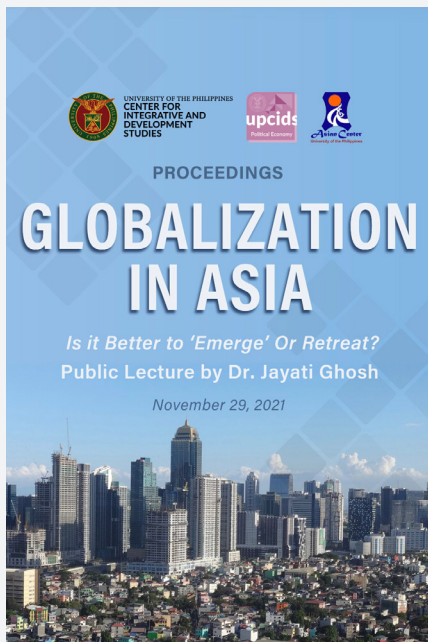
215 Open Forum

226 Closing Message from the University of the Philippines Diliman Chancellor

228 SEASIA 2024 Organizing Committee

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About the SEASIA Consortium

On October 11, 2013, the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA) was established with the signing of the Charter by prominent area-studies institutions across Northeast and Southeast Asia. The founding members consisted of the following: the Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Academia Sinica; the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University; the Indonesian Institute of Sciences; the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University; the Asian Center, University of the Philippines; the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore; the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University; the Taiwan Association of Southeast Asian Studies; the Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam; and, the Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies.

At the core of the SEASIA Consortium is the promotion of academic dialogues, linkages, and collaborations among area studies and research institutions mainly toward enriching and deepening knowledge and praxes in and on Southeast Asia. Toward this end, it seeks to provide a regular platform for the sharing of ideas, works, and experiences among scholars and practitioners in the region and beyond. By promoting such exchanges, SEASIA hopes to contribute to solving the urgent issues and concerns of our times.

Further cementing its mission towards cross-country connection is the consortium's continued appointment and expansion made possible by the SEA Governing Board. In 2017, four member institutions were added namely ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute (Singapore), the Center for Southeast Asia Research at the City University Hong Kong, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the National Chengchi University (Taiwan), and the School of International Studies, Jinan University (People's Republic of China). Four years later, the consortium was joined by Jeonbuk National University Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (South Korea) and the American University of Phnom Penh-Center for Southeast Asian Studies (Cambodia), and in 2024, the College of Interdisciplinary Studies of Thammasat University (Thailand) and the Department of Southeast Asian Studies of the University of Malaya (Malaysia) became members.

With the continued support and collaboration of its Governing Board and member institutions, SEASIA remains at the forefront of pushing forth efforts of linking leading area studies institutions in the region through the SEASIA Biennial Conference, hosted by member institutions every two years. Through this multilateral platform, educators, scholars, and advocates are able to be part of transformative efforts in highlighting Southeast Asian studies through organized academic meetings, seminars, workshops, and symposia.

About the SEASIA 2024 Biennial Conference

The Fifth SEASIA Biennial International Conference is a platform for centering Southeast Asian scholarship within Asia. Insofar as global academic metropolises are recognized centers of knowledge production, the notion of “de/centering” involves the twin processes of provincializing capitals of power while affirming the unique and compelling contributions of, and from, the region. “De/Centering” is defined here as a shift in one’s analytical position away from a dominant center towards the periphery in order to strengthen expertise, amplify voices, and resist subordination in these peripheries.

De/Centering challenges the dominant narratives and perspectives historically centered in the “West” and its gaze on Southeast Asia, instead highlighting diverse and complex experiences, histories and cultures of the region as told by Southeast Asians themselves. Scholars from, and of, the region take ownership of their own narratives and histories, which have often been erased, marginalized, or misrepresented.

The conference and movement come a decade after the need for the platform was first conceived. Much has changed since that time, regionally and globally. Heightened political repression, online disinformation in the service of in-real-life manipulation, threats to Asian regional security from the Russia-Ukraine war, conflict over land and seas between China and its neighbors, the devastation wrought by the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, the continuing strain of widening inequality, and calamitous climate change are among the most ominous of challenges that we face. We need to address genocide in Gaza, the debates around it, and its profound implications for the academe.

As has been the case historically, Southeast Asian responses—from state and society alike—will matter. In what ways are these challenges salient to the peoples of Southeast Asia and scholars on and from the region? As scholars, how do we advance instruction, research, and outreach—toward what aims, and why? Do we enjoy the academic freedom to enable us in these pursuits?

This conference seeks to promote a more nuanced understanding of the region, as well as provide a platform for Southeast Asians to reclaim their agency and identity. It also aims to facilitate a more inclusive and equitable dialogue, creating an opportunity for mutual learning and understanding,

engendering greater empathy, respect, and solidarity across epistemic communities. Rather than being exclusive, the platform is inclusive—opening new vistas critically rather than closing them.

Message from the President of the University of the Philippines

Atty. Angelo A. Jimenez

On behalf of the University of the Philippines, I am pleased to welcome the distinguished speakers, paper presenters, researchers and scholars of Southeast Asian studies, and participants to the 5th Biennial International Conference of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies (SEASIA). This fifth installment of the SEASIA's Biennial Conference series showcases our unity as Southeast Asian countries—despite our unique cultures and distinct histories, we have a unanimous desire to work together in the various fields that affect our respective territories, for the benefit of everyone involved. I thank the conference participants, including those from the Consortium's member-institutions, who have come to our campus for this event to share your research, experiences and concerns on the multifarious developments, issues and trends in our region. This year's theme, "De/Centering Southeast Asia," calls for a new way of seeing as we pivot our focus to the region and examine the contributions that are inherently unique to it. Western narratives and perspectives have long been the dominant lens used to view Southeast Asia. With a growing awareness of the need to shift the weight of this "gaze" to the periphery, we seek to become owners of our narratives and histories, some of which have undergone distortion, misrepresentation or obliteration. We should and must reclaim our own stories. For more than a decade, SEASIA has provided a venue to create a deeper understanding of our regional concerns as we seek to promote and sustain effective business ventures, academic partnerships, and artistic collaborations. I thank the Executive Committee, Governing Board, and members of SEASIA for continuing to link national, regional and global efforts into a network of academic cooperation and collaboration among Southeast Asia- and other East Asia-based Southeast Asianists.

Most of all, I warmly thank and congratulate the faculty, students, staff and administrators of the UP Asian Center, headed by Dean Henelito Sevilla Jr., and the UP Host Committee, chaired by Prof. Antoinette Raquiza, for the hard work, vision and commitment that went into the organization of the 5th Biennial Conference of SEASIA. Thank you as well to the UP co-organizers of this event: the Center for International Studies; the Department of Political

Science of the College of Social Science and Philosophy; the College of Arts and Letters; and, the Political Economy Program of the Center for Integrative and Development Studies. It is through initiatives like these that we fulfill UP's mandate as a national university to serve as a regional and global university as we demonstrate UP's principles of honor and excellence in the service of the nation and the region. I am confident we will all reap benefits from sharing our knowledge and learnings in this Conference. This event is intended to help catalyze genuine and sustainable progress, and I am delighted that UP gets to play a major role in it. Congratulations once again, and welcome to our University.

Message from the Chancellor of the University of the Philippines Diliman

Atty. Edgardo L. Carlo Vistan II

The University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD) is very pleased to host the 5th Biennial International Conference of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia or SEASIA with the theme De/Centering Southeast Asia. UPD will maximize this platform in order to transcend the parameters currently established in our various academic fields. As one of the country's premier universities, we are grateful for the opportunity to be at the forefront of this gathering of colleagues in Southeast Asian studies.

As we move forward in discussing pivotal narratives and studies on the region, many of us are reminded of the main objective of our 5th edition of this biennial conference: to decenter the conversation from the hegemonic accounts rendered across our respective academic fields. At the core of this biennial conference is the call to action for everyone to continue growing these bodies of knowledge despite the persistence of various struggles that impede such efforts. It is through our commitment as scholars, educators, and advocates, that important and marginalized narratives are amplified, scholarly debates enriched, and the breadth of research, immersion, and development, expanded across the Southeast Asian region. Keeping true to the University's pledge of advancing efforts, this conference is part of the UPD Arts and Culture Festival 2024, which carries the theme *Pamamalagi at Pamamahagi*. The festival commemorates the 75 years since UP in Diliman,

Quezon City was established. We reflect on the knowledge and practices that have become part of the University's identity, shaped by its contributions to the academic community, the nation, and beyond. Similar to the spirit of this celebration, we hope that the conversations in this conference will encourage you to engage and value different forms of local knowledge from the region as we face the challenges of the world today.

Together with the other governing board members of the SEASIA Consortium, we reiterate our commitment to the vision of the SEASIA Consortium through the biennial conference series. We will continue to shape and empower narratives of our own as we move forward as one Southeast Asian community. On behalf of the UPD community, I would like to thank and congratulate the Host Committee for spearheading this biennial international conference: the Asian Center and other units at UPD and the UP System. I would also like to express my gratitude to our partners and most especially, to the participants for heeding the call of owning our narratives and transforming the field of Southeast Asian studies. *Muli, maraming salamat at pagpupugay sa inyong lahat!*

Message from the Dean of the Asian Center

Professor Henelito A. Sevilla, Jr., PhD

On behalf of the Asian Center, I would like to humbly welcome you, distinguished participants and guests, to the 5th SEASIA Biennial International Conference at the University of the Philippines. The Asian Center, in partnership with other UP units, is honored to bring together scholars and practitioners dedicated to expanding the frontiers of Southeast Asian studies.

Since the 2000s, the Asian region has experienced major adjustments and transformation in response to geopolitical tensions among global powers, notably, the United States and China and the need for economies and societies to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic and build resilience in the face of various sources of instability. Other pressing issues we face as a region include democratic backsliding, climate change, and migration. Hence, the challenge for Asian Studies is how research and scholarship can promote innovative thinking and social action that more effectively respond to these concerns.

This year's theme, "De/Centering Southeast Asia," highlights today's scholars' commitment to amplify the region's distinct perspectives, agency, and place in a rapidly evolving global landscape. It celebrates the rich, diverse, and complex experiences, histories, and cultures of Southeast Asia as told by Southeast Asians themselves.

We are thrilled to provide this platform for critical reflection and dialogue. Let us contribute to a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of our region, fostering scholarship that represents the multiplicity of Southeast Asian identities and experiences. We hope that the conference stimulates discussions and debates that will elevate Southeast Asian scholarship within Asia and beyond.

The Asian Center wishes to extend its deepest gratitude to the University of the Philippines System and Diliman for their support and our co-organizers, the Center for International Studies, Political Science Department, Philippine Center for Economic Development, and the Center for Integrated and Development Studies Political Economy Program as well as our institutional partners for their tireless efforts to bring SEASIA to UP Diliman. Your commitment and contributions have been instrumental in creating this opportunity for intellectual exchange and growth. I wish you all a very fruitful and prosperous time ahead. Thank you.

Message from the Chair of the SEASIA Governing Board and Chair of the UP Host Committee

Professor Antoinette R. Raquiza, PhD

On behalf of the Governing Board of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA), and the University of the Philippines Host Committee, I welcome everyone to the 5th Biennial SEASIA Conference.

SEASIA has come a long way since its first international conference at Kyoto University in 2015. We have had more than a decade of providing a more accessible platform for and by Southeast Asians and Southeast Asianists in the region and beyond. Starting with ten area studies institutions in Southeast and

Northeast Asia, we now have 17 member-institutions, with Universiti Malaya and Thammasat University joining our ranks this year. Leaning into area studies' multidisciplinary approach, scholars, researchers, and practitioners have convened under the SEASIA banner at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok in 2017, Academia Sinica in Taipei in 2019, and in Jakarta led by the National Agency for Research and Innovation (BRIN) in 2022. This year, the University of the Philippines proudly takes up the mantle to host SEASIA's 2024 biennial conference. SEASIA's expansion and the huge response to our conferences from academics and practitioners in and on the region attest to our mission's continuing relevance. In the mid-2000s with the apparent dawning of the Asian Century, discussions set out aimed to shape that future. A decade later, we now confront the challenge of upending a reality that places a litany of existential crises in that path.

The conference's theme of "De/Centering Southeast Asia" highlights the need for Southeast Asian Studies and Southeast Asians to interrogate dominant narratives and institutions that legitimize and reinforce unequal relations—between the North and South, among and within countries, as well as across generations and genders. It recognizes that we are at the threshold of a historic opportunity to make Southeast Asian states and societies matter. Southeast Asian Studies has a tremendous and weighty role to play in transforming the region and its peoples from objects to subjects of world history. We are excited at the prospect of this year's conference advancing that important work.

To end, allow me to convey the SEASIA Governing Board's deep appreciation to the University of the Philippines for hosting the 5th Biennial Conference and the UP Host Committee for the colossal work organizing this gathering of colleagues in the academe, think tanks, and civil society. We look forward to the work ahead of teasing out of new concepts and synthetic analyses toward promoting new ways of doing politics and development that would build the foundations of a just, sustainable, progressive region and world. Thank you.

DAY ONE

Opening Program

Introduction of Guest of Honor

Dr. Ma. Serena I. Diokno

Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of the Philippines

Professor Maria Serena I. Diokno, PhD is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of the Philippines. She has worked on history and memory, Philippine political history, and Southeast Asian studies. Her recent publications are “Populist Authoritarianism Against the ‘Firewall’ of Rights and Due Process,” in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao and Alan Hao Yang (eds.), *The Volatility and Future of Democracies in Asia* (Routledge, 2022) and “The Bullinger Pool in Burma, 1921 to the Mid-1930s,” *The Philippine Review of Economics* 57, 2 (2021).

Prof. Diokno was the Vice President for Academic Affairs of the University of the Philippines from 1999–2005 and was named one of the University’s twelve Centennial Fellows in 2008. In 2011, she was appointed Chairperson of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, where she served until 2016, when she resigned. Prof. Diokno sits on the board of various educational institutions at the basic education and tertiary levels and is a member of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) Technical Panel on General Education. She is also actively involved in international academic associations, among which is the SEASREP (Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program) Foundation, an organization of Southeast Asian scholars founded in 1995 that promotes Southeast Asian studies in the region.

In addition to being an esteemed intellectual and a dedicated public leader, Prof. Diokno has long been an ardent advocate for human rights and social justice. She has been at the forefront of efforts to combat historical distortion in the Philippines, particularly on narratives during the Martial Law period. Her unwavering commitment to history, education, and human rights continues to inspire scholars, activists, and students alike.

Message from the Secretary of the University of the Philippines

Atty. Roberto M. J. Lara

Excellencies, Distinguished participants, ladies and gentlemen, good morning!
Welcome to the University of the Philippines.

I am very pleased to represent the University in opening the 5th Biennial Conference of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies or SEASIA. We are very pleased that the University of the Philippines is today hosting SEASIA's flagship event—a commitment that we made when in 2013, the University became a founding member of the Consortium. As we gather here, we are united by our shared passion and dedication to understanding and advancing the diverse and dynamic region of Southeast Asia.

The University of the Philippines is the premier comprehensive public research university in the country. Its first campus was founded in Manila in 1908 during the period of American occupation. It has since become a University System with eight constituent universities and 17 campuses located in different parts of the Philippine archipelago. The University of the Philippines Diliman is the flagship campus and administrative seat of the entire UP System. It is well-known nationally and internationally not only for its excellent academic programs but also for its strong traditions of liberal education and academic freedom. Over its long history, the university has embraced without reservation its role in serving the nation and the Filipino people.

That the University of the Philippines is hosting the 2024 conference is in keeping with the country's keen interest in promoting Southeast Asian Studies that is informed by regional developments, the imperatives of foreign relations, and national interest. Along this line, the University established the Institute of Asian Studies in 1955 at the onset of the Cold War when area studies sought to promote greater understanding of newly sovereign nations.

In 1968, a law establishing the UP Asian Center was passed. Taking it from Republic Act No. 5334, the Asian Center's founding (which included the incorporation of the Institute of Asian Studies) was aligned with "the national policy to develop a closer and broader contact with our Asian neighbors in the

field of learning and scholarship to attain knowledge of our national identity in relation to other Asian nations through profound studies on Asian cultures, histories, social forces, and aspirations.” Noteworthy, the establishment of the Asian Center came a year after the founding of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN. The University of the Philippines continues to uphold this legacy. The fifth biennial SEASIA conference is more than just an academic gathering; it is a celebration of the rich cultural tapestry, historical depth, and socio- political complexity that characterize Southeast Asia.

In adopting the theme “De/Centering Southeast Asia,” the conference aims to reframe Southeast Asian scholarship by shifting focus from dominant central narratives to the peripheries, thereby strengthening expertise, amplifying local voices, and resisting subordination. It challenges historically dominant, even Western-centric perspectives on Southeast Asia, highlighting the region's diverse and complex experiences, histories, and cultures to highlight perspectives from within the region.

We are privileged to have an impressive lineup of speakers and panelists who bring with them a wealth of knowledge and expertise. Their insights will undoubtedly enrich our understanding and spark meaningful dialogues. I encourage each of you to actively participate, engage in discussions, and share your perspectives, as it is through this collaborative exchange that we can advance our collective knowledge and contribute to the betterment of the region. Our research and discussions have the potential to inform policies, guide development, and foster greater understanding and cooperation both within the region and beyond. In closing, I would like to congratulate the University of the Philippines Host Committee led by the Asian Center with the Center for International Studies, Political Science Department, the Philippine Center for Economic Development, and the Center for Integrative and Development Studies—for bringing the 2024 SEASIA conference to our campus and the Philippines. Allow me to extend the University's gratitude to the SEASIA network, the conference partners, sponsors and volunteers, as well as participants who came from all over the world to help ensure the conference's success.

Once again, welcome to the conference on Southeast Asian Studies. Let us embark on this journey with curiosity, open minds, and a shared commitment to advancing our understanding of this remarkable region. Thank you.

Message from the Chair of the SEASIA Governing Board

Professor Antoinette Raquiza, PhD

On behalf of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia or SEASIA and the University of the Philippines Host Committee, I welcome everyone to the 5th Biennial SEASIA Conference.

Looking at everyone assembled here today, I am reminded that in our last conference in 2022, the region—as with the rest of the world—was just emerging from the COVID-19 pandemic. That year the National Research and Innovation Agency or BRIN of Indonesia did a remarkable job of putting together the 4th biennial conference in hybrid form. This year the University of the Philippines has proudly taken up the mantle to host the biennial conference and revert to meeting in person as a community of scholars, practitioners, and advocates. In this connection, let me acknowledge the SEASIA member-institutions whose members have traveled to be with us today. With the Asian Center, other member-institutions with us are:

The Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Academia Sinica; The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), now Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities-National Research and Innovation Agency (Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional, BRIN); The Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University; The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University; The School of Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University; The Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore; The Taiwan Association of Southeast Asian Studies; The Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam; The Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman; The Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong; ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute (Singapore); The School of International Studies, Jinan University; The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, National Chengchi University; Center for Southeast Asian Studies, American University of Phnom Penh; The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Jeonbuk National University; College of Interdisciplinary Studies, Thammasat University; Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya. The response that the Host Committee got to its call for papers was overwhelming: about 500 submissions from 31 countries. This outpouring of academic interest may be attributed to the pent-up energies of scholars

around the region who pursued their work despite pandemic-imposed restrictions, often without the benefit of a collegial sounding board for their ideas and research. Unfortunately, we were not able to accommodate every submission so that even as we will be rolling out 53 panels in these three days, we will be only tapping into the huge intellectual potential of our region: our contribution to knowledge wisdom and praxis. More the huge response to our conference's attests to the continuing relevance of SEASIA's mission. In the mid-2000s with the apparent dawning of the Asian Century discussions aimed to shape that future. A decade later, we now confront the challenge of upending a reality that places a litany of existential crises in that path.

The conference's theme of "De/Centering Southeast Asia" highlights the need for Southeast Asian Studies and Southeast Asians to interrogate dominant narratives and institutions that legitimize and reinforce unequal relations—between the North and South among and within countries as well as across generations and genders. It recognizes that we are at the threshold of a historic opportunity to make Southeast Asian states and societies matter. That we, Southeast Asians, must take ownership of the scholarship about our history, politics and societies is beyond question and we have done so over the years. Southeast Asian Studies has a tremendous and weighty role to play in transforming the region and its peoples from objects to subjects of world history. Our work in its very essence is a social undertaking and our ideas mature and grow resilient in light of the conversations and criticisms that they inspire. That this contribution will grow more resonant as we strengthen the bonds that brought us here today is our fondest hope and great ambition.

To end, allow me to convey the SEASIA Governing Board's deep appreciation to the University of the Philippines for hosting the 5th Biennial Conference and the UP Host Committee for organizing this gathering of colleagues in the academe, think tanks, and civil society. Allow me a moment to acknowledge the members of the Host Committee by name: Co-chairs Professor Ramon Guillermo and Professor Aries Arugay; Head of Secretariat: Assistant Professor Monica FAW Santos; Members: Assistant Professor Sol Iglesias, Professor Maria Crisanta Nelmda Flores, Associate Professor Noel Moratilla, Dean Patricia Brillantes-Silvestre, and Dean Henelito Sevilla Jr. as ex-officio member. To the committee members, secretariat, and volunteers, thank you.

We look forward to the work ahead of teasing out new concepts and synthetic analyses toward promoting new ways of doing politics and development that would build the foundations of a just, sustainable, and progressive region and world.

DAY ONE

Parallel Session 1

AUTONOMOUS KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

CHAIR

Ramon Guillermo

University of the Philippines Diliman

Pocketing the Prize: Lingering Patterns of Prestige in Southeast Asia Studies

Jemma Purdey and Antje Missbach

Monash University; Bielefeld University

While Southeast Asian studies in the US, European and Australian academies face challenges and decline, there is significant development of the discipline in Southeast Asian academies and elsewhere in Asia. Given this apparent shift in academic investment, this examination of patterns in awarding prizes for work in this field over the past two decades seeks to understand where prestige in the field is located. Assuming that prizes are more than just the recognition of a scholar's individual work, but that they also act as a signal for development of Southeast Asian studies in the broader sense, this analysis indicates that 'prestige' continues to be predominantly accorded to those studying, working and publishing in countries outside the region, particularly the US. Our analysis reveals that overwhelmingly awardees of the preeminent book prizes given for excellence in Southeast Asian studies, completed their higher research degree in the US, UK, and Australia (91%), and are currently affiliated with institutions in Europe, US, and Australia (94%). Although the number of institutions based in Asia, both old and new, has expanded in recent decades, they do not yet award book prizes akin to those under study, nor is there a regional association that does this. It may be the case that a lack of institutionalized collaboration across these regional centers is one of the factors which indirectly boosts the ongoing dominance of institutions based in the US, Europe, and Australia. Rather than explaining this absence, in this article we seek to raise questions about the current state of Southeast Asian

studies, who is shaping global ideas about Southeast Asia and who is currently and will in the future, constitute their communities of assessment?

Disentangling Southeast Asian Diplomacy and Negotiation Strategies: De-Centering Western Perspectives on Diplomacy

Faris Rahmadian and Otto Hospes

Wageningen University and Research

The role of diplomacy has been significant throughout human history. It has played a crucial role in formulating agreements, resolving disputes, and establishing norms and laws. Referred to as the 'engine room' of international relations, diplomacy can provide an in-depth understanding of the current global political complexities. However, scholarly discussions on diplomacy are often dominated and discussed within the framework of the 'Western' perspective, overshadowing the narratives and viewpoints of different countries, including those in Southeast Asia. By using a systematic literature review, this paper aims to disentangle the fragmented body of scientific evidence regarding the diplomacy and negotiation strategies of Southeast Asian countries, and simultaneously identify and synthesize the key factors that shaped and contributed to its development. As indicated by the results, this paper challenges the adequacy of the 'Western' perspective in capturing and theorizing the diverse dynamics and circumstances of diplomacy in Southeast Asian countries. These dynamics can be basically attributed to two key factors: endogenous factors (e.g., historical contingency and value of the Bandung Conference, domestic leadership and regime survival and cultural background and identities) and exogenous factors (e.g., international law, agreement or pressure and ASEAN and the ASEAN Ways). The paper concludes that Southeast Asian diplomacy and negotiation strategies are historically contingent and country-specific but often theorized in terms of concepts on western diplomacy. To address this theoretical bias, we call for de-centering of western perspectives and attention to Southeast Asian modes of diplomacy.

Ascertaining Extent of State Power in Regulating Teachings in Madrasah Schools

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This paper evaluates the feasibility of teaching local customs in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) under the madrasah system vis-à-vis state limitations on academic freedom. Using the discussions of the framers of the Philippine Constitution, the conflict between national law and customary law are highlighted, which in turn poses the question: when national law prohibits a local practice, is the invocation of autonomy sufficient to warrant its teaching in Madrasah schools? This is followed by an enumeration and tangential discussion on current local conflicts of law between the Congress-made enactments and local practices, to substantiate the issue at hand. By parallel approach, a review of domestic and international jurisprudence is made to assess the principles which by analogy, provide guidance on the interaction between the State and educational institutions, specifically on the extent of the power of the State to limit the freedom of speech and the freedom of what may be taught. In sum, the paper sees an ongoing crisis in the BARMM education sector, as the extent of autonomy may be curtailed by the State as regards what matters may be taught and consequently, what practices may be upheld.

Decolonization of Knowledge Production and the Fostering of Autonomous Social Science Traditions in the Global South: The Responsibilities of Global North Academics

Caroline Schöpf

University of the Philippines Diliman

Recently, calls to decolonize knowledge are receiving increasing attention in the Global North. However, decolonization efforts there often focus on modifying institutions and curricula in the Global North, e.g., including a few Global South or racialized thinkers into theory courses. At the same time, the metrification and neoliberalization of higher education has exacerbated global academic hierarchies, ever consolidating a system that puts Global North, often White, academics into gatekeeping positions in journals or conferences that define and select what counts as global academic excellence and what not. Drawing on the literature on intellectual imperialism

and academic dependency, we argue that these inequalities deeply harm the formation of Autonomous Social Science Traditions in the Global South, orienting their social sciences towards the Global North and away from local conceptualizations, research agenda setting, research problem formation, theory building and formation of local theoretical lineages which are in touch with local social realities, contexts, languages, and cultures, and often inaccessible to and not in a dialogue with local populations. We argue that to achieve true decolonization, academics in the Global North should dismantle these academic hierarchies, and instead turn towards fostering and learning from Global South social sciences. We raise a range of discussion points on how to go about this, including seeing decolonization as globalizing the theories and literatures in each field and subject matter, decolonizing graduate training, establishing hierarchy-free collaborations, disseminating insights gathered in the Global South to populations there in languages accessible to them, as well as working towards redistributive justice.

Revisiting the Emergence and Disappearance of Pan-Asianism in Southeast Asia

Mala Rajo Sathian

University of Malaya

Pan movements, popular in the last stages of colonialism, are strongly linked to anti-colonial and national movements in wider Asia. This paper revisits the emergence, evolution and significance of Pan-Asianism towards Pan-Malayism and inter-Asian regionalism in Southeast Asia. What potentials do ideas like Pan-Asianism provide toward a decentered approach to understanding the Southeast Asian region? Pan-Asianism notably inspired early trans nation groupings in the region (Duara). Similarly, Japan's Pan-Asian propaganda movement during World War II encouraged Pan-Malayism as its *casus belli* against European colonizers. The paper explores Pan-Asianism's impact on (i) nationalist imagination and (ii) regionalism in Southeast Asia. At the regional level, attempts for a united Pan-Malay race and nation were manifested through ideas such as Melayu Raya and MAPHILINDO, paving the way for the establishment of inter-Asian regionalism through ASEAN. The paper suggests that the decline or afterlives of Pan-Asianism (through Pan-Malayism) in the region was eclipsed by strong state-centred regional ideological groupings.

CULTURAL FLUCTUATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: TEXT, TELEVISION, AND TECHNOLOGY

CHAIR

Dr. Norshahril Saat

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore

Middle East Soft Power in Southeast Asia: Cultural Imitation through the A-wave?

Norshahril Saat

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore

In Singapore, Brunei and Malaysia, Islam is closely tied to the Malay identity. The religion—namely the Sunni brand—and Malay culture have interacted and shaped these communities for centuries. In the past, the relationship between Islam and Malayness was closely knit; while elements in Malay culture, especially those that questioned monotheism were outrightly rejected, Malay arts, culture, music, and food have continued to exist and evolve for centuries. This relationship changed during the Islamic resurgence movement in the 1970s and 1980s in which local practices were no longer tolerated, making way for Islamic ones. However, Islam, in their view, was considered to be synonymous with Arabic culture. This paper assesses to what extent the Malays are relegating their cultural traditions for Arabic ones in the name of being better and pious Muslims? What does more traveling to the Middle East and Gulf States, greater consumption of Arabic cuisines and beverages, and donning Middle East dressing of abaya and jubbah mean? If Malays are undergoing Arabization, is the Southeast Asian experience an A-wave, and has this trend shifted to Arabic cinema and music?

The Influence of Asian (Popular) Culture in Southeast Asia

Dorcas Gan

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore

Blackpink. Descendants of the Sun. AKB48. The Untamed. These are some of the names you might recognize—they are the bands and the shows associated with the K-wave, J-wave, and (arguably) the C-wave. In recent years, these East Asian influences have permeated the popular culture in Southeast Asia, with a

reported increase in the uptake consumption of these media products during the pandemic period. These developments beg the question of whether the region has shifted away from the traditional centre of cultural influence from the West to the East. As such, this paper hopes to ask the following questions: Has East Asian cinema and television become the new dominant cultural influence for Southeast Asia? How have the Southeast Asian states co-opted these forms of cultural influence and localized them for regional/national consumption, thereby making foreign cultures part of their own?

The Effect of Vtubers on Singaporean and Indonesian Youths

Gwendolyn Yap

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore

In the past five years, virtual influencers (or VTubers) have swept through Southeast Asia. For instance, Anime Fest Asia Singapore, once monopolized by anime, has been hosting sold out concerts by VTubers in 2019, 2022, and 2023. These VTubers transcend digital boundaries to communicate and interact with local fans, amassing millions of dollars in the process. As Southeast Asia moves towards further immersion into digitalization, this paper will assess how Singaporean and Indonesian youths react and relate to new digital technologies in different ways compared to older generations through the VTuber community. Particularly, virtual technologies that transcend and challenge the boundaries of national and cultural identities. Through this assessment, the paper aims to understand the future potentialities and detriments of virtual reality in Southeast Asia.

Independent Bookstores in Malaysia: East vs West

Afra Alatas

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore

Nestled in the shopping mall underneath the luxurious Petronas Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur is the famous Japanese bookstore chain, Kinokuniya. Despite the crowds that often throng Kinokuniya, Malaysia has a thriving scene of relatively smaller, independent bookstores and publishers. These independent bookstores and publishers which carry books in both English and Malay, appeal to different readers, ranging from those who are more interested in

academic texts, to those who enjoy philosophy and literature. Overall, they serve as platforms for Malaysians to simultaneously reclaim and further develop Malaysia's literary heritage. However, their independence from chain bookstores does not mean that the former are homogenous in their alternative options. This paper will focus on independent bookstores and publishers in Malaysia, exploring how they curate the selection of books they offer, and what sets them apart from one another. In doing so, the paper will examine whether these bookstores are characterized by certain ideological underpinnings in their selection of books. To what extent does Western literature dominate over the East?

POLITICAL HISTORY AND NARRATIVE ARCS

CHAIR

Lenore Polotan-Dela Cruz

University of the Philippines Diliman

Political Redemption in Southeast Asia: Mapping the Redemption of Marcos, Anwar, and Shinawatra within the Literature

Mark Vincent Nogra

West Visayas State University

In 2022, Southeast Asia witnessed the political comeback of two major names in Philippine and Malaysian politics. In the Philippines, the overwhelming victory of Ferdinand Marcos Jr. in the May 2022 elections catapulted him to be the 17th president of the country. This concluded the decades-long effort of the Marcos dynasty to recapture the executive seat after the ouster of the family patriarch in 1986. In Malaysia, the November 2022 elections led to the appointment of Anwar Ibrahim as the country's 10th prime minister. The appointment places Anwar at the peak of his political career after decades of ups and downs in Malaysian politics. In 2023, a Shinawatra comeback was looming over Thailand as Paetongtarn Shinawatra was named by Thailand's ruling Pheu Thai Party as its leader. This paper seeks to provide a preliminary understanding of these events by mapping the academic literature which may explain these apparent redemptions of controversial political heavyweights in the region.

The Life of Joy: Untold Story of a Woman Revolutionary

Maria Karina Bolasco

National Commission for Culture and the Arts

This paper is my attempt to write the story of Gloria Joy Asuncion Jopson Kintanar, who married two great revolutionaries: Edgar Jopson and Romulo Kintanar, who were both leaders in the fight against the Marcos dictatorship. The first was killed by Marcos' soldiers and the second by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Who was Joy in these marriages? She was a woman revolutionary who stood beside them, or behind them in the struggle against the dictatorship, she immersed with them in the red zones to serve the people, and bore their children. The idea to write the life of Joy came to me in 2016, in my last year as publishing manager of Anvil Press. To my emails pitching the idea, she was mostly vague and reluctant. Only in 2021, after she was diagnosed with early dementia did her son, Gab Kintanar, ask if I was still interested in the project. Working on it was like running after memories slowly running away from her. Piecing together her narrative has become doubly difficult, halting on many occasions, understanding the disease that requires creative interview methods, and rigorously building a network of subjects to not just validate the subject's recollections but, most importantly, to be able draw out and tell the story of the inner life of this woman. After all, this was the original project. But questions arise of how reliable a subject diagnosed with dementia can be and if there is even any point in writing a book on such a subject?

Seizing the Momentum: The communist resistance in Cebu during the anti-Marcos struggle, 1972-1986

Karlo Mikhail Mongaya

University of the Philippines Diliman

Dominant narratives about the resistance to the Marcos dictatorship privileges the picture of a predominantly middle class, elite-centered movement positioned primarily in the national capital and culminating in the EDSA uprising that toppled the dictator. My article challenges this privilege by tracing the role of the communist-led underground in Cebu, a bastion of the political opposition, in the anti-dictatorship struggle. By organizing

clandestine networks that provided support for rural guerrilla warfare in neighboring Visayan Islands to priming Metro Cebu for armed insurrection, the underground played an important role in mobilizing popular energies that contributed to weakening the dictatorship.

DECOLONIZING AREA STUDIES

CHAIR

Janus Nolasco

University of the Philippines

Japanese Proletarian Literature in Filipino: De/Centering Class and Colonial Discourses via the Transversive Practice of Literary Translation by the Periphery

Gonzalo Il Campoamor

University of the Philippines Diliman

The paper takes off from my translation to Filipino (from Japanese) of Takiji Kobayashi's 1933 translation also makes the theoretical connection between literature and society complete. Kobayashi's body of works, translated into at least seven languages (all Western, excluding Chinese), has indeed been studied by historians and literary critics like Heather Bowen-Struyk, Benjamin Robert Burton, and Norma Field. They, however, fail to situate these in the context of literary and class struggles in Asia and Southeast Asia, the very region that was to take a major role in the regional and global conflict beginning in the mid-1930s. The paper thus aims to provide such political-economic context while also relating the experiences of Filipino proletarian writers of the same period. On a more contemporary take, the surge in interest on Kobayashi within Japan is generally attributed to the dissatisfaction among the country's working-class population brought about by the global financial crisis. It is of interest how Kobayashi's works can be appreciated in developing countries like the Philippines.

Decolonizing East Timorese History

Kisho Tsuchiya

Kyoto University

The use of external historical sources has been a challenge for historians seeking to reconstruct the past of East Timor from the people's perspective. Despite the emphasis placed by Timorese academics on the importance of oral literature in decolonizing East Timorese history and reconstructing the people's worldviews, historians have been hesitant to rely on such sources. A persistent problem is the difficulty of determining when these oral traditions were first created and subsequently modified. However, advances in social sciences such as archaeology, genetics, historical linguistics, and studies of oral traditions over the past few decades have produced valuable evidence and methods for determining the approximate historical timing of the development of particular oral traditions and their variations in specific locations. In response to these developments, this paper argues that the discipline of history must be reconceptualized in the East Timorese context to restore its relevance to the Timorese audience. The paper explores a methodology for determining rough timings of oral traditions primarily based on the timeline of human/animal migrations and material culture established by archaeologists as well as Asian regional comparison. Using this methodology, the paper provides a preliminary analysis of long-term transitions in Timorese political thought, gender norms, worldviews, and community formation. Overall, this paper contributes to the ongoing conversation about the reconstruction of East Timorese history from the people's perspective and proposes a method for addressing the challenge in utilizing oral traditions as a source of historical information.

Japanese Studies in the Philippines

Karl Ian Cheng Chua and Ron Bridget Vilog

University of the Philippines Diliman; De La Salle University

Studying the recent publications of Japanese Studies in the Philippines, what is observable is the focus on Filipino migration to Japan. The topics include Japayuki who worked as entertainers and brides who are usually married to Japanese men in rural communities. Problems of identity are negotiated by scholarship focusing on children from relationships developed from the

former group. The signing of the Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership identified issues with technical trainee programs, leading to the more recent robust labor migration of caregivers. While such topics are important, most do so with an exclusive focus on the issues of Filipino communities without including the Japanese context. There is thus a need to raise the challenge of how such research can also be relevant in Japan with issues on multiculturalism, their involvement in the aging population, or even how these migrants are interacting with the other migrant communities in Japan.

Southeast Asian Studies in China

Ying-kit Chan

National University of Singapore

This paper comprises three key sections. The first section sketches the history of Southeast Asian studies in China. Although other scholars have undertaken this task in far greater detail, the section highlights the political and geopolitical aspects of change in scholarly trends, particularly the politicization of scholarship and historical methods from the Qing dynasty to the present day, for the uninitiated. Having set the context for further inquiry, the paper proceeds with the second section, which explores how Southeast Asian studies has become a niche discipline in which universities and research institutes, both established and young, specialize as part of their vision for long-term growth and from which the state receives expert advice for policymaking and geopolitical outlook in the context of China's increasingly complex interactions with contemporary Southeast Asia. Aiming to historicize in a specific setting the emergence of Southeast Asian studies in China, which responded in part to the Western domination of Asian studies in general, the third section examines the case of Thai studies from its inception during the late nineteenth century to its current state as arguably the most thematically diverse and geopolitically relevant subfield of Southeast Asian studies in China. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of producing knowledge about Southeast Asia for business and people-to-people cultural exchanges between China and Southeast Asia.

CONTESTING AUTHORITARIANISM: SOUTHEAST ASIAN FILM AND VIDEO

CHAIR

Bliss Cua Lim

University of Toronto

Chanthaly: Haunting as Constitution of Lao Film History

Patrick Campos

University of the Philippines Diliman

Emerging from a thirty-year civil war (1945–75), film production in Lao PDR came under the full control of the government—all film artists were required to join the Lao Patriotic Front Film Service, and scripts were pre-censored by the Ministry of Information and Culture before any filming could begin. In this repressive environment, where only propaganda newsreels and two ‘patriotic’ features were produced to the strict specifications of the one-party communist state in the 20th century, a film culture did not emerge. In the context of the slow emergence of feature filmmaking in Laos, Mattie Do’s *Chanthaly* (2012), the first horror film produced by an all-Laotian cast and crew, is historic and pivotal. It signaled a shift in Laos’ nascent but highly regulated film culture. Before *Chanthaly*, horror film production was prohibited in principle by the government, which officially repudiated the supernatural, restricted religious freedom in practice, and promoted a strict materialist outlook. To overcome censorship, Do turned to the reserve of Lao animism and figured the ghost, spurned and denied but unexpunged, whose haunting in domestic spaces reveals the limits of patriarchal state-regimented ideology and social practice. The paper historicizes the conditions that shaped *Chanthaly*’s form and narrative as the first Lao ghost film and reads its hauntology as a double of Lao film history. It investigates the subtext of the authoritarian-statist discourse and the artist’s creative circumvention, which functions as an animating counterdiscourse, inscribed in the film, indexing and symbolizing the struggle to define an emerging national cinema.

The Antiauthoritarian Aesthetics of the Ecumenical Garden in Apichatpong Weerasethakul's *Fireworks*

Iggy Cortez

University of California Berkeley

This paper considers Sala Keoku, an ecumenical sculpture park designed by the gay outsider artist Bunleua Sulitat, as an allegorical trope for anti-authoritarian aesthetics in Apichatpong Weerasethakul's *Fireworks* (2014), a short film with close visual and thematic ties with *Cemetery of Splendor* (2015). Synthesizing Buddhism, Hinduism, and non-doctrinal mysticism, Sala Keoku was never recognized as a historic site by the Thai government as its syncretic approach to religion broke with Theravadin-Buddhism as the de facto religion of the nation-state. In the late seventies, the garden pavilion was raided by the Thai army who believed it was a hideout for persecuted communists. The army's destruction of statues can still be detected today, as we witness in *Fireworks* through the ambiguous movement of an older woman and younger man exploring the fractured sculptural figures at night. Focusing on the film's promiscuous arrangement of profilmic contingencies, I argue that the rhythmic inconsistencies of the camera's movement reflect Sala Keoku's articulation of a counterpublic sphere that refuses appeals to an underlying and essential national essence. Instead, parks like Sala Keoku propose a mode of social assembly in which the idea of the public is positioned as a perpetual becoming, incorporating the unpredictability of historic developments into new and unforeseen functions. Through these coordinates, I examine how the park's variegated and heterogeneous qualities resist the homogenizing logic of a resurgent nationalism in Thailand, disabling any version of the public sphere in which an aura of timeless unity is achieved through the eradication of internal differences.

Of Deferred Remembering and Enforced Forgetting: Respetto and Radical Archives

Bliss Cua Lim

University of Toronto

On the heels of Rodrigo Duterte's necropolitical presidential term (2016–2022), Ferdinand 'Bongbong' Marcos Jr.'s presidential win in May 2022 raised the specter of Martial Law's recurrence in Philippine politics. The formerly 'post-

authoritarian' Philippine state was post-Marcos no more. How did 'never again'—a slogan of collective remembrance in the aftermath of the dictatorship—become 'once again'?

Drawing on cinematic and archival reflections about historical memory and forgetting, I argue that historical revisionism regarding Marcos era Martial Law has rekindled a belated commitment to remembering. Paradoxically enough, popular forgetting is the occasion for radicalized remembering in the contested arena of public history. At the same time, necropolitical regimes are deeply invested in enforcing collective amnesia about the nation's histories of resistance. This paper analyzes *Respeto* (dir. Treb Monteras II, 2017), an indie film about historical continuities between Marcosian state violence and the Duterte era necropower. Linking fictional motifs of archival catastrophe in 'Respeto' to the forms of precarity faced by actual radical archives, I argue that the attempted erasure of oppositional historical consciousness is another parallel between past and present forms of state terrorism. On the eve of Martial Law's fiftieth anniversary in 2021, collections of rebel papers that survived the Marcos era's anti-subversion laws were faced with a new era of library purges conducted by Duterte's anti-insurgency task force. The renewed dangers faced by radical archives are symptoms of a repressive state's attempt to forestall forms of urgently needed remembering.

A Bouquet of Queer Roses: Kabaklaan and the Philippine Pink Power Movement

Robert Diaz

University of Toronto

Examining the viral Youtube video *Siklab for Leni* (Siklab Buhi Inc, 2022), this paper emphasizes the significance of kabaklaan, or irreverent queer performances often dismissed as lower class, to the Philippine Pink Power Movement (PPM). The PPM was comprised of nationwide rallies, viral new media, and other visual archives that sought to elect former Vice President Leni Robredo to the Philippine presidency. Crucial to PPM's longevity were expressions of queer vernacular culture, including drag shows, campy films, and beauty pageant satires. These wayward performances inspired diverse Filipinos to participate in national politics and to memorialize martial law. They also cultivated 'queer echo chambers,' or systems of informational

exchange that foregrounded sexual minority histories, cultures, and knowledge. PPM's kabaklaan served as a fitting response to the archives of normative domesticity that Ferdinand Marcos Jr. strategically curated in the lead-up to the elections. Such kabaklaan also critiqued the forms of toxic masculinity that Rodrigo Duterte's administration espoused. At its core, this presentation offers a reparative reading of the 2022 presidential elections. It argues that despite Robredo's loss, much can be learned from 'Pink revolutions' and other detritus left in the wake of authoritarian regimes. Centering queer pleasure, joy, and hope, these revolutions can continue to fuel demands for social change and continue to replenish dreams of better worlds.

LOCAL CRISIS RESPONSE

CHAIR

Kerby Alvarez

University of the Philippines Diliman

Gender, Disaster Risk Reduction and Nature Based Solution: Lesson Learned from Demak

Laely Nurhidayah

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

The Demak Regency's coastline sections are susceptible to land subsidence, erosion, tidal floods, and tidal waves. Agriculture, the backbone of the Demak Regency's economy, is also affected by seawater intrusion which results in the loss of agricultural lands and fishponds in coastal areas. Nature Based solutions (NBS) through mangrove planting and eco-tourism is one way to protect and reduce shoreline erosion and can protect coastal communities against coastal flooding. Moreover, women are prioritized for these activities. NBS aims to protect, restore, and manage natural ecosystems, often in combination with gray infrastructure, with the objective of strengthening climate resilience while providing environmental and socioeconomic benefits. This paper will examine the inclusion and challenges faced by women in disaster risk reduction for climate resilient and income generating eco-tourism activities in Demak regency. Empirical research in villages in Demak will be conducted to collect the data. This paper concludes that an

inclusive disaster risk management approach requires integrating gender and social inclusion considerations in NBS interventions. Moreover, these interventions must be customized to local contexts and needs to ensure maximum benefits for all communities.

What's on the Horizon? Entanglements of Global Imaginaries in Reclamation Projects on the Manila Bay

Martha Balagat

Center for Environmental Concerns

The Manila Bay in the Philippines has been increasingly seized in recent years by the global frenzy of coastal reclamation projects and their accompanying development plans. Such projects require not only the physical and technological transformation of the coastline, but also the invocation and sustenance of imaginaries claiming the space for various futures. This paper locates the current rush of reclamation projects within historical lineages of colonial and authoritarian urban development, and analyzes how proponents, usually in the form of public-private partnerships with foreign financial and technical capital, map powerful imaginaries of the 'global' onto the local space of the bay. It draws on exploratory anthropological research conducted in early 2023 through archival research, interviews, and participant observation on sites of reclamation and anti-reclamation action, in part as a volunteer of an environmental organization. As reclamation projects' impacts materialize and spill across the bay's ecosystem and its coastal communities, the exclusive economic and sustainable development dreams embodied in reclamation are challenged by existing entanglements of life in and around the bay. The resulting conflicts reveal reclamation as an example of a frontier assemblage: a situated network of actors, objects, ideas, and processes that is only tentatively able to transform the bay into a frontier for global investment-worthy developments. This paper exposes reclamation and similar mega-scale development projects as dynamically entangled, a view which prompts more care in thinking and acting about reclamation and development beyond the Manila Bay.

Will and Hope among the Informal Settlers in the Post-Covid Society

Lily Beth Lumagbas

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The post-COVID society offers a venue for change as we accept the reality of pandemics and risk disasters as part of the current human condition. It opens a new perspective regarding the vulnerability of everyone. However, we also saw that people who are marginalized due to economic difficulties even before the pandemic are put in a perilous situation. In the Philippines, people living in informal settlements experienced the militarized response of the government which failed to show care and compassion to the community. As a result, this phenomenological study examines how the people living in informal settlements in Quezon City and Bohol as they dealt with COVID-19 as well as other socioeconomic and natural disasters demonstrated care and compassion. Our preliminary results show: (1) A deep realization regarding the need to change their lives for the better and to translate it into reality has become a bigger challenge for them. The uncertainty they associate with the pandemic and the disasters heightened this sentiment; (2) Trust in God and the community. It highlights the significance of the communal spirit and the firm belief in God as the buttress that helps and sustains them as they recognize the difficulty of their current predicament; (3) Hope. Despite the uncertainties of their current condition, the hope that the future will be better remains. In the end, post-Covid society opens challenges, but it also gives people a new will, a hope, communal strength, and a stronger belief in God.

Knowledge Brokering and Collective Learning in Communities of Practice: The Case of Asean-Swiss Partnership in Social Forestry and Climate Change (ASFCC)

Virgemarie A. Salazar

University of the Philippines Diliman

As an analytical construct, communities of practice rest at the intersection of knowledge sharing, learning, and participation. Transnational networks function as communities of practice mutually constituting agents and

structures of international politics through their shared practices. This study aims to address the question on how communities of practice facilitate knowledge brokering and learning toward a participatory regional governance of climate change. The case study of the ASEAN-Swiss Partnership on Social Forestry and Climate Change (ASFCC) program illustrates the knowledge brokering practices of its members and the associated learning process and outcomes. Semi-structured interviews and textual analysis provide the data used in identifying the mechanisms that link knowledge brokering practices with collective learning. This paper contributes to the scholarship on communities of practice by focusing on the shared practices of transnational networks and the processes that enable a more participatory and inclusive governance of climate change in ASEAN.

Sustainable Agriculture Initiatives: Analyzing Community Participation in Organic Farming Practices as a Response to Ecological Crises-Insights from Bali

Narti Purwaningsih and Haning Romdiati

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Bali, as a prominent tourist destination, faces many environmental problems, including zoning violations, escalating greenhouse gas emissions, and waste management challenges. Many parties, including communities in Nusa Penida and Buleleng, such as Nusa Penida Farm and Petani Muda Keren (PMK) Gobleg, express concern about these issues. Based on the data collected in 2022 in Nusa Penida and Buleleng, Bali, this paper aims to describe community participation in organic farming in relation to the global ecological crisis. The study used qualitative methods, including focused group discussions, in-depth interviews, observation, and the utilization of secondary data derived from existing publications. The study found that people in Nusa Penida face problems such as water scarcity, monkey disturbances, thin soil, land conversion for tourism, and high transportation costs associated with selling agricultural products to Denpasar. Consequently, Nusa Penida Farm introduced innovative approaches by cultivating tuber crops such as arrowroot and sacha inchi. Green farming practice represents a stride toward optimizing the land ecosystem. The selection of sacha inchi peanuts was based on its remarkable nutritional benefits and favorable influence on the ecosystem. Similarly, PMK Gobleg, Buleleng, implements

sustainable farming practices by reducing reliance on synthetic pesticides and initiating smart farming techniques using technology for irrigation, fertilization, soil pH, and air humidity monitoring. In the practice of organic farming, both communities refer to the Balinese values of Tri Hita Kirana. These commendable steps contribute to climate change mitigation and underscore a commitment to environmental stewardship.

TRANSNATIONAL CULTURE IN SEA

CHAIR

Theresa de Langis

American University of Phnom Penh

Three New Articles: The Spirit of Yen'an in Three Cultural Manifestos from SEA

Amado Anthony Mendoza III

University of the Philippines Diliman and Kyoto University

The current paper hazards a preliminary analysis and comparison of seminal cultural manifestos from Southeast Asia: (1) *Truong Chinh's 'Đề cương văn hoá Việt Nam* (Theses on Vietnamese Culture) [1943] from Vietnam; (2) the two versions of LEKRA's *Mukadimah* from Indonesia [1950/1959]; and (3) and extracts from PAKSA-NPAA's *Rebolusyonaryong Panunuring Masa sa Sining at Panitikan* (Mass-oriented Analysis of Art and Literature) [1971] from the Philippines. The said manifestos are going to be compared and analyzed in terms of the following: (1) the influence of Maoism, especially 在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话 (Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art), on the manifestos' formulation of the relationship between literature and politics; (2) specific political, intellectual, and cultural contexts that paved the way for their emergence, dissemination, and initial reception; and (3) the features of these manifestos as translated texts. In view of all this, the paper aims to map traces of the 'Yen'an spirit' in various cultural organizations and social movements in Southeast Asia.

Wenceslao Vinzons and the Philippines' Early Initiatives Toward Pan-Malayan Unity

Francis Kristoffer L. Pasion

National Historical Commission of the Philippines

On February 12, 1932, Wenceslao Vinzons, a passionate student leader from the Philippines—a country then under American rule—delivered a speech during the 20th Annual Oratorical Contest hosted by the University of the Philippines College of Law. In his address, Vinzons outlined an ambitious vision for a united Malayan people that transcended the cultural and ethnic boundaries of the Philippines. His proposal extended to include Malay nations under other Western colonial powers, envisioning the formation of a redeemed Malaysia. The speech's impact was seen in the banning of its Bahasa Melayu translation in Dutch Indonesia. This paper aims to explore Vinzons' political concept of pan-Malayan solidarity, his own political efforts, when he founded the student organization Perphempoenan Orang Malayoe, and the libertarian political party, Young Philippines, and the trajectory of these efforts until the Second World War. Additionally, the study will delve into the impetus provided by Vinzons' ideas towards the development of Malay identity in Southeast Asia.

Transnational Interactions of Chinese Temples between Taiwan and Phuket, Thailand

Yu-sheng Lin

This study focuses on the transnational interactions of Chinese popular religious temples between Taiwan and Phuket, Thailand, in order to discuss the less mentioned dimensions of transnational interactions between Southeast Asia and Taiwan both in Thai religious studies and Chinese popular religious studies in Taiwan. This study indicates four categories of interactions between Phuket and Taiwan: Mazu, Baosheng Dadi, Foguangshan, and Lingshan ceremonies. Although these interactions are related with some structural elements, such as Fujian origin, Politico-economic connections, some contingent elements, such as specific persons or deities' will, play more important roles. This is quite different from the cases of religious interactions between Taiwan and Mainland China, which has more solid politic-economic connections and continuities.



DAY ONE

Parallel Session 2

APPRAISING RODRIGO DUTERTE'S LEGACY IN THE PHILIPPINES (PART 1)

CHAIR

Rogelio Alicor Panao

University of the Philippines Diliman

The Mayor Rodrigo Duterte: Governing, Policing, and Spectacles in the Pre-presidential Decades

Jose Jowel Canuday

Ateneo de Manila University

Mayor Rodrigo Roa Duterte was a mercurial force that simultaneously elicited the basest of instincts and astonishment in the city he once ruled and beyond. His unmistakable voice, accent, and inflections that often conflate English, Bisaya, and Tagalog with a mix of profanities and political thoughts thunder on strategic days for all townsfolk to hear over media broadcasts or read over newspaper reports. His public acts and antics, innovate governing measures, and belligerent policing drew support, bemusement, and dismay. Taking a reflexive anthropological account as well as a journalistic positionality, this contribution tracks the Duterte style of governance, policing, and public interactions in my years covering him as a journalist in Davao City between the 1990s to the 2000s. The paper takes a situated knowledge approach from the media galleries and streets of Davao when I followed Duterte over his weekly television-radio talk show threatening drug sellers and behind his car seat as he responded to terror bombings. Furthermore, this situated position keeps an eyewitness stance over reports of his involvement in various episodes of violence, when he brought roasted pigs as a gift to communist rebels in their mountain lair, and attacked American imperialism before a visiting European Union delegation with spectacular flair. From this vantage point emerges a contrasting study of an astute executive and a slick political warrior years before implicating the Philippine presidency and global affairs.

Duterte and the Left and the Left on Duterte

Patricio Abinales

University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Among the host of political forces that joined the Duterte electoral bandwagon in 2016 was the Communist Party of the Philippines and its array of underground and legal mass organizations. Observers attribute this odd alliance between a provincial autocrat and admirer of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos and a progressive pro-people movement that opposed the same dictator to political opportunism and/or a shared anti-imperialist (read: American) sentiment. This paper tries to go beyond these commonplace and simplistic explanations by looking at the provincial origins of this political friendship. It shifts the focus away from Duterte to the Left. It asks this question: what exactly was in the brief history of Mindanao communism that enabled it to reach out and work with Duterte despite their palpable ideological and political differences? It will do this by closely reading documents written by the CPP's Mindanao Commission and by exploring—albeit tentatively—the relationship between Duterte and the communists at the local level.

Rodrigo Duterte: Between Davao City and Malacañang

Sol Iglesias

University of the Philippines Diliman

Former Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte delivered on his campaign promises of bloodshed. His government's 'war on drugs' killed an estimated 12,000 to 30,000 victims between 2016 and 2022. What was Duterte's path to the presidential palace in Malacañang? Unlike explanations that examine the long arc of the post-dictatorship, democratic period since 1986, this paper investigates an alternative explanation. The paper traces the emergence of anti-crime violence by the police and state-sponsored vigilantes in Duterte's bailiwick of Davao City where he was a long-time mayor. The violence in Davao City only scaled up with the endorsement and collusion of then President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo in the early 2000s. Yet when she sought to crack down on the vigilantism to displace Duterte from his perch as mayor, she failed. This is partly due to the model of social control, electoral success, and violence that Duterte developed in Davao City. The paper concludes by offering insight into the central-local dynamics that produced impunity,

enabling an unparalleled level of violence in the country during the Duterte presidency.

Ang Pumatay ng Dahil Sa'yo: The Radicalization of Nationalism and the Vilification of Human Rights

Karl Hapal

University of the Philippines Diliman

Duterte's presidency was described by Human Rights Watch (HRW) as a 'human rights calamity.' Besides the thousands of killings, Duterte's regime also led to the vilification of human rights, weakening institutions and processes, and endangering rights defenders. What caused this? And more importantly, why was human rights easily discarded and vilified? This presentation aims to answer these questions not by tracing the history of Duterte's murderous actions, or by pointing to the inherent institutional weakness of human rights institutions in the Philippines. It answers these questions by surfacing the tension between nationalism and human rights by carefully examining how Duterte justified his war in his public speeches. This presentation argues that Duterte's war was no accident. Instead, Duterte is the embodiment of the Philippine state's (historical) pre-occupation to impose order and discipline, an important social element necessary for progress. This focus on order and discipline has led the Philippine state to invoke what Agamben calls a state of exception and, in the process, discipline or kill. Seen this way, Duterte's war is a continuation of a sovereign act aimed at transforming Philippine society. This sovereign act does not only distinguish between whose lives are worth salvaging and those that need to be disposed of, it also claims power over the universal and moral claims of human rights on the sanctity of life. (*'Ang pumatay ng dahil sa'yo'* twists a Philippine national anthem line from sacrificing one's life for the nation, to killing for the nation).

BUILDING COSMOPOLITAN LIFEWORLDS: SOUTHEAST ASIAN MIGRANT WOMEN'S NARRATIVES FROM THE MARGINS

CHAIR

Hayeon Lee

Australian National University

Migrants write back: Indonesian women workers' narratives from Malaysia

Ying Xin Show

Australian National University

Indonesian women make up nearly 80 percent of the foreign domestic workforce in Malaysia. In the past decades, numerous abuse cases in this sector have led to serious concerns, resulting in disputes between the two nations as the Indonesian government implemented a moratorium on its citizens to work as domestic workers in Malaysia several of Indonesian workers in Malaysia is deeply intertwined with the historical interactions between the two nations and their people, as well as the cultural concept of *serumpun* (of the same root). Engaging with the idea of 'Inter-Asia migration,' this paper examines the writings produced by the Indonesian migrant women workers themselves, who adopt the perspective of *perantau* (people seeking livelihood overseas) to narrate their lives and experience in Malaysia. These writings from below reveal their desire and agency to express, engage and creatively imagine their lives in a neighbor yet foreign land. Their articulation of subjectivity is grounded in the intersectionality of their labor, race, gender and nationality. Through these narratives, they not only write back against victimization discourse and the failure of both states, but also call for a shared humanity, emphasizing the power of writing as a tool for empowerment and collective understanding.

A Space of Their Own: Testimonies of Thai Sex Workers

Jafar Suryomenggolo

Like their counterparts elsewhere, Thai female sex workers are challenging the negative stereotypes stemming from local public perception of their profession and the Orientalist othering views proliferating from the tourism industry. Their work is tied to and part of the urbanization, liberalization of markets, and regional (in some cases, global) mobility which Thailand has experienced for the last three decades. Yet, they are far from being passive and powerless victims. Some of them are involved in the campaigns to legalize prostitution, and some others give public testimonies and appear in the media. Thanadda Sawangduean, for example, wrote a series of memoirs (2009–2012) in which she makes a chronology of her life and work as a sex worker for the public to read; it became one of the best-selling non-fiction books and won the prestigious Chomanard Book Prize of 2009. In this presentation, I will discuss the context and practices of their testimonies in challenging the negative stereotypes. In telling their stories, they have opened up the space for the formation of new identities that are not based on moral corruption, passivity or sexual victimhood. Despite social and cultural constraints, they use their own resources to secure their space in Thailand's rapid urbanization and to negotiate their rights in the market economy. They are constructing a different kind of representation: as a regional/international traveler, engaged citizen, and woman actively seeking love and romance. In so doing, they are reconfiguring the discursive space of sex work in Thailand and beyond.

Migrant Domestic Workers, Transformative Leisure Practices, And Remaking Identities from the Urban Margins

Kristine Aquino

University of Technology Sydney

In this paper, based on long term visual ethnography undertaken in Singapore, I present the social world of hundreds of migrant domestic workers, mainly from the Philippines, and their leisure practices. Migrant domestic helpers are an integral part of Singapore's care economy. These low-waged and under-recognized workers, who have left behind their own

families and children, toil all week in Singapore households. On their one day off from work, many have started playing social volleyball. The quiet and disused fields along Old Terminal Lane near Singapore's abandoned airport come alive every Sunday as the site is transformed into a sporting carnival and social playground: domestic helpers turn into athletes in shiny uniforms and embody sporting prowess and sass on the courts; colorful ceremonies feature team parades and crown glamorous muses; friends gather on the sidelines to cheer, picnic with home-made food and sing mobile karaoke; and games of charity are played to raise funds for sick family members back home or disaster relief for home-town villages. Playing volleyball is more than just a game. It is reinvigorating physically, emotionally, and mentally for these women, and an important opportunity to generate infrastructures of social and economic support among each other. This paper weaves together ethnographic photography and the women's narratives about Sunday game days and reflects on what drives the women's passion for the volleyball scene and its links to the social affordances that emerge at the intersection of convivial leisure, liminal places, immigrant precarity, and urban marginality.

Marriage Migrant Women's Stories and Multiple Selves Between Vietnam and South Korea

Hayeon Lee

Australian National University

Since the 1990s, the South Korean government started to encourage the in-migration of women from poorer neighboring countries as an easy solution to the rising number of rural bachelors. Today, there are over 100,000 Vietnamese women—the second largest group after Chinese—who have registered their marriage to a Korean man. On the other hand, in a rapidly developing Vietnam but increasingly cash-poor rural Mekong Delta region, women started seeing marriage migration to Taiwan (in the 1990s) then South Korea (since the early 2000s) as a means of escaping poverty and debt, helping their families, and pursuing better, cosmopolitan lives. Despite the common notion that marriage migration is a one-time, one-directional event, in reality, many women move between different phases of their transnational marriage migration cycle. This includes waiting, returning, repeating. Through these movements, they cultivate multiple selves and

multidimensional migrant subjectivities. This presentation discusses some of the stories of marriage migrant women at various points of their migration process whom I got to know over the three years I was in Vietnam doing ethnographic field research. Their stories show how local and global power differentials at the intersection of gender, class, race/ethnicity, and nation constrain these women's lives but also create the conditions in which they initiate, negotiate, strategize, assimilate, resist, and reimagine selves, as well as build their lives. I also reflect on my role and dilemmas as curator, translator, and writer of these women's stories in relation to my own positionality.

FROM OBJECTS OF STUDY TO EMBLEMS OF HERITAGE: LOCAL EXPERTISE AND THE MAKING SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATURES

CHAIR

Ruel V. Pagunsan

University of the Philippines Diliman

Autonomous Spaces? Conservation, Buddhism, and the Making of the Alaungdaw Kathapa National Park in Myanmar (1893–1983)

Maitrii Aung-Thwin

National University of Singapore

The history of national parks in Southeast Asia reveals how global ideas about conservation and preservation intersected with local concerns over nation-building, heritage, and sovereignty. Just as the designation and authentication of habitats, histories, cultures, and practices became associated with national identity, so too did the establishment of national parks bring landscapes, waterways, fauna and flora under the gaze of the nation. The territorialization of the environment and its mapping through national parks produced emblems of the nation and sources of national pride (Kathirithamby-Wells, 2005). This paper explores the making of the Alaungdaw Kathapa National Park, Myanmar's first national park. Located north/northwest of Yangon and west of Mandalay between the Chindwin and Myittha Rivers, the park is

known for its mountain terrain, forests, Asian elephants, brown antlered deer, bears and monitor lizards. While the origins and history of the park traces back to the British colonial government's establishment of the Pantolon and Taungdwin Forest Preserves, international conservation organizations also played a significant role in the park's establishment in the 1980s, alluding to transnational interactions in the making of national spaces. Finally, the park bears the name of one of the country's most important Buddhist pilgrimage sites that honors the Buddhist saint Kassapa (Kathapa), highlighting the overlapping references to both the nation state and a broader transnational network of Buddhist spaces. This study traces the way in which the idea of the national park emerged from contexts that reflect different spatial, cultural, temporal, and epistemological meanings of environmental places.

Protecting Malampaya Sound's Mangrove Ecosystem: History and the Intersections of Indigenous Knowledge and Community Participation

Ma. Florina Orillos-Juan

De La Salle University

The Malampaya Sound is a 245 km² inlet located in the town of Taytay, Northwestern Palawan, Philippines. It is divided into two parts: the inner sound which has brackish water and the outer sound which has saltwater. The estuary located in the inner portion is home to one of the richest mangrove ecosystems in the Philippines. The inner sound is rich in aquatic and terrestrial resources and has unique ecological features. Historically, it was dubbed as the 'fishbowl' of the Philippines. However, the area showed signs of strain through the years because of indiscriminate harnessing of its resources, as well as unhampered clearing of mangrove areas that were converted to fishponds. In 2000, the Philippine government declared the Malampaya Sound as a Protected Landscape and Seascape. Concrete steps were taken by the national and the local government of Palawan to involve the community in the restoration and conservation efforts of mangrove forests in the area. This paper will explore the extent of community participation in the restoration of these mangrove forests, thereby protecting the entire ecosystem in the sound. It will also examine how the indigenous knowledge of the Tagbanua ethnic group vis-à-vis mangrove trees became instrumental in the effective and sustainable management of resources in the Malampaya Sound.

Botany Braided: How the Study of Obat Asli Shaped the Rise of Plant-based Nationalism in Twentieth-century Indonesia

Anthony D. Medrano

National University of Singapore

Thongchai Winichakul famously reflected on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), suggesting that it begged 'more critical questions' about the possibilities of language as a more diverse mediator (Thongchai 1994, 15). For Thongchai, Anderson's pioneering work was limited to the 'spoken, operational language of normal conversation' (15). Moved by this limitation, he asked: 'What are the other kinds of mediators ... [such as] technologies, other kinds of languages ... and how do they operate in mediating and creating the imagined communities?' (15).

Thongchai's reflection set the conditions for his field-defining *Siam Mapped* and compelled Anderson not only to revise his *Imagined Communities* (1991), but also to add a chapter about these other kinds of mediators. Anderson titled his new chapter *Census, Map, Museum*. He explained, 'a brilliant doctoral thesis by Thongchai Winichakul stimulated me to think about mapping's contribution to the nationalist imagination' (1991, xiv). This paper contends that plants, like maps, were a technology used to imagine the nation in cultural and lexical terms. It shows how the botanies of obat asli (traditional medicine) were central to the rise and practice of plant-based nationalism in twentieth-century Indonesia. Looking at the work and writings of Indonesian doctors and local scientists in the period between the 1930s and 1960s, the essay explores how obat asli became not only a laboratory for braiding vernacular and scientific ways of knowing herbs, seeds, roots, stems, leaves, and flowers, but also, and more critically, a vehicle for mobilizing a language of plants in the formation of the 'bangsa Indonesia' (Mangoendiningrat 1940, 222).

The Conservation of Sierra Madre: History, Science and Heritage in the Southern Luzon Highlands (1930-1992)

Ruel V. Pagunsan

University of the Philippines Diliman

The recent plan to construct a mega dam in the Sierra Madre had spurred major protests calling for the cancellation of the project and the protection and preservation of the 'Luzon's backbone.' The country's longest mountain range creates a continuous wall of highlands that protect the island from weather brunt coming from the Pacific Ocean. More importantly, the Sierra Madre is a biodiversity corridor containing an important expanse of old-growth forests and a high level of zoological and botanical endemism. The southern portions of the Sierra Madre were bequeathed to the University of the Philippines (UP) through government legislations in 1930 and 1964. Collectively, they are referred to as the UP Sierra Madre Land Grants covering several Tagalog towns in the provinces of Luzon and Quezon. The university called the project its environmental heritage for the nation. This paper historicizes the Sierra Madre as a site of a national conservation projects. Through the works of Filipino scientists, particularly Jose Velasco and Jose Vera Santos, it will examine the transformation of Sierra Madre as a place-based science for species introductions, reforestation, specimen collections and biological observations. The paper shows that the construction of environmental expertise contributed not only in modern sciences but also in shaping notions of national heritage.

CYBERSPORTS, GAMES, AND DIGITAL MEDIA

CHAIR

Dennis Blanco

University of the Philippines Diliman

A Ludo-Narrative Approach of War and the Japanese Invasion of China in *Shadow Hearts*

Enzo Le Guiriec

University Jean Moulin Lyon 3

Through ucrony, the Japanese role-playing game (JRPG) *Shadow Hearts* tackles Japan's responsibility to 20th century Southeast Asia's human-made disasters. It notably uses the Japanese invasion of China and the emrgence of discourses about race as narrative frameworks for otherwise supernatural events embedded in Japanese popular culture tropes. It first and foremost tackles the metamorphosis brought by modernity, and its consequences. We want to focus our presentation on a specific chapter. In it, the hero and its allies enter Shanghai and are confronted by Dehuai, a Chinese master of esoteric yin and yang. With Japanese soldiers occupying the city and Chinese residents organizing resistance, history overlaps with fiction. We want to show how, through the game's three ludo-narrative types of play sequences—exploration of the city, battles against human and supernatural entities, unplayable scripted cinematic events—the memory of Japan's responsibility and growing will to dominate over discriminated Asian populations is called into question, through the new media of the 20th and 21st centuries. How can racism become a ludic theme, offered to the players? And how can its ludic exploration become a hermeneutic and dialectical act, resonating with contemporary concerns about Japanese identity and place in Southeast Asian relationships? Observing how the game instrumentalized JRPG conventions and the player-avatar agentivity—its impact on the game world, according to the game's predefined rules—we will show how the act of play can be politically and ideologically charged.

Conceptualizing Region in Game Studies via the Debut of Esports in the Southeast Asian Games

K.T. Wong

Cornell University

This talk explores the nationalization of esports on an intra-regional level in Southeast Asia and the implications of this phenomenon. While Korea has led the formalization/nationalization of esports in Asia since the early 2000s, similar trends have accelerated across Southeast Asia in the 2010s. This shift is attributable to the expansion of the esports market as well as increasing state interests in developing this sector within the region. By nationalization, I refer to developments that bring esports and state interests into close alignment. The debut of esports in the 2018 Southeast Asian Games, a biennial multi-sport event that forms the focal point of this talk, unveils the key condition that caused the nationalization of esports to unfold differently than that in East Asia: the historically stronger regional integration in Southeast Asia fostered by organizations such as ASEAN. Consequently, the nationalization of esports has developed in tandem with rather than against regionalization, laying the foundation that enabled Southeast Asian games to be the first Olympic-sanctioned event to feature esports as a medal event. This occurrence allowed Southeast Asia to take on a pioneering role in terms of integrating esports into international sporting events, a long-term pursuit of the esports industry to legitimize competitive gaming alongside traditional sports. In this context, I argue for a centering of Southeast Asia in the study of global videogame cultures. While sidelined within game studies thus far, Southeast Asia holds the potential to transform our conceptual understanding of the region as an analytical framework within the field.

Hosting 2023 FIFA U-17 World Cup: When the Round Ball Played between Media and Politics in Indonesia

Aulia Hadi

Research Center for Society and Culture (PRMB) and National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

The interlinkages between football, media and politics in Indonesia have amplified considerably. On the one hand, Indonesia was appointed as the host of the 2023 FIFA U-17 World Cup for the first time in Southeast Asia.

This marked the beginning of the era of football commercialization and mediatization in Indonesia parallel with the proliferation of digital media. Furthermore, the final party was held in Solo, the hometown of the ruling president and his son who ran as vice presidential candidate in the 2024 election. On the other hand, there was the Kanjuruhan tragedy, the worst stadium disaster in Indonesia's sporting history (in October 2022), where at least 125 supporters died, echoing the chaotic element of football in Indonesia. FIFA also recently removed Indonesia as the host of the U-20 World Cup (in March 2023) due to resistance against the participation of the Israeli national team. This paper draws on the position of Indonesia as the host of 2023 FIFA U-17 World Cup to exemplify the power of 'emerging' Southeast Asia in the football world and its discontents. The paper asks the following questions: how does hosting the U-17 World Cup mirror the growth of football in Indonesia in the age of commercialization and mediatization? To what extent does the hosting of the World Cup represent football politicization in Indonesia? I argue that the opportunities for organizing the World Cup reflects the dynamics of football in Indonesia, which is extensively shaped by commercialization, mediatization and politicization.

HERITAGE TEXTILES AND FASHION

CHAIR

Maria Crisanta Flores

University of the Philippines Diliman

Kasarinlan ng Kasuotan: Mapping the Mediatization of Philippine Heritage Clothing Influence

Jennifer Rebecca Ortuoste

University of Santo Tomas

There is an increasing amount of information about traditional, precolonial, and modern Filipiniana attire on social media platforms, driven by the activities of influencers who share content about their outfits inspired by traditional or pre-colonial clothing, framing their efforts as advocacies. As such, these influencers may be considered culture bearers and their activities worth monitoring as part of a cultural heritage map. This exploratory essay,

conceptually framed by the mediatization theory and Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice*, uses the qualitative case study method to accomplish two objectives: to examine the mediatization of Philippine heritage clothing (PHC) and advocacy intentions, and to investigate the role of digital cultural mapping methods in contributing to the preservation and spread of intangible cultural heritage. The literature shows that the affordances of social media allow individuals to interact, collaborate, and build a community to amplify messages and narratives. The key findings indicate that the mediatization of the advocacy for the revival of traditional Filipino clothing is facilitated by the communicative affordances of social media platforms. Advocates for traditional clothing are motivated by a desire to construct, practice, and preserve their cultural identity. Wearing traditional attire is seen as a means to reconnect with ancestral roots, celebrate Filipino cultural heritage, and initiate personal lifestyle decolonization, starting with fashion. The use of digital cultural mapping methods is also seen as a necessary adjunct to conventional methods for a holistic and comprehensive inventory of cultural assets. There is thus a necessity to integrate these evolving cultural trends and advocacy movements into our broader cultural understandings.

Empowering Women Handweavers: A Cultural Comparative Tale of Batak Toba and T'boli's Legendary Textiles

Maritess Rulona

Davao del Sur State College and Cebu Normal University

Women empowerment is evident among two tribal communities in Southeast Asia—the T'boli tribe of the Philippines and Batak Toba of Indonesia. This qualitative study features the historical, cultural, and literary relations of their traditional textiles. This study explores parallelism of the two tribes through its deities, *Fu Dalu* and *Si Boru Nadeak Parujar* who both had a pivotal role in the creation of their famous traditional handwoven sacred textiles *T'nalak* and *Ulos Ragidup*. With the use of the myths of the two deities, this study explores their characterization, symbols, and cultural milieu. The study is supported by Elaine Showalter's feminist theory and Stith Thompson's motif-index of folk literature. The findings include how the two deities' strong determination helped empower early women leaders in their tribe. *Fu Dalu* taught the *T'nalak* weaving in a dream, while *Si Boru*

was the first handweaver who used Ulos to descend to earth while escaping an arranged marriage in *Banju Ganjang* (heaven). Their traditional textiles eventually become their cultural symbols and part of their cultural milieus. Today, both deities have become representations of empowered women leaders whose influence raises the standards of women's roles in their respective tribes.

Product *Halal* Fashion: The Next Industry to Support Sustainable Development Goals

Hj. Indriya, SE

Universitas Ibn Khaldun Bogor

A healthy lifestyle has become a trend where it is understood to keep you healthy and fit. Likewise with *Halal* fashion which continues to follow current style trends but still complies with *Sharia*. The ability to combine ideas, various colors and styles into designs according to people's interests, without forgetting *Sharia* law and *Sharia* business requires special skills. This research aims to analyze the new direction of the halal fashion industry business as a new industry in the present and future, as well as a reflection of culture and religion. The method used is a qualitative method with a literature review approach, through the study of books, literature, and notes related to the problem being discussed. From the research conducted, one sees that, first, the *Halal* fashion industry is an opportunity for business, second, Indonesia can synergize to develop *Halal* fashion production by choosing *Halal* textile raw materials, third, there is a new direction in *Halal* fashion within the scope of Muslim habits and clothing styles which support sustainable development goals.

Ikat Weaving: Representation of Sustainable Culture

Nyoman Arisanti

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Ikat weaving is Sumba's social and cultural identity, now thriving as a dynamic force in the creative economy. The decorative motifs in ikat weaving often reflect the motifs found on stone graves, traditional houses, and cultural heritage. This article aims to explore how the decorative motifs

in ikat weaving represent sustainable culture. Interviews were conducted with informants from traditional villages on the island of Sumba. In addition, observations and literature reviews were also carried out. Based on descriptive analysis and multidimensional scaling analysis of the four sustainability dimensions, the socio-cultural dimension has the highest sustainability. The social and cultural activities of the people of Sumba, from marriage to death are closely tied to the use of ikat weaving. The decorative motifs in ikat weaving are obtained through the process of weaving with natural plant-based dyes. The utilization of local knowledge related to weaving techniques, dyeing of woven fabric, and decorative motifs indirectly becomes a factor in preserving these decorative motifs. These motifs tell tales of life's journey, adornment, burial provisions, social status, and mythology, all deeply rooted in the sacred Marapu ideology, shaping both life and cultural identity. The growth of the tourism and fashion industries, government support, and stakeholder involvement have collectively driven a surge in demand for Sumba's ikat weaving. What sets Sumba's ikat apart is its remarkable harmony between cultural preservation and nature. The use of natural materials in ikat weaving not only sustains the cultural heritage but also champions environmental conservation.

ROUNDTABLE ON “STRATEGIZING THE ROLE OF THINK TANKS IN SHAPING SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGIONAL POLICIES IN THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS”

CHAIR

Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao

Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation

Speakers:

- Predeep Chauhan (National Maritime Foundation)
- Masato Seko (The Nippon Foundation)
- Mohammad Hasan Ansori (The Habibie Center)
- Alan H. Yang (Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation)

Southeast Asia is of increasing strategic importance for the emerging regional engagement of major and middle powers in terms of Indo-Pacific strategies and policies. The region has become the center of the geopolitical struggles and the subsequent strategic competition among powers and stakeholders. This roundtable will address the importance of being the center of contending regional approaches among its stakeholders such as Taiwan, Japan, India, and the United States by inviting think tank leaders and experts to enlighten the intellectual brainstorming of how think tanks help shape the Southeast Asia regional policies of stakeholders from Taiwan, Japan, India and the United States as well as from Southeast Asia. The roundtable will discuss the role of think tanks in shaping the Southeast Asia of respective countries towards Southeast Asia, then review the achievement of the contending regional approaches led by key think tanks in the region. Finally, it will unpack the discussion over the future vision of think tankers on the future of Southeast Asia and illuminate the roadmap of regional resilience navigating international geopolitics and domestic politics.

INEQUALITY IN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTORS

CHAIR

Lianne Angelico Depante

University of the Philippines Open University

Labor Dynamics in Morowali Industrial Park: Decoding Chinese Investments, Nickel Processing, and the Electric Dreams of Indonesia

Twina Paramesthi

Trend Asia

This study investigates labor relations between Indonesian local and Chinese workers in Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP), exploring the impact of China's foreign direct investment and Indonesia's nickel downstreaming policy. Framed within development studies and employing critical perspectives like dependency theory, this research takes into account power dynamics, social relations, and economic structures. Growing anti-Chinese sentiment among local workers, fueled by wage gaps, cultural and language differences, and the fact that they live in separate areas within the factory poses challenges. Utilizing fieldwork ethnography, this study aims to comprehend how these dynamics affect broader development outcomes which are crucial in the context of Indonesia's ambition to become a global electric vehicle (EV) manufacturing hub.

Factors That Influence the High Number of Elderly People Working in the Informal Sector

Laili Rahayuwati, Syahmida S. Arsyad, Rindang Ekawati, Muhammad Dawam, Rahmadewi, Septi Nurhayati, Ikhsan Fahmi, and Sherllina Rizqi Fauziah

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

As individuals grow older, it is common to experience a natural progression that involves a slow and permanent decrease in bodily functions and physical abilities. Despite this, many older people still remain active in

the workforce. This study seeks to explore the correlations between health conditions, disabilities, social factors, and the demographic circumstances of elderly individuals engaged in formal and informal employment sectors. This study utilizes an observational analytical method with a cross-sectional structure. The participants in the research involved individuals aged 60 years and above who met the outlined criteria, totaling 15,034,946 respondents. The data analysis was conducted using multivariate logistic regression in Model II. Overall, the majority of elderly are working in informal jobs. Most of the respondents are 60–69 years old, married, primary school graduates, owners of health insurance and housing, and living with family. The multivariate analysis shows the relationship between each of the variables. Several variables are assigned as the determinants that increase the number of elderly working in informal sectors, including gender, education level, savings ownership, living areas, head of the family role, health status, and disability.

Analysis of Poverty and Income Inequality in Indonesia

Sonyaru Satiti

Universitas Gadjah Mada

Two common problems faced by Indonesia and other developing countries are economic disparities or inequality in income distribution between high-income groups and low-income groups and high levels of poverty or the number of people below the poverty line. This research on the Indonesian case aims to analyze variations in expenditure inequality according to urban and rural areas over the last five years, identify factors causing inequality over the last five years, identify the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on income inequality and analyze the relationship between levels of income inequality and the level of poverty. The main data source used in calculating inequality indicators comes from the National Socio-Economic Survey from 2018 to 2023. Apart from that, as supporting data, data related to population, employment, poverty, and the compiled economic variables are also used. The data partly comes from publications by the Central Statistics Agency. Based on the research results, it can be concluded that three indicators have a significant influence on income inequality in Indonesia, namely the amount of investment at the provincial level, the value of the Human Development Index, and labor productivity. The COVID-19 pandemic has

caused the income at all levels of society to fall, thus affecting income inequality, employment conditions and poverty. Variations in the value of consumption expenditure will also have a direct influence on the inequality that occurs. Intervention for the lowest expenditure groups can be carried out by continuing the existing social security program.



DAY ONE

Parallel Session 3

APPRAISING RODRIGO DUTERTE'S LEGACY IN THE PHILIPPINES (PART 2)

CHAIR

Sol Iglesias

University of the Philippines Diliman

The Human Rights Defenders' Pushback in the Shadow of the War on Drugs

Venarica B. Papa

University of the Philippines Diliman

The war on drugs of the Duterte administration has disrupted the historical landscape of human rights advocacy, challenging traditional focuses on political and civil rights. The College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD) at the University of the Philippines, initiated a two-phased research project that reveals a complex pattern of state-initiated actions that led to the death of individuals and shows that the killings related to drugs cannot be isolated from other forms of violence against the poor. Poverty emerges as a common factor exposing individuals to vulnerability. This research project likewise reveals the initiative of various individuals, organizations and some government institutions to respond to the crisis brought by the war on drugs. Cognizant of the change in character of human rights violations, particularly during the height of the pandemic, human rights defenders were prompted to expand their responses beyond the war on drugs to encompass the broader spectrum of human rights violations against the poor and the vulnerable. Motivations to respond were to be framed with at least one the following principles: human dignity; rule of law and due process; human rights; and accountability (vs. impunity) in governance. The study highlights pockets of resistance connected by varying bonds. The diversity of organizations, including non-political groups in anti-EJK work, showcases new frames of organizing. The research emphasizes

the courage and resourcefulness of human rights defenders in responding to the massive humanitarian crisis of EJKs despite hindrances imposed by the state.

Performance populism: Philippine Presidents and their Crisis Rhetoric, 1987–2022

Rogelio Alicor Panao

University of the Philippines Diliman

Is Duterte really a populist? If populism can be gauged through rhetoric, how much of a populist is Duterte compared to his predecessors? What impels presidents to resort to populism as a communicative device? Drawing from data consisting of a corpus of speeches delivered by all post-EDSA presidents up to Duterte, we argue that despite Duterte's incendiary public pronouncements, his brand of presidential rhetoric is neither more contextually populist nor ideologically extreme than those delivered by presidents since 1987. Digressing from conventional notions tying populism to democratic regression or resentment, we treat populism as a rhetorical strategy that appeals to people's conservative predispositions, whose frames are invoked conveniently during periods of crises or austerity, or when trust of government and its institutions are precarious. The study contributes by providing an assessment of ideological orientations associated with certain presidents, erstwhile only anecdotally presumed. Our findings demonstrate that as a rhetorical device, populism is often in reaction to economic (austerity) or political (scandals)—factors that rock presidencies. Populist rhetoric is consistently invoked as a prelude and aftermath of national crises and historical turning points.

Duterte's (Murderous) Place in the Global Populist Panoply

Mark Thompson

City University of Hong Kong

Few among the global panoply of reactionary populists 'headlined' by the media in the past decade (e.g., Trump, Putin, Orbán, Kaczyński, and Erdoğan) have been leaders from the Global South. Aside from Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro and India's Narendra Modi, Duterte is perhaps the only other developing country leader to be featured prominently in the press

and also to have received considerable academic attention. Along with his flamboyant political style, the main reason is that while many contemporary illiberal populist leaders have excluded, imprisoned, or assassinated those othered by their rhetoric, only Duterte instigated a systematic campaign of mass murder against his own civilian population. By separating popular legitimacy from liberal rights, Duterte drew on techniques common to illiberal populists around the world to which he has added his own violent methods. But unlike Trump and other right-wing populists in developed countries who target immigrants, Duterte proclaimed drug criminals the enemies of the people. Like other illiberal populists, Duterte used this demonization to distract voters from their own class interests. But more than just the penal populism common in the West, Duterte's violent populism is a particularly virulent form of illiberal rule that takes the aggressive intent of the 'us versus them' polarity to its deadly extreme. The global significance of Duterte's populist rule is that it shows how a dichotomy of good citizens versus evil drug criminals can be instrumentalized to legitimate mass slaughter when there is a populist breakthrough in a weak state with a poor record of human development.

NEW WEALTH CREATION IN EMERGING ECONOMIES

CHAIR

Eduardo Tadem

University of the Philippines Diliman

Foreign Direct Investment Policy Entrepreneur's Resilience Across Regimes in Myanmar

Phone Soe

Chiang Mai University School of Public Policy

A policy entrepreneur framing has been applied in a wide array of policy domains. However, there is little consideration of policy entrepreneurship in the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) policy arena in the international literature (Frisch Aviram, Cohen, C Beeri, 2020). An exception is Mordue's (2019) examination of the role of policy entrepreneurs in the growth of FDI

in Canada's automotive sector. There is no evidence of studies involving FDI policy entrepreneurs in developing settings or nations governed under authoritarian regimes. This paper is positioned to expand the application of policy entrepreneur theory to the policy area of FDI with empirical evidence from a developing nation dominated by a militaristic and authoritarian regime. The analysis seeks to consider the core organizational entity, Directorate of Investment and Company Administration (DICA), and its resilience as a policy entrepreneur in the policy area of FDI across three government regime changes in Myanmar such as 2011–2015 (quasi-civilian), 2016–2020 (Democratic), and 2021–present (military). The conceptualization of the policy entrepreneur that will guide the proposed presentation is framed in the work of Mintrom (e.g., 1997, 2019; Mintrom, Maurya, C He, 2020; Petridou C Mintrom, 2021). The study will empirically test three dimensions of policy entrepreneurial behavior identified by Mintrom (2019): attributes, skills, and strategies. The test will involve acquiring evidence on the 17 indicators of these dimensions described by Mintrom (2019) to answer the research question on DICA's survival as a policy entrepreneur across regimes of whether 'resilience' should be considered as an attribute to be added to existing policy entrepreneur theory.

The Maharlika Investment Fund: Benchmarks, Issues, Challenges, and Prospects

Dennis Blanco

University of the Philippines Diliman

The article offers a preliminary analysis of the creation of the Philippine's sovereign wealth fund (SWF) known as the Maharlika Investment Fund (MIF). Using Bowen (2009) document analysis, the article provides a comparative benchmark of the Maharlika Investment Fund which enunciates its points of convergence and divergence with other high performing global sovereignwealth funds based on assets with regard to its mission and vision, sources of funds and capital, allowed and prohibited investments, governance arrangements, as well as accountability and transparency safeguards. As an added dimension, the article devotes a section to the integrative review of the various conceptual definitions and assumptions on sovereign wealth funds culled from independent sources and written by SWF scholars. Moreover, the article analyzes the current issues and

challenges confronting the Maharlika Investment Fund and advances a three- pronged approach consisting of optimal institutional governance, good corporate governance, and a strong civil society participation, co-optation, and incentivization which the current MIF version could consider in its formulation and implementation as ways forward. Finally, the paper concludes that there is a dearth of literature on the impact of sovereign wealth funds in the Philippines and Asia, hence studies and research must be pursued continuously and vigorously to determine how sovereign wealth funds shape and influence economic, social, and political outcomes.

Innovation Capabilities, Export Performance and Catching-up trajectory of Emerging Asian Economies

Rupanshi Pruthi

Guru Nanak Dev University

As the economies are emerging from the Global South and setting up a new international economic order (NIEO), countries from Southeast Asia and South Asia are also coming forward and taking the center-stage by transitioning themselves into knowledge-based economies. Innovation plays an important role in enhancing the export competitiveness of nations. Numerous researchers have studied the role of technological and innovation capabilities on firms' export performance but only few of them have studied their role in augmenting the aggregate export performance of these nations. Thus, the proposed research aims to find the impact of building innovation capabilities in enhancing the export performance of Asian nations, particularly the emerging economies of South and Southeast Asia. Data has been collected from various secondary sources such as UNCTAD, WDI, WIPO, etc. We have examined the impact of innovation indicators such as research and development expenditure, patents, imports of manufactured goods, FDI on the share of medium and high-tech exports of select Asian economies for the time-period 1996–2021 by using pooled mean group (PMG) estimation model. Findings revealed that innovation variables have a favorable impact on increasing the share of medium and high-tech exports for the overall Asian continent. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that these results exhibit variability among individual countries. It has been observed that even though the Philippines has been successful in catching-up with advanced industrialized nations in terms of exports, it continues

to be ensnared in the middle-income trap. It provides useful implications for fostering a tailor-made approach to innovation-driven development by understanding the unique innovation requirements of each selected nation.

A Comparative Study of the Philippine and Taiwan Semiconductor Industry: Lessons for Developing Countries

Lianne Angelico Depante

University of the Philippines Open University

The semiconductor industry occupies an important place in the economies of both Taiwan and the Philippines. However, despite the two sharing similar take-off conditions in the 1970s, their development trajectories have diverged since then, with Taiwan establishing itself as the global leader in semiconductor manufacturing. What accounts for the differences in the performance of Taiwanese and Philippine semiconductor industries? To answer this question, this study adopts a comparative institutional approach, arguing that the variation lies largely in the former's strategic employment of industrial policy and institutions that promoted the nexus of state, business, and higher educational institutions. As a result of this institutional configuration, Taiwan managed to democratize technology to smaller businesses, which have played a huge role in the island's semiconductor ecosystem. In contrast, Philippine efforts to develop the semiconductor industry mainly focused on attracting foreign capital, resulting in relatively low local content and a weak domestic supplier base. The paper concludes with a discussion of the continuing relevance of the Taiwan model for Global South countries aspiring to climb the technological ladder and policy recommendations in bolstering the state's role in industrial development.

Why Did the Philippines Succeed?—The Politics of Financial Stability in Developing Countries

Shingo Mikamo

Shinshu University

Why do some countries succeed in recovering financial stability after economic crises and others don't? With respect to financial governance, many countries have a good reputation in Southeast Asia. Singapore has been often

seen as a model of good governance. After the debt crisis in the mid-1980s, the Philippines succeeded in avoiding recurrent financial crises. After the Asian financial crisis in the late-1990s, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia have also been recovering and maintaining stability. However, maintaining financial stability is still not an easy task for many developing countries, namely, Argentina, Venezuela and Sri Lanka among others. Despite policy lessons from numerous economic and financial crises in emerging economies, it is still very difficult for many countries to learn the lessons. Good governance has become a buzzword of political and economic development in recent years. Making governance good or good enough, is a contentious issue. The examination of financial governance reform in the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries can contribute to the continuing debates on the issues of good governance. The Philippines can be a particularly suggestive example for many emerging economies since the country has been seen as a typical case of defective democracy and weak institutions. These are common obstacles for good governance in developing countries.

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

CHAIR

Julius Bautista

National University of Singapore College

Modernization or Cultural Preservation: The Batek's Dilemma on Indigenous Tourism in Malaysia

Keng Hang Fan

Sun Yat-Sen University

Tourists visiting Indigenous tribes is a common phenomenon in Southeast Asia. In Taman Negara National Park, Malaysia, indigenous tourism has become an alternative livelihood for the semi-nomadic Batek tribe which traditionally relied on hunting, gathering and trading rainforest products for thousands of years. At the same time, tourism is often said to have brought about modernization and capitalism as tourists complain about inauthentic or unethical experiences, with some even saying that the indigenous village was like a zoo. The Batek, however, are open-minded on modernization and potential integration with others. This stands in contrast with the global

nostalgic imagination regarding indigenous people and their cultures as being in need of preservation. This opens up a debate on the perception of indigenous cultures and how indigenous tourism should be constructed in the future. My presentation will discuss the current dilemmas the Batak tribe are facing in terms of their changing livelihoods and lifestyles, as well as how they negotiate their indigeneity and authenticity in the face of tourism and modernization. I will also discuss potential solutions to resolve such dilemmas so that we can have more sustainable indigenous tourism development programs within the context of globalization.

Deconstructing 'Local Wisdom' in State-led Coastal Community Policy

Beby Pane

Pesisir Lestari

This research investigates the challenges of state-led knowledge production in environmental policy-making with emphasis on coastal communities. It critiques the tendency of state policies to overlook or marginalize the knowledge of indigenous and local communities, especially in environmental management. The study focuses on the problematic use of the term local wisdom in legislation recognizing community rights. There are seven principal Acts governing coastal and marine areas, and all employ the terminology of local wisdom. While this term acknowledges indigenous practices in marine resource management, it often fails to equate them with formal knowledge, and ultimately falls short as a reference point for formulating community-oriented policies. This legal lexicon leads to policies that insufficiently accommodate the unique characteristics and needs of coastal communities, particularly regarding tenure rights. In practice, this recognition only serves as political redistribution, positioning communities as distributors and beneficiaries of natural resources, rather than as central actors in environmental preservation, disregarding their capacity and knowledge. The primary objective of this study is to deconstruct the political use of 'local wisdom' and advocate for a more inclusive approach that recognizes the integral role of community knowledge in environmental governance. By doing so, it not only respects the rights and knowledge of these communities but also promises more effective and sustainable environmental management.

In the Era of Globalization, How can we Preserve and Develop Local Architectural Knowledge? A Lesson from the Lontar

I Nyoman Mahaputra, Nyoman Nuri Arthana, and Ni Wayan Nurwarsih

Warmadewa University; Universitas Warmadewa; Universitas Warmadewa

Traditional architecture is renowned for its ability to coexist with the environment, adapt to changing climate conditions, withstand natural disasters, and represent the sociocultural context of the communities that support it. The wisdom and knowledge of traditional Balinese architecture are recorded in ancient writings on palm leaves known as lontar. The knowledge that grew and developed through vernacular means was gradually replaced by new architectural knowledge brought through the channels of colonialism and capitalism to the point where it has now been completely forgotten. Many attempts have been made to translate these traditional knowledge; however, in-depth research has not been done on how to reinterpret these for the needs of the modern world. Using techniques from archival analysis, this paper will compare, contrast, and juxtapose the contents of classic architectural texts. Six Bali palm leaf manuscripts were subjected to content analysis. The research findings will shed light on three areas of traditional knowledge which are still relevant today but not explored because today's educational system does not support the preservation of traditional knowledge.

Towards Resilient Indonesia: Centering Local Wisdom and Practicing Slow-Thinking in Disaster Risk Reduction

Oktavi Andaresta

National Disaster Management Authority of Indonesia

Indonesia, an archipelagic nation with a diverse landscape and a rich cultural heritage, faces a multitude of disaster risks, including earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, and volcanic eruptions. Conventional disaster risk reduction approaches often emphasize technological solutions and top-down governance which overlook the valuable insights and practices embedded in local wisdom and slow thinking. This qualitative study seeks to investigate the significance of centering local wisdom and practicing slow thinking in disaster risk reduction within the Indonesian context. The study will explore the following

research question: Why is it important for Indonesia to center local wisdom and practice slow thinking in disaster risk reduction? The study will delve into the unique contributions of local wisdom and slow thinking to resilience-building, particularly in the pre-disaster phase. It will examine how local knowledge systems, traditional practices, and slow thinking methodologies can complement and enhance formal disaster management frameworks. The findings of this study will shed light on the importance of recognizing and integrating local wisdom into disaster risk reduction strategies in Indonesia. By centering local wisdom and practicing slow thinking, Indonesia can foster more culturally sensitive, inclusive, and effective approaches to disaster preparedness, response, and resilience-building, leading to a more sustainable and resilient future for the nation.

Local Wisdom for Preserving the Sustainability of Conservation Forests in The New Capital City Area of Indonesia

*Ni Putu Eka Juliawati, I Made Geria, Retno Handini,
Unggul P. Wibowo, and Truman Simanjuntak*

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN); National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN); Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources; Center for Prehistory and Austronesian Studies

Jakarta has been the capital of the Republic of Indonesia since its independence in 1945. For decades, Jakarta has served as the center of government, economic and business activities, and a meeting point for various ethnic groups from different regions of Indonesia. In 2022, the Indonesian government decided to relocate the capital city from the Special Capital Region of Jakarta to the new National Capital (Ibu Kota Negara or IKN), as determined by the Presidential Decree. The IKN is located in two regencies in East Kalimantan, namely Kutai Kartanegara and Penajam Paser Utara Regency. The relocation of the capital is expected to bring about changes both environmentally and socially. The Wain River Protection Forest (Hutan Lindung Sungai Wain or HLSW) is one of the crucial conservation areas in IKN. This research aims to understand how the local community utilizes HLSW within the framework of conservation, serving as a reference for forest management through local wisdom. The presence of HLSW as a protected forest has significant impacts on the surrounding communities.

The HLSW area is not only inhabited by indigenous or local people but also by members of other ethnic groups who have settled there for a long time. This is important because newcomers not only adopt local knowledge but also bring with them their traditional knowledge from their respective regions, which they then apply in the new area. The integration of this local wisdom may slow down or even prevent environmental damage in the HLSW area in the future.

EMPIRE AND EPISTEMOLOGY

CHAIR

Fernando Santiago Jr.

De La Salle University

Lawyer of Empire: Reconsidering the Life of Masao Tokichi in the Age of Imperialism

Dom Roongurang

Kyoto University

Masao Tokichi (1871–1921) is mostly remembered as the sole Asian legal advisor of the Siamese Government (former name of Thailand) who played a key role in the country's codification of the modern law code. Drawn upon Thai and Japanese archives, this study situates Masao Tokichi's life in the context of the age of imperialism and illuminates a once obscure part of his life. Born to a peasant family, Masao converted to Christianity and traveled to study law in the United States. After graduating with a doctoral degree and undertaking a brief journalistic career, he embarked for Siam as a government legal advisor. He worked on the codification of modern Siamese law for more than ten years, earning the noble title of *Phraya*. Resigning in 1913, Masao set out on a new path in Japan as a member of parliament. Based on his experience in the country, he also became an advocate of a closer Siam-Japan relationship citing the former as a fertile ground for Japan's cotton production. Masao returned to Siam in 1921 as the head of a diplomatic mission. However, his life was cut short by a sudden illness, and he died the same year. In light of recent historical studies on mobility and connection, Masao's early life demonstrates how mobility and

connection in the interconnected world helped elevate a low- born peasant to an international career, traversing between nation-states as a US-educated Japanese Christian. His later career also helps illuminate the emergence of Japanese imperialist thought in Southeast Asia.

Chinese Entrepreneurs, Revenue farming, and the Spanish Colonial State in the Philippines, 1778–1898

Jely Galang

University of the Philippines Diliman

As in the broader colonial Southeast Asia, the Chinese in Spanish Philippines played important roles in the colony's economic development. Chinese merchants brought to Manila commodities that were sold in the capital while the bulk was transported to Latin America through the galleons. Chinese from the laboring classes, also crucial in mobilizing materials and laborers for public works and other government projects. The Spanish colonial state relied heavily on these businessmen by subcontracting its right of tax collection. This 'contract system' (*asiento*) or revenue farming was mutually-beneficial as the state obtained resources for its projects and the Chinese *asentistas* also gained profit from it. This paper examines revenue farming in the Philippines and the active participation of Chinese entrepreneurs in this institution from 1778—when Gov. Gen. Jose Basco y Vargas allowed the readmission of the Chinese to the islands after a series of mass expulsions—to the end of the Spanish regime in 1898. Using documents from Philippine and Spanish archives, it probes the actors, institutions and mechanisms involved in revenue farming, its impacts on colonial administration and economy, and the challenges the state and the Chinese entrepreneurs faced. By focusing on labor contracting, opium farming, and expulsion of criminals, the paper intends to contribute to understanding state apparatus and bureaucracy, ethnicity and the economy during the colonial period.

Reiterating Theory in Architecture: A Transnational Approach to the Teaching of Architectural Theory in the Philippines

Leonido Gines, Jr.

University of the Philippines Diliman

The study of architectural theory in the Philippines, while now required by the country's Commission on Higher Education (CHED), is still in need of a transnational framework beyond the Vitruvian Triad that most architectural academics are wont to teach. Many Southeast Asian architecture schools have already embedded in their curricula and in teaching sessions in the design studios, modern and contemporary discourses that expand the issues and the problems in architecture beyond the Vitruvian, the neoclassical or the modern reference, necessitating the need to study architectural theory both intra-disciplinarily and beyond the boundaries of architecture alone. The Philippine experience struggles with the synergy of architecture as a problem-solving practice and architecture as a theoretical discourse. One of the more obvious reasons for such struggles is the dearth of transnational literature, and its lack of dissemination in Philippine architectural academia. Despite institutional initiatives towards ASEAN integration in the architectural domain, Filipino architects and their academics are limited to its local regulations such that academic exchange, particularly in the areas of architectural theory and design, does not contribute to knowledge production itself. There is an urgent need to expand the creative and theoretical knowledge of architecture students now that institutions are preparing for an overhaul of architecture education in the Philippines. Necessary for this preparation are new frameworks that can update both the form and content of architectural design and theory. This paper sees this challenge as an opportunity to create a transnational theory framework for reiterating theory in the study of architecture.

EXAMINING THE ASEAN, ALLIANCES AND MARITIME IN/SECURITY DYNAMICS

CHAIR

Herman Kraft

De La Salle University

ASEAN and the US Indo-Pacific Strategy: Re-centering or De-centered?

Herman Kraft

University of the Philippines Diliman

The US Indo-Pacific Strategy under the Biden Administration affirms the US intention to maintain and strengthen the policy of keeping the US engaged in the Indo-Pacific region. A significant part of this strategy is supporting ASEAN centrality, and its ability to lead autonomously in Southeast Asian affairs. There is some convergence in the objectives of ASEAN and the US in the current environment of the Indo-Pacific region. There are, however, difficulties in managing how these convergences can be expedited amidst the bigger picture of geopolitical tensions and great power relations. To this end, ASEAN interests and US strategic calculations will have to be directed towards common ground if the role envisioned for ASEAN is to be worked out.

China and Select Southeast Asia Claimants in the South China Sea: Policies and Practices (2012 to 2023)

Jaime B. Naval

University of the Philippines Diliman

The South China Sea dispute showcases immense complexity given its many attendant facets—resources-related, environmental, historical, legal, diplomatic, military, etc. China and other Southeast Asian co-claimants—the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia—demonstrate varying SCS dispositions as indicated by their respective policy pronouncements and de facto practices. China has been militantly assertive in its SCS campaign, fastidiously selective of international law, and clever in its diplomatic and military projection. The

Philippines has proved amendatory on its SCS track as its policy pendulum swung from one extreme to another to another extreme via innovative legal strategy then its PRC re-pivot, and now its multilateralization and transparency bid. Vietnam has adopted a distinctive, multifaceted approach which features balancing economic engagement with China, diligent self-help and a hedging gambit via strategic partnerships with major powers, *inter alia*. While displaying a seemingly more cautious yet consistent strategy, Malaysia has not been remiss in advancing its own SCS claim. Along with the intent to analyze gaps or the lack of the same in pronounced and practiced policies, the presentation seeks to identify possible courses of action or measures promoting the SCS dispute resolution process.

Philippines-China Bilateralism on the South China Sea Disputes

Edcel John Ibarra

University of the Philippines Diliman

This article investigates the evolution of Philippines-China bilateralism on the South China Sea disputes since the Mischief Reef incident in 1995. There is evidence suggesting that the degree of institutionalization of bilateral diplomatic mechanisms influences the likelihood of success of reducing tensions between parties in a conflict. For instance, a dense bilateral network of relations—in the form of dialogues, agreements, and joint ventures—may help prevent the eruption of violent conflict, manage crises, and transform behaviors from being conflictual to cooperative. Insofar as this effect holds true, the Philippines may be well advised to pursue denser relations with China to handle the South China Sea disputes. For its part, the Philippines has been attempting to do so since 1995 in response to China's occupation of Mischief Reef. Mechanisms had mostly been ad hoc until 2017, when the Bilateral Consultation Mechanism on the South China Sea was established. This is a welcome development, and lessons can be learned from the Philippines' past experience with bilateralism to guide relations with China moving forward.

SOCIAL RESPONSES TO TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

CHAIR

Virgемarie Salazar

University of the Philippines Diliman

Finding A Discursive Interaction between Religious and State Authorities in Indonesia and Malaysia: The Case of Prohibition and Permission of Cryptocurrency

Muhammad Ulil Abshor

Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

While Indonesian and Malaysian publics are enjoying cryptocurrency trading under the legal regulation of their central banks, national religious institutions in their countries issued *fatwas* prohibiting the use of that kind of asset. It is not easy to determine whether the disagreement between the state bodies and the religious authorities indicates a conflict of interest or reflects a new symptom that needs to be elaborated upon. This article examines the relationship between *haram fatwas* on cryptocurrency and state legality in contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia. To that end, it addresses the main question of how the prohibition of cryptocurrency by MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) and JAKIM (Department of Islamic Development Malaysia) interacts with the respective monetary regulations by Bank Indonesia (BI) and Bank Negara Malaysia (BNM) that legalizes the transaction of digital assets in both countries. In this case, *haram fatwas* and the central banks' regulation of cryptocurrency are central points in elucidating the discursive interaction between two different types of authority which are religious and economic. Based on comparative study cases, this article suggests that understanding the overlapping between religious and state authorities can be better viewed from the landscape of a discursive field rather than as a conflictual relationship. In Indonesia, the *fatwa* on cryptocurrency shows an ambiguous contact between the religious authority and the monetary interest of the Indonesian government. In contrast, in the Malaysian government, the cryptocurrency *fatwa* has a harmonious tendency with respect to the legality of the federation.

Communication for Successful Aging in Indonesia: The Exploration of CEMSA Variables

Niken Febrina Ernungtyas and Irwansyah

Universitas Indonesia

Aging is an inevitable and universal concern as the *Leave No One Behind* transformative promise from SDGs demonstrates. Communication is considered as having a crucial role in the aging process to establish an ecology for successful aging. On the one hand, the communication aspect with respect to the elderly has not been well researched in the Indonesian context, whether in relation to media usage, technology adoption, and communication development. The academic discourse of communication in the aging process still lacks adequate understanding since the number of elderly has been increasing worldwide with the attendant loneliness and poverty issues. Fowler et al (2015) proposed a Communicative Ecology Model of Successful Aging (CEMSA) to understand the ecological factors for successful aging. CEMSA suggests that aging is an uncertain, complex, and vulnerable condition that leads to emotional responses. Ecology refers to media, social environment, and communication that creates, manages, and modifies the aging process in elderly. This study specifically explores three variables of CEMSA in communication: (1) expressing optimism; (2) collusion in communication; (3) resisting anti-aging media messages. The data have been collected by survey from six cities in Indonesia that are identified as having the highest number of elderly populations. The analysis will construct an Indonesian version of CEMSA or I-CEMSA.

Platforming Populism: The Services Transition, Precarious Urbanization, and Digital Platforms in the Rise of Illiberal Populism in the Philippines

Emille de la Cruz and Jerik Cruz

Ateneo de Manila University; Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Existing research on the adverse impact of digital platforms on democratic politics has generally focused on the supply side factors underlying illiberal populism. Yet by reinforcing a services-led growth model of capitalism in the developing world, the platform economy has also been implicated on the demand-side of the global populist upsurge by fostering new insecure

classes as well as precarious urbanization patterns. Through a case study of the rise of Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines' 2016 elections, we show how our theoretical argument has unfolded in one of the most well-known cases of illiberal populism within the Global South. Even while waging unprecedented disinformation campaigns on social media, the political opportunity structure underlying Duterte's electoral victory in 2016 was fostered by the growth of rising yet insecure classes linked to the Philippines' services and platform economy, as well as the socio-spatial legacies of the country's experience of premature deindustrialization.

Towards Understanding Social Life in Southeast Asia through MoviExchange for a Cause—through SDGoals C Beyond

Amparo Adelina Umali III and Janette C. Yuvienco

University of the Philippines Diliman; National Taiwan University

This paper presents the results of a three-year collaborative action research on the principles and strategies of ensuring a quality education that includes all and arrives at an equitable and lifelong learning. It also delineates the elements and mechanics of MoviEXchange for a Cause—SDGoals C Beyond, the methodological framework that defines the context of teaching and learning among participating transnationals, specifically from the Philippines and Taiwan, while it specifies the relevant research design of collecting and analyzing data. Most importantly, it offers methods, tools and resources of education that are geared toward the individual person within service learning.



DAY TWO

Parallel Sessions 4

CONFRONTING MARGINALITY: REFLECTIONS AND LESSONS FROM THE FIELD

CHAIR

Karl Hapal

University of the Philippines Diliman

Assessing the Role of the Philippine Middle Class as Guardians of Democracy: An Empirical Analysis

John Erwin S. Bañez and Karl Hapal

University of the Philippines Diliman

The middle class has been regarded as a democratizing force and as the backbone of development. A cursory examination of Philippine history suggests that they are, as evidenced by their leadership in major democratic insurrections such as the EDSA 1 and EDSA 2, or their participation in various formations within civil society. This presentation interrogates this assumption by looking into the purported democratic values of the middle class using the World Values Survey. By using the World Values Survey, this presentation shows the different iterations of democracy, rather than showing that one class is more democratic than the others. Seen this way, the presentation is able to show points of convergence or inflection points between and among classes. Borrowing from Wataru Kusaka (2017), examining these contact zones may provide some insight to opportunities for deepening democracy in the Philippines. Conversely, areas of divergence can shed light on the ongoing challenges facing the country's democratic future.

Just Energy Transition for Whom?

Lisa Victoria N. Rosel

University of the Philippines Diliman

In 2021, the Philippines submitted its Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) in accordance with the Paris Agreement, committing to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 75% from 2020–2030. The calls for a just energy transition from civil society have been building up alongside the campaign for climate justice for the past decade. Recent developments such as the NDC further highlight the country's plans for transitioning to clean energy. This presentation examines the existing discourse on just energy transition in the country and identifies key actors, energy related issues, and proposed solutions. While a just energy transition agenda for the country is important, this presentation also wants to emphasize efforts of grassroots communities in terms of participating in the just energy transition discourse. Specifically, the presentation looks into the experience of *Aniban Para sa Lehitimong Paninirahan Ligtas sa Sakuna* (ALPAS), an organization of informal settler households who fought for socialized housing and opted for the solarization of their homes. Their stories bring into light how accessing renewable energy in the country turns out to be more expensive for poor households, more burdensome for women, and seems to transfer the burden of just energy transition to households and grassroots communities.

Deepening the Divide: The Marginalization of Non-Moro IPs in BARMM and its Implications in Philippine State Formation

Jennie Lyn C. Reyes

University of the Philippines Diliman

This study looks at the marginalization of the Teduray, one of the 18 major non-Islamic Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples (ICCs/IPs) in Mindanao, at the crossroads of the Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) and the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA), two watershed legislations that aim to address the rights and self determination of ICCs/IPs in the Philippines. It seeks to uncover the invaluable contributions of indigenous peoples to the rich tapestry of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region and the nation as a whole, despite

the historical, political, and cultural narratives that have perpetuated their cycle of marginalization further in the periphery. Through an exploration of historical and contemporary political economy, key legal frameworks, and the role of identity where it competes, overlaps, or coexists, this research aims to shed light on the opportunities for and evolving challenges that hinder the empowerment and inclusion of non-Moro indigenous communities in the process of state-formation in the Philippines.

Unpacking the complexities of resilience-building in compounded emergencies

Ivy Marian P. Panganiban

University of the Philippines Diliman

Humanitarian emergencies have been on the rise in both frequency and severity over the past decade. In 2022 alone, the Philippines experienced a cascade of emergencies, including destructive typhoons, volcanic unrest, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake, protracted armed conflicts in Mindanao, as well as the persistent challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic and deteriorating economic conditions. This study examines the key components of building resilient communities, particularly in the context of the compounding emergencies faced by local communities, humanitarian organizations, and development actors in the Philippines. By juxtaposing the realities on the ground with development agenda, interventions and policies, the aim is to shed light on power dynamics and inequalities that exacerbate the vulnerability of households in disaster affected communities. This study further interrogates ironies in how local leadership, community organizing and building networks of support are being operationalized.

DECOLONIZING SCIENCE

CHAIR

Maria Dulce Natividad

University of the Philippines Diliman

Bahatol, Alexander Dalrymple, and the Natural Curiosities of Sooloo (1770)

Anna Melinda Testa-De Ocampo

University of the Philippines Diliman

The role of the native informant in the European travel account is often overlooked in the archives. Published travel accounts are usually studied and analyzed from the European point of view in the context of trade and empire. This study attempts to recreate the world of Bahatol, the native Sulu pilot who assisted Dalrymple in the mapping of the Sulu archipelago. His advice on navigation, cartography, and on the flora and fauna of the region was a significant contribution to Dalrymple's work. Using the decolonial framework of Walter Mignolo and Farish Noor, I argue that the contribution of the indigenous intermediary to Western knowledge should be recognized, since the information given by the Sulu pilot was incorporated in the works and maps of Dalrymple. Dalrymple's texts would include, *An Historical Collection of Several Voyages in the South Pacific Ocean* (1770) and *Essay, towards an account of Sooloo in Oriental Repertory* (written 1763, published 1808). Reading these texts from a decolonial standpoint alters the perspective of the empire and recognizes the agency of both parties in the encounter.

Microbial Doctrines: Filipino Medical Scientists and Germ Theories of Disease in the Late Nineteenth-Century Philippines

Vincent Bernabe

University of the Philippines Diliman

The emergence of germ theories of disease in the late nineteenth century has been customarily venerated as a paradigm-changing development in medical science. The West is typically invoked as the principal producer and transmitter of these theories, which it subsequently introduced in colonial

settings in a classic metropole-periphery fashion. Histories of science and medicine in Southeast Asia have long echoed such narratives and perspectives, yet few have actually examined how Southeast Asian physicians and scientists themselves engaged with novel disease causation theories. This paper examines the medical treatises on malaria, a disease that became a subject of much scientific debate, written by three Filipino medical scientists: Bartolomé Lacson (1853–d. unknown), Manuel Santa María (1868–1898), and Antonio Luna (1866–1899). It argues that these Filipinos, educated and trained in Europe, critically engaged with the prevailing debates and discoveries on malaria etiology and renegotiated them within existing views on the Philippine disease environment, thus combining old and new paradigms. While they acknowledged the scientific force and validity of germ theories, they did not readily embrace the prescriptions of European medical authors. Far from mere recipients of Western scientific knowledge, Lacson, Santa María, and Luna advanced their own theories and explanations based on their observations as inhabitants of and medical practitioners in the Philippines. Their medical treatises reveal that engagement with germ theories was not so much an extolment of Western medical science, but a testament to Filipino intellectuals' pioneering global participation in scientific knowledge production and exchange.

Corals felt and known: how Singaporeans story corals – and corals story Singapore

Jing Ying Yeo

Yale-NUS College

Southeast Asia is home to the coral triangle, an arbitrary geographical area where diverse coral reefs can be found abundantly. A wealth of vernacular knowledge on corals are passed down from generation to generation within and amongst Southeast Asian indigenous coastal communities. Yet, not only have corals and their entangled communities been literally and/or figuratively erased since imperialism/colonialism, but much knowledge on corals has been claimed by colonial scientists, and their legacy continues in the form of the dominant Western sciences. De-centering the dominant Western scientific narrative on corals, this work shines the spotlight on local scientists in Singapore (who may or may not call themselves scientists), who have historically had and/or presently have their lives entangled with corals. I look to stories from descendants of indigenous communities who

are reclaiming these knowledge and ways of being from their ancestors. On top of indigenous stories, vernacular coral stories have emerged from non-indigenous locals who have founded their own epistemologies and knowledge in their engagement with corals. In addition, looking to the corals themselves as agents of their own stories about Singapore, this paper explores how storying is not only a two-way street, but an emergent effort. These stories will be presented and synthesized through an autoethnographic account that illuminates the ontological and epistemological implications of these stories as a form of oceanic knowledge.

Framing the 'Orient': Austin Craig's Philippine History and Oriental Studies, 1914–1933

Kerby Alvarez

University of the Philippines Diliman

During their conquest of the Philippine archipelago in the early 20th century, the Americans implemented a plethora of colonial projects on vital social structures to suit their larger global imperial goals. In the field of imperial knowledge production, they introduced the colonial narrative and projected a new framework on the Philippine past as a necessity for colonial administration. In this endeavor, American scholars played a vital role in producing and determining trajectories in the study of Philippine history. One of these scholars was Austin C. Craig (1872–1949), who is considered one of the pioneer American scholars on Jose Rizal in the early 20th century. This paper presents a historiographical analysis of Austin C. Craig's works on Philippine and Oriental history. It presents Craig's views on Philippine history, and how it can be integrated into the larger context of Oriental studies. Through his sojourns abroad in search of materials on Philippine history using non-Spanish and Asian sources, Craig attempted to establish what he thought should be clearly emphasized as the archipelago's association with the larger Asian region—the Malay connection. As an American historian who had a deep fascination and inclination towards the study of Jose Rizal's life and works, pre-colonial/pre-Hispanic Philippine history, and Asian/Oriental cultures and civilizations, Craig introduced a form of Western scholarship in promoting an imperial re-orientation of Philippine history already dominated by colonial interpretation and understanding. His works also posed a form of nationalist history, grounded on his critique of the prevailing Spanish colonial perspective of the period.

Decoloniality in history-writing: Renato Constantino, Syed Hussein Alatas and their Philosophies of History

Francisco Jayme Paolo Guiang

University of the Philippines Diliman and The Chinese University of Hong Kong

This presentation interrogates the philosophies of history of Renato Constantino and Syed Hussein Alatas, two important Southeast Asian intellectuals who advocated decolonization in postwar Southeast Asia. Alatas (2000, 29), a Malaysian sociologist, argues that ‘instead of selecting different themes ourselves, that is, using our knowledge of historiography to select new topics that are relevant to the region, we persist in imitating the themes and methods of European scholars.’ Here, he foregrounds how the coloniality of knowledge continues to pervade the various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Constantino (1975, 8), a Filipino Marxist historian, holds a similar view when he declared that rewriting Philippine history should involve the task of liberating readers from a colonial historiography. For him, history-writing became a tool that engendered a colonial consciousness among Filipinos in the postwar years. Both Constantino and Alatas have written extensively on the state of history-writing in their respective contexts. Their ideas provided important insights about the dominance of Western intellectual paradigms in the postwar years vis-à-vis the production of historical narratives in countries that were subsumed under Western imperialism. In relation to this, this presentation aims to answer the following questions: How did Constantino and Alatas assess history-writing in the context of the postcolonial world? In what respects were their philosophies of history similar and different? How did their ideas on history underscore the decolonization of knowledge and identities?

ECONOMIC HISTORY

CHAIR

Francisco Jayme Paolo Guiang

University of the Philippines Diliman

Jostling for right of way: Hawker Labor, Politics, and Discourse in Malaysia, 1957–69

Kar Yern Chin

Asia School of Business

This paper investigates the social, economic, and political developments of hawking in Malaysia during the first decade of independence. In this period, postwar economic insecurities led to the proliferation of hawkers who sought alternate ways to earn a living. By following news coverage of Malay widows and divorcees who turned to hawking to survive, I examine the contingent, gendered, and egalitarian qualities of hawking as labor that led to its widespread appeal among precarious people. Relying on hawker licensing records, I then explore the ways in which the postcolonial state apparatus comprehended, rationalized, and regulated the hawker influx, in effect reifying hawking as a form of work. The parameters of licensing shaped street policing, subjecting hawkers to fines, incarceration, and abuse. Seeking to contest such spatial and legal control over public spaces, hawkers organized, protested, and established dialogue with city and town councils, impelling the state to consider ways to better reconcile with and incorporate hawking in rural and urban planning. The ‘hawker problem’ became a topic of concern as public conversations, cultural artifacts, and political debates interrogated forms of discrimination, precarity, and struggle inherent in hawker livelihoods. With a new imperative of including hawkers in public spaces, interactions between local governance and hawkers elaborated new legal, spatial, and political dimensions to legitimize hawking as a form of work. Local administrations across the peninsula deployed infrastructure to create hawking spaces while continuing to enforce matters of traffic, sanitation, and health, influencing the logic of post-independence city planning and regulation.

Emerging Rural Entrepreneurship in Thung Kula Rong Hai District: A Case Study of Agricultural Machinery Business Since the Late 1970s

Thithiya Laoan

Chiang Mai University

Thung Kula Rong Hai District, a dry region in five provinces in Northeastern Thailand, has long been known as one of the poorest areas in the country. However, this static perception of the district's socioeconomic landscape fails to capture the dynamic transformations that have unfolded over the past few decades. This presentation aims to study the socioeconomic changes that have reshaped the district since the late 1970s, highlighting the remarkable transition from traditional agricultural farmers to an entrepreneurial ecosystem. To generate more income from both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, residents chose to become owners of agricultural machinery. The rise of agricultural machinery ownership has not only enhanced individual livelihoods but also fostered the emergence of interconnected entrepreneurial networks. These networks extend beyond the agricultural sector, encompassing a diverse range of businesses, including heavy equipment contractors, trailer truck operators, auto repair shops, and agricultural equipment stores. Beyond the business aspect, the presentation also examines the formation of the new structure of feeling, reflecting the evolving consciousness and alignment with the emerging economy. By scrutinizing these socioeconomic transformations, the study aims to provide valuable insights into rural development policies that can enhance rural lives more effectively and equitably.

Local Market Creation in Southeast Asia: Resilience Gresik Local Mining Entrepreneurs in the 20th Century

Levi Cahyani

Universitas Indonesia

This article discusses the creation of local markets in Southeast Asia that have led to changes in the socioeconomic life of the region. Local market relates to the trade of limestone commodities in Gresik Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. The creation of local markets was initially linked to the 'Green Revolution' paradigm of the 1940s and internalized by the policies

of the Indonesian government under President Soeharto. The impact of this belief was huge for the supply and demand in the local market. Things that were not connected to the government in market creation outside the national strategy were taken over by local entrepreneurs, thus affecting economic movement in Gresik. As a result, new livelihoods emerged and it was not uncommon for the agricultural sector to be gradually abandoned. Over time, the local market network expanded with the demand for lime commodities making major socio-economic changes in the community in Gresik that modernized its lifestyle and work system in the 20th century. The method used in this study is the historical method and the sources used are interviews, contemporaneous newspapers, and related literature.

SOCIAL RESPONSES TO ECOLOGICAL CRISIS

CHAIR

Anna Melinda Testa-De Ocampo

University of the Philippines Diliman

Beyond the core: How Southeast Asia matters in low-carbon transitions

Julie de los Reyes

Kyoto University

Realising a low-carbon energy system will require a fundamental shift in the socio-spatial and socio-material bases of the global economy. While a now large body of literature on low carbon transitions has contributed to this area of work, future research could benefit from a stronger engagement with geographies outside of a few advanced economies in Europe and the United States which, to date, largely inform current understandings of energy transition. In this presentation, I draw attention to limitations and gaps in knowledge that emanate from this spatial bias through examples from the Southeast Asian region. I focus in particular on two strands of work, the material economy of renewable sources and transition finance, to highlight the urgent need for research on non-Western, non-traditional market economies and the new resource periphery. Research on energy transitions, I argue, will be better equipped to draw out the socio-spatial differentiations

and uneven forms of development that result from the transition process through an expanded geographical reach.

Centering The Margin: Rational Egoism Practice as Respond to The Industrial Agriculture Fallacy

Noorhidayah

UIN Sunan Kalijaga

This article analyzes the coping mechanism of rational egoism in response to the climate change and environmental crisis caused by the industrial agricultural project, Food Estate Indonesia. Over three years, the project transformed two thousand hectares of peatlands and forest into rice fields, disrupting the social-ecological balance and leading to flash floods, mass pest infestation, and changes in the mode of production. This study employs ethnographic fieldwork in the A1 zone of the Food Estate in Indonesia to investigate the existence of rational egoist practices. The paper employs a critical reflection approach and free will agency to answer how and why this coping mechanism played a pivotal role in the discursive process associated with the inhabited space when farmers faced crises in the rural A1 zone of the food estate. I argue that rational egoism exists when rural livelihood is scarce because of the uncertain situation during a crisis. The absence of supplementary resources has resulted in practices reflecting rational egoism, such as crony capitalism between local government and companies, the politicization of religious norms for the legalization of participation in food estate exploitation, the monopolization of government aid by particular local political groups, the domestication of women in rice field spaces, and the mass exodus of men to work as palm oil laborers in nearby villages. Consequently, even though all of these seem to contradict social-religious values, it is the only way people can survive when physical and psychological panic occurs.

Re-constitutionalizing the Right to Climate Change as Fundamental Rights in the Indonesian Constitution (Comparative Study of the Constitutions of Southeast Asia Countries)

Tria Novlantika, Muhammad RM Fayasy Failaq, and Ahmad Yani

University of Gadjah Mada

The impacts of climate change have increased significantly along with the recognition of the injustices inherent in global warming. Constitutional climate provisions through explicit clauses can be a driver in articulating climate considerations and principles in more implementable legislative and policy settings. Thailand's and Vietnam's constitutions exemplify how this has been implemented in two Southeast Asian countries. This socio-legal research aims to identify problems to find an ideal solution to the climate emergency through conceptual, statutory, and comparative approaches in Southeast Asia countries. The orientation of this article is to reflect on ideas and considerations that specifically elevate climate change from a subject of legislation and public policy to a subject of constitutional importance in Indonesia by not only relying on including rights in the Constitution but by ensuring, encouraging, and promoting action and climate justice as fundamental constitutional objectives.

POLITICAL NARRATIVES AND POWER

CHAIR

Ma. Victoria R. Raquiza

University of the Philippines Diliman

Populism, Historical Legacies, and Performativity of Police Work in Wars on Drugs: The Cases of Indonesia and the Philippines

Kevin Nielsen Agojo

City University of Hong Kong

In Southeast Asia, Rodrigo Duterte (Philippines) and Joko Widodo (Indonesia) launched intensive campaigns against illegal drugs during their respective

presidencies. Defenders and critics debate the effectiveness (or lack thereof) of these campaigns. A closer look, however, may lead one to infer that these state-sanctioned operations were deliberately enforced to produce outcomes beyond the curbing of the use and trade of illegal drugs. It is thus the objective of this paper to address the following puzzle: how, and more importantly, why are anti-drug operations enforced within challenged democracies, specifically those ruled by populist regimes? Through a historical institutionalist lens, it is argued that the performativity (in addition to the authentic outcomes) of police work has been an essential (albeit contentious) factor in building not only populist narratives but also an image of a state that is firm in instituting public order. Reforming the largely punitive anti-drug strategies may be an uphill battle given the historical roots and political significance of police powers in both the Philippines and Indonesia. By unpacking the intersecting roles of populism, historical legacies, and performativity of police work in contemporary drug wars, the paper seeks to contribute to the literature on police violence and reforms which, especially in the West, generally center on defunding the police and enacting alternative drug policies.

Disinformation in Southeast Asia: A Story from the 2024 Indonesia Election by Looking the International Dimension

Yusnan Hadi Mochtar

Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Kalimantan Timur

Southeast Asia is prone to disinformation during elections. A previous study revealed that it was committed by users endorsed by political parties in Indonesia and Malaysia. While this might be relevant, we need an alternative understanding of its complexity where domestic and international dimensions are sometimes associated. This research contributes to this perspective by presenting a case study from Indonesia. It is worth noting the international dimension implicated in previous elections such as the alleged cooperation between the Communist Party of Indonesia and China in support of Joko Widodo's 2019 electoral campaign. Analysts claimed that populist Islamic groups were behind this disinformation campaign. Considering this case, it is interesting to explore to what extent the international dimension has been exploited to spread disinformation related to identity politics in the 2024 election. Data was collected from public discussions, journals, books, reports, and news for qualitative analysis. This article is divided into three sections. First, it elucidates the understanding of the public on international

issues and the extent this was used for spreading disinformation in previous elections. Second, this article identifies the trends, drivers, and indicators of disinformation from multifaceted aspects such as social, political, economic, and technological development. The last section offers policy recommendations from multiple perspectives in countering disinformation. It concludes that the international dimension related to identity politics has been exploited for disinformation purposes in Indonesia's 2024 election that challenges the country's democracy.

Rethinking 'democratic peace': The formation and persistence of political violence in post-authoritarian Philippines

Danilo Reyes

City University of Hong Kong

This article explores the violent nature of democratic politics in the context of democratization. Focusing on Philippine democratization since the end of the Ferdinand E. Marcos, Sr., dictatorship in 1986, this paper challenges claims by scholars of democratic peace which postulate democracy and democratic procedures as equal to peace, and a desirable alternative to the peaceful settlement of political conflict. This paper argues that after nearly four decades of democratic reforms in the Philippines, the country's experiences show that democratization could also trigger outbreaks of political violence and even lead to its persistence. As democratic reforms opened up the arena for political contestation, the process has enabled the resurgence of the old forms of political violence, violence against leftist activists as well as by warlords against their opponents, as well as the rise of new types of political violence—the killings of drug users and dealers for political gain. Citing data involving cases of political violence the author has collected from 1986 to 2021, his work has concluded that political violence persists as violence becomes integral to Philippine democratic politics. The cycle of electoral violence persists as competition in the polls becomes multiparty and highly competitive, attacks on leftist political parties also persist as they continue to challenge elitist politics and the status quo as elected representatives, and competition over access to power and resources at the local level escalates as local leaders benefit from decentralization.

NORMS AND VALUES

CHAIR

Aries Arugay

University of the Philippines Diliman

A History of International Thought of ‘The Singapore School’: Civilizationism, Realism, and the Crisis of the Liberal International Order

Quah Say Jye

University of Cambridge

Southeast Asia’s place within the evolving world order is uncertain, but scholars have neglected looking towards the history of international thought for resources on how to navigate the current juncture. Adopting methods within the history of political thought, this paper maps the trajectory of the Singapore School of international politics, which was first identified in the 1990s as part of the Asian Values debate. Led by founding Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, a group of articulate diplomats and politicians assumed the role of public intellectuals, collectively critiquing the universalism of liberal political arrangements. Yet, after the death of Lee in 2015, the still prominent figures have been engaged in testy public spats, especially over differing visions of China. Two broad strands within Singaporean international thought can be discerned in their writings—civilizationalism and realism. The former emphasizes the *longue durée* of world history, highlighting cultures and traditions deeply embedded within pre-colonial civilizational practices. The latter takes a clinical approach to world politics, exhibiting hard-headed analyses of power, zeroing in most clearly on the shape of elite politics. While both were effectively synthesized in the immediate post-Cold War period, the emerging context has seen them diverge, pulling Singaporean politics in different directions. This cartography of the contemporary history of international thought in Singapore provides glimpses into the contradictions embodied by Southeast Asian states, showing *inter alia* how they move between civilizational and realist lenses, precipitating vastly different diagnoses of how international diplomacy should be conducted.

Authoritarianism or ‘Political Entrenchment’? Understanding the Effect of U.S.-China Rivalry on Asians’ Political Preferences

Matteo Piasentini

University of the Philippines Diliman

Under what conditions do foreign relations influence domestic politics at the level of citizens? In particular, do threatening activities by powerful states induce citizens to prefer authoritarian regimes? In recent years, the world has been witness to democratic backsliding as a political reality—Asia is no exception. The region is currently also facing increased geopolitical tensions caused by an intensifying U.S.-China rivalry. In conventional political science and international relations literature, external threats, the prospect of war, and security concerns have all been known to drive domestic governments to shun democratic ideals. Most Asian states, however, diverge from this pattern, exhibiting authoritarian predilections while having a positive attitude toward China. To explain the puzzle, this paper attempts to advance a better conceptualization of the nature of these threats and argues that security threats from great powers only pose a ‘normative’ threat to individuals, not an actual threat as conventional literature construes. Being normative, these threats create a political entrenchment effect in one’s preexisting political preferences and not necessarily an authoritarian backslide. On the other hand, personal or actual threats such as the loss of economic security are the ones correlated with a shift to authoritarianism even among people with liberal orientations. The paper draws from an analysis of the three waves of the Asia Barometer Survey to support its conjectures.

Education as Soft Power Resource in the Philippines: A Comparative Study of the American Corners and Confucius Institutes as Tools in Cultural Diplomacy

Allexandra Dasmariñas, Ariel Joseph Dela Cruz, Alfred Aikman Nagallo, Justin Asher A. Amigable, and Herlejhean Michelle Uy

West Visayas State University

In recent years, there has been a growing friction between the United States (US) and China. These rival powers have made Southeast Asia (SEA) an arena

for their long-standing competition, evident in their competing stances and approaches on a number of issues within and outside the region. The competition similarly extends to attracting and consolidating positive views from SEA towards their respective actions. For years, attraction has become a keyword in diplomatic interactions between nations and peoples around the world through Joseph Nye's formulation of soft power. As observed, SEA states have made significant policies toward increasing the attractiveness of their nations for various ends, including investment. Primarily, attractiveness in the international arena is significantly influenced by education. Educational institutions emerged as an important factor to facilitate the goals of cultural diplomacy. Additionally, education is believed to be a pivotal catalyst of a state's prosperity, rendering education a potent conduit for the expansion of soft power. Hence, this paper explores how education, through the American Corners (AmCor) and the Confucius Institutes (CIs), is utilized as soft power resources by the US and China to increase attractiveness and advance their cultural diplomacy. Specifically, this paper is directed towards (1) examining the strategic advantage of the presence of AmCor and CIs in various locations in the Philippines, (2) comparing the impact of these institutions as tools for expanding education as a soft power resource, and (3) assessing the Sino-US' cultural diplomacy attractiveness using education as a soft power resource.

How Does Personalized Foreign Policy Reinforce Illiberal Practices? Philippine Law Enforcement Cooperation with China under Duterte

Lin, Pu, and Kevin Nielsen Agojo

Kirin; Tulane University; City University of Hong Kong

What is the relationship between personalized foreign policy and populist governance? How do populist leaders misappropriate the state's foreign policy to conform to their popular but contentious domestic practices? Philippine foreign relations and civil society experienced drastic changes during Rodrigo Duterte's presidency (2016–2022) due to his diplomatic attitude towards China and populist governance domestically. Against the backdrop of closer ties to China under Duterte's personalized foreign policy, the Philippine government sent members of the Philippine National Police (PNP) to China to participate in police training workshops. This paper aims to use the law enforcement cooperation between China and the Philippines as a case study to examine

how personalized foreign policy shaped the contours of domestic affairs, specifically during Duterte's violent populist regime. Drawing from rigorous fieldwork in the Philippines, it is argued that both external and domestic factors drove the Duterte regime's acceptance of Chinese police training. On one hand, China has been expanding the influence of its security power regionally by strengthening its law enforcement cooperation with Southeast Asian countries. On the other hand, Chinese police training has not only enhanced the PNP's organizational capabilities but also its performative policing strategies, both of which have been crucial in the enactment of the state-sanctioned war on illegal drugs. The research findings suggest that foreign relations and international cooperation can be purposely steered by populist leaders to reinforce their popular but illiberal practices domestically.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND GOVERNANCE

CHAIR

Teresa Encarnacion Tadem

Independent Researcher

Politicians on Trial: Re-constructing Judicial Legitimacy in Malaysia (2018–2023)

Amalina Yasmin Mohd Sokri

Australian National University

In the wake of Malaysia's political transition in 2018, this study examines the critical task of rebuilding judicial legitimacy within the context of Malaysia's evolving political landscape. Focusing on the field of judicial politics, the study delves into the multifaceted roles played by the judiciary's independence from political influences. Their roles are pivotal in reaffirming the judiciary's role as a recognized bastion of impartiality and guardian of the rule of law. As Asia charts its course towards an uncertain future, the Malaysian experience provides a compelling case study on how judiciaries can adapt and thrive amidst transformative political shifts. The findings have broader implications for the region, offering a roadmap for countries facing similar transitions, and emphasizing the pivotal role of the judiciary in shaping the political trajectories of emerging Asian democracies.

Ethnic, Economic Inequality and Regime Support in Southeast Asia

Hong Da Siau

National Taiwan University

Existing literature indicates a negative relationship between economic inequality and support for any current regime, democratic or otherwise. Cross-national studies have also been done analyzing the relationship of between-group and within-group inequality to supportiveness for existing regimes. However, there is still limited discussion regarding the perception of ethnic inequality. There is even less emphasis on evaluating which type of inequality (ethnic or economic) is more important. This study attempts to analyze both types of inequality, utilizing data from the fourth and fifth wave of the Asian Barometer Survey in Malaysia. Preliminary findings suggest that although both class and ethnic inequalities coexist in Malaysia, there is a stronger association between ethnic differences and regime support. This study also further examines the mediators between ethnic differences and regime support. The results indicate that the indigenous group (bumiputera), as compared to non-indigenous groups, are more likely to believe that the government treats all ethnic groups equally. The former also tend to hold more generally authoritarian values, consequently providing more support for the current regime. Perceptions of distributive unfairness are negatively correlated with regime support, but no mediation effect was observed. Surprisingly, indigenous groups are less likely to consider the task of narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor as the government's responsibility, but this is unrelated to regime support.

Reducing LGBTQ+ Inequalities in Southeast Asia: Exploring SOGIE-Related Anti-Discrimination Policy Making in the ASEAN Region

Matthew Manuelito Miranda

University of the Philippines Diliman

Prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination continue to challenge the achievement of intersectional respect among different socio-political identities. An often invisible example of intersecting human identities pertains to people's sexual orientation, gender identity and expression

(SOGIE). Experiences of harassment, ridicule, and stigma among lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) individuals contextualize discrimination against one's SOGIE and the continuous need to establish anti-discrimination policies to protect this marginalized sector. Considering the diverse values and politics in the ASEAN region, this study hopes to learn from a multitude of theoretical approaches derived from legislative perspectives about SOGIE-related anti-discrimination policy-making among ASEAN states. This study aims to compare selected legislative initiatives and/or enacted policies in states within the ASEAN region that concerns LGBTQ+ persons or communities. Methodologically, this research applies a socio-constructivist framework to comparatively analyze the commonalities and differences of how different ASEAN states approach and/or develop SOGIE-related anti-discrimination policies and initiatives. Particularly, the use of directed content analysis seeks to frame whether or not anti-discrimination policy-making in different ASEAN countries are developed at a top-down, bottom-up, or even multi-level governance level/s. In the end, exploratory research seeks to articulate possible regional insights on how SOGIE-related policies and initiatives in the ASEAN region may support the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) on reducing inequalities within and among countries to include LGBTQ+ inclusivity into the protection of diverse human rights.

The COVID-19 Pandemic's Impact on Philippine Civil Society

Hansley Juliano

Ateneo de Manila University

In what ways has the COVID-19 pandemic impacted upon the operations of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Philippines? To what extent are these issues (a) specifically caused by the pandemic; or (b) already long standing even before the current crises? The current presentation is an exploratory attempt at analyzing the internal management of civil society/non-government organizations under pandemic conditions. Interviews were conducted with various types of organizations (i.e., labor-oriented, rural-sector oriented, church-based, and think-tanks). I demonstrate that these organizations were experiencing organizational issues even prior to the pandemic—mostly in seeking additional non-state and public support. These issues coincided with the dramatic shift in civil society-government relations under the Aquino and Duterte administrations. Instead of assuming that loss

of resources always causes difficulty in operational shifts, I argue that CSOs tend to grow stronger in a pandemic/crisis situation if they are among the few remaining potential lifelines of their constituents. I also highlight that advocating for larger constituencies (especially if they are already politically marginalized or persecuted) can intensify pandemic-related organizational setbacks. These can point to larger resiliency issues faced by CSOs in the Philippines and worldwide—especially as the new normal in the Philippines proceeds under the second Marcos administration.



DAY TWO

Parallel Session 5

PART A: RETHINKING AND DECENTERING TRADE, EXCHANGE AND ENGAGEMENT IN ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

CHAIR

Lynette Russell

Monash University

The Most Eastern Arm of the Spice Trade: Rethinking the Role of Marege, and Extent of Pre-European Trade

Lynette Russell

Monash University

This paper responds to the demand for new histories that transcend national boundaries and highlight cross-scale migrations and connections. However, in doing so, the history of European empires has been occasionally overemphasized in the field. This paper will, using a decolonial methodology, prioritize the autonomy of indigenous and other non-European participants in the dynamic, intercultural trade and exchange in Southeast Asia, taking in Northern Australia and Indonesia. Drawing inspiration from blue histories, this study will examine interconnections across oceanic regions, and decenter our current understandings. Australia has always been an island or rather it is a water bound continent. The indigenous inhabitants are often assumed to have been isolated from the rest of the world. However, Australia was never completely shut off from the outside world; there is evidence of regular interactions with the inhabitants of New Guinea across the Torres Strait, infrequent meetings with Dutch mariners along the western and northern shores, and the sustained long-term engagement with Makassan traders across Northern Australia. In this paper I will explore the way we might reinterpret Southeast Asian trade from at least the 1600s considering the timing, meaning, nature, and consequences of Northern Australian cross-cultural encounters with Island Southeast Asia.

Championing Local Narratives in Spice Route Research

Lilis Mulyani and Widya Safitri

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Indonesian maritime spice routes existed even before the Europeans competed to search for spice sources. In an attempt to revitalize and reconnect this historical route in the contemporary setting, research and knowledge of the routes emerged as a new wave of scholarly movement. This movement is part of a scholarly and cultural diplomatic movement to nominate the spice route as a world heritage. This scholarly movement enriches, sometimes opposes, Western stories—written by those of the Dutch or other Western officials and historians' writings—to local narratives. These narratives record cultural and trading exchanges, knowledge transfer, and sometimes frictions aside from peaceful interactions. We focus on alternate narratives as stories detailing the experiences and perspectives of historically oppressed, excluded, or silenced, thus unrecorded. This paper will analyze works of literature on spice routes focusing on socio-cultural encounters between communities in the Southeast Asian maritime spice route as part of an effort towards decentering knowledge on spice routes with local communities as the leading players (subjects), not as victims or objects.

Adrian Lopian, South Sulawesi and Trepang Fishing History: An Intellectual Travelogue

Priyambudi Sulistiyanto

Monash University

This paper will reflect upon the works of the late Adrian Lopian, a respected scholar in the field of Indonesian maritime history. In his pioneering books (2001; 2008) *Sea People, Sea Raiders, Sea Lords*, he argued, eloquently and powerfully, about the importance of pursuing a Southeast Asian maritime view in this field. Particularly, recognising those who lived and sailed across the archipelagic region, frequently known as people without history, as the center of our intellectual considerations. In spite of all of this, Lopian neither elaborated upon nor examined deeply, the hugely significant trepang fishing maritime history that connects the Macassan sailors from South Sulawesi, with the First Nations peoples in Northern Australia. In the spirit of continuing Lopian's intellectual legacies, I will fill this gap in understanding

the Macassan-Marege trepang fishing history, through a personal travelog lens. The ultimate goal of this presentation is to call for a multi-disciplinary approach in addressing the lack of local knowledge on this important subject among Southeast Asian scholars. My hope is for us to pursue and strengthen a Southeast Asian perspective thereby deepening research cooperation and cross-cultural engagement among both young and established scholars in the field of trepang fishing history.

Contemporary Dynamics of Indonesian Spice Routes: Salted Fish Interactions between Belitung and Java Islands

Uus Faizal Firdausy

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

This research explore how the trade of salted fish has influenced maritime routes and interactions among distant social groups, resembling historical spice trade patterns in Indonesia. Salted fish, a traditional food staple made by salting and drying fish, has served both as a dietary necessity and traded commodity for centuries. Using a qualitative phenomenological approach, this study investigates the experiences of salted fish producers in Belitung and traders in Jakarta, Rangkas Bitung, and Bogor. The research uncovers a trade history tracing back to 1970s, initially routed through Sunda Kelapa Port in Jakarta. Over time, producers in Belitung established direct trade connections with local wholesalers, bypassing traditional middlemen. However, disruptions arose within Belitung's producer community as their successful trade chain shortening prompted previous buyers to create their own fishing fleets and compete with Belitung's dried salted fish producer fleet. This study sheds light on the complex role of salted fish in trade dynamics, emphasizing its influence on maritime routes and the disruptions caused by establishing direct trade links between producers and local wholesalers.

POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF CLIMATE CHANGE

CHAIR

Henelito Sevilla, Jr.

University of the Philippines Diliman

Climate migration in South and Southeast Asia: Current state of knowledge, potential pitfalls, and ways to move forward

Mucahid Bayrak

National Taiwan Normal University

Climate migration is often presented in an environmentally deterministic manner, in which climate change is expected to directly trigger huge migration flows worldwide. At the same time, there is an increasing number of studies that present climate migration as an adaptation strategy to climate change. Climate change hotspots in South and Southeast Asia are often the focus of studies on climate migration. This study analyzed 147 studies from January 2015 until August 2020 on environmental and climate migration in the Greater Mekong Subregion and the Ganges-Brahmaputra Delta Region (India and Bangladesh)—which are both climate change hotspots—to determine to what extent the environmental migration as adaptation paradigm has gained a foothold in current scholarship. Results of this study suggest that most of the studies analyzed, which clearly defined the concept of environmental or climate migration, tend to remain rather environmentally deterministic. While 17 percent of the studies presented environmental migration as a form of adaptation, relevant discussions on the concepts of resilience, vulnerability, and adaptation were largely lacking. This is problematic as recent global studies on environmental and climate migration are increasingly adopting the adaptation paradigm. This study highlights why discussions on climate migration in the Asia-Pacific and beyond need to be more nuanced by not only looking into climate change related factors, but also structural determinants—such as political economy, power relations, and discourses on migration and climate change—and micro-level factors—such as personal desires and motivations—that co-shape human mobility patterns.

From Exposure to Conflict: Climate Change and Political Violence

Harun Talha Ayanoglu

National Chengchi University

Over the last decade, academic interest in the implications of climate change has been on the rise, and political violence was one of them. Since Ban-ki Moon has stated the role of climate change in conflicts in Sudan and Syria, climate-conflict relations have become a hot topic. Although correlation between climate change and political violence is evident, establishing strong causal links remains a complex task. Instead, based on historical and modern-day cases, this study proposes a three-pillar model to establish a relational pattern between the two; exposure and vulnerability to climate change, socio-economic and political fragility, and well-organized armed opposition. Countries with economic fragility, unstable socio-political dynamics, and lack of social cohesion tend to be more vulnerable to climate impacts. These effects spanning from limited access to basic needs to fiscal strain and disruptions in economic and political stability, uncover existing societal fault lines. As seen in the Arab Spring, a multi-year drought in the Eastern Mediterranean adversely affected food security and rapidly increased living costs, triggering civil unrest. In light of these, as one of the most climate-fragile regions, Southeast Asia is an important test bed for this three-pillar model. The Philippines is a particularly important case for this study with its acute exposure to climate change, socio-economic and political fragilities, and a longstanding history of conflict. A multidimensional approach employed in this study investigates the complicated nature of the nexus of climate change and political violence in the context of Southeast Asia and Philippines.

Polluting the Air to Feed the Animals in Thailand: Placing Food Production Systems within a Political Ecology of Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation

Danny Marks

Dublin City University

This study examines the vexed relationship between the animal feed industry, carbon emissions and climate change. It does this by focusing on the production of maize (corn), a staple component of livestock diets.

Maize ranks among the most lucrative cash crops in Southeast Asia's Mekong Subregion, but is a major source of transboundary air pollution owing to the burning of maize residues and the clearance of land by fire for cultivation. In Thailand, some of the world's biggest maize producers have been criticized by environmental NGOs and civil society organizations for their substantial role in deforestation and slash-and-burn farming techniques. These conglomerates connect supply chains across different sectors (e.g., agriculture, food processing and trade), raising difficult questions about how to hold big businesses that own the means of production accountable for their environmentally destructive behaviors. Drawing from interviews with diverse stakeholders in Thailand and secondary literature, the study adopts a political ecology approach to analyze how the animal feed industry can become better aligned with climate action agendas. After identifying the main obstacles to sustainably producing animal fodder in Thailand, we present climate-friendly alternatives that are emerging in this sector to reduce biomass burning and enhance human health and well-being. Notwithstanding the tremendous challenges involved in scaling up such examples of best practices, we posit that opportunities do exist to regulate the production of animal fodder within frameworks that support low-carbon transitions and national climate goals.

ISLAM AND IDENTITY POLITICS

CHAIR

Ariel Lopez

University of the Philippines Diliman

Lost in Translation: Evaluating the Ambonese Embassy to the United Provinces (1620–1631) between Success and Failure

In 1621, five children of kings and chieftains of the island of Ambon in the East Indies arrived in the United Provinces. They were sent to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to study Calvinist theology, so that in time they might spread the light of the gospel among their countrymen. But upon their return to Ambon after ten years in the Netherlands, all did not go the way it had been planned by the Company. The

embassy, and the project underwriting it, was dismissed as a failure by the Company; a judgment repeated in modern scholarship. Taking its cue from scholarship in history and religion, this paper critiques the failure of the Ambonese embassy by re-examining extant textual evidence. The breadth of this evidence demonstrates that such conclusions fail to consider Ambonese agency, and the breadth of European opinion concerning the embassy.

Religiosity and Tolerance in Indonesia: Comparing Gen Y and Gen Z

Rudy Alam, Mulyana, and Aji Sofanudin

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Since their appearance in the second half of the 1990s, scholars have been interested in comparing Generation Z to its predecessors, particularly the millennials or Gen Y. Previous research compared Gen Y and Gen Z in terms of consumer behavior, digital competencies and behavior, learning styles, and attitudes toward social and political issues. Studies comparing religiosity and religious tolerance in generations Y and Z are still rare. In this paper, we investigate the relationship between religiosity and tolerance among Indonesia's Gen Y and Gen Z, using data from the 2023 national survey on religious life, conducted by the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) Indonesia. Does religiosity have an inverse relationship with religious tolerance, as some scholars have discovered? Is there a similar relationship between Gen Y and Gen Z? What factors influence the relationship between religiosity and religious tolerance among both generations? These are some of the questions we address in this paper.

Muslim Resistance in Southeast Asia: The Case of Myanmar and Thailand

Breechie Zarina Agbayani

Central Mindanao University

Despite Southeast Asia being considered as the Muslim Archipelago, it is undeniable that some Southeast Asian countries like Myanmar and Thailand are yet to recognize the existence of the Muslim communities. Therefore, it becomes a problem to address the demand for basic rights and recognition of the Rohingya and Malay-Muslim within these countries. This paper sought

to assess the situations of the Rohingyas in Myanmar and the Malay-Muslims in Thailand. This paper will also assess the role of the Muslim minorities in the political spaces of their respective countries. Moreover, in determining the results of Muslim resistance, the paper looks into the measures made by the Burmese and Thai government in ensuring that the sentiments of the Muslim minorities are addressed or disregarded. This paper argues that there is a great threat to the political, economic, and social stability of the states if the Burmese and Thai government continue to mishandle the situation (Anagha 2016). Use of excessive force will increase the number of Muslim groups and other discriminated and oppressed ethnic groups which resist their own government.

Re-reading the Discourse on "Islamic Modernism" in Indonesia (Period of 1970–2010) in the Context of Responses to Modernity and Postcolonial Mentality

Media Bahri

State Islamic University (UIN) of Jakarta

This paper will study the forms of expression and articulation of Indonesian Islamic movements for the 1970–2010 period which focuses on ‘Islamic discourse’ as a response to modernity and the embedded postcolonial mentality. Several scattered studies show that Indonesian Muslims from the era of Dutch colonialism to the Reformasi period actually struggled intensely with the problems of modernity and the search for the authenticity of their Islamic identity. In the context of Indonesian Muslims’ struggle with modernity and the search for identity, as read with postcolonial theory, several terms that are still relevant emerge such as (1) adaptation and negotiation, (2) mimicry and *différance*, (3) hybridity and ambivalence, and (4) resistance (an attitude of rejecting anything that comes from Western modernity and secularism). The focus of this paper is on Islamic discourse within three modernist Muslim groups: (1) the liberal modernist model of Nurcholish Madjid and his group who campaigned for the renewal of Islamic thought; (2) modernist-conservative figures such as Hidajat Nataatmaja, Imaduddin Abdulrahim (ITB university), and AM Saefuddin (IPB university) who actively campaign for the Islamization of knowledge and return to the Quran and Sunnah; (3) the modernist-neorevivalist model of Hamid Fahmi Zarkasyi and his group at INSISTS who actively campaign for Islamization

of science, De Westernization, and the authentic of Islamic civilization. This paper will refer to colonial discourse theory and postcolonial mentality such as Homi K. Bhabha (1994), David Huddart (2006), Stephen Fay C Liam Haydon (2017), Ania Loomba (2000), Leela Gandhi (1998).

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION WITH SHORT FILM SCREENINGS “AN EXPERIMENT OF FLUID DIGITAL DATABASE MAKING: HISTORICAL FILMS OF THE PHILIPPINE OSAKA BAZAAR IN THE PHILIPPINE AND TRADE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA (1920s–1930s)”

CHAIR

Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes

University of Shizuoka

Speakers:

- Hiroshi Huzioka (Kyoto University)
- Jose Eleazar R. Bersales (University of San Carlos)
- Ricardo Trota Jose (University of the Philippines Diliman)

Osaka Boeki Kaisha (Osaka Bazaar) was a trading company that operated in the U.S. ruled Philippines in the first half of the 20th century. Owned and managed by the Matsui family from Ehime and Osaka, western Japan, the company ran several sizable general merchandise stores in the Philippines and played an essential role in the Philippine-Japan trade then.

The ongoing project conducts an interdisciplinary analysis of 51 historical silent home movies. Shot in the Philippines and elsewhere in the 1920s and 1930s, these films convey what the Philippines was like just before the rapid modernization from 1935 in terms of the landscape of Manila, Cebu, Davao, Baguio, and some other urban and rural areas, the presence of some thirty thousand civilian Japanese across the archipelago, and imported merchandise from Japan such as katol, soy sauce, and sardine cans. In so

doing, the project develops an innovative fluid database of the films, which connects relevant information (Google Map, PDF files of related studies, photographs of the Matsui family and others, sound samples, URLs of pertinent information, and keywords through tagging), as a virtual arena for community making for knowledge production.

The proposed panel conducts an experimental fluid digital database making, demonstrating the newly developed database system and screening four short films, shot in Manila, the Visayas, and Southeast Asia. Panel members narrate stories the films shall evoke. At the same time, the audience is also encouraged to freely express what may occur in their mind while watching the films.

LABOR MIGRATION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

CHAIR

Leonora Angeles

University of British Columbia

Labour Migration in ASEAN: Political, Social and Economic Perspectives

Jonathan Winterton and Matthew Haigh

Leeds University Business School; Ravensbourne University

This paper reports interim findings from a scoping study of political, social and economic aspects of labor migration within ASEAN, covering skilled and unskilled, documented and undocumented, migrant workers. The study will establish the parameters for a comprehensive research program involving a collaborative network in ASEAN countries. One of the challenges of the study is that the official data on labor migration are inconsistent and inaccurate, even for documented workers, so the scale of labor migration in the region is systematically underreported. Initial research suggests that almost three-quarters of labor migrants are undocumented and employed in low-skilled occupations. The underpinning financial transactions, including payments to facilitate migration and remittances to families, are less visible with

undocumented migrants. The research is focused on the two main migration corridors. The Mekong corridor involves labor migration from Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Vietnam into Thailand. The Malay corridor involves labor migration from Indonesia and the Philippines to Brunei, Malaysia, and Singapore, and from Malaysia to Brunei and Singapore. In the Malay corridor, our first study of Filipino migrant workers in Malaysia is being replicated with studies of Bangladeshi and Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. In the Mekong corridor, research collaborators have already conducted studies in Thailand with migrant workers from Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Myanmar. Through individual face-to-face interviews, we illuminate the lived experience of migrant workers, exploring why and how they migrated while identifying the facilitative roles of families, communities and agents.

Expanding Migration Infrastructure between Indonesia and Japan: Navigating the Dynamics of Labor Migration to a New Destination

Waode Hanifah Istiqomah

Hitotsubashi University

This study explores the impact of Japan's 2019 labor migration reform, specifically the Specified Skilled Worker (SSW) program, on the expanding migration infrastructure between Indonesia and Japan. The SSW program addressed the demand for medium-skilled labor in Japan's domestic labor market. While Japan is not entirely unfamiliar to Indonesian migrants, the number of Indonesian working in Japan is relatively limited compared to other destination countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Importantly, Indonesian migrants in Japan do not fall under the conventional category of labor migrants; instead, they enter through Japan's side door policies, including the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) or as foreign students. This study aims to understand how the migration infrastructure, encompassing the Indonesian government and sending organizations, accommodates the evolving patterns. By shedding light on the challenge and opportunities presented by this new destination, the study contributes valuable insights to the broader discourse on international labor migration in Southeast Asia, offering an understanding of the region's evolving migration dynamics and their implications for both sending and receiving countries.

Hidden Ties, Exposed Places: Trafficking in Women and Girls for Prostitution Business in Contemporary SEA

Yety Rochwulaningsih, Noor Naelil Masruroh, and Fanada Sholihah

Universitas Diponegoro; Noor Naelil Masruroh; Universitas Diponegoro

The trafficking of humans along migration routes has evolved into a prevalent form of transnational crime in contemporary Southeast Asia. Quantitatively, the number of trafficking victims reveals a staggering figure. This study uncovers hidden connections within prostitution networks and exposes illicitly established places for trafficking in women and children. It argues that a market for irregular migration and trafficking services has emerged through mechanisms and forms of organization that were relatively unknown until now. This historical study uses reports published in prominent Asian newspapers as well as statistical data to identify cases that can be categorized as linked ties and places. Several spots on Southeast Asian national borders are recognized as perfect for human smuggling and trafficking. The study also provides enough detail on how women and children have been used and coerced. By focusing on women and children as victims, this study has the potential to act as a catalyst for social awareness campaigns and advocacy initiatives.

Between Refugees and Migrant Workers: The Life of Myanmar Refugees/Migrants in Mae Sot, Thailand

Jinyoung Park and Heesuk Kim

Jeonbuk National University

By exploring the lives of people from Myanmar in Mae Sot, a border city in Thailand, this study argues that many de facto refugees are deprived of legal protection due to the falseness of the dichotomy between refugees and economic migrants. The international community has worked to provide special protection by distinguishing refugees from economic migrants. However, this distinction may mislead us to think that these two categories are fixed and that only the former should be given legal protection and rights. The reality is not that simple but far more complex. Since the military coup in the country in 2021, Myanmar people have crossed borders to Thailand to avoid arrest and to seek security, including those who have been involved in

the civil disobedience movement (CDM). However, they are not protected as refugees. These privileges are given only to those applying for refugee status to the UNHCR and willing to wait years for nothing but resettlement to other countries. Those who wait to return to their homes under more favorable political conditions are left without any protection and are vulnerable to arbitrary arrest, deportation, and abuse. This study concludes by suggesting complementary measures to protect those who are not covered by the current refugee category but also need help.

PERIPHERIES AND DEVELOPMENT

CHAIR

Paul Quintos

City University of Hong Kong

Measures Against Indigenous Peoples? Revisiting Violent Techniques through Dam Wars and Their Legacies in the Northern Highland Philippines

Yi-Yu Lai

University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Although international indigenous movements have advocated for nonviolent struggles, the Philippine authorities and certain Indigenous activists continue to engage in violent conflicts over indigenous issues. While the majority of research on indigenous activism has merely focused on state violence against indigenous peoples (Rifkin 2009; Nixon 2011; Aguon 2014), this research aims to expand on the typical binary approaches to political violence against indigenous peoples by exploring dam wars and their legacies in the Cordillera region of the Philippines. It should be noted that Philippine politics has a feature of performative violence that has created a gray zone between legal policing and excessive violence (Anderson 1988; Sidel 1997; McCoy 2021). For instance, the former Duterte government justified the extrajudicial killing as a moral obligation for maintaining social order through drug issues and a dysfunctional criminal system, and the majority of the Philippine population was persuaded and chose to support this strongman. While a large number of scholars have studied

the deployment of political violence techniques in the Philippines (Coronel 2017; Fernquest 2018, Kennert and Eligh 2019; Rafael 2022), relatively little is known about how the techniques specifically impact the existing operations of violent strategies against indigenous groups. This study allows us to de-essentialize political violence without reducing it to a single logic. While political violence against indigenous peoples is usually considered as a continuation of colonial oppression, this approach seeks to question the conventional understanding and highlight the nuances and multi-faceted dynamics.

Narratives and Rituals: The Emergence of New Texts in Local Forest Governance of the Tai in Vietnam

Achariya Choowonglert

Naresuan University

This paper delves into an exploration of the power dynamics within the Tai ethnic group, who reside in the Quan Sơn district of Thanh Hóa province, Vietnam. Situated in the central northern region of Vietnam, this area is known for its highlands and serves as a border town between Vietnam and Laos. Utilizing ethnographic inquiry carried out over two periods, from April to June 2022 and March to April 2023, this study aims to examine the significance of narratives and rituals in the context of local governance. Specifically, it analyzes the utilization of narratives to challenge dominant development discourses promoted by the state. The research investigates how the local people, heavily reliant on the forest for their livelihood, engage with the meta-narrative surrounding *Tư Mã Hai Đào*, the guardian deity of the border town. Additionally, it examines little narratives related to local deities and spirits, and how these narratives intersect with the grand narratives (or development discourses) promoted by the state. The study identifies three main spaces where these narratives converge: local history, city spirit worship, and village forest management regulations and practices. This convergence leads to the creation of new texts that empowers local narratives to participate in forest management under the framework of local governance. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of local narratives in shaping and reflecting the local identity.

Gender Mainstreaming in the Indonesian National Police, 2015-2022

*Nasywa Ramadhani, Alfredha Shinta Putri, Miftahul Rizky
Adrian Insani, and Hadza Min Fadhli Robby*

*Salsabila Islamic University of Indonesia; Universitas Islam Indonesia; Islamic
University of Indonesia; Islamic University of Indonesia*

This paper will discuss the effort of the Indonesian national police to include more women police officers in its organization. Years before the democratization of Indonesia, the Indonesian National Police had already established its own corps specifically catering to women and to accommodate women in the policing efforts of Indonesian society. But, for years, many Indonesian women police officers could not reach the general ranks. Thus, many Indonesian women police officers are not able to influence significant policy-making efforts in Indonesian police and are not involved significantly in policing activities, with the exception of doing policing activities related to women and children affairs. After the democratization in Indonesia, many of Indonesia's non-governmental organizations and independent commissions overseeing the Indonesian National Police advocated for gender mainstreaming in the Indonesian National Police. This research will see the reasons behind and the efforts conducted by the Indonesian National Police on the issue of gender mainstreaming. This research will also analyze the relationship between the Indonesian national police and relevant stakeholders. This research will be conducted using the theory of liberal feminism in order to understand gender mainstreaming efforts in the Indonesian national police.

SOUTHEAST ASIA AND BEYOND: INLAND AND MARITIME DYNAMICS SURROUNDING THE REGION

CHAIR

Tatsuki Kataoka

Kyoto University

U Ottama as a Travelling Nation-maker and Cosmopolitan Revolutionary

Maynadi Kyaw

Kyoto University

U Ottama (1879–1939) is a political monk from British Burma native to Arakan state along the Bay of Bengal. He traveled extensively in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century from Calcutta, Tokyo, Saigon to several countries in Europe. Generally, he is recognized as an early Buddhist nationalist and political agitator against the colonial rule in British Burma while being claimed as a forerunner of Burmese nationalism and father of Burmese independence owing to his Japanese connections by Japanese bunkajin during the second World War. U Ottama's approach to anti-colonialism was narrowly categorized as being influenced by Buddhist nationalism or Japanese Pan-Asianism or Gandhian non-violence. However, his nationalism was shaped and transformed through transnational links and networks he had established having been situated in the area along Bay of Bengal close to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, it is hard to put his nationalism into any specific category of ideology and movement as it extends beyond any singularity due to his connections from Indian struggle to independence through links to Bay of Bengal to industrialized Japan across the ocean to the East and through his travels across the world. It can be concluded that U Ottama is an early example of cosmopolitan traveling nation-maker whose nationalism cannot be understood if the attempt is made from a perspective of a singular nation-state with the imposition of a narrow idea of homogenous racial or ethnic identity.

Contemporary Dynamics of the Bay of Bengal Maritime World: Focusing on the Administrative Structure of Nagore Dargah Shariff in Penang

Sakine Nakajima

Kyoto University

This paper examines the contemporary dynamics of historical networks in the maritime world of the Bay of Bengal, focusing on the administrative structure of the holy shrine of Nagore Dargah in Penang, Malaysia. The original Nagore Dargah is dedicated to the Saint Shaful Hameed, a 16th century Sufi master, and is located in the South Indian port city of Nagore. The Penang shrine was built in 1801 with donations from devotees among the Tamil Muslim immigrant traders. The shrine continues to function as a place of worship for the local Tamil Muslim diaspora more than 200 years after its construction. Today, the temple is administered by an Ustaz, who lives in the shrine and performs religious rituals for the devotees, and the Nagore Dargah Committee, which assists him. The Ustaz is an Indian-born Tamil Muslim who has worked in Penang for about 20 years on a religious work permit. Meanwhile, the committee is made up of entirely Penang-born Tamil Muslims who are Malaysian citizens. The administrative structure suggests that the historical network in the maritime world of the Bay of Bengal is maintained to this day, in line with the administrative system of modern nation-states, and in cooperation with the newcomers and the diaspora community.

Chinese Immigration from Hainan Island to the Malay Peninsula—A Tale of Another Coffee-Drinking Culture

Ryoko Sakurada

Ikuei Junior College

The consumption of coffee in China has been steadily increasing, particularly in urban areas. According to a report by the Qianzhan Industry Research Institute, the annual consumption of coffee per person in the urban middle class aged between 20 and 40 is 326 cups, with the projected average annual coffee consumption per Chinese person expected to reach 10.8 cups by 2023. However, traditionally, in China, tea has been the daily beverage of choice and has long served to connect people. On the other hand, since the late 19th century, many Chinese laborers from southern China, particularly those

from Hainan Island, struggled to adapt to a new world as they migrated to the Malay Peninsula, engaging in endeavors such as managing eateries or working as chefs. A new coffee culture, influenced by Chinese immigrants, flourished on the Malay Peninsula through their struggles. While it might not have garnered as much attention as the current coffee boom in China, the blossoming coffee culture in Southeast Asia has become a subject of nostalgic tourist consumption. It has only recently become a topic of research. This presentation focuses on the coffee shops known as *kopitiams*, operated by migrants from China's Hainan Island to the Malay Peninsula. It discusses the migration of populations from southern China to the Southeast Asian archipelago and creating new cuisine in a new environment.

Highlanders as the Driving Force in Peripheral Politics to Connect China and Southeast Asia

Tatsuki Kataoka

Kyoto University

This paper attempts to develop James Scott's argument on the political role of the highlanders in mainland Southeast Asia to another direction than his original Zomia hypothesis. As well known, Scott presents the highland societies of mainland Southeast Asia as non-state space, a vacuum of state system where anarchists, dissidents, defeated rebels, and potential political prisoners seek refuge to evade state power. Scott's argument is partially true, for the highland did have continuously recruited unruly elements from the lowlands. However, this does not always entail the anarchist story Scott expects. He is correct in a sense that he recognizes the political importance of the highlands for ambitious but defeated lowland remnants. If so, the highland has always harbored trouble-makers to challenge the existing political system. Therefore, contrary to Scott's hypothesis, the highland societies have been a driving engine of political change in the state system in the region. Throughout history, China's political turmoil has induced runaways to take refuge on the hills and they have instigated political unrest in the periphery. Such outcomes are highland state formation on the one hand and southwards population movements on the other. The former has created local political conflicts involving lowland states, while the latter has brought about further realignments of ethnic relations in the destinations they move. These moves have occurred periodically in China's southwest frontier and it is such moves which connect social dynamics of Southeast Asia to China.



DAY TWO

Parallel Session 6

PART B: RETHINKING AND DECENTERING TRADE, EXCHANGE AND ENGAGEMENT IN ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

CHAIR

Nurabdiansyah (Abi)

Universitas Negeri Makassar

The Bajau Trepang Heritage: The Continuous Story and Contemporary Bajau Networks for Accessing Australian Waters

Dedi Adhuri

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

This paper will discuss the story of the long-standing tradition of the Indonesian Bajau fishing for trepang in the border areas of Indonesia and Australian waters. While previous writings about this issue mostly employ legal and livelihoods perspectives, this paper will look more on the socio-cultural element of the tradition. The paper will see the centuries history—and ongoing story—of the tradition and look at how this tradition has facilitated the establishment of Bajau networks connecting the people who live in various districts and provinces of (eastern) Indonesia. Additionally, the paper will also look at the connections of the Bajau with other ethnic groups that host the establishment of Bajau settlements or place of transit before the Bajau sail south to the border areas. While the former will highlight the strength of Bajau solidarity, the latter will uncover the contribution of the Bajau to the plurality of coastal communities in (eastern) Indonesia. I would argue that both are very important to understand the maritime socio-cultural world of Indonesia.

Currents of Encounter: Hidden Networks and Hierarchies of Credibility on Southeast Asian Waters

Leonie Stevens

Monash University

The history of connections between peoples across Asia-Pacific maritime centers is deep and broad. Ocean currents, waves, and skies were the conduits of encounter, linking peoples through desires for food, products, and ideas. From the Bay of Bengal to the Arafura Sea, through the Indonesian Archipelago to the Philippines, from Vietnam to China and Korea, regional trading spheres developed into extended networks, far from any European observation and interference. Yet the ephemerality of currents, waves, and skies elude documentation. For historians approaching from a western epistemological standpoint, there is limited archival evidence concerning networks beyond the dominant conceptual trading monoliths of China and Europe—the terrestrial and maritime silk roads. This paper looks at strategies to explore Indigenous links between Northern Australia, Makassar and the Philippines, using the model of a ship on water. On the surface are the waves and flow—sabang—the conduits of encounter; beneath lie the hidden networks and counternarratives of space; and above, the hierarchies of credibility and Eurocentric gaze, which are often blinded to the deeper patterns. These patterns point to, and themselves represent, alternate archives of knowledge.

Southern New Guinea: The Least Understood Arm of the Asian Spice Trade Network

Ian J. McNiven

Monash University

For thousands of years, Island Southeast Asia focusing on Indonesia produced a wide variety of spices that fueled an internationalized trade network variously encompassing Asia, Europe, and Australia. Yet the Indonesian heartland of this spice trade was far from homogenous and comprised a multitude of island-based nodes specializing in particular spices but also, importantly, non-spice products. Through a complex mix of local and international operatives, these ethnically diverse nodes were integrated into scaled higher-order trade networks where local product supply demands

were determined by economic forces often located thousands of kilometers distant. Local nodes were networked into production arms that took in a series of islands and multiple villages and districts. The least understood of these production arms is the south coast of New Guinea. Historical (archival) and archaeological records hint at Southeast Asian visitors using a range of Asian goods to trade with Melanesian communities for local products such as scented barks and bird-of-paradise feathers. Such trading intensified over the past 500 years with cultural legacies in the present. This paper discusses evidence for the southern New Guinea arm of the Asian Spice Trade network that included Torres Strait of northeast Australia and proposes future research opportunities.

Visual Design and Semiotic Meaning Analysis of Indigenous Artworks that Depict Makassar Indigenous Australians Early Encounters

Nurabadiansyah (Abi)

Universitas Negeri Makassar

This paper considers Makassan Prau images in Indigenous paintings located in Australian galleries. This study is developed to answer the following three questions: what kind of images are used to symbolize Makassans in Indigenous Australian artworks; what kind of visual meaning is created through an exploration of these visual designs using on semiotic theory; and, can the the visual analysis of these Makassan symbols contribute to an understanding of the historic interactions between Makassan and Indigenous Australian. The paper will use the theoretical lenses of Charles Sander Pierce (pragmatist) and Ferdinand de Saussure (structuralist). The Makassan symbols in indigenous Australian artworks operate as a visual memory of the relationship in the past. I will use the analysis of visual meanings to analyze cross-cultural interactions, and encounters including art and visual communication, sociology and anthropology, climate change behavior, and maritime knowledge of Makassans. This research also provides a new perspective as the visual tradition of Indigenous Australian are not just works of art with aesthetic aspects in it but also function as visually realized activity records.

ASEAN'S REGIONAL DIPLOMACY

CHAIR

Rosario Manalo

Philippine Women's University

The ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response: Evaluating ASEAN's Disaster Response Framework

Hanna Xena Mae Sumbi, John Rey Mar Flores, Ericah Villacarlos, Paul Jarron Macorol, and Christian Erick Baguio

West Visayas State University

In 2002, China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) adopted the Joint Declaration in the Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues which recognized the equal standing of non-traditional and traditional security issues in the region. While NTS issues are non-military in nature in contrast to typical state-centric security concerns, they should be equally prioritized as they often entail immediate risks to state survival, human security, and quality of life. Among the wide array of nontraditional security concerns, disaster response is one of the most prominent issues in Southeast Asia. It has been identified as a top-priority issue by the region as early as 2005 when the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) was institutionalized to better respond to natural disasters and calamities which have consistently affected the lives, economy, and overall stability of member states. This paper aims to answer the following questions: (1) What are the disaster response initiatives that were put into place since 2005? (2) What have been the significant achievements of the parties to the agreement in disaster response within and across their borders? (3) How are AADMER's five priority programs able to facilitate greater cooperation among member states in terms of disaster risk management and disaster response?

The Role of the ASEAN Education Ministers Meeting in Southeast Asia's Regionalism

Hanna Patricia Cortes

University of the Philippines Diliman

Regionalism in Southeast Asia is an intriguing subject for multiple reasons. Significant efforts towards integration, such as the establishment of regional organizations and consultative bodies, have taken place in Southeast Asia. This study is motivated by the researcher's aim to contribute to existing literature on ASEAN by casting a spotlight on the association's achievements in its education sector. It is driven by the rationale that there is little research concerning the ASEAN Education Ministers Meeting (ASED)—ASEAN's sectoral governing body on education. Recognizing the significant contributions of ASEAN to the development of education in the region, the researcher aims to conduct a study that will focus on the establishment of ASED, the rationale of its existence, and its contribution to ASEAN, and Southeast Asia's regionalism. Using content analysis on the policies and terms of reference for ASED, and the ASEAN Work Plan on Education, this paper will articulate how ASED contributes to the community-building efforts of ASEAN by facilitating education cooperation among member states.

ASEAN's stance towards Cross-Strait tension

Thi Mong Tuyen

Tran National Cheng Kung University

This study examines ASEAN's stance towards the Cross-Strait tension based on its relations with China and non-diplomatic relations with Taiwan. In ASEAN's Statements in last August and this February, ASEAN emphasizes the potential impact of Cross-Strait developments on regional stability, highlighting the risks of miscalculation, confrontation and the outbreak of conflict. This concern has intensified, particularly after the Russia-Ukraine war, amidst China's growing influence in the region, leading ASEAN to be wary of the potential for conflict in the South China Sea where some ASEAN member states may become involved. ASEAN emphasizes its commitment to playing a constructive role in facilitating dialogue among all parties. At this juncture, there is a concern about whether ASEAN might hesitate to enhance

cooperation with Taiwan, if China escalates pressure. Either way, it is crucial for ASEAN to consider strengthening its non-diplomatic relations with Taiwan through the New Southbound Policy. Moreover, Taiwan has become a hub for Southeast Asian migrant workers, prompting ASEAN countries to worry about the safety of their citizens in Taiwan in the event of a conflict. Notably, Vietnam, the Philippines and Indonesia have substantial numbers of migrant workers in Taiwan, while simultaneously having disputes with China in the South China Sea. In this situation, ASEAN adheres to the One China policy while simultaneously exploring collaborative avenues with Taiwan in specific areas that can advance mutual economic interests. This approach not only demonstrates ASEAN's commitment to a diversified cooperation strategy but also proves its centrality and enhances the resilience amid shifting global dynamics.

Situating China's Position in Global Conflicts: Its Implications to Sino-ASEAN Relations

Reymund Flores, Michael John B. Subigca, John Patrick S. Palquiran, Jose Emilio Luis T. Combatir, and Earlsen C. Pinuela
West Visayas State University

China sees issues like Tibet, Taiwan, and the South China Sea as core sovereignty issues where it brooks little outside interference. At the same time, it has calibrated its policies to balance nationalism at home with stability in its periphery. On more distant conflicts, like the Russian invasion of Ukraine, it avoided outright condemnation but has not provided full support to Russia; and in the on-going Israeli-Palestine war, China has continued its security ties with Israel while vocally supporting the Palestinian cause. As China navigates through a number of territorial disputes with its neighboring countries while balancing its politico-economic relations, Southeast Asia watches warily over the ripple effect in securitizing their individual interests. With ASEAN nation-states being increasingly pulled between global powers, they are forced to chart a delicate course—expressing calibrated concerns towards ongoing global conflicts—Sino-ASEAN relationship is now in question. Tracing China's official rhetoric, policy pronouncements, and on-the-ground actions around flashpoints including Tibet, cross-Strait relations, South China Sea, and the Russo-Ukraine and Israel-Palestine crisis, this paper examines the calculus

that drives these different stances on global conflicts and maps the complex patterns that underpin the trajectory of Sino-ASEAN relations.

Strategic Presence through Arms Sales: Analyzing South Korea's New Trend in Defense Exports and Foreign Policy

Alessandro Vespini and Matteo Piasentini

Pusan National University; University of the Philippines Diliman

Is selling arms a way to project power? Can foreign policy objectives influence arms exports? Over the last decade, the Republic of Korea established itself as a leading country in arms exports, and it is expected to enter the 'Big Four Global Defense Exporters' within a few years. Due to their advanced technological know-how and industrial capacity, South Korean defense firms are establishing a strong presence in key markets and destinations. In this context, contrary to what neorealism in IR would prescribe, instead of selling arms preferably to geographically distant and financially stable states, South Korea has embarked on arms sales to Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines and Indonesia. We argue that the ROK's approach to arms sales during the progressive government of Moon Jae-In deviated from the traditional paradigm, paving the way for a new trend: Establishing a strategic presence through arms sales to key regional partners, such as those identified in his New Southern Policy. In order to show this link, we will employ a statistical model that will estimate the correlation between Korean arms exports and other indicators representing both economic and strategic variables, on data taken from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) database.

POST-PANDEMIC SOUTHEAST ASIA: SYSTEMIC PERILS AND PEOPLES' ALTERNATIVES

CHAIR

Mary Ann Manahan

*University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development
Studies and Ghent University*

An Overview of Post-Pandemic Southeast Asia

Dr. Eduardo C. Tadem

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By mid-2022, governments around the world began easing up on the severe COVID-19 restrictions and regulations that their peoples were subjected to. They also started opening their countries to visitors. These moves were motivated by the debilitating impact of COVID-related policies on the economies and social fabric of virtually all countries around the globe. Southeast Asian countries and economies were no exception to pandemic impacts. While the region's economies have been fast expanding in the last decade, wealth and income inequality, i.e., the gap between the rich and poor, has been equally growing. In the context of the Southeast Asian situation, where governments and elites have been unmindful of the masses of poor and marginalized populations, it is instructing and inspiring to learn that alternatives that challenge the prevailing dominant modes are being constructed. Through practices embedded in the grassroots and going beyond state-centered approaches, Southeast Asian peoples and their organizations have been responding to their myriad problems and challenges in their own creative ways. These are based on time-tested and effective traditional ways, as well as grounded assessments of their current situation and the ways they could provide a better life and future for themselves and their communities.

Alternatives to the Global Supply Chain Model: Looking at workers struggles in the Philippines

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A concentration of global supply chains of transnational corporations are located in Southeast Asia to take advantage of cheap, docile and female labor. The Philippines is no exception as it hosts special processing zones where garment and electronics are among the top exports. The problem of decent work among export zone workers is well-documented due to the behavior of global brands and regional suppliers, which are able to leverage competition among Global South states for foreign investments as means of employment generation. Workers respond to the challenge of decent work through unionization and collective bargaining which, however, is suppressed by the various actors in the global supply chain ecosystem—brands, suppliers and governments. Through case studies of the struggles of workers from different factories in several export zones in the Philippines before, during and after the pandemic, the study sought to explore the state of rights at work, to understand the dynamics of workers' responses, and interrogate these as alternatives to the dominant global supply chain model premised on labor repression. The study concludes by reflecting on the applicability of worker- driven social responsibility as an alternative model.

Good Food Pamayanihan as a Philippine Case for Social Solidarity Economy Model in Agroecology

Ryan Martinez

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This paper presents the case of Good Food Community, a Philippine-based social enterprise that aims to promote farmer and consumer solidarity through community shared agriculture (CSA). CSA, also known Community Supported Agriculture traces its roots in Japan (teikei translated as “cooperation”) as a response of organic producers and consumer to the ecological impacts of industrial agriculture. It aims to promote agroecology practices in all aspects of production, distribution, and consumption in organic farming through a mutual partnership between its community of eaters (consumers) and organic producers, majority are small-holder

farmers. Good Food Co.'s model of CSA is embedded in its practice of Pamayanihan, a portmanteau of its four core organizational values intrinsic in Philippine agricultural practices, namely, *Pamana* (legacy), *Pamayanan* (community), *Anihan* (harvest), and *Bayanihan* (cooperation). This is achieved in practice wherein Good Food facilitates the relationship between small holder organic producers and eaters through a subscription-based model which sustains both operations of the social enterprise and its socio-political objectives. This ensures that their partner producers get the direct market and shared risk in cultivating organic produce while consumers are ensured weekly delivery of ecological and ethically grown produce. In addition, Good Food Co. has since supported several alternative initiative such as *tanimang bayan* and *kusinang bayan*, community gardens and kitchens respectively, in partnership with urban poor collectives in Metro Manila that demonstrates its socio-political objectives to foster a transformative alternative sustainable consumption and production to the neoliberal and corporate hegemony in the food system in the Philippines.

Asserting Inclusion in Housing and Urban Development: From the Barikadang Bayan, Street Occupation, Tumbalik to the Community Development Plan

Rafael Vicente V. Dimalanta

University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies

Informal settlers in Sitio San Roque in North Triangle, Quezon City, Philippines, have experienced harassment and continuing threats of demolition and eviction. Their struggles are located within the broader problem of accumulation by dispossession that the urban poor face. The repression and harassment by state organs heightened during the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. To their credit, San Roque residents have defended their community and asserted their right to the city through various strategies, such as community barricades, reconstruction of houses, food gardens, and counter-proposal development plans.

Alternative Development in Southeast Asia: Weaving together Practices from the Grassroots and Social Movements

Jose Monfred Sy

University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies

The concept of development is fraught with complexities and contradictions. Often viewed optimistically as a pursuit for societal betterment, its definition remains elusive. Rooted in historical discourses, development has been entangled with power dynamics, colonial legacies, and capitalist ideologies. This paper critically examines the evolution of development paradigms, questioning whose lives it truly uplifts and at what expense. Drawing insights from Southeast Asia, the paper challenges mainstream developmental frameworks embraced by institutions like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It highlights the agency of grassroots movements and local communities in crafting alternative paths to development. These narratives unveil diverse practices encompassing economic, political, and socio-cultural dimensions, diverging from Western-centric models and the modernity-development nexus.

SOCIOLOGY OF MIGRATION, MOBILITY'S INTEGRATION

CHAIR

Jocelyn Celero

University of the Philippines Diliman

Redefining Boundaries: Vietnamese Women's Transnational Marriages in the Korean Context (Migration)

Thinh Mai Phuc

This paper explores the evolution of transnational marriages, focusing on Vietnamese women's marriage migration to Korea. It examines the shift from economically driven, brokered unions to marriages characterized by greater autonomy and informed choice. The study establishes the historical context of these transnational marriages, highlighting the initial economic

motivations. It then moves beyond economic factors to examine complex motivations like cultural influences and personal preferences, notably the impact of Korean popular culture on Vietnamese women's perceptions. The paper also discusses the consequences of transnational marriage, such as high divorce rates and challenges faced by Vietnamese women in Korean society. It underscores the changing dynamics within these marriages, where Vietnamese women increasingly assert their independence and decision-making power. Finally, the study reflects on the implications of these evolving transnational marriages for Southeast Asian transnationalism, arguing that these unions are complex social phenomena reflecting the interplay of cultural, economic, and personal factors in a globalized world.

Korean Migration in the Philippines: Place-Belonging

Neville Jay Manaois

Ateneo de Manila University

The migration of Koreans to the Philippines is intriguing, deviating from conventional migration patterns that typically involve movement from the Global South to the Global North and not the other way around. It challenges our understanding of global migration, as Koreans in the Philippines appear to have comfortably embraced their temporary migration status, diverging from patterns where migrants often seek permanency or citizenship. Adding to the interest is the substantial number of Korean families migrating with their children, in pursuit of a better life and access to English education. This research revolves around the 1.5 generation or Korean children who migrated during childhood, exploring how they develop a sense of place-belonging throughout various stages of their lives growing up in the Philippines.

Labas at Lupa: The Mobility of Asi Copra Farmers and Families

Justine Cabe and Krislyn Hanna Barcelona

University of the Philippines Diliman

This study looks into the mobility of Asi copra farmers and families in Banton, Romblon given their exposure to comparable migration phenomena they acknowledge as *paglabas at pagbalik*. It veers from the structural explanations of farmer migration and frames it instead as

agentive manifestations, similar to de Haas' (2021) aspirations-capabilities framework. This study is a rapid ethnography. It employed participant observation and key informant interviews on eight individuals that are copra farmers and/or *koprasan* owners who have personal migratory experiences, either through self or family. Results show that the primary reason for the *paglabas* of Asi copra farmers is the insufficient socioeconomic return of copra farming. Nevertheless, some still stay on the island in search of other *hanapbuhay*, with their children and other kin doing the *paglabas* instead. But despite the economic mobility provided by *paglabas*, Asi copra farmers and families ultimately return to Banton, where they think they—their body and identity—belong as manifested by their land ownership on the island. Hence, their mobility, while visibly mediated by interlocked economies, is also affected by notions of home, physically represented through their land. In the end, familiarity and belongingness outweigh the strenuous work born from the lack of institutional support in Banton's privatized copra industry, where hard work is often designated as the core of the Asi's *sipag* and *tiyaga*. Thus, the spatial mobility of copra farmers and families in Banton is a result of complex economic, sociocultural interactions, spanning local to national levels.

Joyce Street Justice: A Critical Autoethnography of Pilipinx Food Heritage Businesses in Vancouver, Canada

Roxanne Bella

University of British Columbia

Contemporary migrant studies literature increasingly reveals the necessity of access to culturally appropriate food in ensuring food justice and wellbeing for diasporic communities. While Vancouver is one of Canada's most densely populated with Pilipinx-Canadian migrants, it also struggles with the nation's most aggressive housing crisis in the face of exponential gentrification. Thus, its beloved, migrant-driven cultural food havens—such as the grocery stores and restaurants of Pilipinx Vancouverites' Joyce Street—are constantly threatened by the damnation of redevelopment and high-rises. As a 1.5-generation Pilipinx-Canadian scholar, born and raised in Toronto and newly exploring Vancouver's terrain, this paper is an autoethnography of my first academic year in the city, specifically outlining my experiences in encountering and exploring its Pilipinx heritage businesses. Through

rigorous analysis of detailed field notes and discussions with business owners, community members, political organizers, and local organizations, this paper illustrates the material and symbolic community imaginaries facilitated by heritage businesses from a geographical lens. To do so, I define and draw connections between my experiences in river-bordered Toronto and seaport Vancouver to discern how the physical geography of the latter, in its parallels to the Philippine sea, complicates my relationships to each of the cities' Pilipinx-Canadian migrant communities. By centering my body, identity, and positionality as a queer, Pilipinx-Canadian migrant scholar in this work, this paper provides a novel lens from which further research can explore the development of food justice for migrant communities, as it is complicated by both intimate and physical geographies.

Post-pandemic food discourses in the Philippines: Social entrepreneurs and the corporate food regime

Rafael Jose Marquez Noel

Kyoto University

A few months into the COVID-19 pandemic, city dwellers in Metro Manila were faced with a dreadful choice: death by virus or by hunger. Though extreme, this phenomenon speaks to the wider incidence of food insecurity in the Philippine's largest urban center. Thereafter, popular calls to engage in questions regarding the production, distribution, and access to food have been more pronounced than at any point in recent memory. In this paper, I examine the ways in which the profound shock that is the pandemic has altered discourses around the configuration of food systems. Via case studies of eight social enterprises focused on direct farmer-to-consumer deliveries, this paper charts the change in opinions and perceptions of individuals involved in the production and distribution of food in the Metro Manila city-region. Using critical discourse analysis, I show that progressive and revolutionary language can easily be co-opted, hinting at the durability of hegemonic discourses. While virtually all social entrepreneurs see themselves as transformative change agents helping realize more sustainable and socially just outcomes, their beliefs and self-perceptions indicate that the discourse of the global corporate food regime is embedded in their thinking and worldview. As more research has emerged on the post-pandemic recovery of food systems in Europe and North America, this paper

provides a glimpse of the changing and nuanced ideological tides in the Global South, offering a look into the possibility of sustainable transitions with a focus on the social entrepreneur as an increasingly important actor.

NAVIGATING CONTENTIOUS POLITICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THROUGH ACTIVISM AND CIVIL SOCIETY

CHAIR

Tuanont Phattharathanasut

Waseda University

The Rationale Behind the Adoption of Leaderless Mobilization in Thailand and Myanmar

Tuanont Phattharathanasut

Waseda University

During the Free Youth Movement in Thailand and the Spring Movement in Myanmar, both movements adopted a leaderless mobilization approach, surprising observers who believed this to be a manifestation of global social movement knowledge and the flow of information in the digitized world. However, is the adoption of leaderless mobilization purely sourced from global knowledge? This study aims to explore the rationale behind Thai and Myanmar activists when they decided to adopt a leaderless mobilization strategy in their campaigns. The exploration involves conducting semi-structured interviews with ten youth activists from each nation. Upon collecting the data, this study found that the model of leaderless protest originated from the protests in Hong Kong. However, the rationale for adopting these protest tactics was based on domestic context rather than being organically diffused from overseas movements. In the case of Thailand, youth activists turned to leaderless mobilization when all their leaders were arrested by authorities, leaving them no other choice. In Myanmar, activists chose a leaderless movement based on their past experiences with state repression, realizing the difficulty of sustaining protests in the long term when promoting a single leader. By considering domestic factors in understanding the adoption of global protest strategies, this study provides a

more nuanced explanation of youth-led protests in Thailand and Myanmar, shedding light on the complexity of incorporating foreign knowledge into domestic political campaigns in Southeast Asia.

A Feminist Analysis of Young Female Activists' Self-Identity in Malaysia

Nur Adilla

Waseda University

This research explores the expression of self-identities among Malay-Muslim female activists in Malaysia. In their process of advancing their activism, these activists faced numerous challenges, problems, and issues surrounding gender. As such, their female experience of the personal must also be seen as political. This study utilized the qualitative method to analyze the personal experiences of nine activists. The content of their experiences were gathered through a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews. To analyze the content of these interviews, this study used thematic coding in order to explore three major themes, namely their paths to activist lives, niche identities, and how the personal is also the political. Upon analysis, the results found out that all these activists face similar challenges concerning key issues, namely navigating a patriarchal world, gender role stereotypes, and discrimination.

Examining the Role of Automated Catalysts on the 2023 Online Protests in response to the Indonesian Constitutional Court Ruling

Gita N. Elsitra

Waseda University

The Indonesian Constitutional Court decision on the minimum age for presidential candidacy sparked a surge of online protests in October 2023, which subsequently escalated into student demonstrations in real life. Consequently, the discourse related to political dynasties and nepotism has emerged as a critical issue amid the ongoing process of the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia. This study examines the potential role of automated agents in orchestrating and amplifying these protests. Utilizing social network analysis and content analysis on several hashtags related to the online protests against this Constitutional Court decision on X (before known

as Twitter) and Instagram, the research investigates three key indicators of bot army operations: fabricated content, amplification patterns, and content similarity. The findings unveil empirical evidence of automated agents' involvement, suggesting that these bots systematically played a significant role in establishing the online discourse surrounding the protests. This research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of online social movements and the evolving dynamic of automation on social media platforms. It highlights the potential for automated agents to amplify online activism, raising critical questions about the further impact of digital technologies, especially automation and AI, on democratic processes.

Milk Tea Alliance (Democracy Movements)

Wichuta Teeratanabodee

University of Cambridge

In the past decade, East and Southeast Asia have witnessed a rise in mass struggles for democracy, including in Hong Kong, Thailand, and Myanmar. While these movements were each triggered by domestic affairs, the protestors have found connections with one another, leading to an emergence of a transnational network dubbed the Milk Tea Alliance (MTA). The MTA quickly became integrated into the language and identity of these movements, especially on social media platforms. Despite its potential to challenge authoritarian governments in the region, rigorous accounts of the earlier development, transfer of knowledge, and identity of the MTA are rare within the scholarly literature. This paper explores the MTA's evolution by tracing the connections between civil society and democracy activists, particularly in Thailand, Myanmar, and Hong Kong, throughout the past decade. Applying aspects of social movement theory to archival materials, interviews with activists, and online protest content, the paper unpacks the MTA in a broader historical context by linking it to the contemporary history of transnational civil society networks between Thailand, Hong Kong, and Myanmar. It argues that the MTA should be understood as both the latest episode of a longer historical lineage of the exercise of transnational activism in Asia and a novel development showing some distinct features, including the extensive use of social media. By surfacing the roots of the MTA, this paper offers a richer account of the latest transnational movement network in Asia, and allows for deeper analyses of democracy movements in the region.

PRACTICES AND PROJECTION OF POWER

CHAIR

Joefe Santarita

University of the Philippines Diliman

Emergent Faces of Millenarianism in Island Southeast Asia: The Case of Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association and Rock Christ Jesus in the Island of Mindanao, Philippines

Zizzle Dawn Sayson

Mindanao State University—Main Campus

For over a century, social scientists have attempted to explain why people mobilize collectively in search of divine intervention and the coming of a perfect age. Millenarianism, the movement born out of this search, arrived in Southeast Asia where it gained a significant following in isolated islands that became fertile grounds for evangelization. In the Philippines, the millenarian movement developed and evolved via varied encounters and subsequently took on a localized form. This led to an indigenized religious and social construct known as the Rizalistas. Looking at the formation of Rizalista movements in the Philippines however, would reveal that almost exclusive emphasis has been placed on those that emerged in the island of Luzon. In contrast, only minimal attention is given to its counterparts in Mindanao. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to focus on the primarily undocumented Rizalistas of Mindanao and tell their story. Given particular emphasis in this story is the experience of the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA) of the Province of Dinagat Islands and the Rock Christ Jesus of Osmeña, Zamboanga del Norte. In doing so, this paper aims to show the complex processes involved in the indigenization of a dominant religious establishment and its transformative influence in the religious and social life of island communities in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, it is also hoped that a discussion of the diverging conception of the ideals of the wider millenarian movement in Mindanao can highlight the influence of regional differences and tendencies thereby giving way to the formation of varied religious identities.

Apas Na Kamo Dayon (Come and Follow Through): A Re-examination to the Mindanao Migration Historiography, 1950s to 2010s

Christian Ely Poot and Joshua Philip Castillo

Mindanao State University—General Santos

Mindanao as a home has been largely exclusive to the indigenous cultural communities, Islamized ethnic groups, and Christianized Northern Mindanaoans from time immemorial to the end of 19th century. But as the Americans bought the Philippines from Spain without the consent of the archipelagic inhabitants, a sudden change in colonial policy was seen. The 20th century marked the era of organized internal immigration from Luzon and Visayas to Mindanao as a place of new beginnings, then popularly known as The Land of the Promise to resolve perceived problems by the American-handled Commonwealth government. One of the foci of postwar Mindanao historiography was migration because of the demand for solutions to the ever-evolving and misunderstood 'Mindanao Problem' and the chance to interview living witnesses on the challenges and successes of the government-sponsored and self-propelled internal immigration to the south. This paper aims to (1) trace and historicize the intellectual and personal histories of those who wrote about the immigration of people from Luzon and Visayas to Mindanao and (2) examine possible directions for the improvement or rereading of historical writing. The researchers will utilize oral history methods, documentary analysis, and digital humanities to gather pertinent data for this paper.

Questioning Authenticity, Forging Traditions: Identity Making And Ethnic Competition In Riau After Indonesian Reformation

Yogi Febriandi

IAIN Langsa

This article delves into the efforts of indigenous communities in Indonesia to establish their identities amidst the government's recognition policy. Previous research has revealed that the state's attempt at identifying and registering indigenous peoples has resulted in oversimplified ethnic classifications that do not accurately capture the diversity of these communities. Through ethnographic research conducted in the field, the author posits that creating

an indigenous identity can serve as a means of authentication that helps these communities gain recognition from the government. Using Graeber's theory of culture as a creative refusal, this article looks into the endeavors to acknowledge indigenous communities in Riau, Indonesia. It highlights the Akit community in Riau as an example of this authentication process, which involves establishing new traditions based on shared memories of the past and political differentiation. Ultimately, this article sheds new light on the study of Indigenous peoples in post-Reformasi Indonesia.

Performing a Royal Portrait Spectacle: Olympic Boxing and the Cultural Politics of Thai Royalism, 1996–2016

Kittisak Sujittarom

Chiang Mai University

Boxing is proudly perceived by Thais as a national sport, yet it has hardly been successful in world competitions. In the 1996 Olympics, a Thai amateur boxer won a gold medal for the first time in Thai history. At the moment of victory announcement, the boxer held the Thai king's portrait over his head to show national pride and identity to worldwide viewers. At least between 1996 and 2008, for Thai Olympic victories, such a cultural performance was repeated, shaping the actions of later generations of various types of athletes. This presentation aims to examine the phenomenon of what I call royal portrait spectacle, which denotes the way in which objects of royal portraiture attract public attention in extraordinary moments. The stage became a cultural space for performing loyalty by holding a royal portrait overhead. While the king himself watched sports competitions, the royal portrait was viewed by global mass eyes. Under the hyper-royalist cultural politics, Thai athletes, who were aware of the royal gaze to which they were subject, performed their royalist subjectivity as the king's athletes by announcing they would win for the king. The royal portraits were therefore treated as objects of worship for their moral boot and fortune in the competition. This presentation traces the historical interplay between royal portraits, athletes, and the monarchy in the context of international sports competitions.



DAY THREE

Parallel Session 7

DE/CENTERING PHILIPPINE MUSIC IN FOUR CASE STUDIES

CHAIR

Jonas Baes

University of the Philippines Diliman

Constructing Place through the Pastoral: Art, Music, Painting, and Nationalism in Post-War Philippines

Patricia Marion L. Abrera

University of the Philippines Diliman

The paper situates the pastoral theme in art music and painting within the nationalist search for symbols of Filipino identity, focusing on selected works of two Filipino National Artists, Lucio San Pedro and Fernando Amorsolo. The study unpacks the ways by which the countryside is imagined through music and visual art as forms that construct and reinforce concepts and affect toward place. Even though San Pedro and Amorsolo were born more than twenty years apart, their lives and works have parallelisms: both were students at the University of the Philippines who later received training abroad; they had the experience of growing up in the countryside—an aspect which figures prominently in their works; they favored a romantic sensibility, making them representative of the conservative tradition; they were influential artists and educators who represented nationalist aspirations of their time; and they were both eventually proclaimed National Artists. Because of their stature, their works continue to be well-known today. The paper discusses how San Pedro's construction of place shares features with those of Amorsolo, particularly through the adherence to classical ideals and a romantic and cinematic sensibility. Both artists' works appeal to an enduring nostalgia for the unruffled countryside, perceived as a haven of traditional Filipino values and where humans live in harmonious relationship with nature, traces of which are still seen today in pastoral themed YouTube vlogs.

Alangan-Mangyan Traditional Song and Ritual and the Engagement with the Outside World

Marife Rebutar-Maquera

University of the Philippines Diliman

This paper is about the preservation of the agricultural rituals of the Alangan-Mangyan, an upland indigenous group living in Mindoro Island (in the Philippines). Caught in the peripheries of a national body politic that renders them as a marginal community, this group of upland swidden agriculturists face external pressures that impact their daily lives and the survival of their way of life for future generations. Songs in planting and harvesting rituals for a group like the Alangan-Mangyan are cultural expressions that signify how they see themselves within a broader social milieu. As this paper will suggest, cultural preservation can be a form of engagement, by which communities and outside institutions are subjected to processes of negotiation, consultation, and coordination. By focusing on an understanding of songs, a framework for such an engagement may be made to be feasible.

Maceda and the Piano: Refinement in the Philippine Musical Avant Garde

Geraldine Marie Gonzales

University of the Philippines Diliman

Jose Montserrat Maceda's preference for the Erard piano over the most universally popular Steinway and his strong sentiments against Beethoven's piano music are but a few telling glimpses into the nature of his aesthetics. Even before his towering achievements as one of the pioneering ethnomusicologists in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia and his groundbreaking compositions that explored new horizons echoing the fruits of his research with the use of indigenous music, interactive performances involving hundreds of people and the deconstruction of western paradigms, Maceda was a pianist who studied at the Ecole Normale de Musique in Paris under the famous French pianist, conductor and teacher Alfred Cortot. This paper aims to examine the connection between the French School of Pianism that honed Jose Maceda's formative years as an aspiring pianist in Paris and the development of his compositional praxis: how this particular style

permeates as the quality of refinement in his later piano works, long after he left behind piano performance for research and fieldwork in the different ethno-linguistic groups in the Philippines and Southeast Asia, coupled with the creation of unique compositions labeled as avant-garde. After examining the contradictions between Maceda's traditional Western background and his explorations into modernity, the result is a multi-layered reading and analysis of his works as the amalgamation of the influences from the French School, his discoveries in the field of ethnomusicology and the prevailing international styles of *musique concrète* and avant-garde during that time.

Distorted Horizons: An Exploration of Filipino Electric Guitar Techniques within the Pinoy Rock Paradigm of the Juan dela Cruz Band

Patrick Paul L. Roxas

University of the Philippines Diliman

This paper embarks on a comprehensive exploration into the nuanced identity and intricate associations of Filipino electric guitar techniques within the multifaceted realm of Pinoy Rock. At the intersection of performance practice, cultural studies, and music theory, this research centers on the pivotal contributions of the Juan dela Cruz Band, who is recognized as the catalyst behind the initial rock C roll revolution in the Philippines, featuring the virtuosic trio of drummer Joey 'Pepe' Smith, bassist Mike Hanopol, and lead guitarist Wally Gonzales. This study is situated within the historical epoch widely recognized as the 'Golden Age of Pinoy Rock,' spanning the late 1960s to the late 1970s. This paper aims to deconstruct and articulate the unique sonic vocabulary and stylistic intricacies encapsulated within the context of 'Filipino electric guitar techniques' and its separateness and in-betweenness with the traditional Western electric guitar techniques. A meticulous examination of the Juan dela Cruz Band's musical evolution, improvisational techniques, and stylistic innovations forms the foundation of this investigation. By engaging with advanced musicological methodologies, including transcriptions, thematic analysis, and genre contextualization, this research aims to crystallize the defining elements that delineate the Filipino electric guitar techniques within the broader spectrum of Pinoy Rock. Analyzing its role as a dynamic agent of individual and collective expression, this research explores how these techniques reflect and contribute to the evolving identity of Pinoy Rock within a globalized context.

POLITICS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

CHAIR

Monfred Sy

University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies

Communicative Power in Philippine Local Elections— Social Media as a Means to Undermine

Alexander Berghaus

University of the German Armed Forces Munich

Patron-Client-Systems are posing a major threat to deliberative political debates and systems. Personal dependencies undermine the central function of democracies, the ability to subjugate public affairs under the jurisdiction of a free and educated public. Based on Jürgen Habermas' theory of refeudalization of the public sphere (Habermas 1962), this work shall examine whether the use of social media in campaigns in Philippine local elections has the potential to counteract the refeudalization and the perpetuation of existing power imbalances. The present work follows the method of thick description (Geertz 2002) rather than testing hypotheses with a representative number of cases. The objective consists in attaining a deeper understanding of the mechanisms and empirical usage of social media as a campaign tool at the local, preferably Barangay level, since personal dependencies between candidates and the electorate are most likely to be found at this level. These developments shall be examined based on two to three empirical use cases. In the course of the empirical fieldwork, expert interviews and interviews with candidates shall be conducted in order to further evaluate the relevance and reliability of the collected data. Big Data Analysis of Facebook data plays an important role in assessing the extent of social media usage in campaigning.

The Great Woman Theory of Media History: Maria Ressa, Elite Liberalism and the Journalist-as-Influencer Brand

Tom Sykes and Maria Diosa Labiste

University of Portsmouth; University of the Philippines Diliman

This paper mounts a materialist critique of the political, economic and ideological forces that have shaped Maria Ressa's ascendancy to globally-renowned thought leader for new paradigms of mainstream journalism, hegemonic both within and without the Philippines. We charted Ressa's emergence as a key player in the post-Marcos commercialization and tabloidization (Coronel 1999) of the Philippine media in the 1980s and 1990s, during which time the pro-American elite liberal ideology of the Cory Aquino and Fidel Ramos administrations undermined the values of democracy that the enlightened sector of the media tried to advance. More recently, Ressa has reconfigured herself as a hybrid brand of journalist-influencer which, we argue, is appropriate to the digitized and technocratic tenor of the current political economy of Philippine media. There are contradictions and problematic ramifications to her current positionality. The individualistic and sometimes messianic tone of her memoir, *How to Stand Up to a Dictator*, repeatedly asserts that her personal actions and those of her coterie of journalist colleagues have been decisive in confronting Duterte's autocracy, contesting misinformation and eliminating corruption from Philippine journalism, while minimizing—in classical liberal style—the agency of the masses, including other journalists. Moreover, her embrace of Western dematerialized gender politics and affiliations with Western funders, think-tanks and corporations, informs her highly selective analyses of contemporary politics and media issues. These have often blunted her moralistic condemnations of imperialism, state-sponsored terror, fake news and press unfreedom around the world.

Database Framework for Small-scale Datasets: Some Cases on Field Survey Data Collected in Area Studies in Southeast Asia

Kimiya Kitani and Toshiro Kamiya

Kyoto University; Kyoto University and Kyoto Sankyo University

In field research survey situations in Southeast Asia, the number of data collected by a single researcher is usually in the order of a few hundred to a

few thousand at most. This amount is too small to conduct analytical research using the latest digital technologies such as big data. In addition, building and maintaining a database for such a small amount of data is costly. Even if one tries to extract data from a database developed in the past and reuse it, or migrate to a new database, if it is not sustainable in the first place, what has been built will quickly become unusable. Thus, many challenges must be overcome before valuable small-scale data can be fully utilized and made available to the public. We have devised a simple database framework for small-scale datasets that can be used as a digital archive while taking advantage of cloud technology, which is readily available to many people. We used Google Spreadsheet for the meta-information database, Google Drive for the related field research materials (photos, videos, and other digital data), and Google Maps for the location of the materials. We then developed a prototype based on research data from several previous field studies. As a result, this technology allowed us to build a database that is usable even with small-scale datasets. In this presentation, we will present the results of this research and show how survey data in Southeast Asian area studies can be made readily available using universal technology.

ELECTIONS AND WEAKENING DEMOCRACY

CHAIR

Cleo Calimbahin

De La Salle University

Weakening Democratic Institutions Towards Autocracy in the Electoral Process: A Comparison of Cases in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia

Anastacia Nurak

Warmadewa University

During the period 2005–2019, Indonesia and the Philippines led the Southeast Asian democratic process. However, current trends indicate that various ASEAN countries, including Indonesia and the Philippines, are experiencing democratic decline with each regime change. President Jokowi's regime was thought to be on the verge of autocracy, while President Duterte's regime

was said to be an illiberal democracy. Thailand, with the emergence of the Move Forward party in the last general election, is considered to be moving towards new changes in the development of democracy. Furthermore, in Indonesia, constitutional institutions (e.g., the Constitutional Court) are being politicized in order to change the rules for simultaneous elections in 2024. This article will compare attempts to undermine democracy through democratic institutions in Thailand ahead of the most recent general election in 2023, the Philippines in 2022, and Indonesia in the run-up to the 2024 elections. This paper will attempt to see the democratic backsliding that occurred in these three countries through the framework of polyvalent democracy. The comparison of the three countries will also focus on the democratic institutions involved in the electoral process, particularly those that have the potential to be abused by rulers and result in democratic backsliding.

Religious Authority and Democratic Backsliding in Indonesia and Malaysia: The Case of 212 Movement and Parti-Islam Se-Malaysia

Hadza Min Fadhli Robby, Muhammad Maulidan, and Fuad Fahrudin

Islamic University of Indonesia, International Islamic University of Indonesia

This research will investigate the role of Muslim religious authorities in Indonesia and Malaysia and their influence on the backsliding of democracy in Indonesia and Malaysia. Specifically, this paper will analyze whether religious authority has played a significant role in determining the political choices and behaviors of the citizens which eventually also affects the quality of democracy in Indonesia and Malaysia. The quality of democracy here would be considered from the aspect of racial equality and freedom of religious belief in both countries. In order to elaborate on the role of the religious authorities in shaping the political attitudes of citizens in Indonesia and Malaysia, this research will engage with the theory of democratic backsliding. Frequently discussed as one of the theories that explain the failure of democratic consolidations throughout the globe, democratic backsliding hasn't been explored well theoretically. This research would like to combine agency-based theory and political culture theory in order to understand the influence of religious authorities

in the deterioration and backsliding of democratic qualities in the countries mentioned. This research will use the case of the 212 Movement in the context of the Indonesian 2019 general election and the case of Parti Islam Se-Malaysia in the context of the Malaysian 2022 general election to comprehend the complicated relations between religious authority and democratic backsliding in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Unexpected Handcuffs: How Open Bargains in Opposition Pre-Electoral Alliances Promote Authoritarian Comebacks

Elvin Ong

National University of Singapore

Recent analyses of democratization have overwhelmingly focused on how dominant autocratic incumbents continue to shape the trajectory of democratization after electoral turnovers. What happens when the opposition secures victory is frequently neglected. This article argues that public inter-elite compromises reached in opposition pre-electoral alliances also affect democratization after autocratic defeat in unexpected ways. Specifically, opposition alliance pre-electoral bargains in terms of the distribution of political offices and policy compromises constrain the governance flexibility of a newly victorious government post-elections. They restrict political elites from negotiating alternative solutions when new information or new political realities arise. Both types of public pre-electoral bargains result in a disenchanted public when new governments attempt to deviate from these pre-electoral commitments. The collapse in public support opens multiple doors for the ex-dominant autocratic incumbent to return to executive power. In contrast, when opposition alliances forge bargains behind closed doors or when opposition parties campaign on vague notions of democratic change, they are free to write an open narrative of victory and to impose their own agenda after autocratic defeat. Public support remains high despite governance controversies and inadequacies. The ex-dominant autocratic incumbent is marginalized, and an authoritarian comeback is delayed at least until the next election cycle or when a desperate autocrat mounts a coup. This paper illustrates the arguments empirically by comparing how opposition victories in similarly unprecedented electoral turnovers in 2018 Malaysia, 1986 Philippines, and 2015 Myanmar led to divergent outcomes in political stability and authoritarian comebacks.

Comparative Perspectives on Electoral Violence in Indonesia and the Philippines

Zulfan Tadjoeeddin

Western Sydney University

The two largest archipelagos in Southeast Asia—Indonesia and the Philippines—are comparable in many respects, including their contemporary experiences in democracy. One of these is electoral violence which compromises the quality of democracy. In both countries, electoral violence is mainly related to political dynamics at the local level. Its nature is strongly embedded in the social structure of each country. In the Philippines, electoral violence is dominated by the killings of political candidates, mainly embedded in the rivalries of dominant political families/dynasties at local levels. This problem is systemic and is showing an increasing trend. Electoral violence in the Philippines is among the highest in Asia, and targeted assassinations in the country are comparable to those in Mexico and Colombia. In Indonesia, electoral violence is much more temporary and less severe. Compared to the first series of direct local elections (2005–2008), in general, electoral violence increased during the second series (2010–2013), and seems to have declined afterwards. Local electoral violence in Indonesia was dominated by orchestrated riots directed towards electoral institutions. The subsequent decline may indicate a process of learning-by-doing as well as improvements in electoral governance.

LOCALIZING WARTIME HISTORY: CASES FROM THE VISAYAS REGION, THE PHILIPPINES

CHAIR

Karl Cheng Chua

University of the Philippines Diliman

Filipino Collaboration and Atrocities in the Japanese-occupied Philippines and their Unjust Judicial Consequences: A Case Study of Sagay, Negros Occidental, Philippines

Satoshi Ara

Ohtsuki City College

The Filipinos have gone through violent ordeals of foreign invasion resulting from the Spanish and American colonial rule and the Japanese occupation period. For the local elites, including rich landed hacenderos, merchants, intellectuals or technocrats in the country, colonial rule could be the historical moment when they accumulate their wealth by collaborating with the Spanish and the Americans. In order to protect their vested interests, they subtly avoided conflicts with the colonial powers amid severe violence inflicted by the latter on the locals. While collaborating with the foreign powers, the poor, including the landless peasants or uneducated farmers were used by the landed elites. This presentation will shed light on such an aspect of injustice to the poor in rural Philippines by examining the wartime collaboration issues of landed elites during the Japanese occupation, some of whom were involved in violent acts. This presentation examines the case of the Municipality of Sagay, Negros Occidental, to clarify how the landed rich used the poor in collaborating with the Japanese in order to protect their sugar interests and how the social division among the locals deepened after the war.

Women, Revelries, and Pageantry: Nuancing Wartime Collaboration

Frances Anthea Redison

University of the Philippines Visayas

The geographical features of Iloilo helped attain a standard of living in the 1930s that was generally higher than in other parts of the Visayan Islands. By producing more than half of the total export of sugar in the country, Iloilo fashioned an elite lifestyle and enjoyed the highest standard of living in the nation before the outbreak of war. The Japanese accommodated the elites' life of glamor and occasional merrymaking to appease them. However, women's participation in these wartime activities is not well-documented. Based on the wartime newspapers utilized in this study, the Japanese provided opportunities for women's experiences and activities to become publicly prominent, thus, making beauty contests during the war imaginable. This study examines how Ilonggo women enjoyed a position of privilege because of their social class, which permitted them to continue to practice their activities and maintain their public presence amid the war. Against the backdrop of warfare and elite collaboration, the paper documents women's history through the experiences of those who organized and participated in a local beauty pageant as well as their socio-civic functions. The women's beauty pageant displayed how the Japanese dealt with Filipino women's civic roles while appeasing the elites. With emphasis on everyday activities as politics, the paper refuses to simply accept the discourse of women's silence in the war narratives. Rather, we allow women's voices to reveal how they created, controlled, and acquired these spaces amid exposure to violence and oppression.

Japanese Civilian Experience in Cebu—Its Implications in the Historiography of the Japanese Occupation

Taihei Okada

University of Tokyo

This presentation extends the insights from the published book, *The Japanese Community in Cebu, 1900–1945*. It described in detail how the local Japanese community came to an end in Cebu. The presentation will delineate an overall picture of the Japanese immigrants' experiences in the wartime

Philippines. By doing so, I will situate the Cebu Japanese experience in three wider contexts. (1) Civil-military relations. The civilian population was overwhelmed by military personnel and mobilized by the Japanese military in one way or another. (2) A wider network of Japanese refugees and evacuees. One overlooked aspect of the Pacific War is the multi-directional movements of civilian Japanese. After mid-1944, as refugees arrived from Saipan and Palau, Cebu became a node in the Japanese evacuation movement from the western Pacific Ocean to the Philippines, possibly to Borneo. (3) People of mixed heritage. The above book-length study delved into some of the horrible fates which befell Japanese-Filipino mixed-heritage individuals. I hope to glean more details about this population in the presentation. Finally, I will reflect upon the changing perception of Japanese occupation in Cebu (and possibly in the whole of the Philippines) and what it means to pay attention to Japanese civilians in the context of the Japanese occupation.

DISCOVERING NEW SKYLINES ON THE EDGE OF THE UNIPOLAR WORLD: AWAKENING THE POWER OF MULTILATERAL COOPERATION

CHAIR

Elena S. Burova

Russian Academy of Sciences

Cross-format Cooperation as a New Basis for ASEAN Diplomacy

Sergey Mikhnevich and Pavel Shaternikov

*Business Council of the Eurasian Economic Union; Russian Academy of
Sciences*

ASEAN diplomacy is a compromise. It brings together countries with different cultures, religions, ideologies and political systems. This is an ambivalent situation for ASEAN. First, it is a strong feature of ASEAN and attracts different countries to cooperate. Second, differences in political regimes and economic potential threaten to turn ASEAN into confrontational blocs. In the 1990s, the solution was found in establishing a cooperative security

system to build trust within ASEAN and across the Asia-Pacific region. Today, however, rising international tensions show that this system cannot provide a long-term solution to ensure stability and security in the region. According to liberal institutionalism theory, the solution lies in deepening interdependence. The stronger the interdependence, the higher the benefits of peace and the higher the costs of conflict. The most effective way to achieve interdependence as soon as possible is to incorporate multilateral forms of cooperation into ASEAN's engagement. In this way, ASEAN can strengthen and diversify its external relations by engaging not only world leaders but also member states of regional groupings. For example, EEU-ASEAN cooperation with Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, is as important for the system of checks and balances, as for increasing stability and diversity of ASEAN policy.

EAEU-ASEAN Economic Cooperation: Prospects and Challenges

Elena S. Burova and Narut Charoensri

Russian Academy of Sciences; Chiang Mai University

The current stage of globalization is characterized by the deinstitutionalization of global economics and political processes, as well as the management and regulatory institutions shift to the regional level. In such conditions, effectively functioning regional cooperation institutions become one of the key long-term factors for increasing competitiveness. Part of the latter is the building effective links with other integration platforms. The ultimate goal of such efforts is to achieve a multiplier effect for economic growth and development by encouraging the business activity in the participating countries, encouraging trade, implementing joint infrastructure projects and developing economic growth corridors based on global experience and each other's best practices. The EAEU and ASEAN have repeatedly declared their commitment to building a multi-vector and multi-aspect dialogue. Is this confirmed by the realities of cooperation between the EAEU and ASEAN, and the development of which areas can increase its effectiveness? The paper outlines results and prospects for cooperation between the EAEU and ASEAN, analyzes the place of the EAEU and ASEAN in each other's priorities, assess the results achieved to date, determines potential and most engaging areas of cooperation, identifies the main obstacles to the development of cooperation and gives recommendations to improve its effectiveness.

EAEU as an Alternative to Western and Chinese Integration Projects

Gregory Kucherenko and Vladimir Kolotov

Russian Academy of Sciences; St. Petersburg State University

It would not be an exaggeration to describe the Asia-Pacific region (APAC) as an area of competition between China and the West. This rivalry is taking place in many areas, with the economy at the center. Both sides are trying to integrate the region into their respective projects, namely the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF). However, we would like to offer a third option, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). As an extra-regional integration project, it does not seek to exert influence in the APAC region, but it does propose closer economic ties with several countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), with the option of further expanding the number of partners. The parties have already taken several steps towards rapprochement, in particular, at the St. Petersburg World Economic Forum held on May 15, representatives of both associations discussed the elimination of obstacles in trade and economic relations and deepening the dialogue between the EAEU and ASEAN business circles. However, in order to develop successful cooperation, several issues need to be resolved. Namely, the level of investment interaction and trade between the EAEU and ASEAN is currently not optimal enough. The partnership infrastructure needs to be improved and cooperation in production, science and technology needs to be expanded. We believe that by resolving these issues, both organizations will be able to diversify their respective economies and open up new prospects for growth.

The Experience of FTA Building Between the EAEU and Vietnam

Vladimir M. Mazyrin and Vu Thuy Trang

Russian Academy of Sciences; Institute for European Studies

The paper describes main provisions of the Free Trade Agreement signed by the EAEU members and Vietnam in 2015. It analyzes commodity structure of export and import flows in both directions regarding the level and schedule of preferences provided for main items. Safeguard measures as protective mechanisms to support domestic producers are specified too.

The central point is the pace and scope of the mutual trade liberalization process that was extended for 12 years. Finally, the significance and prospects of cooperation in the new FTA framework are evaluated. The FTA is a well-nuanced compromise, a balance of gains and concessions. The parties have created a reliable basis for the gradual liberalization of trade within the framework of the FTA, have explored the most important principles, mechanisms, schedule of this process, have made appropriate commitments and are now fulfilling them. The agreement has become a roadmap for cautious movement of FTA members towards free trade standards. Another important function is the launch of a pilot project, on the model of which similar cooperation platforms have already been created with other partners—Indonesia and Singapore as examples. In this regard, it is important to disseminate negotiation practices and mechanisms for the elaboration of such agreements, sending a signal to other ASEAN members. The agreement is also valuable in terms of reputational benefits: Vietnam received it by confirming its importance as an Asian partner of Russia, while the EAEU made a significant call for the function of a new integration center in Eurasia.

WHAT IS COMFORTABLE AND SUSTAINABLE COOLING? EXPLORING THE 'AIRCONDITIONING NEXUS' FROM A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

CHAIR

Kobayashi Satoru

Kyoto University

Rethinking Thermal Comfort in Southeast Asia's Urban Landscape

Chika Yamada

Kyoto University

The Southeast Asian region confronts disproportionately severe consequences of climate change, including the rising heat stress in urban areas. While air conditioning (AC) is often hailed as a solution for creating comfortable indoor spaces, in the context of Indonesia, there are four concerns regarding its widespread use: economic disparity limiting access to AC, resulting in thermal inequity; exacerbation of the heat island effect, posing health risks; the energy-intensive nature of AC coupled with the country's reliance on fossil fuels, leading to higher carbon emissions; and the shift towards enclosed spaces potentially affecting the indigenous social fabric and communal lifestyles. This talk extends the discussion by exploring the historical role of the Global North in influencing the standardization and globalization of thermal comfort and modernity. The presentation delves deeper into the concept of thermal comfort within urban settings in Indonesia, exploring the complex relationship between public and private spaces, and its role as a determinant of health for its inhabitants. Additionally, it considers the role of green and windy spaces in redefining what comfortable spaces mean. The discussion provides a nuanced understanding of the socio-environmental implications of AC in Southeast Asia, offering insights into sustainable urban living in the face of escalating climate challenges.

Keeping Cool in Metro Manila During the Pandemic: From Hyper-conditioned Environments to Public Green Spaces to Indoor Microclimates

Czarina Saloma-Akpedonu

Ateneo de Manila University

The use of artificially cooled air is associated with malls and middle-class homes in tropical Metro Manila. With air-conditioning in homes being used sparingly due to the high cost of unsubsidized electricity, the hyper-conditioned malls becomes spaces where cooling down is experienced at no direct cost. Further, despite the ubiquity of the malls, public green spaces, which are marked by fewer pecuniary pursuits, limited behavioral and access control, and minimal environmental conditioning, have surprisingly been preserved as a means through which diverse groups of people enjoy cool air. However, during Metro Manila's two-year COVID-19 lockdown which closed down public outdoor spaces, kept malls shut down for a time, and introduced work from home, the organization of everyday life around keeping cool changed. The indoor microclimate—the patterns of ventilation, vegetation, and other factors that affect thermal comfort—in homes became a site where material contexts (e.g., spaces, objects, infrastructures, technologies); competencies (e.g., skills, meanings); and institutional structures (e.g., systems of provisioning, norms) were (re) produced, transmitted, received, evaluated, and integrated into existing knowledge systems. How did people seek to achieve 'sustainable wellbeing' in epistemically critical but pragmatic terms? This presentation uses data from qualitative interviews with individuals who worked from home during lockdown in the capital region of the Philippines to revisit the nature and dynamics of sociomateriality around keeping cool.

Balancing Comfort and Sustainability in Air Conditioning—from the Corporate Perspective

Miharu Uchiyama and Hiroshi Aihara

Kyoto University; Daikin Industrial Technology Innovation Center

According to the IEA report, the stock of air conditioning units in Southeast Asia is projected to grow from 40 million units in 2017 to 300 million units by 2040 (a 7.5-fold increase) on the back of economic development. This means

that 200 GW of new electricity will be needed for cooling alone, which will account for about 30 percent of peak electricity demand. At the same time, global warming and urbanization are making air conditioning not a luxury but a necessity to ensure adequate level of QoL and health, making finding ways to cool spaces while reducing environmental impact is an urgent issue. A joint research project between Kyoto University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) and Daikin Industries, Ltd. is exploring ways to provide air conditioning in tropical/subtropical areas that can truly enhance quality of life while reducing environmental impact, considering the local climate, culture, and community. In our presentation, we would like to introduce our awareness of the social issues surrounding air conditioning and some of our efforts to solve them from a corporate perspective.



DAY THREE

Parallel Session 8

FROM NON-STATE TO STATE ACTORS: POST-PEACE AGREEMENT GOVERNANCE IN ACEH AND THE BANGSAMORO

CHAIR

Miriam Coronel Ferrer

Independent Researcher

Old Structure, New Forms: the Free Aceh Movement's Recasting Post-Disarmament

Miriam Coronel Ferrer

2023 Ramon Magsaysay Awardee

Studies on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of erstwhile fighters following a peace agreement have examined various conditions that have led to recidivism or return to arms of decommissioned combatants. Combining macro- and micro-levels of analysis, this paper will examine why majority of ex-combatants in the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka in Aceh have not rearmed and remobilized in the last 19 years since GAM signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the Indonesian government. Why have most ex-fighters been effectively mainstreamed in regular politics and livelihoods—including into criminality which are all part and parcel of the normal social fabric of Indonesia's political economy characterized by patronage, nepotism and rent-seeking? An examination of the transitioning of the former GAM structure into political parties and a civic organization explores how utilizing the former command structure in these formations have supported ex-combatants' political and economic reintegration despite the weaknesses of the DDR programs and their varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the outcomes. The paper concludes with the consequences of this transmutation and current challenges as the post-Agreement period completes its two decades.

Armed Politics in the Bangsamoro

Georgi Engelbrecht

International Crisis Group

The pinnacle of the Bangsamoro peace process has been the formation of an interim regional entity formally governing the Bangsamoro region. At present, there are three major actors dominating politics and the political economy of the region: Former rebels of the Moro fronts, traditional politicians/clans and the national government in Manila. Layers of peace and conflict are intertwined and localized in the region. In particular, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which is at the steering wheel of the transition, has seen changes throughout the years, including its government experience. This presentation will focus on the MILF in its various capacities as a fractured revolutionary movement but also decentralized political organization—and its linkages to the other two power players (national government and the clans). It will paint the picture of an emerging “armed politics” order in Bangsamoro that is complex, layered but potentially fragile.

First elections under rebel governance: Lay of the ‘electoral’ land in the Bangsamoro, (Institute for Autonomy and Governance, Notre Dame University, Cotabato City)

Benedicto Bacani

Institute of Autonomy and Governance

The first regional Parliamentary elections in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) is to be held in May 2025. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) that entered into a peace agreement with the Philippine government in 2014 has ruled the interim government of the BARMM as part of the peace deal since 2019. The outcome of the May 2025 elections, where MILF’s political party, the United Bangsamoro Justice Party (UBJP) will be running against entrenched political families, indicates the extent by which rebel governance and the progressive policies including electoral reforms that have been put in place resonate with voters. The presentation will focus, among others, on the baseline data on BARMM’s electorate leading to the historic May 2025 elections.

PERFORMANCE AND HERITAGE (RE)CREATING SEA

CHAIR

Amparo Adelina Umali

University of the Philippines Diliman

Local Wisdom Identity and Cultural Revitalization of Jaranan Mataraman in Sanan Village, East Java, Indonesia: A Qualitative and Ethnographic Approach

Ilham Baskoro and Aidatul Fitriyah

Universitas Airlangga

Jaranan Mataraman is a form of traditional arts performance that combines dance, music, and visual aspects. This research aims to explore and analyze the representation of the local wisdom of the Jaranan Mataraman culture in Sanan Village, Blitar Regency, East Java, Indonesia. This research uses the qualitative method and ethnographic approach. The researcher collected data through observation and open-ended interviews with Jaranan Mataraman artists, local public figures, and the local community. Data analysis was carried out using ethnographic analysis techniques. The results of this research consists of: (1) The history and dynamic of Jaranan Mataraman in Sanan Village; (2) The role and function of Jaranan Mataraman in local community life; (3) The influence of modernization of Jaranan Mataraman practices and values; (4) The efforts to preserve and revitalize Jaranan culture amidst the challenges of the times. Furthermore, the result of this research can contribute to the use of Jaranan Mataraman art as entertainment as well as providing education about local history through living history presentation. In addition, this research can give recommendations to relevant stakeholders in formulating policies that support the preservation and development of local traditional arts. Apart from that, this art can soon be designated an intangible cultural heritage in performing arts. Therefore, this research urgently encourages the government to give special attention to artists in order to support the aspirations of Indonesian art.

Spanish Colonial Manila in Transition, ca 1790–1820: As Reflected in the *Protocolos de Manila* or Works of the Escribano Real y Publico

Nariko Sugaya

Ehime University

This paper attempts to shed light on and depict how various people in Spanish colonial Manila coped with the changing environments of the period; i.e., in the process of transition from early modern to modern in the colony, ca. 1790–1820. Based on the analyses of the relevant cases drawn from the *Protocolos de Manila* or notarial documents preserved in the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP). As part of the Bourbon reforms, the Spanish colonial government started to implement measures to develop the colonial economy and society. The diversification of the colony's foreign trade by encouraging commercial agriculture for exportation was one. As a result, Spanish Manila became increasingly cosmopolitan, as aside from traditional Chinese merchants and immigrants, more Europeans and North Americans seeking business opportunities began to visit and stay in Spanish Manila. Meanwhile, the Spanish colonial government took measures to limit Chinese residents in the colony to Catholics, resulting in the rise of the mestizo population that would soon act as an agent of colonial socio-economic transformation. This paper tries to look at the processes of socio-economic transformation of the day, as reflected in the protocolo documents written by the escribano real or notary public who recorded the activities of colonial lives during that period.

De/Centering Indonesian Art Practice: A Critical Analysis of the History of Indonesia Art Competitions from 1994–2015

Genardi Atmadiredja

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

This research employs a qualitative methodology, with a case study approach, to examine the historical trajectory of art competitions in Indonesia spanning from 1994 to 2015. The study investigates the extent to which these competitions contribute to the process of de/centering. De/centering refers to a deliberate move away from the prevailing central focus towards the peripheral, with the aim of emphasizing the many and intricate experiences, histories, and

cultures of the region as narrated by Southeast Asians themselves. This study investigates the correlation between the artistic practices observed in competitions and the socio-political context of the period. It utilizes data extracted from catalogs, newspapers, and artworks. The study contends that art practices subvert the prevailing narratives and conventions enforced by the Western powers and the New Order regime, while articulating the viewpoints and lived experiences of Indonesian artists and communities. The study also examines the evolution of art practices, particularly following the Reformasi era, when Indonesian artists gained greater autonomy and motivation to produce art that is both sensitive and critical towards the societal challenges prevalent in the region. The study asserts that art competitions in Indonesia have a substantial impact on the advancement and endorsement of Indonesian art practice and aesthetics. Additionally, they contribute to the shaping and transformation of Indonesian identity and culture.

Exploring the Relationship between Modern Art in Taiwan and the Philippines: The Taiwanese Modern Painting Movement (1950–1960)

Ya-liang Chang

Huanggang Normal University

This paper addresses the often-overlooked contribution of the Philippine art scene to modern art in Taiwan, challenging the prevalent view that attributes Taiwan's art development solely to the Japanese colonial period, pre-1949 China, and Western art. Focusing on the Taiwanese Modern Painting Movement (1950–1960), it re-examines the developmental relationship between Taiwan and the Philippines. Filipino scholar Patrick D. Flores highlights the challenge to a Western-centric perspective in contemporary art history. Recent Southeast Asian art advocacy for an 'art region' aims to break free from Euro-American dominance, favoring a local perspective. In Taiwan's modern art development, influence extends beyond the West to include the Philippines. Artistic exchange between Taiwan and the Philippines began in the 1950s. At that time, the Philippines was not only a pioneer in the Southeast Asian region but also served as a learning model for Taiwan's art community. The influence even extended to the development of the Taiwanese Modern Painting Movement, such as The Fifth Moon Group. However, this aspect of history is seldom discussed. Recognizing this gap, this paper centers around

the 1950–1960 Taiwanese Modern Painting Movement, reevaluating the relationship between Taiwan and the Philippines in modern art from a local perspective and thereby revealing lesser-known facets of art history.

Sasando Music in the Socio-Religious Life of the Rotenese

Yohanes Don Bosko Bakok

University of the Philippines Diliman

Sasando is a traditional music instrument from the island of Rote, Indonesia. People play this instrument in various events such as receptions, art performances, political events and Christian religious activities. It has also been accepted as the symbol of the Rotenese cultural identity even among the Christian Churches. This study aims to discuss the contribution of sasando music to the sustainability of the Christian mission on the island of Rote and the challenges in using it as a supporting medium for the Christian mission on this island. The result shows that people usually play sasando as accompaniment music during Christian liturgy celebrations. Sasando is also used as a symbol of the cultural identity of the Rotenese Christians. The challenge of using sasando in the context of Christian mission in Rote is the decreasing interest of the younger generation in sasando music with the consequence that currently there are only a few young sasando players in the Christian Churches. Another challenge is the lack of pentatonic liturgy songs that are suitable to be accompanied by pentatonic sasando. Based on this phenomenon, the suggestion that needs to be considered is that the Rotenese Christian church needs to organize a regular sasando music training program for Christian youths and provide more pentatonic liturgical songs that are suitable to be accompanied by sasando music.

GEOPOLITICS AND SOCIETY

CHAIR

Sol Iglesias

University of the Philippines Diliman

Digital Narratives in Geopolitical Conflicts: A Comparative Analysis of Facebook Discourse in the Philippines and Vietnam on the South China Sea

Maulana Amrullah, Huynh Tam Sang, and Aletheia Valenciano

National Sun Yat-sen University; Vietnam National University; University of the Philippines Diliman

This study investigates public narratives and sentiments on Facebook in the Philippines and Vietnam following Xi Jinping's re-election in March 2023, a period marking a significant shift in China's stance on the South China Sea. Utilizing a constructivist approach from International Relations, the research examines how digital discussions reflect and influence social constructs and national identities in these two countries. The methodology integrates Structural Topic Modeling (STM) and sentiment analysis, implemented through the R programming language, to quantitatively analyze Facebook content. This is complemented by qualitative discourse analysis to interpret the subtleties of the data. Preliminary STM results reveal shared themes such as national interests and anti-China sentiment in both countries, alongside notable differences in other topics. Sentiment analysis indicates a trend toward negative sentiment in both contexts, with some differences in proportion. This comparative study underscores how socio-political environments in the Philippines and Vietnam shape public discussions about the South China Sea. Its aim is to enhance understanding of social media's role in international conflicts, providing insights relevant to international relations, political communication, and comparative politics.

Mediating Soft Power: Examining the role of Filipino domestic media on the reception of Chinese soft power

Rul Lie Eugene Tan

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute

In 2013, Xi Jinping extolled the need to 'tell China[s] stories well' (Z.A. Huang 2019). However, China has had to defend its overseas influence efforts against accusations of debt-trap diplomacy and censorship. Yet it continues to retain significant influence and attraction among Southeast Asian countries, presenting a mixed image of China's non-military overseas influence. Many studies of Chinese soft power continue to reflect a 'wielding state bias', celebrating China's successes as a result of its significant cultural and economic resources, while laying the blame squarely on China's lack of coordination of hard and soft power resources when its 'Charm offensive' fails. Yet, by overwhelmingly focusing on China as the subject of inquiry, we cannot understand the complex and nuanced response of recipient countries observed. Instead, one needs to turn the analytical focus from the wielding state to the target state; examining how they exercise their agency over a wielding state's soft power. Specifically, I address the question, 'How does the Philippines' domestic media portray China and its soft power initiatives in the coverage of the BRI and Confucius Institutes?'. Using textual analysis, I show how domestic media utilizes the mechanisms of reframing and linking to construct an overarching discourse of a Faustian bargain using the frames of Opportunity and Threat, while also shaping the balance of the discourse by tuning the relative volume of each of these frames. I show that domestic media institutions are not simply passive receivers but are active agents in the process of exerting soft power.

Dynamic Policies of Indonesia and Malaysia Concerning Indonesian Migrant Workers

Yumasdaleni and Della Amrina Yusra

Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN); UIN Sultan Thaha Jambi

Indonesian migrant workers have made a significant impact on Malaysia's economic development in recent decades. This article analyzes the dynamic policies implemented by Indonesia and Malaysia regarding Indonesian migrant workers (IMWs), focusing on regulatory aspects, rights protection,

and bilateral collaboration between the two countries. Firstly, the article provides an overview of the history and development of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. Through a policy analysis approach, we explore the evolution of regulations and legal frameworks shaping the employment relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia. Changes in policy regulations encompass aspects of rights protection, worker welfare, and the handling of human rights violations cases. Subsequently, the article discusses collaborative efforts between the two countries to improve working conditions and the welfare of IMWs. This analysis includes joint policies, bilateral agreements, and the implementation of training programs to enhance the skills of migrant workers. Additionally, this research evaluates the effectiveness of dispute resolution mechanisms implemented by the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia. The analysis results highlight challenges and opportunities in the implementation of policies related to migrant workers. Aspects such as corporate compliance, the role of labor recruitment agencies, and efforts to prevent worker exploitation are particularly emphasized in this article. In conclusion, this article provides an in-depth understanding of the dynamic policy landscape related to IMWs between Indonesia and Malaysia, offering recommendations for further improvements in safeguarding the rights of migrant workers and enhancing bilateral cooperation in the future.

Refugee Crisis in Southeast Asia: Role of the Philippines in Terms of Refugee Protection in the Region

Rogue Evangelio

University of the Philippines Diliman

The Philippines has a longstanding history of accepting international refugees worldwide. As such, various international organizations have applauded the humanitarian efforts of the said country. This paper will examine the refugee crisis in Southeast Asia and how different countries in the region and ASEAN respond to it. It would focus on the actions and efforts of the Philippines concerning safeguarding and dealing with international refugees within the Southeast Asian region. In addition, this paper will discuss the lessons that Southeast Asian countries or ASEAN can learn from the country concerning refugee protection. The paper concludes that the Philippines, alongside different Southeast Asian countries and ASEAN, still needs improvement in upholding refugee protection in the region.

Bernardo Carpio at Sea: Competing Perspectives on an Independent Philippine Foreign Policy

Vincent Carlo Legara and Hansley Juliano

Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine foreign policy debates continue to be dominated by long-standing security ties with the United States of America, further complicated by China's competing territorial claims over the West Philippine Sea. There is a need to chart an idea of Filipino-oriented international relations away from the historical grudges of Asia-Pacific actors and Cold War-era ideological divides. This paper argues for revisiting opportunities across (a) the Philippines' multilateral agreements within the Asia-Pacific and (b) alternative forms of solidarity facilitated by global civil society organizations. The changing nature of the Philippines' multilateral alliances, such as the growing presence of non-US NATO allies and the PH-JP Reciprocal Access Agreement, will be considered. In addition to this, we consider how multilateral security and commons-oriented regional governance framework regarding maritime Southeast Asian resources advocated for by civil society organizations within affected countries better complement multilateral approaches. While, at face value, these developments primarily benefit the US strategy of containing Chinese presence in the West Philippine Sea, these are necessary elements for building a more consistent and independent Asia-Pacific security bloc beyond the two competing powers. The paper ultimately argues that it is more beneficial for the Philippines to continue supporting a multilateral global arrangement which may more likely strengthen middle-income countries within the Asia-Pacific, as well as foster East and Southeast Asian solidarity, instead of acceding to overlapping bilateral commitments imposed by Chinese hegemony.

THE POLITICS OF FRIENDSHIP IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EMPIRES AND NATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, 16TH TO 20TH CENTURIES

CHAIR

Jorge Bayona

El Colegio de Mexico

Forging/Forcing Friendship: The Micropolitics of Friend-Making and Violence in Filipino-Spanish Oceanic Contact and Colonial Conquest

Arthit Jiamrattanyoo

Chulalongkorn University

From time immemorial, terminologies and practices of friendship pervaded oceanic encounters across the globe. Yet friendship, unlike hostility and war, has until recently been relatively neglected as a subject of historical and anthropological inquiries in its own right. To illustrate the centrality of friendship in intercultural encounters, this paper zeros in on Filipino-Spanish relations in the sixteenth century, understood as filigrees of sensory and affective entanglements, and draws attention to their materiality and power dynamics in friend-making. It shows how the Spanish ideology of imperial friendship and Philippine traditions of friend-making were brought to bear on their actions in face-to-face contact, and how various undertakings and experiences of friendship were implicated in the Spanish colonization of the Philippines and its resistance. It argues in particular that such encounters entailed a micropolitics of amity that consisted in corporeal and communicative acts and non-events of friendliness such as hailing, gifting, feasting, and covenanting, each of which was a recurrent ground of contestation and negotiation. On the one hand, friendly association and military coercion were espoused by the Spanish colonial vanguard as complementary rather than irreconcilable courses of action. Characteristic of early Philippine encounters was the presence of force whereby Filipino-Spanish arrangements of friendship were shaped. On the other hand, friend-making practices were not only instrumentalized by indigenous Filipinos in their initial contact with Spaniards, but also measures of resort in their endurance and counter-hegemonic solidarity against Spanish colonial domination.

Religious Rivalry and the Language of Amity and Kinship in Early Modern Maluku

Benjamin Moseley

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

In the early sixteenth century, Portuguese sailors arrived in the islands of Maluku in present-day eastern Indonesia. In addition to seeking the highly valued 'trinity' of spices—clove, nutmeg, and mace—that attracted European merchants and sailors as well as merchants from other nations to islands of Maluku, the Portuguese were keen to spread Christianity and combat Islam. These latter goals were comparatively straightforward in the context of the Iberian Peninsula and northwestern Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, in the far-distant islands of Maluku, where their resources were limited, the Portuguese discovered that the production and trade of cloves were dominated by several polities whose royal families had converted to Islam. These polities, including the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, often fought with one another. Moreover, they conceived of their regional politics in terms of kinship. The Portuguese, and later the Spanish and Dutch, nevertheless formed alliances with several of these polities and defined their relationships in terms of peace and friendship. Yet, the Portuguese desire to convert Malukans to Christianity clashed with the Islamization effort of their local allies. Diplomatic letters and contemporary reports reveal efforts from the Europeans and their Malukan allies to condone their interfaith relations using the language of friendship and kinship even as their political, military, and proselytizing actions demonstrate clear frustration with one another.

Re-inscribing amity: Christian-Muslim relations in the Philippines in the face of American Empire in the 1920s

Jorge Bayona

El Colegio de Mexico

After years of a policy of Filipinization of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Philippines aiming towards its independence, a new governor-general attempted to slow down, or even reverse, the process by emphasizing the narrative of longstanding enmity between the Muslim peoples of Mindanao and the Christian peoples of Luzon and Visayas and arguing that independence would only lead to interfaith strife in Mindanao. Thus, the

solution was either to delay independence indefinitely or partition of the colony into Christian and Muslim regions, with the island of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago becoming permanent American possessions while the Christian regions became independent. Faced with this partitionist challenge, Filipino politicians and intellectuals sought to reframe the issue by bringing forth a narrative of amity between both communities. While there may have been clashes in the past, those were only the result of Spanish colonialism pitting them against each other; furthermore, recent history had shown that (Christian) Filipino administration of the Muslim regions—and immigration into those regions—had led to interfaith understanding, harmony, and brotherhood. This was an important shift in the way the matter was discussed in the very early American colonial period, during which Christian Filipinos recoiled at the use of Filipino Muslims as representatives of the country in expositions in the United States and openly mulled the military measures they would take against the Muslims in case they should rebel against the authority of an independent Manila. Friendship—or the lack thereof—had become an arena of colonial and anticolonial contestation.

TRANSNATIONALISM AND PLACEMAKING

CHAIR

Noel Moratilla

University of the Philippines Diliman

Confucian Practices, Cultural Remittance, and Hybridization: Placemaking in Vietnam of Vietnamese Migrants in Thailand

Le Van Ton and Achariya Choowonglert

Naresuan University

The impact of remittances on development extends beyond mere economic growth for families and communities. Through a few years-long multi-sited ethnography, this paper aims to explore the experiences and cultural practices of Vietnamese migrants working in Thailand. The paper specifically focuses on the influence of Confucian practices, cultural remittance, and hybridization on the process of placemaking within this migrant community in Vietnam. It sheds light on the profound impact of remittances on

development and the positive transformations they bring to the migrants' places of origin. Specifically, it delves into the Confucian practices, in shaping the identities of both the places of origin and Vietnamese migrants employed in Thailand. The authors assert that migrants engaged in the informal economy have the annual opportunity to return home and contribute to the economy and culture of their homeland. This process, known as transculturality, occurs as cultural remittances gradually hybridize with the local culture over a span of three decades. It fosters the necessary conditions for individuals to construct new identities and actively contribute to the process of placemaking. Consequently, the place of origin undergoes a significant transformation, transitioning from a negative perception to actively creating a more prominent, modern, and civilized community. This shift broadens the definition of what it means to be 'a good Vietnamese,' firmly rooted in the ideals of Confucianism.

Reweaving Social Fabric: Tourism Strategies in Upholding and Revitalizing Chinese Culture in the Pecinan Area of Jakarta

Tatang Rusata and Yoka Pramadi

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Chinese residents in Jakarta's Chinatown of Glodok have been targets of violence from time to time. Primordial attachments as a minority with memories of racial fears that break social ties makes integration schemes with minority groups unrealistic. The tendency of ethnic Chinese to move closer to sources of power with the aim of obtaining protection has the consequence of loosening social ties and makes them vulnerable to being targeted again in times of crisis. Not wanting to be trapped in previous stereotypes, the Chinese community in Glodok has ideas and initiatives to develop inclusive cultural tourism as a strategy to reorganize social ties while promoting Chinese culture. This research seeks to observe and analyze the strategies developed by ethnic Chinese in the Glodok area to build a social order through a tourism approach. By using qualitative methods which include ethnographic observation techniques and interviews with various parties, such as tourism managers, cultural experts, Chinese residents and the government, it was found that tourism activities helped encourage ethnic Chinese in Glodok to more openly display their identity and culture. Chinese

cultural festivals that involve local communities play an important role in fostering social order and eroding exclusive identities while demonstrating their efforts to integrate with the majority group.

The Art of Self-Reliant Community: Inclusive Development in Peri-Urban Areas of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Desmiwati, Yoppie Chriastian, and Retno Widiastuti

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aim to ensure that no one is left behind in development, yet many marginalized communities are still excluded from the development process. Humanizing development is essential to avoid social exclusion, and this inclusive development prioritizes social and socio-cultural dimensions in the development process. In Tembi, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, inclusive development has been achieved through a process of humanization that requires order, security, and justice. The study used a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods based on observations and interviews. The inclusive development model in Tembi has been able to generate community participation, especially for marginalized communities. The study found visible changes in the development process, such as vulnerable groups entering the tourism industry and becoming the main subject of the Tembi tourist village, the success of empowerment efforts, and resilience and social energy becoming collective pillars. Inclusive development in Tembi is built by a sense of justice and security in one social space, not by capital or habitus imposed by a system. The ultimate goal is that development in Tembi means attaining prosperity while living in peace together.

De-Centering Urban Studies from the Edge of Southeast Asia: A Case Study from Vietnam

Thi Mai Thoa Tran

Université du Québec à Montréal

Following the recent postcolonial turn in urban studies, researchers in this field have actively engaged with the call to de-center the production of knowledge by shifting the geographical focus of urban theorizing to the cities of Global South and, increasingly, to those of the so-called Global East/

Southeast. And yet, despite calls for urban studies scholars to move beyond primate cities of the Global North, South and East, cities of Southeast Asia, especially the small and middle-sized ones, have not yet received full attention with respect to their own agency and unique trajectories of urban development. In the case of Vietnam, most research has been about its two biggest metropolises at the expense of other secondary towns. In those studies, Vietnamese cities have only been represented as pursuing global urbanism by means of passively emulating examples set up by regional developed cities of Singapore, South Korea, etc. There is a lack of attention to an emerging distinct mode of city-making which draws upon endogenous visions, ambitions and imaginaries which is driven by domestic capital and expertise actively mobilized by Vietnamese urban stakeholders. This is a far cry from the totalizing influences of international actors as usually assumed. In my paper, I will present a case study of this home-grown version of aspirational urbanism that is increasingly popular in Vietnamese cities. My study thus calls for close attention to distinct actually existing urban-making processes in Southeast Asia which do not fit easily into prevailing models theorized from other regions of the Global South/East.

LABOR REGIMES

CHAIR

Benjamin Velasco

University of the Philippines Diliman

Vietnam's Evolving Labor Regime: Social Upgrading in Global Value Chains or Passive Revolution

Paul Quintos

City University of Hong Kong

The global development establishment claims that the best way for global South countries to develop in today's globalized economy is to join and upgrade their participation in global value chains (GVCs). However, most of the literature on GVCs either sidelines labor in the analysis or treats labor as a mere factor in production whose significance lies in its impact on the competitiveness of firms. This paper highlights the role of labor as a strategic actor in global production using the power resources approach. It starts from

the premise that labor and capital are engaged in a struggle for value capture in GVCs. It explores how labor regimes shape and are shaped by these struggles at multiple scales with corresponding distributional outcomes. Applying this approach to Viet Nam, this paper argues that recent reforms in the country that ostensibly strengthen workers' rights in accordance with fundamental ILO conventions do not necessarily signal better conditions for labor. Rather, they suggest that the labor regime in VietNam is evolving from bureaucratic despotism to hegemonic despotism due to labor militancy from below, indirect pressure from labor from other countries, and the hegemonic strategies of transnational capital and the Vietnamese party-state. As firms continue to increase the precarity of labor while turning to tripartism, conciliation and bargaining to blunt the structural power of labor, these institutional reforms attempt to fulfill the twin objectives of sustaining global capital accumulation and securing national legitimation, hence a form of passive revolution in the Gramscian sense.

'Precarious' Proletarianization in Southeast Asian Peripheries: A Comparative Political Economy of Proletarianization in Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines

Gabriel Pascua

Ateneo de Manila University

Guy Standing's precariat thesis posits that a new social class characterized by chronic uncertainty and insecurity is emerging from the distinct form of proletarianization found in developed countries. Ever since his ground-shaking thesis, the precariat question has been the subject of much interdisciplinary debate, especially as it connects to the political economic implications of neoliberalism. However, scarce literature has been produced on the validity of the precariat thesis on the Global South, especially in countries where Marxist-influenced political economy still holds sway. This study argues that the precariat had always existed in periphery countries characterized by strong remnants of its feudalistic and colonial past. This study employs a historical materialist approach in conducting a comparative political economy of proletarianization of Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

Philippine Labor Regime: State and Neoliberal Capitalism

Kazuhiro Ota

Kobe University

Labor conditions, in general, change in accordance with the development of global capitalism. The Philippine case should be analyzed by taking two important factors into account. One is political democratization after 1986, which expanded workers' participatory opportunities in policy and institution building. The other is economic liberalization, which promotes business competition and unfavorable working conditions. These two factors sometimes function in cooperation but have also been in opposition at other times. Every actor pursues its own interest in the new context. Capital attempts to maximize profit by taking advantage of all possible means. A section of the working class tries to strengthen its rights by means of democratized institutions, while others undertake individual strategies for their own survival. The state promotes its industrial policy and economic development while mitigating the conflicts between capital and labor for social order and stability. This paper examines how these actors pursue their interests and interact with each other in the particular context of the Philippines. It tries to grasp the labor regime unique to the Philippines, which is constituted by an antagonistic mixture of actors. It also considers the particular form of the Philippine state in responding to global neoliberal capitalism.

Resisting the Hero Discourse in Advocating for Filipino Migrant Nurses

Jean Encinas-Franco

University of the Philippines Diliman

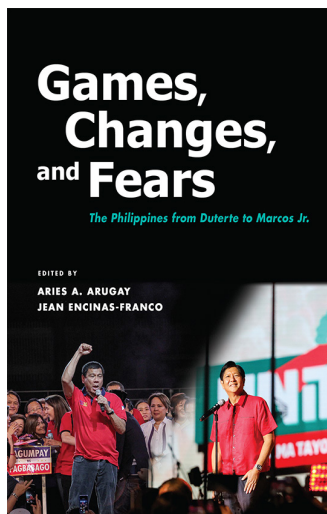
The Philippines is one of the world's leading sources of migrant health professionals, particularly nurses. It is among one of the top remittance recipient countries in the world owing to the presence of migrant Filipinos in more than 200 countries and territories. Migrant Filipinos are known and valorized as 'modern-day heroes', which is also distinctively promoted by state discourse. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, President Rodrigo Duterte issued a ban of migrant health professionals from leaving the country, particularly nurses, who are in great demand all over the world. The idea was

to prevent the feared collapse of an already dismal healthcare system during that time. The ban was widely resisted. Therefore, this paper examines the resistance to the ban by the Philippine Nurses' Association and the Filipino Nurses United, through interviews, focused-group discussions, and document analysis. Overall, using Delehanty and Steele's (2009) concept of ontological security, the paper argues that migrants are able to resist national discourses, and are therefore not always the victims as conventionally portrayed.



BOOK LAUNCH 1

PHILIPPINE POLITICS FROM DUTERTE TO MARCOS JR: A ROUNDTABLE



CHAIR

- Aries Arugay
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN

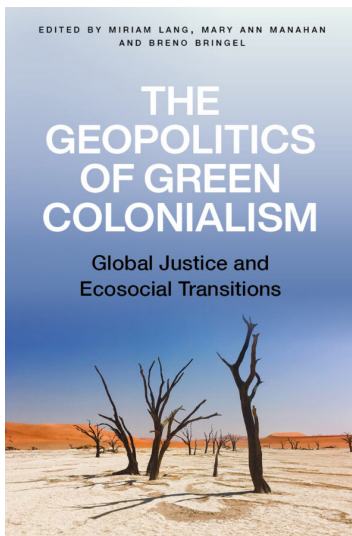
SPEAKERS

- Maria Ela L. Atienza
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN
- Rizza Kaye Cases
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN
- Jean Encinas-Franco
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN
- Ma. Diosa Labiste
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN
- Ruth Lusterio-Rico
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN

Rodrigo Duterte's rise and the Marcoses' return to power have captivated Southeast Asia watchers and the rest of the world. That the spectacle of strongman rule has proven attractive to most Filipinos is no longer in doubt, with the strong electoral mandate garnered by Ferdinand Marcos' Jr. in 2022. Whether their capture of state power is in any way connected and what this portends about the country's democratic future is a key theme of a recent publication titled *Games, Changes, and Fears*. This proposed roundtable gathers the Filipino academics who analyzed this political succession and what it means for Asia's oldest republic. Topics for discussion include the Philippine economy, domestic politics, foreign policy, and society. The analyses suggest that while some policies and practices continue under the Marcos Jr. administration, there have been pivotal changes indicating a break from the past. The roundtable also examines ways of recalibrating Philippine political, economic, and social conditions that could address democratic backsliding, economic challenges, and societal polarization.

BOOK LAUNCH 2

THE GEOPOLITICS OF GREEN COLONIALISM: GLOBAL JUSTICE AND ECOSOCIAL TRANSITIONS



CHAIR

- Joseph Purugganan
FOCUS PHILIPPINES

SPEAKERS

- Mary Ann Manahan
GHENT UNIVERSITY
- Rachmi Hertanti
THE PHILIPP UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG

The time for denial is over. Across the Global North, the question of how we should respond to the climate crisis has been answered: with a shift to renewables, electric cars, carbon trading and hydrogen.

Beneath the sustainability branding lurk new environmental injustices and green colonialism. The green growth and clean energy plans of the Global North require the large-scale extraction of strategic minerals from the Global South. The geopolitics of transition implies sacrificing not only territories, but truly sustainable ways of inhabiting this world.

The speakers will address the specifics of this new green colonialism and the alternatives being constructed by activists and policymakers in the Global South, especially in Asia, in coordination with allies in the Global North. Presented by the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS) Alternative Development Programme, Focus on the Global South, Philippines Programme and Global Working Group Beyond Development of Political Science, UP Diliman.

FILM SCREENING

KARATUAN: KUDYAPIQ SA LUMANG MAGUINDANAO

Dr. Jose Buenconsejo

This is a documentary on the Maguindanaon two-stringed lute kudyapi, which tradition is sustained by Karatuan Kalanduyan, teacher and instrument maker in Bulod, Sultan sa Barongis, Maguindanao. Associated with courtship in old Maguindanao culture, kudyapi music draws a resemblance in its tuning with the gongs-laid-in-row kulintang. The sustained sound of drone and ornamented melody characterizes the sensations that one gets in listening to both instruments. This aesthetics is also evident in the wooden and bamboo kulintang as these are heard in between the seasons of waiting for growing rice that the irrigated plains of Maguindanao are known for. This documentary therefore connects human leisure to practical activities, especially in the tenure of land once known as sharecropping.



Introduction of the Keynote Speaker

Dr. Ramon Guillermo

Syed Farid Alatas is a professor of sociology at the National University of Singapore and he made his theories in critical scholarship advancing intellectual movement for autonomous science tradition in Asia. Forgive me if my introduction is more leading personal thing, you can read more of his CV in our program. I think I first met Farid in the late 1900s, in the last decade of the previous century in our legendary UP Faculty Center, many years before it got burned down. It was in the late of this speaking that UP Professor Zeus Salazar, one of the most eminent of Filipino social scientists requested that I, as an MA student of that time, make an English class station of one of his important essays for an issue of a Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science. Then a lot of us was editing. Anyone acquainted with Salazar would know that having one of his works translated into English was already a great concession of his art. Anyway, I don't know that Farid was able to convince him that he published in English in a foreign journal. This issue came out in 2000. Alatas' introduction of that volume was entitled, "An Introduction of the Idea of Alternative Discourses, which came out several years before his path-breaking book, *Alternative Discourses in Asian Social Sciences Responses to Eurocentrism*, which came out on stage in 2006. In the context of Philippine social science and indigenization, the social sciences indigenization movement in the late 1990s, Alatas' very effective immanent critique of nativism was particularly refreshing and valuable. Later on in 2015, a seminar was held here in the Asian Center, over there, on the future of Philippine studies, where both Salazar and I made presentations. I presented there a strongly Alatasian reconfiguration of Salazar's pantayong pananaw thought. So, it was a kind of Alatasian version, you know I think of, Salazar's pantayong pananaw. Needless to say, Salazar was not happy about this and we had an argument after that presentation. But from then on, I had always remembered my friends and colleagues in Philippine studies here in the Philippines to read the work of Alatas. By the way, Salazar turned 90 years old this year. I was there at the celebration where I think Caroline Hau also made a video message in honor of him. In connection with Farid's pursuit of autonomous social science traditions, he's also known in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia, for his advocacy in reading Jose Rizal as a founding social scientist in Asia. In fact, he is a former militant

advocate of this than anyone I know in the Philippines. There's a lot of talk at present about decolonial and decoloniality here and everywhere—from Paris conferences and the Philippines—this year. Alatas was already around way before this became a bandwagon. Moreover, I think his approach is still one which can best overcome in a positive direction the major problems of decolonial thought which has been usually formulated as decolonization without being decolonizing. Let's now give this floor to Professor Alatas.

DAY TWO

Keynote Lecture 1

Syed Farid Alatas

National University of Singapore

Good morning, everyone. I must first of all thank Bomen for the very nice and personal introduction. First, I need to thank Bomen and the other organizers for giving me the privilege of speaking to all of you. I always say when I come to the Philippines to speak about Rizal, it's very, it's really just not another cliché. It's really an honor to be able to speak to Filipinos who are all so passionate about him. Now, what I want to do today ... I really want to talk about a tradition of decolonizing discourse that has come from Southeast Asia.

The theme of this conference is Centering Southeast Asia. Now, I'm not sure how we all understand it; I think there are different ways of understanding it. One way of understanding it is that de-centering or removing the West from the center of Southeast Asian studies. That's one we have in mind, but I think that's one of the things that we want to ... it's not to deny the scientific communities the study of Southeast Asia. It's not to deny the West from the study of Southeast Asia, but it is to remove them from the center to the extent that their perspective is West-centric or Eurocentric. Only in that sense. Now, if we then put Asia or Southeast Asia in the center of Southeast Asian studies, how do we understand that?

Yesterday, we had a brilliant talk by Professor Ma. Serena Diokno on the development of Southeast Asian studies within Southeast Asia. So, then we have an idea of what it means to set the Southeast Asia studies within Southeast Asia. But there are different aspects with that. So, for example, we can talk about developing infrastructure and facilities that influence Southeast Asian studies. Of course, in the long run, in infrastructure ... within the facilities, we can talk about hiring and staff of especially academic staff to teach in research. But what is most important, we have done these things in all the countries in Southeast Asia, we have done all

these things, but are we able to present a Southeast Asian perspective? What do we mean by a Southeast Asian perspective? What do we mean by decolonizing perspectives? There's no point in teaching Southeast Asian about Southeast Asia or there's no point in having Southeast Asian studies if our Southeast Asian studies are Eurocentric in nature which is replicating what has been done elsewhere. Now, along those lines, Southeast Asia is not known for creating decolonizing discourses. If you look at other regions of the world, we have very prominent decolonizing discourses at very large. For example, from the Middle East—the context of the Middle East in talking about Edward Said. Right? His ideas about Orientalism. Many people don't realize that they were precursors of Edward Said in the Middle East. We have Abdul-Latif Tibawi. We have Anouar Abdel-Malek. The Egyptian Abdul-Latif Tibawi was a Palestinian. They were actually writing in the 1600s and the 1700s, quite some time before Edward Said. Abdul-Latif is quite known for his essays on the critique of English-speaking orientalist and Anouar Abdel-Malek was an Egyptian Marxist who was well-known for peace studies on Orientalism. This was in the 1960s. So then, now, if you look at India, across well-known studies, the whole schools of traditions ... school of thought; and if you look at Latin America, beginning in the 1960s, the Tennessee hearing ... did you know about the Tennessee hearing?

More recently, the last 20 years or so, you have the emergence of decolonial thought. So, where is Southeast Asia? What is Southeast Asia's constitution to decolonizing discourses? Do we have a contribution? This is what I will want to talk about. Now, before I go on to that, before I talk about the contribution to the decolonizing discourse from Southeast Asia, I just want to say a few words about why we need to decolonize. Because naturally we take it for granted that there is a need to decolonize knowledge. So, there is a need to decolonize knowledge because half of knowledge ... an aspect of knowledge about the world is from the West. There is a great deal of knowledge about the world, about the origins of the world that come from the senses of knowledge creation in the West—the US, the UK, Germany, France, and so on which is brilliant and necessary for us to study. But the problem arises in that such knowledge is Eurocentric. What we mean by Eurocentrism has a number of causes, and I just want to give two examples. I'm interested in two characteristics of Eurocentric knowledge: distortion and silencing.

Let me give an example of distortion. In the study of religion, for decades and for centuries ... The study of religion particularly in anthropology and in sociology has been affected by Eurocentric perspective. Religion has been studied through the lens of Christianity; that is one. And so much so, and it's incredible to me, how backward the study of religion can be that the study of religion in many of the social sciences is based on a conceptual vocabulary that is entirely derived from Christianity. Church, sect, denomination, cult, and so on and so forth. In the study of religion, you will not find one concept that comes from another religion. Now, I'm not suggesting that concepts from Christianity have no implication to the study of other religions. For example, the concept of fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism, derived from Christianity, was an effect that began as a self-designation ... a self ... an attempt to self-describe certain movements in the US, in the UK, for hundred years ago. I don't deny that it's possible to speak of Muslim fundamentalism, and so on and so forth.

But the reverse is also true. Concepts derived from the conceptual vocabulary of other religions such as Islam, Buddhism, and so on and so forth, may also apply to the study of religion in general, not just in Islam. Yet, you do not find these concepts in the study of Islam. Now, so, here you have a sort of a silencing—a marginalization of exclusion of concepts from other traditions. But, it's also a distortion, even the concept of religion itself. Meant to be a universal concept, you know, an umbrella category that encompasses all faiths other than Christianity. But, in practice, when people look at religions, they are looking at religions through the lens of Christianity. Because, the concept of religion or “religio” originates from ... of course from Latin or Greek Christian times, but then, for centuries, in Europe, when you said religio, when you said religion in English, when you said religie in Dutch, it meant Christianity— for centuries. It really was only in the 19th century when European started to use religion to refer to non-Christian religions. But in the 19th century, they began to use religion to refer to non-Christian religions, they were still looking at these religions through the lens of Christianity. So, for example, religion in Christianity means to have or believe in a single deity or a single God. And there's also a belief in revelation ... a scripture. Now, that was used to define other religions as well. So, when they look at Hinduism, they search for scriptures or essential texts. So, they were imposing a definition of religion derived from Christianity on all other religions, so much so that Anthony ... Are you familiar with Anthony Giddens? The British sociologist,

in one of his introductory texts in sociology, the chapter on religion, there is a table on religiosity in indicators of religiosity. This table was about attendance at places of worship across different religions. But interesting is the title of the table was church attendance. Church attendance in Christianity, in Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism ... so you get the impression that the concept of a church is a universal concept that arises through all religions. So, here's an example of looking at other religions through the lens of Christianity.

Now, that the greatest victim of distortion is Hinduism, because Hinduism is to a great extent a creation of Eurocentrism. If you were to fly into India, if you would time travel back to India in the 10th century, you will not find the religion called "Hinduism". The religion that they call Hinduism, if you were in India in the 10th century, you would see that there were actually many religious faith—many religions. These were all amalgamated in the minds of Europeans into one religion which they called Hinduism. The term Hinduism doesn't exist—Hinduism is not a translation of a Sanskrit or a word from an Indian language, there was no conception among the Indians of a unitary religion that they are now calling Hinduism. Proof of that is when you look at the text from pre-modern times, pre-colonial times, for example Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, he was an Uzbek scholar from the 10th century. He spent 13 years in India, studied Sanskrit, studied the religion of India, and it's very clear in his texts that he was looking at different religions in India. Across, he identified Islam and Judaism and Christianity in India, but, apart from that, the religion that we now call Hinduism from his perspective, "there were many religions." That's why he says in his introduction that his aim was to study religions—the plural—of India. Now, further knowledge was done when the Dutch came to Indonesia—the Java, Diwali—and they saw the people there worshipping the same deities that they worship in India, namely Vishnu and Shiva, and they said, "that's Hinduism." So, this idea of Javanese Hinduism and Balinese Hinduism very much was also a construction of the Dutch. But, internalized by the Javanese by the Indonesians, by Balinese, so they themselves called themselves Balinese, Hinduist, Javanese, Hindus, just as the Indians eventually internalized the idea of Hinduism. So, we have massive distortion going on because of Eurocentrism. So, this is the issue of distortion.

And then you have silencing, now the same very few points about that. That social sciences, after decades, of the critique of Eurocentrism in the

social sciences began centuries ago. But I'm speaking about the critique of Eurocentrism that began when the social scientists were established in Asia began in America. So, in the 19th century, let's say that the social sciences began to be established in the 19th century beginning in Latin America, then in the Philippines, and much later in Africa and Asian countries. In African countries, probably the 20th century, mostly after the 2nd World War. There are many critiques of Eurocentrism since decades ago, but the ignite on how we teach is minimal. Because we do a study on causal alliances. You'll find that there's almost a total absence of non-Western voices. Any cause of interaction of political theory to sociological theory to historiography and so on and so forth ... they were being missing. Thinkers from the non-West, Asian American and Latin American, were really quite—you know, sometimes, I think, we don't realize how backwardness is in our parochiality because we don't apply the same standards to cuisine. Would you tolerate that there are no Filipino restaurants in Manila? That, you know, what you get on a daily basis is an American food? Would you tolerate that? Would you tolerate that there's no Filipino music or Filipino art? You will not tolerate it. Why do we tolerate this ... as far as knowledge is concerned? Knowledge creation is part of culture production. We don't accept Eurocentric cultural production in other areas but we do it in the intellectual field. So, there's something wrong with the way we think. So, there is the need to ... You know, we have 500 years of colonization since 1492, since the colonization of America and we have almost 500 years of anti-colonial thought. And decolonial thought did not begin in the 19th century, it did not begin in the early 20th century; it began much earlier. And we have yet to actually do the work of uncovering, of identifying, the various traditions of anticolonial thought from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. So, clearly there is a need to decolonize and correct the distortions and to restore the voices that have been silenced.

So, all I want to talk about is a tradition of anticolonial or decolonizing discourse tradition that has come from the autonomous social science which is common and mentioned. There were some papers on this yesterday in the conference. There were some papers delivered at a seminar into the Southern West autonomous knowledge on Tuesday, and of course we'll find publications on this. Mostly, people, when we speak about autonomous social science, we think of it as a thing that originates from Malaysia, from Singapore, from Indonesia because it was associated largely with the school

of thought of Syed Hussein Alatas and his student, the generation of students who have since become scholars and now they have their own students. But I would like to speak about the genealogy of this idea of autonomous knowledge which requires us to speak about Jose Rizal. So, I suggest that the idea of autonomous knowledge, the autonomous knowledge tradition can be traced back to Jose Rizal. So, let me talk about that.

As I said, the central problem in knowledge creation is the lack of perspectives rooted in intellectual traditions outside of Western civilization, and its examples just now about how the study of religion is based on concepts from Western Christianity. Even though they see concepts in our various disciplines, we speak about social sciences. We speak about the social, society, and there's hardly any work that deals with concepts of society in other traditions. The Malays and Indonesians use the term *masyarakat*. What does that mean? How is the concept of *masyarakat* different from the concept of *gesellschaft*, from the concept of *société*? Or *societas* in Latin ... and what are the corresponding ideas of society that we find in the other traditions? You find that, generally, especially in Southeast Asia, we do not have schools of thought or traditions of knowledge creation. They are rooted in a one intellectual tradition. So, we should consider the idea of emergence of tradition from the work of Jose Rizal. I like to talk about how Rizal's thinking had actually resulted in a tradition that delved into Southeast Asia. And I think that many Filipinos are aware of this. I mean you are aware of the effect of Rizal in your whole country, but many of you are not aware of the actual Rizal household. So, let me say a few words about Rizal's theory in order to set the stage for my discussion. Now, this is going to take on one aspect of Rizal's thought. If you look at Rizal's writing, we can extract a theory of Filipino development. And he recognizes that Filipinos from the colonial period were a backward [inaudible]. He talks a lot about the miseries of Filipinos and one of the traits of this backwardness at least this was claimed by the Spaniards was that Filipinos were lazy and indolent people and capable of development. So, Rizal was probably the first anywhere in the colonized world to take this accusation seriously and subject it to analysis. He began his analysis with a premise, and that premise was "the underdevelopment of the people who are not in charge of their destiny cannot be blamed on those people but must be blamed on their rulers." So, if you don't have your destiny in your hands, your faults, your backwardness, your miseries cannot be blamed on you, they must be blamed

on your rulers. This was his principle. Now, to prove that premise is true, they had to go back to the pre-colonial period to study Filipinos before they were colonized. Now, if he studied the Filipinos before they were colonized and found that they were equally lazy and backward and miserable, then the Spanish is wrong. But what he found was that the Filipinos were part of a larger civilization in what they call the Malay civilization ... he found that they were out in trade networks, they were active in trade, ship building, and so on and so forth. And so, it's basically the colonial period, it was all of that. So, there's something to do with colonialism, and he wanted to understand why did the Filipinos become lazy. What in time did colonialism have on them? And he defined this as the lack of interest on incentive work. I think he used the term ... the lack of love for work. So why did the Filipinos stop loving work? And they were not working like they used to in the colonial times? So, he looked at the colonial policy, colonial conduct ... and, to make the long story short, the basic point was that the nature of exploitation in colonial society removed the incentive from Filipinos who work. Why should Filipinos work hard in the fields when any time they could be told ... they could be asked to leave their land to work on church land and be forced to sell their crops in a crisis, and so on and so forth. And, so, over time, the loss of incentive for work because they know that they would not enjoy the fruits of labor. So, he explains it that way.

Now, that explanation, that study of laziness had profound influence on the thinking of Syed Hussein Alatas who wrote in 1977 the book *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, and you can see, in that book, there is one chapter, which is called the Indolence of the Filipinos which is in honor of Rizal's essay, *The Indolence of the Filipino*. But, what Alatas does is to improve on theory because what Rizal does not have is a conception of colonial mentalism ... which Alatas brings. So Alatas brings ... What Alatas gets from Rizal is this problematization of laziness, the idea of connecting the accusation of laziness with colonialism— with colonial ideas and with colonial interest.

But what he brings perhaps to Rizal is the context of colonial capitalism and he brings a particular approach from Karl Mannheim—the German sociologist Karl Mannheim—the “sociology of knowledge.” And what he says there: “the colonial discourse on laziness is a discourse which functions to promote the interest of colonial capitalism.” So, calling to this understanding, the Europeans valorized for a value to labor that was in line

with the capitalist interest. And they denigrated labor that was not in line with the capitalist interest; even though it was not labor, it was “laziness.” For example, they looked down on fishing because fishing had nothing to do with the plantation sector or the plantation economy. So, Malays who refused to join the plantation and who wanted to remain as fishermen, they were said to be lazy people because they were not enterprising. Right? Well, a fisherman is not a lazy person. A fisherman’s fishing involves hard work. So, the whole understanding of what consecutes to laziness, among the colonialists, was understood in terms of the sociology of knowledge in the context of the colonial capitalism. So, you can see here the influence of Rizal, but the improvement of Rizal’s ideas, bringing in the context of colonial capitalism and the sociology of knowledge approach from Karl Mannheim, and, in addition to that, Alatas extended the study to Malayan and Indonesian. So, he was looking at Spanish, Dutch, and British colonization.

Now, this work of Alatas, his other works on corruption—because he’s also an early, I would say founder, but he was one of the prominent originators of the sociology of corruption back in the 1960s. He returned two, at least two, major works on the sociology of corruption. In other words, and in other topics, on knowledge-creation, intellectual imperialism, and captive mind and so on. So, all these works, it was suggested by John Nery the journalist. I think he’s an award-winning journalist with the Philippine Inquirer. He spoke of the Alatas’ tradition in social sciences, and it was quoted. And what he said in: “the lineage of elite Malaysian scholars began by that towering pioneer, the late Syed Hussein Alatas ... We can use the appropriation of Rizal as the object of study or source of inspiration to trace this living tradition of inquiry, beginning with Hussein Alatas’ own influential deconstruction of ‘the myth of the lazy native,’ to Chandra Muzaffar’s founding of a Malaysian social reform group on Rizal’s death anniversary, to Shaharuddin Maaruf’s brave but unjustly neglected discussion of ‘the concept of a hero in Malay society,’ which posited Rizal as one of three ideal heroes; down to Farish A. Noor’s web-based ruminations on Rizal” and so on and so forth.” He talks about other scholars who were influenced by Alatas who was influenced by Rizal. We have Malaysia, and then Singapore, and then Indonesia, certain scholars influenced by the tradition. Now, what is that tradition? If you look at the works of Alata’s nativist critiques of Thomas Stamford Raffles—the so-called founder of Singapore—this is a decolonizing critique. But Alatas was not only critical of Eurocentrism and did not only promote decolonization

knowledge; he was also critical of other hegemonic orientations. And, in that sense, our way of thinking about decolonization is very different from postcolonial theory and decolonial thought and other decolonizing traditions from other parts of the world. Because they say that decolonization is not about a task, because Eurocentrism is not the only problematic hegemonic orientation. In many countries in the world, and this I know to be the case in my own country —Malaysia—it's true in Malaysia, it's true in India, it's true in Pakistan.

You have other hegemonic orientations that are unrelated or loosely related to Eurocentrism. For example, androcentrism, the male bias of knowledge creation. I was saying earlier that textbooks do not feature not just the founders of the disciplines, right? So, sociological theory ... political theory were only men: Hobbes, Locke, Hume, of course Plato, Aristotle, and so on and so forth. All men, all white men; no women. It's not only the Eurocentric bias, it's also the male bias. So androcentrism—not a big problem in knowledge creation. And what about other orientations? Sectarianism in the Muslim world. Sectarianism is an orientation of problem that critiques colonialism by centralists. Also affects knowledge production. What about ethnonationalism? Hindu thought? You know, I supposed to say that it's a form of ethnoreligious nationalism. The idea of Malay supremacy to supremacy to a non-Malay nation—a form of ethnonationalism. And we also discuss other hegemonic orientations. One of them, which my father discussed, was academic realism: the idea which is preached that we should be detached. That we should be scientific in the sense that we should be detached from a subject method, rather than promoting the idea of passion and values. Of course, you know the distaste of national values. We don't say that you must be passionate, you know, an order of values interferes at every state of research. You cannot allow your values to dictate the selection data; you have to be dispassionate when it comes to data. But, the choice of subject, even the choice of theoretical perspectives is the issue of aesthetics—it's the issue of passion, it's the issue of values. We don't simply choose the topic because it's not in our default. We don't simply choose a certain research problem and contest the research gap, right? So, we are not to be nihilistic in the way we approach research. So, even to the idea of autonomous social science, we spoke about autonomous social science tradition, the need for it—at least in Asia—to have autonomous social science research. And by that, we meant to be concerned not only with Eurocentrism, but other hegemonic

orientations. So, the task is not only to decolonize, but to develop ... to create some space, some freedom, some autonomy from all the various hegemonic orientations.

So, the problem with knowledge creation at present, is that it is as Bomen said about research articles, "it is heteronomous," an interesting idea. I guess heteronomous is the opposite of autonomous, that there is a domination of many hegemonic orientations. So, the idea is the chief subject way of autonomy. It's very, very nasty. What I have time to speak about is to say that it's either autonomous knowledge started in Syed Hussein Alatas and continued which is students who studied. In fact, most of the students did not study Eurocentrism. They study all hegemonic orientations, like culturalism, traditionalism. Best are the only ones who devoted more attention to Eurocentrism. But the others devoted more to studying culturalism and traditionalism as hegemonic orientations in knowledge creation. So, we can say that, there had been, by now, a third generation of scholars following this tradition of autonomous knowledge. And one question that has been asked is whether we can think of this as a school of thought. A school of thought that have of which is all about decolonizing knowledge, but is also interested in freedom from other hegemonic orientations. but if you look at what school of thought means, you look at the Frankfurt School, the Chicago School of Sociology, you look at the Atlanta School of Sociology founded by W.E.B. Du Bois and the other schools around the world ... Right now, School of Social Economics and so on, what they mean by school of thought: that there is a figure, a founder, who is a student under him and they train and they become scholars of their all right, and they train students- there is a creation of a body of knowledge. They have influenced beyond academia, beyond the department of their own school, and they have several other traits of characteristics of a school. So, I'm not sure whether they can refer to a school of autonomous knowledge, or whether we can refer to it as a tradition in knowledge creation as said by John Nery, but what I do say or can say is that this idea of autonomous knowledge, of critique of knowledge production, and the path towards the way to decolonize knowledge, and also to remove the male bias to building other hegemonic orientations, is a specific contribution from Southeast Asia among intellectual ancestors.

In fact, the first earliest progression of ancestors was a Rizal. Jose Rizal's influence on our task is not incidental, it's not minor—it's major. The other influential ancestors, I mentioned Karl Mannheim, I also need to mention very important intellectual ancestor—my father's professor, Professor Wilhelm Wertheim. My father studied in the University of Amsterdam from the 1940s, and very interestingly, the University of Amsterdam would have been I think the only university in Europe, at that time, where there was a group of professors who were anti colonial. He went to Leiden University that was pro-colonial. In England, Germany, France, and generally, in those days, you cannot find programs in social science and humanities that were decidedly anticolonial. But, at their time, an anticolonial scholar—one of his mentors was the Dutch Marxist who had influenced my father's own work, especially my father's work on theoretical history. He was in fact is the historic behind the idea of theoretical history. And, Professor Wertheim, the professor of sociology, was a famous Dutch historian.

My father's work on the idea of leadership has this concept of historical ideas of excellence. And my father used that notion to speak about Malaysia and histories of leadership in the Muslim world. And he came up with this notion of Malay *cita sempurna* which basically means the ideas of excellence. *Cita sampurna* is a quality of leadership as opposed to *cita bencana*. Which I am not sure of translation, it would mean the ideals of ... *bencana* in Malay means disaster. But, in this context it means, ideals of malevolence, quests, as opposed to excellence. So, the intellectual genealogy of the autonomous knowledge tradition that emerged in Southeast Asia of which a strong component is decolonization of knowledge, but also the internal hegemonic orientation. This intellectual genealogy begins with Jose Rizal, other influencers were Karl Mannheim, Wilhelm Wertheim in Amsterdam, one of the precursors of my father, but few other well-known Indonesian students ... So, this is the intellectual eclipse to the history of these ideas. So, let us think in terms of Southeast Asia making its own contribution to decolonizing discourses and, especially for you and the Philippines, this begins with Rizal. So, there's a particular Alatasian tradition that comes from Rizal, and maybe think of developing other Rizalian traditions that go in other directions. Thank you very much.

Introduction of the Keynote Speaker

Dr. LaVerne de la Peña

It is my great honor to introduce to you a towering figure in the world of Philippine new music and musicology, Ramón Pagayon Santos. Born in 1941, Dr. Santos stands as one of the foremost exponents of contemporary Filipino music, and undeniably its most prolific. His extensive body of work encompasses over a hundred compositions, spanning from choral to symphonic pieces, standard chamber ensembles to music utilizing Asian and Philippine instruments, as well as a myriad of found or invented sounding objects.

Over a distinguished career that has spanned more than sixty years, Dr Santos has crafted music for diverse settings including concerts, church services, dance, film, art installations, and ceremonial or ritualized presentations. His compositions consistently strive to encapsulate Filipino sensibilities and local acoustic ecologies, drawing from both Western and non-Western sources and reflecting the aesthetic frameworks of Philippine and Southeast Asian artistic traditions.

Dr. Santos's academic journey began with an undergraduate degree in composition and conducting from the University of the Philippines College of Music. He furthered his studies, earning a master's degree from Indiana University and a PhD from the State University of New York. Despite his extensive training in the West, upon his return to the Philippines, he recognized the need to align his work more closely with the local realities and the philosophical disposition of his people. This realization led him to immerse himself in the music of Asia, studying Philippine kulintang, Javanese gamelan, and Chinese nan kuan music. His field research throughout the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and China enriched his understanding of various music cultures and significantly influenced his compositions. Dr. Santos has not only shaped his body of work through these experiences but also contributed to the broader field of musicology and sociology. His scholarly contributions include numerous articles and four notable books: *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music*, *Laon Laon: Perspectives on Transmission and Pedagogy of Musical Traditions in Post-colonial Southeast Asia*, *The Vocal Repertoire of the Ibaloy from*

Kabayan, Modernismo sa Sining Musika and Tunogtugan: Twenty Essays on Musical and Sonic Traditions.

Beyond his contributions as a composer and scholar, Dr Santos has been a passionate advocate for cultural promotion and conservation. He has served as vice president of UNESCO's International Music Council and as a commissioner of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts. His tenure as secretary-general at the National Music Competition for Young Artists (NAMCYA) was particularly impactful, where he organized international music festivals on composition, rondalla, gongs, bamboo instruments, and Asian flutes, engaging thousands of audiences, predominantly outside Manila. At the University of the Philippines, his professional home throughout his career, Dr. Santos has been honored with the highest rank of University Professor and is currently a Professor Emeritus. He continues to mentor young composers and music scholars, ensuring the perpetuation of his rich musical legacy.

Dr. Santos's contributions have been recognized worldwide, with numerous accolades, including being declared National Artist for Music in 2014. Other prestigious awards include the Composer- in-Residence at the Bellagio Study Center/Rockefeller Foundation, the Artist-in-Residence at the Civitella Ranieri Center, the Achievement Award in the Humanities from the National Research Council of the Philippines, and the Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres from the French government.

Please join me in welcoming the esteemed Dr. Ramón Pagayon Santos.

DAY THREE

Keynote Lecture 2

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN ART AND "MUSIC" ON THE CULTURES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Ramon P. Santos

National Artist

When we speak of art, or more specifically western art, as impacting on the cultures of Southeast Asia, I would like to think of it as a separate existential and experiential field with its own conceptual and theoretical framework, different from the myriads of expressive traditions that served the cultural and social needs of communities all over Southeast Asia. While the material element of western art could resemble in many ways the components of the different non-western practices, their expressive, linguistic and aesthetic attributes do have their own essentialities, including their functional significance and cultural application. For example, the folk practices in village communities do not exactly conform to the notion of separated art forms in the west as they are generally holistic and integrated in character germane to many Asian traditional expressive practices. In olden times, the folk arts were generally either in the form of ceremonial activities and rituals or were part of larger celebrations that coincided with seasonal activities and events, ceremonies to honor deities, and rites of passage.

The western notion of art, such as music, painting, dance, theater, prose and poetry, architecture, was assimilated by other cultures in practically all the major continents in the world—not only its systemic facets, material properties, repertory and performance practice, but also its conceptual and contextual foundations, aesthetic and pedagogical parameters, as well as the attitudinal and qualitative valuation by its purveyors as the universal, if not the most advanced, mode of human expression. Under the general purview of acculturation, the conscious and unconscious imposition of art as both

language, theory, and practice, resulted in the devolution and substitution of expressive norms, classification or re-codification of terms, and the introduction of new aesthetic criteria in the valuation and signification of human expressive practices relative to their cultural environments and societal norms.

Marginalization of Expressive Cultures

One of the greatest impacts of art on the cultures of Southeast Asia is the emendation of the cultural significance of the different means of human expression. What was very clearly delineated as far as genres and categories of human expression were concerned, became muddled with the introduction of art as a language, imagery, and concept, that was hegemonic in scope and meaning. Moreover, the performances and occurrences of the different expressive genres which had their own contextual conditions have been relocated into new venues in human communication, like concert halls, galleries, and theaters, that take away or diminish the true experiential value of the different genres of human expression and forms of communication.

Since my main discipline is what we call music, allow me to center my argument, if you may, on this artistic field. The overall acceptance of music, for example, as defining all sound-related forms of communication now poses a dilemma that needs to be revalidated and reviewed in order to save and restore the integrities of other similar expressive traditions of cultures around the world. From a disciplinary standpoint, music, which in the west is the art form that deals with sound, has brought with it its theoretical mechanisms in the fields of performance, composition as well as the study of its history and systemic properties. With the recent discovery of other “musics” from other cultures, however, the sub-discipline of ethnomusicology has been conceived to cover the study of other musical traditions outside the purview of western art music. In consequence, ethnomusicology has become both a bane and boon on the traditional cultures outside the western hemisphere.

For one, ethnomusicology has validated the existence of the many individual traditions in a way different from western music, but at the same time, it has homogenized the different traditions into one category of artistic expression in which analysis of its various aspects have been patterned after western

norms. While the truth is that these forms of expression where sound is a component are indeed outside the framework of “music”, they have been “musicalized” nevertheless and have been subjected to the rigorous process of fitting the highly differentiated elements into the highly limited and exclusive norms of musical discourse. Jean-Jacques Nattiez, a music philosopher wrote:

Is it legitimate to speak of “music” with respect to cultures that do not have such a concept, that do not distinguish between music and non-music? And in this case, do we have the right to project our western categories of thought and analysis upon what we believe to be music?

Perhaps, we should look for a term that defines other categories for those traditional expressions that has the element of sound but belong outside the realm of music. For now, why don't we categorize them as non-musics? Let us take as our first example the art of *kutyapi* playing among the Maguindanao of Southern Philippines. The *kutyapi* is a two-stringed lute that is played by one person communicating with an audience. There are two modes of five tones each: the *dinaliday* which is anhemitonic (a scale without semitones) and the hemitonic (with semitones) *binalig*, each having two sets of pentatonic scales. There are several pieces that are set in either modes, ranging from expressions of love, longing, to the description of the natural environment. While there are musical norms that comprise the entire *kutyapi* repertoire, the final objective is to convey messages in the context of language. This is not merely a musical improvisation, since there is a message that is entrenched in the series of tones that are plucked in the instrument, as well as phrases, sentences, and poetic expressions.

Thus, while this type of performative communication has what we may consider as musical, such as the use of modes, pitches, and tones, its immediate function is the transmission of messages that are meaningful and understandable to a knowledgeable audience. It does not resort the use of dynamics, or different tempos but rather, a straightforward execution of the sonic inflections, which could undergo variational transformations that could replicate poetic enrichment, rather than musical ornamentation. Everything else is discursively poetic in nature, which raises the question of whether *kutyapi* playing is a form of music or language, with the intentional

and meaningful message being unfolded, and not merely the element of sound. Let us listen to a Samaon Sulaiman, our national artist, in one of his renditions.

[Kutyapi video is played]

In Yakan agriculture and other occupational activities, the period covering the sowing of the seeds up to the appearance as seedlings, is energized by the continuous playing of the hanging log beams called *kwintangan kayu*, whose powerful sounds are believed to give and invigorate the life of the seedlings. The *kayu* is made up of log beams that are hung from a tree facing the fields where the seedlings had been sown. Here, the principle of the *lebad* is applied. The *lebad* are short rhythmic-tonal fragments, each of which carries a certain aesthetic message or meaning, and characterized by inflections and accents that are closely related to the prosody in the domain of language. There are many *lebad*s, which a player can concoct or repeat. In each rendition, the *lebad*s are strung together in one continuous exposition, through the process of repetition, juxtaposition, and permutation.

However, in the playing of the *kwintangan kayu*, the communication is not addressed to humans but to a metaphysical reality which empowers matters to have life and assume the course of growth. Under these circumstances, can we call this music, when the communication is done between man and nature, or the gods who invigorate the plants to sprout and grow? In fact, the audience here are the plants.

[Kwintangan Kayu video is played]

From the Ibaloi from Benguet, Mountain Province, they have a form of expression called *badiw*. The *badiw* is a sung poetry performed in leader-chorus style. It is a form of poetic exhortation or allegory, containing ancient lore and wisdom inherited from dead ancestors, or sayings and witticism in the context of a ritual. The *badiw* is performed individually by a male elder and supported by a chorus of female chanters called *asbayat*. The poetic properties of the *badiw* are drawn from the use of archaic language, metaphors, and the structural framework of a septo-syllabic couplets. While one could make a strong case for the *badiw* as a mediating agent between

spirituality and consciousness in Ibaloi life, the *badiw* as a purely poetic practice can also reveal the broadness of Ibaloi imagination, their sensitivity and views on the different aspects of the reality of everyday life. In this perspective therefore, the element of sound, which is the main feature of the art we call “music”, is greatly diminished in the expressive tradition called *badiw*, in that the poetry, with all its literary attributes like metaphor and word painting, is the primary ingredient in its creation. In this instance, the sound element is merely the conveyor of the more important message to the audience, which is expressed and delivered through the words, that have been chosen from ancient utterances and language.

[Badiw video is played]

In Laos and Thailand, they have a form of expression called *molam*. The *molam* traditionally was a storytelling art form that was meant for entertainment. There are different substyles, like *molam reung*, *molam phoen*, *molam mu*, etc. *Molam reung* for example is a folk dramatic form where poetry, folk music and dance are synthesized. The *molam*’s principal instrument is the *khean*, which is a cluster of graduated-sized bamboo reeds, although nowadays, even guitars and keyboard are used, playing harmonic tunes just like the *khean*. Actually, the topics that are taken up in the *molam* are issues of debate-able nature and are meant to amuse for the audience’s enjoyment.

[Molam video is played]

In this regard, these traditions face new challenges in the post-colonial era, as they evolve under changing social and institutional conditions at the beginning of a new millennium and a new era in Asian musical life. In the context of this cross-cultural encounter in which one culture was able to successfully introduce new values, moral and spiritual, as well as new social infrastructures, various forms and levels of accommodation and resistance have caused the transformation or decline and disappearance of pre-existing practices, at the same time breeding new forms and media of human communication and expression.

But how does one bring back the original values of the expressive traditions without having to resort to considering them according to western or modern artistic norms? Or is it still relevant to try to return or restore the integrities of those practices that have been subsumed into the new categories of music and the arts as well as the classifications such as folk, classical, modern, or popular? And what about the new meanings that have been ascribed to old terms, new meanings that have been obtained to conform to new artistic values introduced by the west?

Perhaps a good way to address these questions is to conduct a cross-domain mapping of all existing expressive traditions in a particular country or culture. This cross-domain mapping shall include old and new categories based on structural elements, aesthetic and social functions, artistic and stylistic qualities, experiential conditions, as well as conceptual theory. Finding out the idiosyncracies of these expressive practices can help restore their integrities, so that they can be performed in the most appropriate venues and conditions and experience them in the most efficacious fashion. Furthermore, the pedagogical schema of these traditions can also be reviewed and re-instated in a way to enhance the present educational infrastructures that have been inherited from the west.

The Future

Today, diversity reigns in our midst. While we try to sort out the intricacies of human expression, new forms continue to emerge out of the traditions that we inherited from the past and the musical life that has been brought about by western culture. At the same time, it is high time that peoples in Southeast Asia as well as other cultures define the parameters by which their expressive traditions have been created and developed without having to allude to the framework of western art as a concept and as practice. It is also apropos that in defining the parameters of these traditions, we will find commonalities and collective identities towards rediscovering and reuniting cultural affinities as well as strengthening the mutual existence of praxis. There is so much to learn from each other, even as societies continue to change and to metamorphose into different sectors, each developing its own musical taste and creating its own musical forms. What is important is the meaning that each act brings to our lives, whether it is musical or extra-musical, artistic or extra-artistic, and the way these expressive actions communicate messages and bear meaning in our lives.

Plenary Roundtable Discussion

MODERATOR

Dr. Lulu Reyes

This final roundtable discussion of the conference invites us to reflect on how de/centering Southeast Asian Studies in universities can be relevant towards addressing the pressing issues and concerns of wider Southeast Asian publics. What is the relationship between the effort to decolonize academic disciplines and the political, cultural and social advocacies of individual scholars and public intellectuals? What are the greatest challenges which face the project of autonomous knowledge production in Southeast Asia today?

TALK 1

DR. SYED FARID ALATAS

I remember when I was a graduate student, the topic of civil society in political science and sociology became fashionable in the US, we in Singapore and Malaysia, we started studying civil society. When that topic went out of fashion in the United States, it also went out of fashion among us. We are forever responding to trends elsewhere. Instead of thinking about new topics, or topics that are new topics or topics that are not prioritized which are actually important to us. For example, you will find the textbooks on Sociology or Political Science chapters on many topics, subtopics, for example in a sociology textbook, there will be a chapter on the state, religion, sociology of health, sociology of migration, or race, but rarely is there a chapter on ... the sociology of corruption even though in many countries in Southeast Asia, corruption is the major means of cap accumulation.

The other thing that is interesting in our countries, the field that studies the state is Political Science, but wouldn't it be interesting for us to consider in our

case, in the Philippines, in Indonesia, Malaysia, but wouldn't it be interesting to consider that the correct field to study the state is criminology, because it seems we have more relevant concepts to study the state from criminology. This would be a very interesting contribution to the study of corruption. In political science, the assumption is, the state is legitimate and we are not always sure that this is the case in our countries. We need to think differently. Social sciences and area studies in the West have created decades of brilliantly done research, fantastic works, interesting ideas and concepts, and we don't doubt that, but we have to think about our role if we want to center Southeast Asia Studies in our institutions, we have to think in creative ways. As we do this, we need to make sure we pay attention to the entire process of the research. All too often we talk about decolonizing knowledge in a very abstract way. I think many people do not really understand what it means when you actually want to do that research. We need to speak in more specific terms, we need to explain to our students ... starting at the undergraduate level; how you decolonize at every stage of the research process.

Beginning with the selection of your topic, your formulation of the problem, your problem-statement, where does decolonization come in there? Your selection of theory, your selection of methods, as far as methods are concerned you have the issue of Eurocentrism there. One of the problems that the decolonial folks talk about in their critique of methods, is that a lot of methods are extractive. Extractivism is talked about as a problem. Scholars go in, they have their so-called interlocutors, their respondents, they approach them in an instrumental way, they use them for knowledge, there is no return from their relationship with us researchers. To decolonize methods is to think of non-extractive ways of doing research.

So this is what I mean that the whole research process; we have to talk about how to decolonize at each level of the research methods. Decolonizing research in terms of how to select topics is a different matter from decolonizing research in terms of how to apply theories and concepts; it is also different as to how to apply methods.

And finally, we have to be aware of our enemies, we have all kinds of enemies; the epistemic racists, who are not with us when it comes to us trying to develop autonomous knowledge to develop non-Eurocentric knowledge. It is important to be aware of the enemies within, among us, some of us might

even be in this room. There are at least three kinds there are the nativists, the imposters, and the silencers, The nativists are those who want to, like us, want to decolonize, they recognize the dark side of eurocentrism, but they are trying to bring us into another abyss, the dark side of nativism. They are essentialists, they are xenophobic, anti-Western, they say we should not cite Western scholars, we should not cite white scholars, they are against Western knowledge on the grounds that it originates from the west. And this is a very problematic approach to decolonization. Now the second group, known as the impostors, are those whose works appear to be decolonizing, but are actually, they actually end up functioning to promote eurocentrism. One of my favorite examples is Islamic economics, which claims to be an alternative to both capitalist and socialist economics, in reality, it is neoclassical economics dressed up in Islamic terminology, on a more practical level, it promotes Islamic banking and finance which is a system which is a part and parcel of capitalism, even though it promotes itself as something as an alternative. The third, the silencers, are people who claim to be our comrades but they are engaged in a politics of silence knowledge where they silence us, they cancel us, they don't talk about us. I don't want to go into too many details here, but there is a case in Singapore, where some scholars where when they talk about the history of postcolonial or anticolonial thought in Southeast Asia, they would not talk about the contributions that come from within NUS (National University of Singapore) itself, they would talk about contributions that come from outside, but not from Singapore itself. This kind of failing to cite, failing to acknowledge even though you are talking about works that are relevant, these works are relevant to what you are talking about, is not something that is good for the healthy development of decolonizing discourses. Just a few points I think we can be aware of in our effort to create more relevant knowledge because to decolonize knowledge and create autonomous knowledge is to actually create relevant knowledge.

TALK 2

DR. CAROLINE HAU

Tough act to follow, I would like to thank the UP organizers for giving me this opportunity to put in my two cents worth of pointers as a student of the region for the last 35 years, and given the current foreign exchange rate of the Philippine Peso into Japanese Yen, I think 2 cents, means I can make 4 points, and throw in a bonus pointer. So as Farid mentioned in his keynote speech yesterday, there is a long tradition dating back at least to the 19th century in the Philippines but also in other Southeast Asian Countries, of problematic reflexive efforts to promote knowledge production that is better attuned to the specific needs, sensibilities, histories, contexts, and goals of specific communities of peoples, including but not limited to nations and regions. Intellectuals in this region per force, grapple with the imperative to produce autonomous knowledge aimed at correcting Euro-Americocentrism, and hegemonic orientations of androcentrism, traditionalism, culturalism, ethnonational Chauvinism, and sectarianism, which were often recrystallized, or retooled, or reinvented and given life during the periods of colonialism, imperialism, nation-building, and globalization. Moreover, promoting autonomous knowledge production in this region is often part and parcel of high-stakes collective political and social movement, so in other words, thinking, learning, and doing, are integrative practices that are neither exclusive to one community or group, nor undertaken in one or few sites such as academia, but were rather shared then arose across multiple sites among various communities in and across places. Given the political urgency, and the greater pluralism that characterized the current era of Southeast Asian Studies, not only in terms of diversity of topics research, but also the multiple sites, institutions, and networks, through which we scholars especially home scholars based in this region, engage in research, and advocacy, and activism. I would like to invite all our friends and colleagues here to reflect on five issues.

The first issue concerns thinking and doing decentering along a multiplicity of scales. The uneven shifting geography of intellectual hegemonic formations means that we need to attend to the ideational, political, and resource flows and relationships not only between the so-called developed and developing countries, but also among and within so-called developed

countries and so-called developing countries. In other words, it is necessary to critically and simultaneously interrogate so-called metropolitan-periphery relationships at different scales whether it be local, national, regional, transnational, or global, and perhaps even planetary. Metropole-Periphery divides, asymmetries, hierarchies, and inequalities that organize them can be better understood and analyzed not only by only looking at, and here I use the Philippines Studies as an example to look at the bilateral relationship between the US and Philippine academia, but more important the co-constitutive relationships among the academic communities across the world regions, within nations, on the supra and sub-national levels, and importantly, localities. Given that research, debates, advocacies, and activism are going on at different levels, sites, and scales, what would the ground for Southeast Asian Studies autonomous knowledge production look like if the metropolitan centers we are looking at are not America, Europe, Australia, or Japan, but were instead Manila, Java, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore or else, Marawi or in the case of Southeast Asian Studies in Japan, a regional center, like Tokyo it's our periphery from Kyoto. How do we reconceive regional and local nodes, and centers not as receivers, but as active co-creators of autonomous knowledge.

For the second point I'd like to make, which Ma'am Maris Diokno already emphasized in her speech, concerns the fact that promoting autonomous knowledge not only depends on high quality research, but also on concerted efforts at long-term institution building, collaboration, and net-working. Institution building is crucial, but institutions are only as good as the people who run them, so it takes both institutional commitment, and individual determination not to cave into pressures to play by the rules of the current academic metric driven regime, it is also the case that intellectual work relies on, and in turn, helps build networks of solidarity, that enable unfettered conversation, close collaboration, and strong ethico-political commitment to promote good research, nurture new students, secure funding to create and run viable institutions, co-create and share knowledge with various communities outside of academia, and actively reshaping one's own communities while also caring for the planet that we live in and the living things we share it with. The third point I would like to raise concerns the decisions we make as scholars, in other words, practicing what we preach. How can the cumulative weight of decisions both macro and micro, individual and institutional, ranging from publishing in non-metropolitan journals and presses to researching, writing,

and publishing in non-English languages, from learning as many languages as one can in order to access the rich and variegated intellectual traditions from around the world, to making a conscious and concerted effort to track down locally published research, from initiating and expanding South-South academic exchanges, collaboration, to making ones work available free of charge. To create co-publication arrangements run on equal terms. How may all these decisions incrementally add up and attain critical mass toward recentering Southeast Asian Studies in this region.

Now the fourth point, something that PJ will be discussing later on, that I'd like to make concerns the need for scholars in university to help defend, create, and maintain academic sanctuaries or safe havens within our respective counties, and just as important across the region and the world, to promote free-ranging, independent, critically-minded, and empirically grounded inquiry. These safe havens offer some form of defense against less majestic, state repression, erosion of human rights and liberties, majoritarian-authoritarianism, religious persecution, academic orthodoxy, fake news, mis or disinformation campaigns, social media trolling, and outright killings. There are specific places in our regions where sensitive topics such as ruling parties, religion, elites, illiberal regimes, strong men, LGBTQ and other movements, minority rights and resistance movements are not allowed or easy to do research on, nor are archival materials not readily preserved nor is knowledge shared widely and made openly and freely accessible. Connecting people and institutions and sharing resources within and across and beyond the region, offering space and support, weather intellectual, material, and emotional and otherwise, to enable scholars to undertake research that others cannot or are prevented from doing in their respective institutions or countries, and just as important offering space and support to critics, dissenters, and activists who have run afoul of their respective countries and authorities.

These are some of the things we can do at the individual and institutional level to mitigate the problem. Lastly, I'd like to bring up the question of audiences, in the plural. Who are we writing for? Who do we do research for? Who do we consider our interlocutors? Whose opinions, and feedback matter to us? For what reasons aside from scholarly ones are we researching and writing? The question of audiences has a bearing on the decisions a scholar makes about what topic to pursue, what languages to write in where to publish,

and how and where the results of one's research activity circulates, and what intellectual, ethico-political, and above all, critical stances they take on issues not only in academia, but vis-a-vis, their respective communities, societies, countries, and regions. Hegemonic thinking and practice often have to do with Metropolitan scholars' lack of access to, or in some unfortunate cases, for a lack of a better word, a certain will to ignorance and power to ignore. A power to ignore work being produced outside their own parochial circuits of knowledge production and their own personal and professional circles of esteem. The will to ignorance and the power to ignore are not a mere function of an individual's preferences are blind spots, but more crucially determined by scholars, institutional location, but the life, career, publishing, networking, and political demands incentives and penalties that delimit the choice that they make as scholars and teachers. Southeast Asia based scholars labor under enormous constraints to funding, resources, opportunity, and above all time left for research after taking care of their teaching duties and students and communities. For scholars based in the region, it is well impossible to separate one's intellectual pursuits from one's own critical if not political stance within the societies that are often their own field. The question of audience matters because Southeast Asian Scholars write for their local, regional, and national publics, and respond to political debates, imperatives, and priorities rather than simply intellectual ones, so the university is one of the last places where critical or non-conformist thinking, moral resistance, and political activism can be nurtured, especially in politically challenging times and places. So given the rise of fake news, disinformation, misinformation campaigns, the allure of strongman rule, the younger members of the public having little to no memory of past protests both reformist or revolutionary, the fact that the educational system in my country... has failed to train young Filipinos to read, write, do math, and sciences, and engage in creative thinking. The slow erosion of university autonomy, and the undermining of academic freedom that the late Saeed Hussein Ali warned of, the ongoing military crackdown on the left movement, given all these challenges, scholars are not just drawn into heated public debates, but have to contend with censorship, trolling, death threats, cyber libel, and other lawsuits, and worse, red-baiting, persecution, and killings of activists. How may we continuously affirm the academic autonomy of the university so that the university may fulfill its mission to protect and promote freedom of expression along with the freedom to teach, the freedom to learn, the freedom to engage in research, when states and other authorities do not tolerate or else try to restrict some of these freedoms.

Building autonomous knowledge means being able to make sense of on-the-ground realities, being open to ideas from different sources without being a slave to metropolitan academic fashion, above all, building autonomous knowledge means nurturing and safe-guarding our researchers, especially younger generation students and scholars and activists so that they are better equipped to co-create and share knowledge with communities of their own choosing, on their own terms, with different audiences in mind, depending on their needs, purposes and goals, and above all, to work for change. Finally, listening to the Philippine Madrigal singers perform National Artist, Ramon Santos' moving musical work, a work full of joy and humor, reminds us that while audiences may be real or imagined, intended or unintended, the work of human imagination can be simultaneously local, regional, national, transregional, universal. Thank you.

TALK 3

DR. PING TJIN THUM

Wow, how about that! I have to follow both of you now? That was a freight train of truth! No cap. Honestly there was so much there ... unlike the two of them, I've only got one big idea, because that is all I have the capacity for, but before I start, I want to say hello everyone, And I want to say what a pleasure it is to be at UP, the best un university in Southeast Asia, if you ask me. I've worked, collaborated with universities across maritime Southeast Asia, and this is the best. This is definitely the best, because you defend academic freedom in a way, you know I've organized 7 Southeast Asia conferences, every one of them I had to battle for academic freedom at the conferences. I should have just come here and not organized in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, I should've just come here. My name is PJ Thum, I want to build on what was spoken a while ago by Farid and Carol, incredible speeches. I just want to talk about one big thing, which is about decolonizing knowledge. We tend to think of colonization in a very straightforward way, right? The governance of one state over another. We tend to think of decolonizing knowledge as the dominance of external fields, external ways of thinking, external ways of knowledge production over our own. It is a minimalist definition of decolonization. When we were fighting for our decolonization in the 50s, in the 60s, our nationalists actually, many of them had a different definition of decolonization, a maximalist. They argued

that if you decolonize by just changing your governance from foreigners to locals, it is still oppressive and exploitative. If they maintain the exploitative structures of colonialism, then you are still a colony. It doesn't matter if your colonizers have white skin, black skin, brown skin, you're still a colony. They argue for a maximalist definition of decolonization which argued that decolonization has to involve a thorough interrogation of all the frameworks and ideologies and structures and incentives governing our society, the non-stop pursuit of the end of exploitation, the end of discrimination, the end of abuse of power, unequal relationships that lead to abuse and oppression.

I argue that when we talk about recentring Southeast Asia too, we must recognize that it's not enough that we say, let's look at things from a Southeast Asian lens, therefore we are decolonized. We have to recognize that decolonizing Southeast Asia and Southeast Asia knowledge and knowledge production means freeing us from ideologies which also perpetuate discrimination and oppression and you know, whether or not they are local or foreign.

I think we live in a world where three big ideologies have come to dominate us. We have been intellectually colonized by these ideologies. I don't think this is an exhaustive list, but I just want to talk about three big ones: neoliberal capitalism which has incentivized the exploitation of people, the destruction of the environment—created this ethos where we view ourselves as little more than human capital. Trying to maximize our value as human capital. The second one is illiberal democracy, in form but not name, but spirit. We may have elections, but do we live in a democracy? No. Let us face it, every single leader, either the current or previous one, is a nepo-baby. Why are we in this situation? 600 million people and why do we just go back to the same families, the children of previous leaders, but that is an illiberal democracy. The third one is nation-state nationalism, exclusionary nationalism, the form that we practice is used to justify exclusion and discrimination against people who disagree. I'll talk about NSN. The nation-state is a European construction, Southeast Asia is a European construction, our borders are European constructions. Every single SEA state is not only a prod of Euro Colonization, we are colonial states. Look what we do to the minorities within our borders, that is colonialism, and we are complicit in it, all of us, because we uphold the idea of the nation-state, that there is one nation and one state that should belong to that nation. The concept of the nation-state actually emerges from

Europe, and the breakup of the big land empires in the wake of WWI, three waves of decolonization, the New World in the 1800s, the Old World in the 1900s, and the Third World, all of us, post WWII. and what really powers the breakup of the Euro empires is the concept of the Nation-State, because of the Idea that if people should govern ourselves, and if everyone has a nationality and belongs to one nation, then logically, the best way to achieve self-determination is to organize our world such that every nation is represented by a state. The problem is that in the past 100 years, it has become very clear that as liberating as that philosophy feels, it is also extremely oppressive, because it is impossible to get everyone of a single nationality into a single state. Look at your own family, you aren't going to agree all of the time, how are you going to create a state where everyone has the same identity, and always agree with each other. What we see along the course of the 20th Century is attempts to justify the state by creating the nation, and by excluding or eliminating within these states who do not agree with the definition of the nation, and we have seen how that leads to genocide. The simplest way to ensure that everyone within your state is of the same nation, is to drive out, or kill, or just exclude anyone who just doesn't belong to that nation. That's just what we've see in the 20th Century. The Armenians, the Jews, the Palestinians. Today we had the Rohingya, Uyghurs, Papuans, and the question that everyone keeps asking; What nation do they belong to? What state do they belong to? What happens if their definition of their own identity is different from the state's definition of their own identity? And because they ask that question, they get silenced, they get excluded, they get killed? What's worse is that autocrats have come to realize that you don't even need people to say they don't belong in the state, you can just say that that person is an enemy of the state., and therefore an enemy of the nation, of the people, and that justifies their exclusion, the kicking out, the silencing, the killing of that person. They just label their political enemies as enemies of the nation to justify acting with extreme prejudice against these people.

In many countries, you see people disagreeing with the government being labeled and targeted as anti-national, as traitors as you know, foreign agents, like what happened to me in Singapore. This is the Janus face of the nation-state paradigm, because it has been in the 20th century simultaneously so liberating. We are freer today than in the past 2000 years of human history, but also simultaneously so oppressing. The problem is that genocide is a part of every greater nation-state agenda to a greater or lesser degree. This ideology

holds us back from dealing with the problems that are directly congruent to the nation-state. Issues for example that transcend the nation state which are created by the nation state to do with say, the environment, capital that moves across borders, labor and migration, the movement of ideas, we struggle to deal with this because of the NS paradigm. We saw this first in the pandemic. The governments say we have to help our people first, as if somehow the virus will stop at the border, and politely take out their passport, so you have to vaccine nationalism, at the borders one side has the vaccine, but the other side doesn't, as if, you know, there's no shared humanity. In Singapore, we had an even bigger problem when COVID Exploded, because the government did not think of our low wage migrant workers as people. Our healthcare system had this beautiful plan for dealing with the pandemic that only took into account Singaporeans and permanent residents. In Their minds, low-wage migrant workers were not people, you could just send them home if they got sick, and they reached a point where these people couldn't be sent home, and then the whole system fell apart. So now you have the idea of who is the nation, and who isn't, holds us back from dealing with these problems. Another one of course is Capital, capital can move easily across borders, but workers can't. This gives capital a major advantage because it can simply say, hey, you accept lower wages, so it will go to this country with lower wages, and it will make more profit, and so workers get exploited, because capital can move seamlessly between the states, while capital cannot. How can we deal with this on a nation-state basis? If you try and fight for these issues across borders, you get accused of being a foreign influence, ASEAN countries love to talk about non-interference, which of course is nonsense, never forget of course that ASEAN countries have interfered with each other. Let's not forget that our countries propped up the Khmer Rouge, everyone that died in Cambodia is also on our hands. Our governments propped up the Khmer Rouge. Myanmar! Singapore smuggles arms to Myanmar. Timor-Leste! We have been mercilessly interfering with each other and pretending when people call out human rights! Oh, suddenly non- interference, sovereignty, so where is that all leading us? I argue that if you want to recenter Southeast Asia, it's not enough just to be Southeast Asian it's not enough to have Southeast Asian lens, or mode of thinking, we need a maximalist definition of decolonizing Southeast Asian Knowledge, interrogate all knowledge, all frameworks, all basis of knowledge, not on the basis of are they local or foreign, but whether they perpetuate oppression, do they perpetuate oppression, abuse. Do they uphold dignity; human dignity? Do they seek to make a better world? That,

I argue, is the most important goal of colonizing Southeast Asian Knowledge Production. It is okay to use the Nation-State as a unit of analysis, of course states matter, but we must also acknowledge that they are arbitrary, they are colonial constructs, all our borders are arbitrary and will change in the next 100 years, so to give them a weight they don't have, to assume that everyone within them is of the same state is to fall into an ideological trap. It is a disservice to the people. We are talking about making knowledge relevant—to solve the problems that people face and you want to do that, you have to look at how people live, how they experience Southeast Asia, and that very often transcends the nation state; looking at things at the global level. How are we going to solve a pandemic, how are you going to solve a problem which is global in its entirety? It is a global problem. Cost of living, inequality, war, genocide. None of these could be solved on a nation-state basis. Most of these are created by the fact that we have nation states. So, to address these problems ... we have to seek oppression everywhere, we have to seek to end discrimination everywhere, no matter the source, the ideology, we have to interrogate knowledge on the basis of does it creates human dignity or does it promote human rights? Only then can we create a better world. And if you've been listening carefully, you will realize the logical conclusion of everything I've been saying is that we have to transcend Southeast Asia. The end goal of decolonization is to expand the sea to the entire world. It is to recognize that there's one world, one humanity and the problems that we all face, we have to look at them together, and we have to solve them regardless of where we are. Oppression anywhere is oppression everywhere. I want to finish by giving you an opportunity; I and my colleagues have been circulating an open letter condemning the scholasticate in Gaza. And I want to give you part of it. We wrote this three weeks ago, and it's so out of date. It notes that 37,600 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza since 7 October 2023. And at least 86,000 wounded, and alongside this, Israel's indiscriminate bombing campaign and ground evasion has resulted in the decimation of the educational sector in the Gaza Strip through the Israelis killing of students, faculty, and staff, and it's targeting of schools, libraries, laboratories, classrooms, and its actions in Gaza have been described as scholasticide, included not just by Gaza's universities and academics, but by the UN as experts. This is cultural destruction and we are watching. I would like to invite all of you to sign this statement. I hope all of you will join me in signing this statement.

OPEN FORUM

1. I'm Jason. This question is addressed to Farid. So, in the journey to decolonize studies in the Southeast Asia and in the PH context, what can you say about the dichotomy of cultural methodologies and concepts used in Filipino Society and Bangsamoro Society—the absence of Moro concepts in Philippine Studies further alienates the study of Bangsamoro within the scope of Philippine Studies, creating a greater gap between the two sources. To some extent, it makes the study of Bangsamoro culture closer to Malaysia and Indonesia, so what kind of mitigation can be made to harmonize contrasting conditions?

Dr. Alatas: Basically, your question is, how can we take Moro concepts seriously in Philippine Studies. This is exactly the issue, this is the central issue in this whole business of decolonizing knowledge that the social sciences that includes the area studies are generally founded on the concepts of the European and American intellectual tradition. When we say European, and when we say European, we don't mean all of Europe. Much of Europe is actually intellectually marginalized, there was a time when Italian ideas were popular in the 19th century. Italian works were generally of little influence unless they were read and consumed in America. The whole issue is, there is something called the subject-object dichotomy, that Europeans are the subjects, while we are objects of the study, we are not knowing subjects, we don't get to look at the world through our conceptual lens. So, this is an old problem that has been discussed since the 50s and the 60s, since the generation of my father. Obviously, be more serious about concept-formation, building based on the intellectual traditions, in your case, Islamic tradition, the local and regional traditions that are different among the regional traditions. It becomes very technical. I have merged his theoretical framework with that of Marx, because he has a theory of the dynamics of states, and state formation, but he has no concept on the state of economy, so what I have done is bring in notion of modes of production to strengthen his theory of state formation.

We can think of many ways of doing these kinds of fusion. How to actually do it, we have to write about it, we have to talk about it, we

actually have to teach these kinds of things in our classes. That's why it is very important to teach beyond Western classics—local, regional classics, the ideas of the regional theorists. Even outside of the West. There is a whole world of knowledge out there, but we confine ourselves to the world and theory of four or five countries, America, Europe. We can discuss these things in even more detail. I just want to say one more thing. Decolonization of knowledge is not just about knowledge, it's about the world. The world is colonial in nature, and since PJ is talking about Palestine, it's a colonial state, it's a secular colonial state, it is an apartheid secular colonial state, and it is a state founded in 1948 on genocide, and is committing genocide ever since. We seem to be more concerned about it now because it is hitting us in the face on social media, but the state has been doing despicable things in the name of Judaism, they have been maligning the name of Judaism.

We still don't think in a decolonial way about Palestine. We think of it as a conflict between two sides. It is a colonial affair of one of the worst kinds. Singapore, Malaysia, the colonialism was rather benign in comparison to what is happening in Palestine. There are many things to say about it that we do not see in the media. For example, in Hebron, part of Hebron has been settled illegally by Israelis. On one side are Israeli settlers, on the other side, are Palestinians, but because of the rules of the settlers, are not allowed to step on the other side of the street. How do the Israelis enforce that? They weld shut the doors of Palestinians so you cannot open your front door to leave your house. This level of barbarism and inhumanity, this is the level of decolonization, decolonizing knowledge, recognizing the colonial status of Israel, then engaging in whatever politics we can engage in, to decolonize our mind. When we are talking about coloniality, we are talking about decolonizing the decoloniality of the actual people of the world.

2. For everyone, thank you for emphasizing that the decolonizing project is about dismantling power relations, so I have a question about that. Ideally, we should be clamoring for reparations for colonialism for social justice, we should go to marginalized groups and ask them what does it mean for you to decolonize? It seems to me we are falling a tiny bit short of that;

this could lead to other radical movements being a bit suspicious of the decolonial group, asking is this really a radical movement, or are they in the ivory tower? Sometimes people studying Marxism, political economy, perceive that there is a gap—are they allies or not? So, what would be your assessment, why is this happening, and what can we do about it?

Dr. Thum: There is a lack of representation of marginalized groups in the decision-making process and in positions of power and influence. My chosen solution, through a greater narrative, is to fight for the empowerment of people to speak for themselves, and whether that is to produce new knowledge, or to participate in policy making or decision making. New narrative's mission is to make political participation as easy as possible for people across Southeast Asia, and I think, nothing beats allowing people to speak for themselves, rather than to see people as an object of our research, for us to speak on behalf of them, empower them. Too often in Southeast Asia, with the rise of Technocracy, there's an idea that you don't need marginalized groups to have a seat at the decision-making table, it's enough for those groups to talk to disinterested dispassionate technocrats who will make the decisions after making decisions based on all views, which replicates their points-of-view, their assumptions, and falls victim to the incentive of the structures that benefit them. So, my answer is to really empower the people. It is how you empower people that is way more difficult.

Dr. Hau: I'm kind of wary of the word decolonial, I think I do agree with PJ that the Nation State has quite a number of problems, but I'd rather think that they are also one of the ones to rely on, in order to get things done. There is an absence of a global or world federation or confederation that's capable of addressing problems like climate change. It is not something you can uncritically embrace, but it might be one of the few mechanisms that people can use to make themselves heard. I know we are all critics of the Philippine state, but if we look at the history of the Philippines, people have tried to make their claims, make their rights known, and some of these struggles have played out in state struggles, for example, IP struggles, attempts to mitigate climate change. I'm a critical believer of the importance and efficacy of the nation, because at the end of the day, and you talk about

mobility, and you have a PH passport, you try imagining that the world is freely mobile, but based on my experience, your mobility is only as good as what your passport can allow you. I do believe we have to be critical of the nation-state and try to work to change it, because to be honest, look at the UN, how much have they done to help us, to help on genocide, what's happening in Gaza. I had hoped that we could actually create a world federation or institution that could hopefully address it, but I do believe that people-to-people networks are very important, so I still think that the national project is something we can rescue. Rescue the nation from itself.

Dr. Thum: Carol, can I just clarify, when you mean the nation, do you mean the state, or the nation-state, because I'm not against the nation or the state, I'm against the nation-state. The project to turn all states into those of nations. I don't think they should be put together. We don't disagree, but I just want to clarify.

Dr. Hau: Well, I don't think that nations and states act independently from one another, but I am well aware that hyphenation is very problematic. It's a conflictive relationship, but we have also seen how states have failed—in places like Haiti, or even Kenya, in the absence of a state, what can you have that would sort of get things done, on a scale larger than a small unit. Instead of treating them as separate, we can interrogate that hyphen, and know that it is a source of a really bad tension, and abuse. It is not a fragile thing that we can build on, bend, so that we can mobilize and get resources on a scale that is larger than what we see as local.

3. My question is for PJ. There is this theory taught in Political Science, and it is mentioned by my professor. The difference between state and nation, a state is government, it has land, people, independence. If we lack, it becomes a nation. For me they are two very different things. You keep on talking about theory. I joined the UP academy in the 1990s. I broke that cycle of theory in UP Diliman. If you remember Randy David of Sociology, I ask him how do you define, describe the complete learning practice, rhetoric, knowledge, theory. Give your comment, it is theory and practice together, how do you prove the theory?

Dr. Hau: I love UP, ito ang UP. I think if you listened to what I was saying, I thought all this time I was not just talking about theory, I was not just talking about academia. I've been talking about practices in academia. I am with you sir, I do agree that theory and practice should be combined, and in fact should have a synergy so I think I would show it in the way we talk about our communities, that academic communities are not in isolation or in ivory towers.

4. I'm a Japanese national, when it comes to discipline, I'm a historian by training, and I did Southeast Asia Studies too. My question is basically, when there is a need to decolonize disciplines and pedagogy, to explain this context. It comes from a conversation I had before. I am a historian, but I was tasked to teach political science to students from Davao, and I taught political theorists from Asia, but when I started teaching, I realized many important theorists are not political scientists, but were sociologists, historians, literary figures, when I read Prof Alatas' theorists, you also included literary figures such as Rizal and my Filipino students enjoyed a lot, reading about the problem of corruption, theory of state terrorism, they are sociologists. Do you think there is a need to reconceptualize the disciplines as taught in the west, when we teach Southeast Asian students? For sociology and political scientists

Dr. Alatas: Yes, I think there is a need. I mentioned one example, we should transfer the study of the state to criminology, and also, I have never been comfortable with the distinction between sociology and anthropology, you know, we have separate departments, while in Singapore and Malaysia, we have departments of Sociology and Anthropology combined. I think today, the distinction is really an orientalist distinction. Sociology was the study of humanitas, Anthropology was the study of anthropos, and anthropos was inferior to humanitas, but of course it's not like that today, but now it is a difference of methodological framework, but even that, there is some convergence. Sociology students are using ethnography and ethnographic methods. I don't see the use of having separate disciplines, but more importantly, we have to rethink how we understand thought and theory. For about 150 years, in the modern social sciences, theory or theorizing is restricted to the scientific method. Truth claims are made on the basis of induction and

deduction, in the long intellectual tradition of the west, in the medieval-Christian tradition, and Islamic tradition, other forms of making truth claims were recognized, poetics, rhetoric, dialectics, not just demonstration, which is what we call the scientific method. You can learn as much about society from reading Noli Me Tangere, as much as you can read from factual accounts, but you learn about the nature of Chinese Feudal society about reading the true story of Akiu, through imagination, through the method of allegories, truth claims are being made through our abilities to imagine. We don't teach these alternative or other methods of making truth claims, or methods of argumentation – the artificial divide between truth, the scientific method, and beauty, which is poetics. I think we need to be more methodologically pluralistic. When the world of theory opens up, you don't limit theory to the scientists like Marx and Weber, and Rizal becomes a theorist. These are the things we hardly talk about, they have hardly made any dents in the writing of textbooks, in teaching, I think we talk too much about these things, we limit them to conferences and seminars. Maybe these are things we also need to talk about.

5. On cultural diplomacy, anyone can answer. Decolonizing knowledge at the state and national levels involves addressing entrenched neo-centrism and Euro-american centrism, which can undermine genuine efforts for transformation, this challenge is compounded by issues such as red-tagging, and the influence of metropolitan dynamics which can suppress diverse perspectives and reinforce existing power structures. In this context, cultural diplomacy has the potential to counter these negative effects by promoting inclusive and equitable cultural exchange. When contextualized authentically, cultural diplomacy can mitigate the impact of red-tagging by fostering a more supportive and open environment for dialogue, it can also challenge metropolitan dynamics by amplifying diverse voices and perspectives, thus contributing to a more balanced globalized discourse, conversely, if co-opted by metropolitan interest, can be used to advance specific political agendas, cultural diplomacy can reinforce existing power imbalances and perpetuate oppression. How can states integrate cultural diplomacy into their decolonizing strategies to overcome the challenges of red-tagging, metropolitan dynamics, and other forms of suppression, ensuring that these strategies lead to meaningful

transformation, that dismantle biocentrism and Euroamerican centrism in national and international policies?

Dr. Hau: Well, I'd just like to say that a lot of governments put a lot of effort to push for cultural diplomacy, but in the larger scheme of things, budget wise, it does not get the priority they would give to the military, even salaries, they pay the politicians. CD is very important, but certain governments tend to focus on certain types of cultural diplomacy rather than others, I think you have found your mission, to push our government to spend more on cultural diplomacy, by identifying areas that money might be better spent in, instead of funding different projects just by the whims of whoever is in office. I think the notion of cultural diplomacy should be rethought to make it more capacious, but the real issue is state revenues to get enough budget to start your plans. In Japan, cultural diplomacy is quite important, but is only a smaller budget the Japanese government gives in comparison to promoting science and technology or other things they think are more important.

Dr. Thum: If I can expand that to non-state diplomacy, what we often neglect is emotion, the emotional content, communicating what people feel: that is often left out in our research because we want to present things very dispassionately. I think communicating emotion as a source, then communicating emotion through non-state cultural diplomacy, I'd say in Japan is Studio Ghibli, it is entirely not state-led. We did an explainer on the non-upholding of the Malaysia agreement of 1963, really well researched, we did a comment on it. It was mentioned in the Malaysian parliament, I think if we can think of it as non-state cultural diplomacy, I think there is a lot of scope out there for these different ways of communicating and to flip it over to looking at these as sources themselves as well.

Dr. Alatas: I agree with what you said. The problem with cultural diplomacy is that if it is funded by the state, then it might be alright, it should not be self-serving of the state, but all too often it does. I think when you talk about non-state cultural diplomacy, basically I believe that the reality of the world is that governments are as a rule unjust, history has shown that, and I doubt it is going to change in the future,

we really need to stop relying on governments. For example, this thing in Gaza can go on for how long, without hypocritical regimes, those who have leverage over the US, UK, Germany, but do not use that leverage, countries in the middle east, which have investments in the US, they are against Boycott Diverse, Sanction, almost every Muslim country, almost every other country supports the two-state solution, which is a non-solution, which is supporting colonization. If the Spaniards wanted a two-state solution, let's say they keep Luzon, and you can have the rest of it as an independent state, that's not a solution that's not independence, and when you don't accept the Spaniards keeping Luzon, then you are unreasonable. You don't want peace. That's what the Israelis are saying, Palestinians don't want peace, but the entire world, governments, support a two-state solution. No serious academic believes in a two-state solution, that it's actually possible. Number 1, that it's accepting the status quo of colonization, number 2 practically it's impossible. 60% of what was supposed to be the Palestinian state is settled by Israeli settlers, it is impossible to carve a state out of that. Syria and Iran don't support it. What do you do, the only thing we can do is promote the idea of a one-state solution, a democratic state for Jews, Palestinians, and Jews, and Muslims and Christians, is being discussed seriously by Palestinians and Israeli Jews themselves, but nobody knows about this because it is not covered by the media, we've been trying to get our governments to give serious consideration of this. Talking about a two-state solution means never moving towards a solution. What you have in Israel is a one-state reality, and you're never going to get two-states from that. I guess my point is, forget about government, if you can influence, if they have some good policies, work with them, otherwise, they will never change, they will only change when the regime is in trouble, under threat, then in order to save their skin, they initiate some reforms, the least we can do is create more awareness, and put more pressure on governments, in my experience, cultural diplomacy is self-serving in the interest of the state.

Comment: I was hoping throughout the conference, it would become clearer what we are trying to do: to surface indigenous knowledge, to surface our own experiences, our own interpretation, of you know, reality, particularly of within our own region. One of the things we want

to do actually is to liberate or to basically try to disentangle are what are western influences that have helped subordinate us, to make us captive, in a sense from the lenses of western experience and thought. Decentering is, in fact, something related to decolonial studies, but is to more focus on our experiences from ourselves. My question is, I do agree with Carol about the role of the state, and I think the state in effect is, if you look at Asia, the state has a very specific role to play, the state from a western perspective has a different concept and it is mostly, when transported to Southeast Asia, is a colonial state that has been imported to our own region. The state itself as a concept, remains relevant, and I do agree with Carol, we are really looking at the question of nationalism if that remains relevant. I have a problem when we start talking about a need to get away from the concept of the state, that can also lead us to a concept contradicting of a neoliberal. Neoliberal governance where the state does not matter, at the end of the day, we need to hold the state accountable. And the only way of making the state accountable is having a clear sense of what we expect from states. So, whether that's social services, protection, we kind of need to be conscious, whatever we are trying to do has to be translated into political action.

6. Why are conferences like this not funny? If you want to decolonize, think about where our people are the funniest, most reverend, most sense of community, it's the marketplace. We make fun of our leaders, ourselves, where is laughter in this conference, and why is it absent?

Dr. Alatas: Well, I'm not sure if that's true, If I remember my conferences over the years, there would be many times where there would be people laughing at what I just said.

Dr. Hau: As a student of Rizal, I do miss his laughter. One of the first thing sacrificed in the study of Rizal is his laughter, and so, if we want to pay homage to Rizal, we do need to be a bit more relaxed about what we do, and not take ourselves too seriously. A bit of self-deprecation helps. We all have it! Jojo, you're not supposed to say Filipinos are the only ones with a sense of laughter. I've been with Singaporeans, who have a good sense of humor.

Dr. Thum: Laughter is a very important weapon in the battle for decolonization, because to mock those with power, to mock their hypocrisy is a classic weapon of those who have less power. It actually has a lot of power as a weapon as a tool, it should be a tool for analysis, but I agree with my colleagues here that we shouldn't take ourselves too seriously, and laugh at those who deserve it, punch upwards. I think that is part of the overall toolkit of decolonization, and if I can be a bit shameless, please watch the show of PJ Thum on YouTube. In that series it is a political satire. I make fun of the Singaporean government.

Dr. Alatas: When you are referring to laughter, you relate it to humor, we talk too much about knowledge. We focus too much on cognitive and intellectual aspects, and of course these are major aspects of knowledge creation, but attitude is also important. There are a number of attitudes that are essential to engaging in serious knowledge creation. The attitude of shame and honor are very important. If we are shameless, we are forever under the tutelage of our intellectual masters. If we do not have a sense of honor, we don't have a problem with being alienated from other intellectual traditions. Humor is also important, there is a certain area of studies, very slowly emerging, it is called Stupidity Studies, and see, you laughed. Who can think of stupidity studies is someone with humor, but there have been studies and some conceptualizations which are interested in the phenomenon of stupidity and the phenomenology of stupidity. Someone came up with a concept in Persian, it means donkey-fication. Basically he is talking about that aspect of the dominant ideology that does not simply distort ideology, but it creates a certain level of stupidity among the masses. My father spoke about stupidity, he has two concepts of it, one of them comes from a Malay-word "babal," I'm sure there is a corresponding word in Filipino, it means being stupid in the sense of lethargy, in wanting to understand problems and solve problems. There is also the concept of "jadong," a compound word where elites who are evil, stupid, and too arrogant to understand their stupidity, their policies harm other people. My father's professor, he was maybe the first to develop the field called the Sociology of Ignorance. The Encyclopedia of Stupidity, which is a reality, there are a lot of stupid people. When stupid people are in power, they donkey-fy the masses.

We are laughing, because it is funny, but it is a sad reality that we have to have a field of study which I would call Stupidity Studies, which is a part of decolonization.

Closing Message from the University of the Philippines Diliman Chancellor

Atty. Edgardo Carlo L. Vistan II

The University of the Philippines Diliman is more than pleased to have hosted the 5th biennial international conference of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia or SEASIA and to have maximized this platform in emphasizing the great significance of transcending the perimeters currently established in our various academic fields through its theme “De/Centering Southeast Asia.” As one of the country’s premier universities, we are grateful for the opportunity to be at the forefront of this gathering of colleagues in Southeast Asian studies, shaping the future of the field. As we move forward in centering the discussion on pivotal narratives and studies from the region, many also of us gathered here be reminded of the main objective of our 5th edition of this biennial conference to decenter the conversation from the hegemonic accounts rendered across our respective academic fields. At the core of this biennial conference is the call for action for everyone to continue growing these bodies of knowledge despite the persistence of varying struggles that impede such efforts. It is through our commitment as scholars, educators, and advocates, that important and marginalized narratives will be amplified, scholarly debates enriched, and the breadth of research, immersion, and development, expanded across the Southeast Asian region.

Keeping true to the University’s pledge of pushing forth such efforts, this Conference is incorporated in the UP Diliman Arts and Culture Festival 2024, which carries the theme Pamamalagi at Pamamahagi and commemorates the 75 years since the University of the Philippines settled in its current home in Diliman, Quezon City. We reflect on the knowledge and practices that have become part of the University’s identity, shaped by the contributions of the University to the academic community as well as its surrounding communities, the city, the nation, and beyond.

Similar to the spirit of this celebration, we hope that the conversations in this Conference have encouraged you to engage and value various forms of local knowledge from the region as we face the challenges of the world today. We also hope that it ignited the same passion in each one of you for continued excellence and collaboration among our community.

Together with the other governing board members of the SEASIA Consortium, the University of the Philippines reiterates its commitment to the vision of the consortium through its biennial conference series. The University is committed to being a trailblazer alongside the other members of the consortium as we continue to shape and empower narratives of our own. Whether it is a story of struggle or strength, as one SEASIA Consortium, we shall continue to shed light on the efficiency of our extensive dialogues as we move forward as one Southeast Asian Community.

I would like to extend our sincerest thanks and congratulations to the UP Host Committee for spearheading a successful 5th Biennial International Conference, to our institutional organizers and partners, and most especially, our attendees this year for heeding the call of owning our narratives and transforming the field of Southeast Asian Studies. *Muli, maraming salamat at pagpupugay sa inyong lahat!*

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The UP CIDS currently has twelve research programs that are clustered under the areas of education and capacity building, development, and social, political, and cultural studies. It publishes policy briefs, monographs, webinar/conference/forum proceedings, and the Philippine Journal for Public Policy, all of which can be downloaded free from the UP CIDS website.

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