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Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia (CRISEA). Final Report. Description, Implementation, and Output

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Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia (CRISEA)

Final Report

Description, Implementation, and Output¹

Jacques P. Leider

Bangkok, 30 April 2021

¹ The CRISEA Final Report was written by Jacques Leider, who gratefully acknowledges input from Work Package leaders and co-leaders, fellow researchers of the CRISEA project network, the Dissemination team in Jakarta as well as contributions and comments by Yves Goudineau, Andrew Hardy, Silvia Vignato (for the web-documentaries and gender theme), Medelina Hendityo (for the website) and Paulo Seixas (for the ethics section). All have been responsive and helpful. A special thanks is due to Elisabeth Lacroix, the project manager, who has been an unfailing support and advisor throughout the entire project. I am indebted to Yves Goudineau and Andrew Hardy for their ongoing good-humoured advice.

Executive Summary

Introduction

The pursuit of integration among Southeast Asia's nation-states has been a key feature of the region's development over the past few decades. In this, ASEAN played a focal role, even as the perception and reality of its integration as a regional entity is questioned in many ways. Multiple other domestic and external forces compete within the region both at macro and micro levels for the control of its economic resources, environmental governance, and legitimacy. This was the premise adopted by the project ***Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia*** (CRISEA), funded by the EU's Horizon 2020 program ("Engaging with Asia") and implemented by a consortium of 13 European and Southeast Asian institutions, led by the *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO).

CRISEA brought together over 80 researchers from social sciences, humanities, and political economy, to study social, economic, and political developments which foster and enforce cooperation and generate integrations, on the one hand, and forces which hamper or threaten national and regional ambitions, on the other. Results presented in this report confirm the project's main assumption, even as many of the findings indicate that competing forces operate constructively, favouring and reinforcing the region's integration more often than the contrary.

Objectives and methodology

The project's objectives may be coined in three key terms: knowledge, networking, and dissemination.

New knowledge. - CRISEA's first strategic objective was to produce new knowledge on competing forces operating in five arenas: the governance of the environment, the regulation of economic processes and cooperation, the legitimation of state policies, the (re)shaping of collective identities and the development of Southeast Asia's regionalism. Following an overview of its structure, goals and implementation (part 1 and 2), the present report reviews the project's scientific output (part 3), gives an overview of insights gained (part 4) and provides a preliminary record of the published and forthcoming academic results.

Academic networking. - CRISEA's second objective was the building of an academic network whose members coordinated research programs, interacted in research workshops, contributed to panels and roundtables at research conferences and participated in CRISEA's outreach activities. The consortium that implemented the project included the following institutions: the *University of Cambridge* (Cambridge), Department of Politics & International Studies, the *University of Hamburg* (UHAM), Asien-Afrika-Institut associated with the *German Institute of Global and Area Studies* (GIGA); the *University of Lisbon* (ISCSP), Institute of Social & Political Sciences, the *University of Lodz* (UL), Department of Asian Studies at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, the *University of Naples l'Orientale* (UNO), Department of Human & Social Sciences (Italy); the *University of Oslo* (UiO), Department of Sociology and Human Geography, the *Ateneo de Manila University* (ADMU), Development Studies Program and Department of Economics, the *Centre for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS), Department of Politics and International Relations, Jakarta, *Chiang Mai University* (CMU), Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), the *University of Malaya* (UM) Centre for Poverty and Development Studies and Faculty of Economics and Administration, the *University of Mandalay* (MU), Department of International Relations, the *Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences* (VASS), Institute for European Studies and Institute of Cultural Studies and the *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO), with the National Foundation for Political Science and the Centre for Southeast Asia (CASE). The scholars from these institutions contributed their own networks to CRISEA, in the form of participants at events and contributors to publications.

Research dissemination. - The third objective was the dissemination of innovative and policy-relevant research results to academics, stakeholders, and policymakers. The project's dissemination strategy was designed to underpin the implementation of the 2015 Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council on “The EU and ASEAN: a partnership with a strategic purpose”. CRISEA dissemination included different types of activities and formats. Dissemination workshops mixed events which included closed and open sessions for academics, for stakeholders (policymakers, activists, journalists) or, in the format of policy briefings, for EU diplomats.

Methodology. - The research framework of CRISEA was defined by the project’s understanding of research hypotheses on Southeast Asian integrative dynamics and the stakes of ASEAN centrality in five arenas of competition: the environment, the economy, the state, identity, and the region (referred to below as “work packages” or WPs). The project design additionally acknowledged gender, migration, and security as “transversal themes” permeating all its research at various degrees and essential to a successful implementation of the project’s core objectives. To strengthen the analytical grid and maximize cross-over effects of research collaboration, the project’s architecture prescribed a “macro-micro dialogue” confronting results generated from multiscale approaches and different academic disciplines. Methodologies and tools used by CRISEA researchers in the different work packages shared a systematic interdisciplinary approach. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used, in combination where possible. The mining of data from domestic and regional web material in multiple languages was typical of research focusing on contemporary contexts. The observation of best practices in regard of ethical norms was monitored by an Ethics Board. Provisions for data management plans were communicated during three research workshops.

Project Implementation and Scientific Output

The implementation of the project as an interactive research network comprised a kick-off meeting, three research workshops and a final conference, the publication of six e-newsletters, the collaborative production of web-documentaries and a website, which functioned both as a platform of communication and dissemination during the project’s lifetime and a web archive after it ended. (For the implementation of the project’s targeted dissemination activities, see the next paragraph.)

The project’s detailed research findings are presented below in line with the format of the five work packages. Points of departure and results are sketched in the five vignettes below.

Environment. – Research focused on contested knowledge of transnational river systems and the seas. Here, modernizing projects were found to clash with indigenous practices and value-systems and institutional arrangements meant to secure the commons failed to deliver on their commitments. This work package generated an array of insights into efforts made at the grass-roots level to voice their concerns over environmental impacts and risks while underscoring the weakness of ASEAN to fully implement its environment-friendly potential.

Economy. – Multiscale research on development policies and transformations explored the political economy of equitable growth with special foci on labor issues, uneven development and state-state business relations. Research in this work package led to new insights into the complexity of China’s economic and political investments in Southeast Asia as well as macro-micro level perspectives on how FDI industrial policies have led to mixed, yet often unsatisfactory results for national economies and societies.

State. – Populism and authoritarian forces contest liberal traditions and values and provoke change. Locally and nationally, the region’s statecraft is re-defined, re-interpreted or re-negotiated at various levels as the social and political power-balance is shifting. Research results display a complex picture of increasingly authoritarian modes which are tempered, nonetheless, by social and political developments grounded in cultural practices opening space for recontextualizing the roles of the state.

Identity. – Alternative identities have been and are still being shaped in a process of generational change, under the impact of violence or in transnational contexts. Research on alternative identity, generation and the impact of mass violence reveals both the complexity and the autonomy of identity formations outside the ideological matrix promoted or preferred by the state.

Region. – ASEAN is presented as an organization shielding member states and claiming centrality in Southeast Asian affairs through its construction of dialogue networks. As a corollary, the performance of external partners and powerholders to penetrate, interact with and influence ASEAN is examined. The conclusions of various case studies show how ASEAN’s performance itself and how engagements with ASEAN are best described as processes where success depends on multiple and ongoing interactions.

On top of its research agenda as submitted in the project proposal, CRISEA delivered timely research on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in SEA and responses of several ASEAN member states.

Dissemination and the project’s impact

CRISEA generated a smooth transmission of its ongoing research work through targeted dissemination to EU diplomats and decision makers in the form of policy briefings, and outreach to stakeholders and academic audiences in various settings. The project’s scientific output in academic peer-reviewed publications will contribute to the EU’s scientific diplomacy in SEA, relevant policymaking as well as international debates in SEA-focused fields of social sciences and humanities. The project will be effective in the long run through its web-documentaries, the post-project maintenance of its website www.crisea.eu linking to a repository of all its publications, as well as the continuity of scholarly links and institutional cooperation developed by the CRISEA network during its lifetime (2017-21).

CRISEA dissemination activities were structured events, result-driven and organized in a time- and cost-efficient way. In their implementation, they were dialogic, providing well-timed inputs and flexible in the elaboration of both content and format. In sum, CRISEA had four types of output that targeted audiences consisting of policymakers, stakeholders, the general public and academics.

- The first output was **the organization of dissemination workshops for the EEAS HQ in Brussels and EU Delegations in SEA** capitals in the form of briefings derived from a dialogue between researchers and diplomats coordinated by the project’s Management Team.
- The second output was **the production of policy briefs containing policy recommendations**, introducing academic work to decisionmakers and a wider public. The policy briefs were attentive to changing contexts such as the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and the coup d’état in Myanmar in 2021.
- The third output is **the multiplier effect in the outreach achieved by the CRISEA web documentaries** that have “grown” out of collaborative work within the work packages and discussions at workshop level. They present case studies bearing out the project’s core questions about conflicting integrations in a zooming macro-micro perspective.
- The fourth output is **the publication of the project’s research** in the form of working papers, interviews, articles for popular consumption, and academic publications in the form of special journal issues and book chapters. Both published material and forthcoming publications are listed in Appendix 1 of the report.

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Part 1 CRISEA Project Description

A. Rationale - Producing relevant and informed research

Summary representations of Southeast Asia abound and often fail to account for the region's astonishing complexity. The CRISEA project was motivated by a pursuit for excellence to produce rich, theoretically innovative, and empirically informed research that enables scientific progress and contributes to policymaking. While ASEAN's quest for integration has immutably been at the heart of its rhetoric and self-representation, the perception and reality of its development as a regional entity has been called into question in many ways. Core principles such as non-interference have been severely tested and both domestic and external forces have been in competition on Southeast Asia's economic resources and its political capital. The transnational character of environmental issues as much as migrations and forced displacements within the region have generated new challenges for ASEAN as a regional organization and for its member states. Within the regional framework, the role of states has remained undiminished while the legitimacy of powerholders has been exposed to mounting criticism. Often the contestation of majority and minority identities, while being a problem, has also redirected attention towards fundamental issues of how power is exercised, resources are distributed, and legitimacy is strengthened or weakened. Nonetheless, at moments of crisis, such as the impact of globalization and its ramifications, or acute distress, such as the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar in 2017 or most recently, the coup d'état of 1 February 2021 in that country, the legitimacy of ASEAN and the model of integration it purports to uphold are seriously tested.

To address such complexities, **Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia** (CRISEA) brought together over 80 researchers from social sciences and humanities to do research on Southeast Asia, on the manifold social, economic, and political developments which foster and enforce cooperation, on the one hand, and on forces which threaten its regional endeavours, on the other. Implemented by a consortium of institutions in thirteen European and Southeast Asian countries, coordinated by the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO), CRISEA was funded by the European Commission's **Horizon 2020** programme and was rooted in the EU's ambitions and priorities to engage with Southeast Asia. An earlier project coordinated by the EFEO, SEATIDE (Integration in Southeast Asia, Trajectories of Inclusion, Dynamics of Exclusion), had produced research on integration processes at the grass-roots level pointing in particular to opposing dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

CRISEA moved beyond this framework in two distinctive ways, first by deeply engaging with the competing forces which play out within the states and between the states in the region as well as beyond as they bring countries together as much as they may divide, and second, methodologically, by taking a systematic multi-disciplinary approach which called forward a dialogue between macro and micro-level approaches.

The CRISEA project successfully minimised detrimental impacts caused by the **Covid-19 pandemic**, which impeded international mobility and limited or prevented extant field research. Adapting to the new conditions of communicating and disseminating research results, and taking advantage of the project's extension until February 2021, CRISEA researchers engaged with the new challenges. Often in combination with existing research, they also responded with determination by contributing to a subproject launched in May 2021 on the impact of CRISEA in Southeast Asia.

B. Context - Investigating Competing Forces

While ASEAN's centrality has been challenged due to geopolitical shifts, it has found itself strengthened in return both as a shared ideational ambition of its member states, and even more so in practical ways as an expandable platform to maintain its collective relevance. While they acknowledged the integration processes which have been generated by social, economic, and political transformations in Southeast Asia, CRISEA researchers focused their attention on the contested nature of these processes.

Project members shared an ambition to unpack such contestation by zooming in and out at multiple levels, alternating viewpoints and embedding local, national, and regional perspectives in their analysis. The knowledge and experience gained doing fieldwork in Southeast Asia was used to produce a deeper understanding of Southeast Asian specificity, particularly in the case of global phenomena such as populism.

The European Union's engagement with Asia, and with Southeast Asia in particular, flourishes when both the specificity of the region and its nations and the broader issues of social, political, environmental and economic contestation are well understood. Studying the competing forces of regional integration and, implicitly, risks of disintegration, serves to develop the acclaimed "partnership with a strategic purpose" between the EU and ASEAN.

Grounding and organizing their research in the concept of "arenas of competition", CRISEA researchers teamed up in thematic work packages (WP) dealing with the environment, the economy, the state, identity, and the region, hereafter referred to as WP 2 to 6 (the ethics commitments having been denoted as WP1). As field research starting in late 2017 generated new insights and research foci and as research priorities occasionally shifted, names of research modules changed and were reflected later on in the titles given to project deliverables. The present report adopts the latest descriptions. The key concept of "arenas of competition" used to frame the competing forces is illustrated below with a brief sketch of the five arenas/work packages.

Arenas of competition

Environment. – Researchers in Work Package 2 on the environment looked at the environment "as a driver of processes of regional integration, but also of conflicts between various actors in the region."² As environmental issues are pivotal to the region's future development and prosperity, safeguarding the commons becomes a central issue of contestation. Research in WP2 "Contested Knowledges of the Commons in Southeast Asia" focused on the competition in the co-production of knowledge on the coastal seas (Bay of Bengal, South China Sea), the rivers (Mekong, Salween) and the prospects of the transition into a low carbon economy (with case studies on city networks and adoption of new technologies).

Economy. – Researchers in Work Package 3 focused on the study of small and medium enterprises (SMEs), Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and employment regimes governing labour in Southeast Asia's industrialization to explore competing models of developmental capitalism. Research was grounded in a keen awareness of the impact of regulatory policies on migrant labour and called forward a multi-scale approach where economists and anthropologists engaged in intense dialogue. Other researchers investigated the impact of China's role in its various modes of financial investments in infrastructure and technology at state-state-level and the resulting domestic and regional frictions.

State. – Researchers in Work Package 4, taking stock of the contestation of the liberal state (basically understood as a state caring for the right of individual freedom) by authoritarian populism, religious movements, ethno-nationalism and military regimes, took as their starting point the liberal/illiberal character of the SEA state. In Southeast Asia, the combination of liberal and illiberal elements emerges as a central dimension of ideological and political contestation. During their fieldwork, the arena of contestation highlighting the role of the state widened and led researchers to include in their investigations identarian popular politics and the state politics of difference.

Identity. – Researchers in WP5 started with a reflection on the forging of regional belongings in Southeast Asia and their legitimacy both at the macro-level of the state and the micro-level of non-

² All quotes in this section draw on the State-of-the-art working papers of the five work packages. Footnotes are kept at a strict minimum throughout the report.

state actors. Research modules unpacked the contentious nature of this core issue in three ways: by looking at generational configurations and responses, by researching the link between violence and identification and by investigating transnational identities and mobilities.

Region. – The vision of the EU’s future relations with ASEAN calls for an understanding of the challenges to ASEAN’s regional identity commonly linked to the organization’s stated aim of integration. Moving beyond ASEAN’s narrative of integration, WP6 researchers undertook the study of connectivity and processes of cooperation to explore ASEAN’s engagement with external partners, its responses to the rise of China and the quality of ASEAN’s enlargement. As it reviewed rhetoric, practices, and processes, WP6 research zoomed in on ASEAN’s centrality as the main arena of contestation.

Transversal themes

To strengthen research communication and cooperation within the project, CRISEA’s architects called for an inclusive treatment of gender, migration, and security as transversal themes to be embedded in research perspectives in all five WPs. Transversal themes were neither chosen arbitrarily nor meant merely as an exercise of generating added value. Their choice stemmed from the recognition of their importance for regional solidarity, cohesion and belonging. To ensure collective futures, collective, often violent pasts must be settled and present conundrums impacting human security must be dealt with transparency. Or put differently, the project did not intend to externalize gender, migration, and security as objectified categories to be accounted for, but sought to invest in raising awareness of these issues in both research and dissemination.

C. Objectives – Knowledge, Networking, Dissemination

As noted above, the project’s objectives can be summed up in three terms: knowledge, networking, and dissemination.

1 New knowledge

CRISEA’s strategic objective was to analyse the competition of forces in managing environmental resources (particularly water and air), regulating economic processes and cooperation, legitimizing state policies, building and sustaining collective identities and impacting Southeast Asia’s regionalism to generate new knowledge about the challenges which confront European policy makers' efforts to deepen their engagement with SEA counterparts and ASEAN.

The project proposal asked three specific questions which were addressed in the formulations of WP-specific research goals. The first one was “what forces compete to integrate the SEA region and how do they interact?” raising questions about the threats to the commons, the risks of developmental capitalism, populism and authoritarianism, the legacies of violence or failed understandings of the nature of ASEAN integration. The second question was “what sources of legitimacy underpin the diverse forces of regionalisation in SEA?”, bringing to the fore the expectations raised by rapid industrialization and electrification (such as hydro energy and new technologies), the popularity of authoritarian figures and their policies, the conundrum of the middle-income trap, and the ideational goal of an ASEAN regional identity promoted by elites. CRISEA’s third question, “to what extent ASEAN-led regional integration is – and perceived by SEA’s population to be – part of the problem or part of the solution” invited a wider assessment of how much Southeast Asian regionalism could translate or has already translated into a perceptible answer to the region’s challenges.

The scientific results of the project are presented below in Part 3 “Survey of CRISEA’s Scientific Output”.

The following paragraphs briefly revisit the research hypotheses of the project proposal and sum up key objectives of the five CRISEA Work Packages to generate new knowledge as formulated in the

respective “State of the Art & Theoretical Framework” Working Papers produced during the project’s first phase³.

Environment (Work Package 2). – The starting point of research in WP1 was the observation that the competition over the regional ‘commons’ has wide-ranging consequences for livelihoods and national security, and failure to face transnational environmental challenges would undermine the legitimacy of the ASEAN project.

WP2 researchers focused on the milieus of sea, river, and air and were particularly concerned with contested knowledge of “the commons”. As many actors are producing ecological knowledge either to legitimate, or challenge projects such as the construction of hydropower plants, questions are raised about how ecological knowledge is co-produced and how this co-production impacts the debate. Would hydro-politics then strengthen or weaken the integration processes in the Mekong River Basin? Or would sharing waters, in the first place, be an incentive for cooperation or rather exacerbate conflict? To address these issues, WP2 researchers realized the need to understand the competing visions and imaginings which shape the debate about ownership and exploitation of resources.

Economy (Work Package 3). – WP3 set out to review the competing models and practices of capitalism in Southeast Asia and the role of state interference in the economy. While Southeast Asia’s embrace of market liberalisation has vastly reduced absolute poverty, uneven development has trapped the labour force in circulatory migration while undermining social stability. Against this background, WP3 researchers explored the impact of FDI-led industrialization on the working conditions of the labour force and addressed the question of the extent to which the integration of SEA countries in regional production networks has supported or hampered them from pursuing industrial upgrading. A further objective of WP3 team members was the exploration of the ability of the migrant labour force to secure an income for the present as well as for their longer-term well-being, including the intra-generational dimension. The impact of China’s growing trade and multi-level investment in the region on Southeast Asia’s modes of development and how it shapes enterprise development determined another cluster of research objectives focused on state-state business ties. Further research focused on state policies relating to foreign labour and non-tariff measures in ASEAN as well the optimization of infrastructure in the context of state-promoted economic corridors. WP3 research objectives shared a common framework emphasizing the quest for equitable growth.

State (Work Package 4). – Southeast Asia displays a diverse set of political regimes and ideologies which mix both liberal and illiberal elements. Taking stock of the rise of illiberal, authoritarian tendencies and of powerholders who disregard the rule of law, such as in the Philippines or Thailand, researchers working in WP4 set out to explore threats to the liberal state and the politics of the rule of law. One key objective was to investigate populism in SEA by studying perceptions of the “elite” and the “people” in countries like Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia against the background of specific traditions of nationalism and multi-ethnicity. Another object of research was the nature of the regime and the democratic transition in Myanmar. Other researchers aimed at assessing the space in which social actors can contest the state in specific contexts of state-society relations.

Identity (Work Package 5). – The research hypothesis of WP5 raised the question about how a regional belonging identified with ASEAN as a collective imagining could be forged in a context where local and global forces were shaping multiple new identities. The team’s objective was to produce innovative knowledge related to contexts at the nation-state’s margins, with research on the nexus of mass violence and identity, identities shaped by transnational interactions and subnational relations as well as generational transformations and contradictions.

³ See Appendix 1 CRISEA publications.

Region (Work Package 5). – Researchers studying the ASEAN region hypothesized ASEAN’s centrality as an issue of contestation because of an increasingly assertive China, the end of the US 'pivot' to Asia and the resurgence of protectionism, and thereby a weakened yet rapidly evolving global geopolitical environment. The overarching objective of researching ASEAN’s contested centrality was therefore the mode of ASEAN countries to respond to challenges posed by China, to pro-active engagement of external countries (such as Japan or Russia), to new candidates (such as Timor Leste) or to crises with global impacts, such as in Myanmar, a late entrant.

2 Scientific diplomacy and academic networking

Led by the *Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* – a leading institution in the study of Asia with a network of ten field centres in Southeast Asia – the CRISEA consortium built on **the resources of seven European and six Southeast Asian institutions**, including top-tier Asian scholars in Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam specialising in the social sciences and international political economy. Drawing on earlier experience running EU-supported projects such as IDEAS (Integrating and Developing European Asian Studies) and SEATIDE, CRISEA’s Management Team animated a dynamic network which fostered a dialogue between academics in Europe and Southeast Asia and reached out to a targeted audience of diplomats, policy makers and stakeholders in Brussels and in Southeast Asian capitals.

The CRISEA consortium included anthropologists, linguists, historians, economists, geographers, sociologists, political scientists, and specialists in international relations and development studies from the following institutions:

Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO), associating expertise from the National Foundation for Political Science (Sciences Po), and the Centre for Southeast Asia (CASE);

University of Cambridge (Cambridge), Department of Politics & International Studies with expertise at the Faculty of History (United Kingdom);

University of Hamburg (UHAM), Asien-Afrika-Institut; and associated expertise from the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA);

University of Lisbon (ISCSP), Institute of Social & Political Sciences (Portugal), in association with the Universidade Nacional de Timor Lorosa’e in Dili, Timor-Leste;

University of Lodz (UL), Department of Asian Studies at the Faculty of International and Political Studies (UL-DAS) (Poland);

University of Naples l’Orientale (UNO), Department of Human & Social Sciences (Italy);

University of Oslo (UiO), Department of Sociology and Human Geography (Norway) and in Southeast Asia:

Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), both the Development Studies Program and the Department of Economics (Philippines);

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Department of Politics and International Relations and Department of Economics (Indonesia);

Chiang Mai University (CMU), Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) (Thailand).



University of Malaya (UM) Centre for Poverty and Development Studies and the Faculty of Economics and Administration (Malaysia).

University of Mandalay (MU), Department of International Relations (Myanmar).

Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS), Institute for European Studies and Institute of Cultural Studies (Vietnam).

Research workshops, research collaboration, collaborative work for writing research papers and producing web-documentaries as well as interaction during the dissemination workshops strengthened academic and personal links, created bonds grounded in shared interests and generated scientific cooperation within and beyond the limits of the project.

As CRISEA's network was developing, it not only enabled academic dialogue but also, by informing the media and public debate in SEA, exemplified the EU's strategic goal of engaging with Southeast Asia. Ad hoc teams forming while preparing research workshops and dissemination events, participating in the development of the project's website www.crisea.eu and the six editions of the E-newsletter, contributed to CRISEA's efforts to encourage inter-regional academic cooperation and deliver on its commitment to science diplomacy.

Moreover, academic networking was tied into the interdisciplinarity promoted by the challenge of engaging with research issues at both macro- and micro-levels. The multi-scaled approach involving academics from both Southeast Asian and European institutions developed its own dynamics of bringing scholars together and strengthening the CRISEA network.

In leading CRISEA's efforts of academic networking, CRISEA's Management Team also implemented specific objectives in line with gender requirements (responding to critical comments included in the mid-term project review), the call for furthering the rise of younger generation researchers (with fully invested research assistants being included on the website for better visibility), and support to emerging research on Southeast Asia *in* Southeast Asia's universities. For many partners within the network, the implementation of the project meant an entirely new experience and a boost to their opening up to research in transnational and transdisciplinary formats. An increased level of exposure

and experience were positive outcomes beyond the defined goals of the project and gratefully acknowledged internally by feedbacks provided at the end of the project.

Through coordinated EU-ASEAN academic cooperation, joint research and results delivery, CRISEA successfully aimed at an improved networking capacity and the promotion of a new generation of scholars on SEA and ultimately contributed to deepen the European Research Area (ERA) in the areas of social sciences and humanities.

3 Dissemination and outreach

Dissemination of innovative and policy-relevant research results to academics, stakeholders and policymakers was at the heart of the CRISEA project design and essential to its success. “Dissemination” in CRISEA had several dimensions. It denoted different sets of activities, tapped into an array of project-generated resources, followed a focused plan and implemented several formats.

Dissemination activities were core pursuits which involved a majority of CRISEA researchers throughout the project and also, occasionally, external expertise.

Dissemination comprised of two types of meeting: C. Dissemination Workshops and Policy Briefings.⁴ Both resulted in the production of “policy briefs” published on the project’s website.⁵

Dissemination workshops were designed as thematically oriented mixed events including closed and open sessions for an academic public, for stakeholders (policymakers, activists, journalists) or, in the format of policy briefings, for EU diplomats. Practically, the themes were aligned with the research foci of the work packages and generally involved a group of half a dozen CRISEA researchers. They were prepared as cooperative endeavours involving the CRISEA Management Team and consortium partners in Southeast Asia. They did not follow a fixed, “one-size-fits-all” model but adapted pragmatically to demands, expectations and possibilities of the targeted audience and local partners. In broad terms, the project's dissemination strategy was designed to underpin the implementation of the 2015 Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council on "The EU and ASEAN: a partnership with a strategic purpose".

Specifically, dissemination embraced three goals: (1) deepen European understanding of SEA through the provision of empirically grounded information and analytical tools addressing contentious social, political and economic issues while being inclusive of SEA perspectives on such issues, (2) share knowledge and engage in a dialogue with academics and stakeholders, (3) make an impact on public policy formulations by providing up-to-date insights and state-of-the-art analysis.

The dissemination plan included five dissemination workshops organised in Southeast Asia (Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Mandalay/Yangon and Chiang Mai) and five policy briefings organised for the EEAS HQ in Brussels. Only one policy briefing could not be organized due to the pandemic.

A special Work Package (WP6) was set up for the purpose of backing up, recording, archiving, publicizing, and editing CRISEA’s dissemination output. This was a task carried out by CRISEA partner CSIS in Jakarta which set up the website and centralized the project’s deliverables (such as policy briefs).

Policy briefings for the EEAS HQ in Brussels and EU diplomats posted in SEA capitals followed the tried and tested CRISEA model of “dissemination through dialogue” where the interested diplomats joined the team in the preparation of event programs. The themes and topics were chosen through a process of consultation with the target audience (Southeast Asia Division at EEAS HQ in Brussels, European Delegations in SEA). This innovative mechanism has been built on previous experience and was

⁴ See part 2 for a content presentation and appendix 4 for the full list.

⁵ See appendix 1 CRISEA publications.

finetuned as the project progressed to avoid supply-side driven dissemination and maximize the output's relevance, but also to learn from the participating audience. The policy briefings were implemented on a small-scale format of an audience below 20, but the digital format, adopted as an outcome of the pandemic, engaged much larger audiences, as the EEAS SEA Division was keen to tap the EU-wide network when it took the initiative to internally publicize CRISEA briefings.

The scientific output materializing in CRISEA working papers, special journal issues, edited volumes, and individual open access publications form the mainstay of CRISEA's lasting contribution to academic outreach and engagement with transnational research on Southeast Asia.⁶

Finally, the web-documentaries reflect key priorities and messages of the project and form another pillar of its dissemination effort. Like the written output in forms of policy briefs, their outreach stretches beyond the project's implementation period as they remain accessible as a resource either on YouTube, the CRISEA website or on institutional repositories.

D. Methodology and Research Framework

The research framework of CRISEA was defined by its understanding of key research hypotheses on Southeast Asian integration dynamics and the stakes of ASEAN centrality. As stated above, these were framed as a set of competing forces to be analysed within distinctive "arenas of competition". To strengthen the analytical grid and maximize the association of researchers conventionally working in either macro or micro approaches applied within their disciplines, every work package committed to a "macro-micro dialogue" using mixed methodologies. This goal was to be realized in the last phase of the project resulting in the third set of CRISEA working papers (the "macro-micro dialogue").

Methodologies and tools used by CRISEA researchers in the different work packages shared a systematic transdisciplinary approach. The mining of data from domestic and regional web material in multiple languages was typical of research focusing on contemporary contexts. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used. Quantitative methodologies included the exploitation of statistical information and macroeconomic data available in data bases on national economies (WP3). Across most work packages, qualitative research methods were widely used in semi-structured interviews (combined with participant observation in ethnographic field research as in WP3 and WP5) and expert interviews (in research on institutional decision- and policymaking processes drawing on elite and highly qualified resource persons as in WP3 and WP6). Focus group discussions and unstructured observations were tools of research at the micro-level of anthropological research in work package 2 on the environment and work package 3 on the economy. Many researchers adopted a hybrid approach including field observations, interviews, and discourse and policy analysis. A combination of multi-sited field research and archival work was typical for anthropologists and historians belonging to WP5 dealing with identity. Other researchers specifically stated their use of political ethnography as well as media and communications analysis.

⁶ See publications of CRISEA researchers in appendix 1.

Part 2 CRISEA Project Implementation

The present part details the various activities which brought together CRISEA researchers to plan, discuss and coordinate their research work (“research workshops”), participate at two major European academic conferences relating to Southeast Asian Studies (4th ITASEAS 2019, 10th EUROSEAS 2019), share and debate knowledge outcomes at multi-level “dissemination workshops” in Southeast Asia, and contribute focused policy-relevant information at briefings for the European External Action Service in Brussels. Further sections highlight CRISEA’s website, its publications and Work Package-specific films.

A. Research Workshops

Research workshops were organized by the EFEO-led CRISEA Management Team with a clear focus on the progress of the project, keeping track of fieldwork activities by interaction with WP leaders and co-leaders and close cooperation with institutional partners. At the kick-off meeting, research workshops and the final conference, steering committee meetings were held to discuss project matters and approve decisions relating to the implementation of the project.

CRISEA Kick-off meeting Chiang Mai, 2-3 December 2017. – During the first day of the kick-off meeting, the CRISEA Management Team presented the project’s theoretical framework highlighting key challenges relating to the macro-micro dialogue and the transversal themes and explained the project’s schedule for events and deliverables as well as raising awareness of the data management and dissemination plan. Work Package leaders gave introductory presentations of their thematic projects. On the second day, the dissemination team presented the project’s communication plan and WP researchers gave individual project presentations wrapped up by WP leaders in a plenary feedback session.

CRISEA Research Workshop 1 Hanoi, 28-30 March 2018. – CRISEA’s First Research Workshop took place at the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences in Hanoi with the support of the EFEO’s field centre in Hanoi. The CRISEA Management Team presented information on the project schedule, the deliverables, and the data management plan. CRISEA partner CSIS provided a first draft of the website architecture. The first day was spent on transversal theme seminars on gender, migration, and security as well as individual meetings of the five Work Package teams. On the second day, Work Package members presented their individual projects in WP sessions which were followed by a plenary feedback session where WP leaders summed up the outcome of project presentations. The workshop ended with a presentation and discussion of the macro-micro dialogue inviting WPs to integrate multi-level approaches in the elaboration of their research.

CRISEA Research Workshop 2 (Work Package 3) Cambridge, 16-18 April 2019. – WP4 on the State organized its Second Research Workshop at the University of Cambridge with a focus on the WP’s three modules. On the first day, researchers presented and discussed draft papers belonging to module 1 “Popular and populist challenges to the liberal state in Southeast Asia”, module 4 “Institutions and the Challenge to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia” and module 2 “Religious Challenges to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia”. The second day saw presentations from module 3 “Regimes and the Challenge to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia”. During the final plenary session, the documentary film, the preparation of working papers and publication strategies were discussed.

CRISEA Research Workshop 2 (Work Packages 1, 2, 4, 5), Procida (Naples), 24-25 May 2019. – The other WPs held their Second Research Workshop at the University of Naples L’Orientale at its Summer Schools Centre on Terra Murata, Procida. The first day saw an update on the project schedule, the project’s deliverables and dissemination strategy, as well as the set-up of the website. Individual Work Package sessions were dedicated to presentations of field research as well as preliminary research findings and extended into the second day. The second day also saw preliminary presentations of the

CRISEA films and concluded with a feed-back session of WP leaders. A meeting of the CRISEA Steering Committee approved decisions regarding the organization of the CRISEA Management Team.

CRISEA Research Workshop 3, Chiang Mai, 5-7 February 2020. - The Third Research Workshop took place at the EFEO centre in Chiang Mai and at CMU. The Management Team updated information on the project schedule, deliverables, data management plan, and forthcoming publications. A session chaired by WP leaders delivered presentations combining macro and micro methodologies to strengthen the social, economic and environmental analysis. The first day also included a session with projections of work-in-progress web-documentaries with background information and discussions led by their respective authors. During the second day, WPs split into individual sessions to discuss the outcome of their fieldwork, final research findings and coordination of publication proposals. The day concluded with an open discussion on overlapping research topics and potential cross-WP publication coordination, highlighting the benefits of interdisciplinary research pursued for three years within the project.

Change and adjustments due to the Covid-19 pandemic. - Due to the Covid-19 pandemic which shut down international travel in Southeast Asia from the first half of March 2020, working conditions of researchers and prospects for field research and the implementation of CRISEA meetings and dissemination events changed dramatically.

After a period of wait-and-see, the CRISEA Management Team, in coordination with WP leaders, applied for a four-month extension of the project beyond the planned end date of October 2020. This was granted, permitting a useful restructuring of the schedule. The Management Team also welcomed a research initiative to investigate the impact of Covid-19 in Southeast Asian countries and coordinated the production of relevant policy briefs and a Covid-related briefing session for the EEAS HQ. The extension gave the Management Team time to reprogramme the last dissemination workshop (WP6) and two policy briefings with the EEAS HQ in Brussels and the EU Delegation in Jakarta, implemented as digital events thanks to the experience gained by the Indonesian CRISEA partner CSIS.

CRISEA Final Conference (virtual, hosted from Jakarta/Paris), 22 February 2021. – Originally scheduled to be held at the EFEO head office in Paris, CRISEA’s final conference had to be organised as an online event. Entitled “**Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia: The Project and its Findings**”, it took place on 22 February 2021 as a virtual 2-hours-event including participants from Europe, Asia and North America (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mz0oRCTZgw>). After a project synthesis by the coordination team, the program highlighted five case studies reflecting research done by each work package: transnational water issues on the Mekong involving both China and Southeast Asia, the impact of Covid-19 on Special Economic Zones in SEA, State-society relations and the rise of the LGBT movement in Vietnam, and Christianity and war on drugs in the Philippines. The fifth case study was an update on Southeast Asia regionalism and Myanmar’s relations with ASEAN in the light of the coup d’état of 1 February 2021, given by a member of the team at the University of Mandalay. A presentation of CRISEA’s web-documentaries was illustrated with a report and film extracts of WP3’s documentary on deportations of Chinese from Southeast Asia to China.

Comments on the project’s results were delivered by Michael Montesano (ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore) who stressed the diversity of the projects CRISEA implemented while putting the project’s core issues into a historical perspective of progressing academic work on SEA. Terrence Gomez (University of Malaya) added to these comments by underscoring CRISEA’s successful engagement with policy makers both in its dissemination and dialogue commitments. In a session of Concluding Remarks, WP leaders expressed their satisfaction highlighting particular takeaways derived from the conviviality and productivity of the project. A closing keynote was offered by the chair of CRISEA’s Academic Advisory Board, Amitav Acharya from American University (Washington, DC).

B. Participation of CRISEA researchers at academic conferences

CRISEA researchers participated in a number of national and international scientific events throughout the more than three years of the project which the present report does not list due to the considerable number of researchers concerned. Nonetheless, two events stand out as they involved a coordinated and substantial investment of CRISEA research in panels, roundtables and paper presentations. One is the **4th Conference of the Italian Association of Southeast Asian Studies (ItaSEAS)** in Naples from 22-24 May 2019 and the **10th EUROSEAS** conference in Berlin from 10-13 September 2019.⁷

C. Dissemination Workshops⁸

“Contemporary Identities in Southeast Asia”. CRISEA’s First Dissemination Workshop was organized in **Manila** on 15 February 2019 by WP5 co-leader Jayeel Cornelio and faculty members at the Ateneo de Manila University for WP5 “Identity” in cooperation with CRISEA’s Management Team. It included a policy briefing at the EU Delegation in the Philippines, a closed session of CRISEA researchers with FaceBook Philippines, social activists, and journalists as well as a public academic session at the Ateneo with extensive presentations of field work pursued in WP 5’s modules on violence and identity, transnationalism and generations.

“Development and Transformation in Southeast Asia” – CRISEA’s Second Dissemination Workshop took place in **Kuala Lumpur** on 9 July 2019 and was organized at the Sheraton Hotel in Petaling Jaya by Terrence Gomez (University of Malaya) with his team in excellent collaboration with the EU Delegation in Malaysia. The programme highlighted key issues researched by WP3 “Economy” under the title “Development & Transformation in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of Equitable Growth”. Dr Jomo Kwame Sundaram gave a key note speech on “Europe, China And Southeast Asia: From Cheng Ho To BRI” followed by Terrence Gomez’s talk on “China In Malaysia: Investment Flows And State-Business Relations”, Jonathan Rigg on “Growth, Equity & Rural Asia: Three Puzzles, Two Problems And A Challenge” and Pietro Masina on “Is FDI - Industrialization The Way Forward? : Re-Reading The Middle Income Trap Narrative”. Monika Arnez’s projection of her film “Flow of Sand” (a web-documentary produced for WP2 “Environment”) was followed by a lively Q and A session on the failures of the Melaka Gateway Project. Closing remarks were delivered by the French Ambassador, HE M. Frédéric Laplanche.

“Securing the Commons – How to secure the commons in Southeast Asia” – CRISEA’s Third Dissemination Workshop took place in **Chiang Mai** from 1-3 December 2019 and was organized by Tomasz Kamiński and Carl Middleton with the support of Chiang Mai University and the EFEO centre. Professor Mark Beeson (University of Western Australia) opened the workshop with a keynote speech on “Environmental Populism: The Politics of Survival in the Anthropocene”. The first day saw WP2 “Environment” members present the results of their individual projects for discussion. During the second day, environmental NGOs (“International River Network”, “Earth Rights International”, and “Legal Advocacy Center for Indigenous Communities”) presented their work related to the contestation of shared natural resources in the Mekong and Salween basins. Presentations were followed by discussions with CRISEA researchers and local government representatives. During a second session focusing on haze and land issues, Philip Hirsch (CMU) spoke on “Land Issues from a Regional Perspective”, Daniel Hayward (Mekong Land Research Forum / CMU) on the “Value Chain: Maze Plantation & Land Relations in the Mekong Region”, Olivier Evrard (IRD) on “Haze Pollution in Northern Thailand”, followed by Chatchawan Thongdeert with Plai-Or Thongsawad (“Chiang Mai Breathe Council”).

⁷ A detailed overview is provided in appendix 6.

⁸ Program details including topics and speakers at dissemination workshops are given in appendix 4.

“Contested Interests, Institutions and Identities: Public Policy Challenges in Myanmar and the Region” – The first part of CRISEA’s Fourth Dissemination Workshop, organised by WP4 researchers, took place at the University of Mandalay on 10 February 2020 with the support of Thida Tun and the department of international relations. Paper presentations by Volker Grabowsky, Terrence Gomez, Marco Bunte, Rachel Leow, Tomas Larsson, Kyawt Kyawt Khine, included political change in Myanmar, the economic role of China, human rights issues, and public policies aiming at “purifying” empires, states and societies. The event reached out to an audience of academics and regional political actors.

“Contested Institutions and Political Power in Contemporary Myanmar” – The second part of CRISEA’s Fourth Dissemination Workshop took place at the Institut français de Birmanie (French Cultural Institute) in Yangon on 11 February 2020. Presenters (including M. Bunte, Soe Myint Aung, Kyawt Kyawt Khine and Kristian Stokke) engaged an audience composed of diplomats, civil society actors and journalists on topics relating directly to the political context of Myanmar (such as human rights, democratic transition, the country’s relations with ASEAN and elections).

“ASEAN’s Contested Centrality” - The Fifth CRISEA Dissemination Workshop was run out of **Jakarta** on the subject of the Region and organized as a pair of online sessions (7-8 January 2021) in close cooperation with Medelina Hendityo and her team at the CSIS. For Q and A, the invited audience included Indonesian academics and social actors but was simultaneously accessed by 300 viewers on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=213WLf-KwqU&t=4292s>). Moderated by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, the session featured Shafiah Muhibat on “ASEAN’s relations with its Dialogue Partners”, Andrea Valente on “Energy Cooperation and Resource Nationalism in SEA”, Dominik Mierzejewski on the People’s Republic of China relations with ASEAN “Central , Peripheral Diplomacy and Intermediary States” and Françoise Nicolas speaking on the potential benefits of RCEP for ASEAN and the EU. A second one day-session was dedicated to presentations on Covid in Southeast Asian countries and national responses (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WX7kSYQ1vXg&t=6561s>). The Covid session, was moderated by Tomas Larsson who had initiated the Covid subproject. Tomasz Kamiński and Monika Arnez portrayed “The Role of the City and Community Initiatives for Post-Pandemic Recovery: Strengthening Southeast Asia’s Resilience”; CSIS director Philips J. Vermonte, Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Hardy teaming up with Đỗ Tá Khánh presented the “Response to Covid-19” respectively in Indonesia, Cambodia and Vietnam.

D. Policy Briefing Sessions

CRISEA Policy Briefing sessions took place in Brussels at the EEAS HQ, in Manila, in Kuala Lumpur, and in Jakarta. The four policy briefing sessions in Brussels were closed sessions hosted by the Southeast Asia Division of the EEAS and co-chaired by its head, David Daly. The briefing sessions for the EU-delegations in Manila and Jakarta were also closed sessions. Each work package was associated with preparing one of the sessions for the EEAS HQ, though regrettably, the session to be run by WP3 (Economy) could not be rescheduled due to the pandemic. The program of each briefing session resulted from a frank exchange with the EEAS mediated by its liaison officer or the respective EU delegation (matching CRISEA’s “dissemination through dialogue” approach) resulting in shared approval. Policy implications were routinely integrated into the presentations supported by PowerPoint presentations.

As dissemination workshops in Kuala Lumpur and Yangon took an altogether different shape with presentations addressing targeted groups (Malaysian business administrators and political actors in Kuala Lumpur; Myanmar NGOs, journalists, and social activists in Yangon), EU diplomats were invited and, in the case of Kuala Lumpur, the EU Delegation contributed logistical support to the event itself.

The Influence of China on Southeast Asia. - Policy Briefing Session for the EEAS HQ coordinated by Jacques Leider and Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, **19 June 2018**. Françoise Nicolas (IFRI, France), “*Assessing Chinese investments in Southeast Asia*”, Dominik Mierzejewski (University of Lodz, Poland),

“Local Governments in China’s Policy Towards ASEAN: Roles, Structures and Implications”, Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya, Malaysia), *“The Rise of China and its Impact on the Chinese Community in ASEAN countries”*.

CRISEA researchers provided inputs on three specific contexts where China exerts influence in Southeast Asia. Françoise Nicolas looked at the financial architecture of Chinese investments, pointing out that direct investment differs greatly across countries and across sectors: China is a much bigger direct investor in the less advanced countries in the Mekong region than it is in the rest of ASEAN while arguing, on the other hand, that the internationalization (or rather regionalization) of the yuan was no longer a Chinese priority. Dominik Mierzejewski, exploring the role of Yunnan’s government in developing ties within multi-ethnic Myanmar, explained the Chinese government’s rationale, trying to exercise public diplomacy and soft-power to limit anti-Chinese sentiments and extend patron-client relations at the state level. Danny Wong Tze Ken showed that the historical experiences of ethnic Chinese in ASEAN countries have varied between integration, assimilation, discrimination, and hostility. The rise of China due to its Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) has provided impetus for the Chinese to expand economic ties with China, playing the role of middlemen to Chinese companies operating in ASEAN and also enhanced the Chinese-ness of the ethnic Chinese in the region, strengthening cultural and tertiary education ties.

State and Fate of Liberalism and Democracy in Southeast Asia: the Philippines and Malaysia. Policy Briefing Session for the EEAS HQ, **30 January 2019**, coordinated by Tomas Larsson (University of Cambridge). Lisandro Claudio (Ateneo de Manila, Philippines), *“The hegemony of Duterte: Lower middle-class mentalities and the erosion of liberal democracy”*, Andreas Ufen (GIGA, Hamburg) *“Malaysia after the 2018 elections: Stalled reforms and the Malay-Muslim Challenge”*. Lisandro Claudio reviewed the history of liberalism in the Philippines and explained how Duterte presents a break in the country’s liberal tradition, while arguing the mentalities of lower middle-class should not be seen as totally engrossed with Duterte’s authoritarian ways. Andreas Ufen explained that the first change of government in the history of Malaysia (2018) might lead to a thorough democratization and assessed different scenarios in the light of the programs of rivaling parties and coalitions.

Shaping Southeast Asian Identities. Policy Briefing session for the EU Delegation in Manila, **14 February 2019**, coordinated by Jayeel Cornelio and Volker Grabowsky with CRISEA’s Management Team. The confidential briefing session for EU diplomats included presentations by Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya) on *“China, the Chinese, and changing geopolitics in Southeast Asia”*, Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg) on *“Violence and identity in Southeast Asia”*, David Camroux (Sciences Po) on *“Southeast Asian forms of populism”* and Ronald Mendoza (Ateneo de Manila University) on the *“Future of Philippine politics under President Duterte”*. The session generated R. Mendoza’s brief on *“The Duterte Administration on Year 3”* and D. Camroux’s piece on *“Southeast Asia’s Political Leaders: Populists, Demagogues or Something Else?”*.

Identity in Southeast Asia: Critical Issues at the Intersection of Politics, Violence and Social Formations - Policy Briefing Session for the EEAS HQ, **11 December 2019** coordinated by Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg) and Jacques Leider. Janina Pawelz (GIGA, Germany) *“Timor-Leste: Addressing violence-prone groups and setting a course towards peace”*, Edyta Roszko (Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway) *“Exploitative expansion of Vietnamese fisheries as an answer to the South China Sea conflict and the market”*, Iselin Frydenlund (MF Centre for the Advanced Study of Religion, Norway) *“Protecting Buddhism: Buddhist just war-ideology during the 2017 Rohingya Exodus”*. Janina Pawelz presented her extensive work on Timor Leste’s martial arts groups in the context of the country’s complex domestic reconciliation process. E. Roszko provided insights into the poorly known world of Vietnamese fishermen pulled into exploitative fishing in the SCS as they are configured politically a quasi-representatives of Vietnamese state interests. Invited speaker I. Frydenlund made the case of a Buddhist just war ideology articulated in Islamophobic campaigns of Myanmar’s Buddhist nationalists.

The session generated Frydenlund's brief on "Buddhist Justifications of Violence during the 2017 Rohingya Refugee Crisis".

The Environment: Shared concerns and prospective for strengthened engagement – Planned Policy Briefing Session for the EEAS HQ, coordinated by Carl Middleton and Tomasz Kamiński for WP2. This briefing session, after a successful preparation, had to be cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It generated Michal Zaręba's policy brief on "The Role of the Mekong River Commission in Regional Transboundary Water Governance: Prospects and Challenges".

ASEAN Energy policies and the impact of the RCEP. – A policy briefing session for the EU Delegation hosted from Jakarta, **29 January 2021**, was coordinated by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (IFRI) for WP6 in the format of a virtual event (Paris/Brussels/Jakarta). A presentation by Andrea Valente (University of Lisbon) on "ASEAN energy policies: what impact on integration?" was commented by Indonesia's Ambassador to Germany, HE Arief Havas Oegroseno. Françoise Nicolas (IFRI, France) presented "The RCEP and its impact on EU / ASEAN trade" followed by the feedback of Evelyn Devadason (professor, University of Malaya).

The impact of Covid in Southeast Asia: Taking stock of a changing context - Policy Briefing session for the EEAS HQ, **23 February 2021**, coordinated and moderated by Tomas Larsson (University of Cambridge). Virtual event hosted from Jakarta (Cambridge/Brussels/Hanoi/Bangkok/Jakarta). Towards the end of the project, the project Management Team welcomed the opportunity to replace one of the cancelled policy briefing sessions with a session on the impact of Covid. Dominik Mierzejewski highlighted Code of Conduct governance in the China-ASEAN relations context of COVID, (University of Lodz) Covid and the COC; Dennis Arnold contributed a presentation on "Covid-19's impact on the garment industry in Cambodia and the wider region"; Phạm Quỳnh Phương together with Andrew Hardy presented government and community responses to the Covid-19 crisis in Vietnam, while invited speaker Susanne Prager-Nyein reported on Myanmar's response to Covid-19. Indonesia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, HE Mahendra Siregar joined the briefing session with a comprehensive overview of Indonesia's response to the pandemic within the regional context.

E. Crisea.eu – CRISEA’s website

CRISEA’s website (www.crisea.eu) was set up and maintained by CSIS in Jakarta. It was designed to be the storefront for the project’s activities with access for researchers, stakeholders, and the public alike. It was also intended to be the digital repository of the project’s deliverables that will outlast the project’s lifespan. At the same time, the project’s published output is available via a link to CRISEA’s web archive stored at the repository HAL. The website was managed by a team at CSIS—Medelina Hendytio, Beltsazar Krisetya, and Lucynda Gunadi—overseeing the site’s contents, visual/design, and technical issues. The ICT expertise of CSIS enabled the website to achieve its intended target. This team also supported the coordination of the E-Newsletters which highlighted the individual WPs and ongoing academic publishing by project members.

The website was a key component of CRISEA’s Work Package 7 on dissemination. After its launch in 2018, it functioned in interaction between CRISEA’s project Management Team, in particular the project manager and the scientific coordinator and, for the purpose of collecting specific information, in direct collective outreach to project researchers. While CRISEA team at CSIS was implementing WP7’s planned activities, it additionally managed to turn the novel conditions of the ongoing pandemic into an opportunity for extended communication with the public. CRISEA’s webinar recordings during the pandemic (2020-2021) were integrated to the website yielding high visibility. The site reached an incremental growth of visits accelerated by the impact of the pandemic. Visitors have come mostly from Southeast Asian and European countries as well as the United States—three regions with core academic and institutional actors targeted by the project’s dissemination efforts. CSIS expertise also enabled the website development to ensure EU data privacy standards of cookie consent and the site’s cybersecurity preventing digital threats.

The contents of the website are due to be transferred and curated by EFEO Paris after the end of the project.

F. CRISEA Web-Documentaries

CRISEA researchers acknowledged that research results presented in the form of web documentaries available online foster cross-cultural and cross-generational communication and strengthen the academic impact in dissemination. In a world where messages from media and experiences of personal life are both imbued with, and often coalesce into, the same visual images, undertaking research with - and through – visual recording and its analysis have become a compelling option, especially when research is of an interdisciplinary nature.

However, visual narratives need to be carefully crafted to engage an audience. Therefore, CRISEA planned the production of five web documentaries focussing on respective Work Package themes and considering the project’s transversal themes, gender, migration and security. Film producers were free to determine the format of their production and engage the different skills and disciplinary insights they chose to bring to bear on their subject. During the process of final editing, most films were screened and discussed during CRISEA workshops or internally shared at ad hoc digital events. The presentations below draw on web documentary reports submitted to the scientific coordinator at the end of the project. The web documentaries bring added value to the scientific output, but also serve as starting points for further debates as they visually condense research themes and questions and make a major contribution to the goal of integrating the project’s transversal themes into WP-specific research.⁹

⁹ The presentations of the web documentaries are based on brief reports submitted by the producers including the objectives of their work, the link with work package and transversal themes as well as its relevance for the

The Web-Documentaries are presented under the heading of the project's implementation (rather than its output where they would fit just as well) because they were very much part of an ongoing process of producing, experimenting, discussing (following screenings at CRISEA workshops) and subsequent editing as the project made progress. They have become "co-owned" by audiences in the course of screenings (as listed below) extending into the afterlife of the CRISEA project.

Flow of Sand

Flow of Sand produced by Monika Arnez for WP2 (Environment) reveals the ambitions of a land reclamation project in Malaysia and its contradictions: the aspiration to create a pleasant environment for well-off people and the negative impacts on the ecosystem.¹⁰ As it tells the story from the perspective of affected community members in Melaka, the film raises questions about the projects' unwanted effects such as social inequality and destruction of the environment.

The film is set against the backdrop of increasing Chinese investments in Malaysia (in this case, artificial islands reclaimed from the sea) and the political transition following the May 2018 legislative elections.

"Flow of Sand" is in line with CRISEA's objective to innovate by "encouraging macro-micro-dialogue between disciplines: global level analyses in international relations and political economy alongside socio-cultural insights from the grassroots methodologies of social sciences and the humanities."

The film was relevant for WP2's work on co-production of ecological knowledge, as it reveals how different imaginaries of the sea, the modernization narrative and the livelihood concerns of local fishermen, collide at the grassroots level. Furthermore, it illustrates fittingly CRISEA's goal to innovate by encouraging a macro-micro-dialogue between disciplines, combining a global level analysis of political economy alongside socio-cultural insights drawing on grassroots methodologies of social sciences and the humanities.

Flow of Sand was/will be screened at the following locations/dates:

- 15th Lodz East Asia Meeting – New Dynamics in Asia, 24-25 June 2021
- EnJust 2020 - International workshop on Environmental Justice", Universität Freiburg, 19-21 May 2021
- University of Bern, Institute of Social Anthropology, 30 March 2021
- Bangkok's Night of Ideas, French Cultural Center, Bangkok, 28 January 2021
- CRISEA, 3rd Research Workshop, 5 February 2020
- Penang Tolak Tambak, Kuala Lumpur, 4 December 2019
- CRISEA, 3rd Dissemination Workshop, Chiang Mai, 2 December 2019
- Penang Tolak Tambak, Petaling Jaya, 1 December 2019
- National University of Singapore, Asia Research Institute (ARI), 28 August 2019
- CRISEA, 2nd Dissemination Workshop, Kuala Lumpur, 9 July 2019
- National University of Singapore, Asia Research Institute, 30 May 2019
- University of Agder, Department of Global Development and Planning, 9 April 2019

CRISEA project. The scientific coordinator reiterates his thanks to Silvia Vignato who curated the production of CRISEA's Web Documentaries during the project's lifetime. Direct quotes are taken from the various reports.

¹⁰ Link to Monika's film.

Aceh, After

Aceh, After produced by Silvia Vignato and Giacomo Tabacco for WP3 (Economy) introduces us to the lives of two women and their families in the region of Lhokseumawe, Aceh (Indonesia), once an area for profitable natural gas extraction. The de-industrialised area was subsequently transformed into a Special Economic Zone. The women talk with pride about their lives as workers in the low-technology industries which were untouched by the grand industrial designs. They speak as mothers, sisters and daughters of drug dealers, former convicts, or men still in jail, and their record of the violence of drugs mixes with past experience of fear and abuse during the civil conflict. The evocation of their fear to speak up raises the shadow of past dictatorship which docks to contemporary issues of use and abuse of social media. *Aceh, After* thus immerses its viewers into an environment where the extractive economy of natural gas is linked to global visions of prosperity as much as to politics of exploitation of resources and land grabbing in the past and the present.

Aceh, After illustrates WP3's core engagement with the models of economic development in Southeast Asia and the failures of politics of equitable growth. It illustrates CRISEA's promise of a productive macro-micro dialogue where micro-perceptions at the level of families are grounded in memories of local struggles, but also linked to macro-perspectives of modernization schemes and capitalist projects, which in the collective memory are inseparable from structures of authoritarian rule. It also speaks to CRISEA's three transversal themes highlighting gendered memorization and the precarity of human security of domestic migrants.

An incomplete version of *Aceh, After* was first screened and discussed at the 3rd CRISEA Research Workshop in Chiang Mai on 6th February 2020. It was presented at the *Forli International Festival of Documentary Films Meet the Docs*, on 18th October 2020 (see <https://meetthedocs.it/#documentari>). The film was selected for the *Festival of Cinema from Asia, Africa and Latin America/FESCAAL* in Milan for public view and comments online on 26th March 2021. It is selected and will be screened at the 8th ICAIOS international conference in Aceh, Indonesia, ICAIOS 7-8 April 2021.

Chinese Go Home

Chinese Go Home, produced by Rachel Leow for WP4 (State), tells the story of the expulsion and deportation from British Malaya to China of thousands of suspected communists and their families. Both the countries they were leaving and going to were embroiled in war and revolution. Situated between 1948 and 1953 within the politically turbulent period of the "Malayan Emergency", the film grounds a complex story in the life histories of two women whose grandfather and great-aunt were among the over 20,000 Chinese people deported at this time.

The film enacts a dialogue between the macrohistorical processes of change - war, revolution, Cold War, and decolonization - and the microhistorical repercussions of these developments at the level of the individual.

Its central concern with citizenship and the nexus of the competing communist and nationalist Chinese states in their encounter with colonial British and postcolonial Malaysian states, connects to WP4's investigation of the state's protection of individual rights and minority identities. *Chinese Go Home's* powerful engagement with CRISEA's transversal themes, such as migration and security are implicit, but the film gestures also towards lesser-known aspects, such as the unresolved tensions between the deportation of local-born versus foreign-born Chinese. The theme of gender is explored through the film's reliance on the memory-work of women, pointing to critical omissions in the largely male written record of the Malayan Emergency, but also highlighting the gendered relationships of men whose life histories were bound up with wives, parents, sons, and daughters.

Chinese Go Home reached over 14,000 views in the first month following its uploading on YouTube. It was publicly screened on 8 March 2021 at the International Women's Day at Hikayat/Gerakbudaya,

Penang (hybrid online/in-person) for 295 registered viewers. It was screened at the University of Cambridge (Murray Edwards College) on 15 March 2021 and for the British Chinese Studies Network on 31 March 2021.

Malay Identity on Stage

Malay Identity on Stage produced by Jan van der Putten and Alan Darmavan for WP5 (Identity) shows its audience how Malay culture is celebrated by local authorities and people in the Riau islands.¹¹ The Riau islands, an archipelago of over 3,000 islands (officially *Kepulauan Riau*, or Kepri, Indonesia) are an important heritage site considered the successor of the glorious Malay sultanate of Melaka and enjoying the reputation of being the ‘heartland’ of Malay culture.

The film testifies to efforts by local authorities (in cooperation with social organizations, scholars, researchers, and artists) to revitalize, revive or reinvent certain cultural productions relating to language, performing traditions, moral values, and religious practice. The organization of cultural festivals, poetry contests and wedding ceremonies and the active role of a recently appointed sultan who has introduced Islamic currency in economic transactions and propagates a strict way of religious obedience take place within a framework where the regional government promotes Malay heritage as a transnational good strengthening both local identity and the region’s own reputation.

The film contributes to the elaboration of WP5’s core theme of “transnationalism” as the Riau islanders’ initiatives imagine and bring together Malay communities dispersed among the nation-states of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. Creating and re-creating a common cultural curriculum, the wide-spanning mobilization includes an effort of generational transmission of identity markers perceived as intrinsically Malay.

Preliminary versions of the film were screened twice in Hamburg in December 2019. The film was discussed at the 3rd CRISEA research workshop in Chiang Mai (February 2020). Re-editing, updating and subtitling tasks came along as the film was used for teaching purposes at the AAI (University of Hamburg). Two public screenings are planned for April, one in Europe and another in the Riau Islands.

Competing ASEAN: competing perceptions on regional integration

Competing ASEAN: competing perceptions on regional integration produced for WP6 (The Region) by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher in cooperation with Nattanan Kumanas, presents the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as a project full of promise but also frustrations. The film questions its *raison d’être*: to what extent is ASEAN a necessary institution when it does not produce the expected results? WP6’s web documentary retraces ASEAN’s history since its beginnings as a regional integration project designed in 1967 to strengthen nation building processes in yet fragile states. The need to reinforce the institution and launch some cooperative projects came after the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the trend was accelerated thereafter leading to the ASEAN Community with its three action lines (the economic, politico-strategic and socio-cultural pillars) as portrayed in the documentary. Nonetheless, a wide gap persists between the enthusiasm for ASEAN as an institution and the public’s limited understanding of ASEAN’s implications for their daily lives. The film concludes with the question of ASEAN’s resilience and cohesiveness for the benefit of its 650 million inhabitants in a context of growing geo-strategic rivalry, disparities and marked divergences between its member-states.

¹¹ The film was produced with the support of Muhammad Andrian, Vity Ko, Kristopher Williamson and students in Hamburg.

G. Covid-19 Impact on the project and... on Southeast Asia

The COVID-19 pandemic hit immediately after the Third Research Workshop in early February 2020. The timing was fortunate, one might say, as this was the last important meeting of CRISEA researchers, which limited the pandemic's negative impact on the project. Some researchers reported that final fieldwork trips had to be cancelled, others noted that the new context placed greater constraints on their time, reducing the investment they could make in CRISEA-related activities. The organisation of the remaining dissemination events was also delayed, although the shift to virtual communication technology allowed them to go ahead: in the end, only one Dissemination Workshop was cancelled. As mentioned above, these difficulties led to a re-articulation of the project's implementation, with the granting of a four-month extension. The project finally wrapped up at the end of February 2021.

What was Covid-19's impact on Southeast Asian countries, how did they cope individually and how did ASEAN cope with the pandemic when considered in relation to other contentious institutional, political and social issues? What relevance did the pandemic have for the way that individual research projects addressed their questions on the liberal state, labour issues, ASEAN centrality and transnationalism? It is important to ask these questions though comprehensive answers may have to wait for the completion of in-depth research. In the short run, several CRISEA researchers saw both a need and an opportunity to report on the pandemic in Southeast Asia as it happened.

At the initiative of Tomas Larsson (WP4 leader), CRISEA researchers responded to a call for short pieces on the impact of the pandemic in Southeast Asia. Launched on 15 May 2020 under the title "CRISEA and the Covid-19 outbreak in Southeast Asia", it generated a series of policy briefs on Vietnam, Myanmar, China and Southeast Asia, SEA's garment industry, post-pandemic recovery and city networks and a longer piece on the political context of dealing with Covid-19 in Cambodia.¹² CRISEA included a digital session on Covid-19 into the 5th (digital) Dissemination Workshop organised with the CSIS in Jakarta as well as a policy briefing session with the EEAS HQ in Brussels dedicated to Covid-19 in SEA.

H. Ethically informed research

In line with the project requirements, the CRISEA project team initiated the formation of an Ethics Board composed of Paulo Seixas (University of Lisbon), Tim Harper (University of Cambridge) and Andrée Feillard (retired, CNRS France), formally constituted as Work Package 1. The section below follows the Board's report submitted to the project team on 26 February 2021.

The CRISEA Ethics Board disseminated information and general guidelines of applicable research ethics that concern the project at large and its research individuals. The first outline of the general framework to be applied was undertaken in 2018 in Chiang Mai, where the Ethics Board had the opportunity to meet, exchange knowledge and create awareness of the ethical requests throughout the project. The Ethics Board ensured that the general requirements reached all research teams and working packages in order to provide transparent, secure and informed research. Through the preliminary guidelines that was presented in Chiang Mai in 2018, informed consent guidelines and samples were disseminated to the researchers. Furthermore, the Ethics Board committed themselves to be available throughout the entire project in case of need by the investigators, to ensure the proper application of the project's research ethics in accordance with the EU H2020 regulations.

It was trusted that each working package received information about the research ethics and applied them in relevant cases. Throughout the project, the Ethics Board did not receive requests to interfere with any individual research case and was not informed about any difficulties faced by the working packages.

¹² See appendix 1 CRISEA publications.

Through this, it was intended that all investigators devoted their individual attention to provide a safe and protected environment for the involved parties of interest. Furthermore, the Ethics Board provided information about 1) careful data management, 2) informed consents, 3) preservation of anonymity, 4) fair and justified collaboration/participation of each individual involved in the research process.

The Ethics Board further committed to the following tasks, in case needed throughout the project:

- the duty and functions of monitoring (in the research processes upcoming) ethical concerns/issues in case needed,
- presentation of research ethics coherent with the ethics regulations of the European Union H2020 framework,
- supervision of international partner countries to assure that the general research guidelines are followed in ethical terms,
- supervision of institutional and national data protection and appropriate authorizations,
- supervision of establishing and following consent forms for each oral/audio, visual, and written data,
- supervision to assure the archival procedure of securing data and ethical documents (drafts, reports, etc.),
- supervision of individual data protection, data storage, validation of informed consents,
- supervision of the presentation of relevant authorizations throughout the research processes (legal issues, policies, laws, regulations).

Part 3 Survey of CRISEA's Scientific Output¹³

A. Contested Knowledges of the Commons in Southeast Asia (Work Package 2)

Environmental questions being at the heart of many development dilemmas in Southeast Asia, a failure to address transnational environmental challenges may have drastic consequences for the region's security and its political and economic stability but also poses risks to ASEAN's legitimacy. Researchers in CRISEA's Work Package 2 (WP2) were particularly concerned with contested knowledges of "the commons" and competition over resources in the environmental contexts of sea, rivers, and air. With an understanding that ecological knowledge and environmental governance are linked by a symbiotic relationship, they grounded their investigations in the concept of "knowledge co-production" elaborated by Sheila Jasanoff who describes it as "... shorthand for the proposition that the ways in which we know and represent the world (both nature and society) are inseparable from the ways in which we choose to live in it".¹⁴ Research within WP2 took into account various types of knowledge "ranging from 'common sense' knowledge, practical and professional knowledge to scientific knowledge". By adopting a multiscale approach including the perspectives and roles of grass-roots activists, state actors, and regional organizations, WP2 researchers studied the production, reproduction, shaping, reshaping and exchange of environmental knowledge. The attempt to understand "which knowledge counts" translated into a systematic effort to explore collaborations and frictions between different levels where power relations determined how global environmental issues were negotiated and could ultimately result in laws and normative practices.¹⁵

Land reclamation is an urban development strategy many countries implement to extend the reach of existing cities and create new space for artificial islands housing apartment complexes, office buildings, shopping malls, and deep-sea harbours. It is a process dominated by elite actors. A case in point is Malaysia's West Coast where artificial islands have been created by dredging sand even though land is abundant. **Monica Arnez'** research shows how the "Melaka Gateway" land reclamation project developed by Malaysia's KAJ Development with a Chinese partner, failed to deliver on its promises. Rather it had a series of negative impacts on the lives of the local *Kristang* community of fishermen. Arnez' field work brought to light competing imaginaries of the sea-land nexus, on the one hand, a modernizing vision promoted by capitalist developers and hesitatingly supported by the Malaysian state, and on the other, a coastal community vision stressing local crafts and cultural traditions and a close relationship between man and the sea. These rival narratives exemplify hegemonic and counter-hegemonic knowledge production, with conflicting interests between developers, governmental authorities, and members of the local Portuguese Creole community. WP2's documentary *Flow of Sand* showcased Arnez' multi-level study of the failed land reclamation project. As it was both relevant to the core theme of the work package and to CRISEA's macro-micro challenge, zooming in and out of contexts and actors' approaches, Arnez' case study also marked a signature success of CRISEA's dissemination effort.

Ongoing damage to the marine ecosystem of the South China Sea (SCS) includes the recent development of overfishing, the destruction of breeding grounds of marine species, the deterioration of mangrove forest, and destructive methods of extracting marine and coastal resources for commercial purposes. The worsening ecological disaster is overshadowed by the geo-political conflict between states which

¹³ Quotes in this section, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the individual wrap up reports submitted by researchers to the scientific coordinator.

¹⁴ Sheila Jasanoff, *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and Social Order* (London: Routledge, 2004), 2.

¹⁵ Franciska van Heland and Julian Clifton, "Whose Threat Counts? Conservation Narratives in the Watakobi National Park, Indonesia", *Conservation and Society* vol. 13, no.2 (2015), 154.

use customary fishing practices to formulate legal arguments for enclosure of the maritime commons through border demarcation. Focusing on the rivalry of Vietnam and China, **Edyta Roszko**'s research breaks new ground by shifting our gaze to the coastal communities arguing that fishermen are not just victims or passive agents of the SCS dispute but drivers of the territorial conflict and unsustainable fishing as well. On the other hand, the resulting enclosures paradoxically suppress their voices and interests. Hence the need for a better understanding of how coastal communities respond to the new challenges. Roszko demonstrates that the expansion and the overlaps of the new exclusive economic zones of China, Vietnam and other ASEAN countries result in a situation where marine resources function as "rival goods" and fishermen competing for high value species (including endangered ones), turn massive and unsustainable exploitation into sovereignty claims. Her timely research which talks to scientists, policy makers and environmental practitioners alike, raises questions about the management of maritime enclosures that would enable the establishment of an Individual Transferable Quota system or financial incentives provided to fisheries in the South China Sea.

The Lancang-Mekong River has been increasingly engineered by large dams, including on the mainstream in both China and Laos, changing the river's hydrology and ecology, and with consequences for riparian livelihoods. **Carl Middleton** (in cooperation with **Thianchai Surimas**) studied multi-scaled and competing institutions of water governance in a case study focusing on the Ing River Basin (North Thailand) to examine the co-production of ecological knowledge and imaginaries of the river. They found that the state-led institutions, including the Ing River Basin Committee, the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation, and the Mekong River Commission premise their governance on ecological modernization goals that underpin future imaginaries of the national and regional expansion of markets. Here, ecological knowledge is co-produced by state officials and sanctioned by experts in the form of scientific studies and technical planning exercises only partly accountable to civil society. In contrast, the community- and civil society-led Ing Peoples' Council views the river as a resource that sustains livelihoods and local economies and is embedded within cultural practices. Ecological knowledge for governing and imagining the future of the basin is co-produced through community networks and partnerships with civil society. Middleton's conclusion that resources politics in Northern Thailand are "ontological politics contesting the very meaning of the Mekong River and what constitutes a 'resource'" emphasizes the significance of his research for an understanding of resource politics at local, national, and transnational levels.

Michał Zaręba's research on the contentious case of the Xayaburi hydropower plant in Laos further contributes to our understanding of the hydropolitics of the Mekong River Basin. A set of engineering and construction companies connected to the Lao government produced feasibility studies and recommendations which supported the construction of the Xayaburi dam and its legitimizing discourse of modernization. Cambodia, Vietnam and a set of community actors, however, opposed the dam's construction on the ground of environmental concerns. *The Mekong River Commission* tried to facilitate the decision-making process (called "Procedures for Notification, Prior Consultation, and Agreement (PNPCA)") and rebalance the competing narratives, but failed, undermining its own role as a regional actor for integrating processes over the water resources in the Mekong River Basin and possibly securing the commons. Like Middleton, Zaręba notes that a plurality of state and non-state actors engaged in the creation of a hydropolitical order including riparian states, construction companies, technical experts, financial institutions supporting investments, international organizations, NGOs, academics, think-tanks, and local communities produce hegemonic and counterhegemonic discourses which reflect underlying power relations. In the case of the Xayaburi dam, Laos tipped the balance in its favour, underscoring the growing significance of particular interests.

Cambodia's hydropower projects have enabled an increased access to electricity but generated negative consequences for many relocated villagers. For his transdisciplinary analysis of co-production

of ecological knowledge, **Ta Wei Chu** joined a group of affected villagers, local NGO workers, and Stung Treng Province officials in an effort to address issues of undrinkable water, unavailable land titles, and a degradation of traditional culture resulting from their displacement following the construction of the *Lower Sesan II Dam*. One important insight he contributes to the work package on the environment is the impact of social and administrative hierarchies on the process of exchange of knowledge. High-end stakeholders (such as government officials) may resent a loss of power when confronted with low-end stakeholders (such as project-affected villagers) in contexts of equal participation and struggle to retain their authority. The methodology of “transdisciplinarity” prescribes participation for an inclusive voicing of concerns by disadvantaged stakeholders. Ta Wei Chu argues that the failure to implement an open space where ecological knowledge is equally shared does not invalidate the model. It rather redirects attention to the context of Cambodia’s authoritarian governance.

Amnuay Thitibordin’s investigation of the rivalry between British India and Siam for the control of the area inhabited by the Karenni people reconstructs the British expansion as part of a process of territorialization of the Trans-Salween region starting with the border disputes between 1888 and 1892. The events were driven by two competing ecological and political imaginaries which shared a similar perception of the local Karenni population as people to be subjected. The British enforced border demarcation with Siam making unchecked border crossings potentially illegal. Their perception of ecological governance drew on modern forestry science and an alleged disenfranchisement of the Karens. After losing control of the territory, the Siamese court cultivated a narrative about Karen noblemen faithfully serving Siamese interests in the Trans-Salween region as a foundational element of their own nation-state building project led by an ethnic Thai elite. State brutality against the Karens on both sides of the border demonstrates the failure of ethnic integration by the rival projects. Thitibordin’s research adds a historical dimension to the political ecology of border conflicts grounded in the territorializing ambitions of the modernizing Southeast Asian state. It also illustrates the topics of resource competition and local impacts of territorial loss.

Robert Farnan and **Sally Beckenham’s** research at the intersection of modernizing infrastructure development, environmentalism and the transborder implications of Myanmar’s peace process extends, a century later, Thitibordin’s engagement with the colonial territorialization of the Salween River area. It focuses on the “Salween Peace Park” project where local Karen communities have initiated a process of cultural and ecological conservation and peacebuilding to *reterritorialize* land which has been *detrterritorialized* under the effect of hydropower development, war, and conservation. Research aimed at understanding the discourses of indigeneity, peacebuilding, and environmentalism which grew as a reaction to the construction of the Hatgyi dam on the Salween River. The factors which triggered the collective effort of environmental conservation groups and community representatives to launch the Salween Peace Park was the displacement and dispossession of Karen villagers due to ongoing fighting between ethnic armed organizations and the Myanmar military, deforestation, as well as dam and mining projects. The codification of Karen customary land management (*kaw*) in combination with an indigenist discourse drawing on principles enunciated by the Indigenous and Community Conserved Territories and Areas (ICCAs) have provided the initiators of the SPP with a way of reterritorializing their indigenous ecological knowledge practices in the territories they seek to conserve and protect. As it demonstrates how the transnational contention of Karen communities is informed by the imbrication of local ecological knowledge practices and global indigenous discourses, Farnan and Beckenham’s research contributes to CRISEA’s exploration of competing integrations and WP2’s scaled analyses of efforts to re-imagine and secure the commons in opposition to the developmental state. It docks more specifically to **Prasit Leepreecha’s** work on the transnational indigenist movement and blends into WP3 and WP4’s research illustrating the hegemonic role of the state.

Tomasz Kamiński's research on Southeast Asian Cities as co-producers of ecological knowledge in Transnational Cities Networks is situated at the trajectory of mutual learning and capacity building and global efforts to counter climate change by *cities* when *states* fail to adequately respond to the challenge. He shows how environmental knowledge is effectively produced and circulated within transnational city networks (such as C40, CityNet and ICLEI) and analyses the participation of SEA cities and how they imagine urban development. His case study of Quezon City demonstrates that SEA cities, regrettably, see themselves as consumers rather than (co)producers of knowledge and prefer to “learn” from cities in the Global North rather than from their regional partners. He argues that transnational city networks aim precisely at countering this neo-colonial model of information flow by incentivizing cities to implement climate policies rooted in their local experience. While Kamiński's research does not point to such elements of contestation as we find in many other institutional and political contexts studied in WP2, it bears a powerful message for the potential of ASEAN integration in the field of climate policies.

Andrea Valente investigated the low-carbon transition dynamics in Indonesia and Thailand examining the integration of new technologies. Her qualitative study finds that Thailand's business culture shows a motivation for change while Indonesia seems less keen to pursue decarbonization, displaying what she characterizes as a “culture of survival” running in tandem with poor governance standards. These findings take shape against a background where ASEAN faces formidable energy security challenges and an awareness that ensuring uninterrupted energy availability is vital to the economic resilience upon which the ASEAN Vision is based.

In sum, WP 3's research generated an array of insights into efforts made at various levels to voice concerns over environmental impacts and risks using a theoretical framework which embeds prospects of change and adaptation. Yet, on the other hand, as case studies show, findings underscore the poor institutional performance of regional institutions to fully implement ASEAN's environment-friendly intentions.

B. Development and Transformation in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of Equitable Growth (Work Package 3)

Economic policy-planning in SEA has been deeply influenced by two different models of development: the concept of the development state which generated economic champions like Japan thanks to state intervention, an efficient bureaucracy and a strict control of labour wages, and neoliberalism attempting to relieve the state of its responsibilities in regard of its subjects as economic actors. Pragmatic states like Malaysia, Indonesia or Thailand adopted a mix of developmental state and neoliberal programmes where the push for democratization relocated power from politicians to business elites. While SEA countries have been relying heavily on FDI to drive industrialization, deregulation has led to an increased assertion of multinational corporations in the region. Southeast Asian countries have in fact experienced a variety of development models embedding a diversity of business enterprises, different levels of market liberalization and dependence on external trade and varying patterns of state intervention. Adding to this complex situation, China's rising role in the region and operations of its state-owned enterprises in infrastructure development, industrial parks and financial services, several CRISEA researchers in WP3 start their research from the need to review models of development in the region. They note that neoliberal practices in SEA countries and FDI-driven economic integration led to the transfer of supply chains to industrial parks and SEZs by foreign investors, but not to the type of technological transfer which had earlier on intensified industrial upgrading in newly industrialized Asian economies such as Korea or Taiwan. Existing production networks were merely consolidated while local firms remained confined to low value-added production. Forward linkages with national industries were not established. This failure to move to more value-added production, widely known as the “middle-income trap”, is rooted in those countries'

heavy dependence on foreign capital, but also the failure of SEA government to promote industrial upgrading policies. Therefore, most SEA countries have “not succeeded in closing the gap with the North to achieve industrial maturity”.

Several CRISEA projects within this WP investigated the process of this FDI-dependent industrialization and more particularly its nefarious impact on the “quality of industrial employment and the livelihoods of industrial workers” in a context where states have become increasingly stronger. The questions that were asked both by economists and anthropologists in the WP aimed therefore at reflecting on the need for transformations aiming at more equitable growth.

One group of CRISEA researchers with years of experience studying the case of Vietnam, grounded their projects in a fundamental review of the (1) hybrid evolution of Southeast Asian economies between the earlier model of the developmental state and the influential neoliberal model of the 1990s, (2) the preference for financing industrialization by way of FDI and the (3) social and economic consequences of uneven development (often wrapped up as “middle income trap”).

Pietro Masina, in cooperation with **Đỗ Tá Khánh**, **Phạm Anh Tuấn**, and **Vũ Ngọc Quyên**, studied the impact of FDI-led industrialization on labour in Vietnam and Indonesia, and in particular the settlement of migrant industrial workers. Their findings show that the FDI-led industrialization model adopted by Southeast Asian countries strongly constraints industrial upgrading, creating uneven development, as the competitiveness of national productions continues to rely on cheap labour, poor working conditions, and very limited workers’ rights. In countries of the region, such as Malaysia and Thailand, local labour was largely replaced by foreign migrants in labour-intensive productions. Labour migration, both national and international, remains adamantly important as production depends on labour costs. However, in the Southeast Asian case, as Masina’s collaborative research shows, migration from rural areas towards industrial employment in export-oriented productions – garment and electronics – has become but a temporary phase in the workers’ life cycles, as they return to their villages, to informal employment in urban areas, or to less paid but less demanding industrial employment in firms serving the national market. This happens unlike in the past when the development of manufacturing was accompanied by a permanent movement towards life-long industrial employment and urban life. Research on the demographic profile of the labour force in the cases of the electronic and garment industry in Batam (Indonesia) and Vietnam shows that the very young age of migrant women who remain only a few years in manufacturing quit in their early thirties.

In another project, **Đỗ Tá Khánh** together with **Đặng Thái Bình** explored the connection of FDI and labour in regard of job creation, the shift towards non-agricultural employment and the sustainability of jobs in the FDI-led sector. As Vietnam is fostering the transformation of state-owned enterprises (SOE) and the transfer to mixed private/foreign-state ownership (‘equitization’ program), an ongoing project led by **Hege Merete Knutsen** and **Đỗ Tá Khánh** asks questions about the implementation of this program in comparison to similar experiences as well as the position of labour in the socialist market economy.

Their research sheds light on the contradictions between the socialist ideology and the market imperative, which the Vietnamese economy is subject to as a global player. SOEs were designated to lead in the accumulation of wealth and development of the material base for socialism. What distinguishes the new phase of reform from the former is the strong pressure from within, due to internal difficulties of bad debts, corruption, and the need of assuring sufficient capital and technology to upgrade the Vietnamese economy. Despite many achievements in market-oriented policy changes, implementation is still lagging targets and potential investors think that SOEs are still overvalued. Although recent SOE reform boasts a record of more institutional reform, CRISEA researchers remain sceptic about Vietnam’s prospects to benefit much from value enhancement and value capture.

Arve Hansen's project, in collaboration with **Đỗ Tá Khánh**, investigated the Vietnamese government's initiatives to scale up and mechanize agriculture in Vietnam through attracting domestic and international capital, focusing on meat and livestock. Like SOE reform, changes in agricultural policies by inviting big capital meets some fundamental ideological challenges for the socialist system. He finds that Vietnam's food transformations are driven by large-scale changes in the systems of provision of food, including rapid supermarketisation and increasing presence of fast-food franchises spreading a "capitalist diet" (Hansen). The industrialization of agriculture is also geared towards exports and materializes particularly in a rapidly expanding poultry sector.

Hansen's collaborative research with **Manoj Potapohn** and Hege M. **Knutsen** extended to the consumption and global production networks of the regional brewery industry competing with the global beer giants. This study of global competition and regional integration underscores the increasing influence and importance of Thai capital in the food, beverage and agricultural sectors of Vietnam.

Prosperity though has still missed many and anthropologists collaborating in a module called "generations of workers" pointed to the negative consequences in terms of peri-urban precarization of livelihood and the unsteady life of labour migrants. **Silvia Vignato** and **Giacomo Tabacco** have explored an array of aspects underscoring the fundamental disconnection between production – at industrial parks – and reproduction of labour and family lives "back in the village". Concerned by how low-skilled workers conceive their own and their relatives' personal security and well-being, Silvia Vignato studied the circuit linking rural to urban Aceh and Malaysia in the overlapping context of a massive de-industrialization countered by the project of a Special Economic Zone in North Aceh and the violent past of civil war considered as source of lingering injustice. Her research with Giacomo Tabacco also translated into WP3's web-documentary.

What she finds is that, for men and women alike, illegal migration to Malaysia is no longer a profitable solution. Female employment in low-technology industries such as brick manufactures and sewing workshops is often the only income, but still perceived as a woman's contribution to domestic revenue. The constitution of a family and children bearing are seen as a means of security including a practical plan of old-age security and also a religiously inspired trust in how a child empowers his/her parents. It is traditional structures of residence that tend to provide temporary domestic security, especially when men are absent due to work-related migration or imprisonment. Vignato's research unpacks the local grounding of the SEZ among competing developmental sites of the Indonesian economy. It also points to the power of the new media in peripheric areas and how they impact social and cultural practices.

Giacomo Tabacco's research was looking at the dynamic dimensions and the socio-economic metamorphoses of lives of workers in Batam, a site within a region he describes as a mixed hub crisscrossed with processes of industrialization and de-industrialization, stop-and-go projects by the state and the capitalists, impermanent occupations, progressive informalization of labour, rising poverty, and socio-ecological degradation. Based on the stories he collected among households influenced by both industrialization and de-industrialization, he suggests that the generation of first-wave migrant factory workers who secured long-term employment in industrial parks, unlike later generations, appropriated their factory life in a way that allowed them to cope practically and emotionally with the subsequent collapse of the industry.

Giuseppe Bolotta's research further contributed to WP3's concerns about equitable growth with a study on the Thai fishing industry's situated engagements with migrant rights' NGOs and international labour law. His ethnographic research in the Thai port city of Samut Sakhon, a leading seafood export centre, points to the clash of image and reality with accusations of forced migrant labour, systemic rights violations, and illegal fishing being met by initiatives of the Thai fishing companies and the military-dominated government to implement sustainable development and apply international

labour law. The gaps he exposes shed light on the entanglement of global capitalism, international law, migrant labour, and development.

Antonia Soriente presents a more severe case of low-skilled workers at the margins of Indonesia's contemporary urban society in search of personal security and well-being. The Punan, a community of former hunter-gatherers in Kalimantan send their men in search of work downstream while elders, women and children struggle to keep to their original land in villages upriver. Integration fails them in multiple ways both at the state and the local level, as the isolation of their villages excludes them from basic education and health facilities. Though small groups effectively migrated closer to bigger towns, their living conditions remained precarious as their geographical marginality contributed to their exclusion from government attention.

Dennis Arnold's research focused on the impact of Covid-19 on Cambodia's garment industry which is central to the country's socio-economic development strategy. Despite Cambodia's ability to weather the pandemic storm, Arnold describes the impact on workers as "dramatic". Increased pressure to keep or find a new job with the risk of having an income that covers basic nutritional and housing costs, the threat of union-busting, harassment and gender inequality point to the precarious nature and the uncertainties of employment in the garment industry.

CRISEA's transversal theme of migration was woven into much of WP3's research on uneven development and the quest for sustainable development. Migration is at the forefront of **Leonardo Lanzona's** research with its examination of the impact of international remittance policies on household expenditures and incomes in the Philippines. While such policies were meant to strengthen the trade sector and maximize gains for the country's growth, he finds that households drawing on remittances neither possessed greater savings nor engaged in high productivity activities but developed rather a dependence on incomes from abroad.

Another pillar of macro-economic research of WP3 focused on the role of Chinese investments in Malaysia, the relevance and effectiveness of industrial and trade policies for the country's labour market and state policies to improve regional economic corridor development. What these different projects shared and added to the project's core theme of equitable growth was their focus on the beneficial takeaways of foreign investment, balanced regional development, social inclusiveness, and risks for labour rights.

E. Terrence Gomez delved into a review of China's rapid rise in Southeast Asia with its state-driven investment and development plans in countries of the region. China's deployment of State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) to pursue infrastructure projects and industrial investments has championed public-public partnerships at an elite political level and displaced the regional states' close nexus with Multinational Companies (MNCs). Research findings show a highly complex and potentially beneficial picture of China's engagement with ties extending to privately-owned and well-connected enterprises as well, allowing for intricate classifications such as 'state-state', 'state-state-private', 'state-private' and 'state-private-private'.

Gomez's key findings include an array of perceptive insights into how the topography of state-business relations have changed with China's approach towards doing business. It is government leaders themselves who have come to play a direct role in negotiating FDI flows and implementing major projects. With the shift towards elite actors, attention gets focused on the interactions between leaders of China and those countries attractive to China, combining large natural resources, poor institutions and large markets. Gomez also points to the impact of the various political systems in SEA on the way that state-state relations have facilitated FDI flows from China for BRI-based projects to be implemented by Chinese SOEs. He counts among the positive outcomes of the production networks and supply chains involving Chinese SOEs and small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) in the region

the transfer of technology in key sectors which allowed structural transformations and the emergence of local expertise.

On the other hand, as already illustrated above, drawbacks of FDI-driven industrialization point to the primary role and responsibility of acting Southeast Asian state governments. Complex challenges call for informed actors. The need of an *informed* state is exemplified in **Evelyn Devadason**'s conclusions for Malaysia failing to align industrialization policies with the requirements of the labour market. Her research focused on the poor quality of labour and weak labour standards in Malaysia and hereby on questions about the relevance and effectiveness of industrial and trade policies for labour market administration. She points out in her conclusions that industrial policies that drove successes in manufacturing were not able to withstand domestic constraints linked to absorptive capacity and that migrants (not investors) influenced and lowered the labour rights of the unskilled group. Not unlike other countries in the regions, migrants were directed into the secondary labour market with insecure and exploitative jobs, "naturally" relegating unskilled locals into contractual jobs with minimal to no work entitlements.

VGR Chandran Govindaraju's research looked at the progress of industrialization in Malaysia in various industries in relation to the planning of regional economic corridors. These corridors were seen not only as tools of economic transformation to foster economic catch-up and sectoral development, but also as a way to address urban-rural disparities and promote inclusiveness. Chandran finds that while economic corridors can provide basic infrastructure supports, it is the state's promotion of innovation, information, communication technology and the upgrading of marketing and human capital which matter most to catch up and increase performance.

In the case of the solar industry, Chandran's findings show that policy complementariness and coordination, industry structure and deliberate targeting activities are crucial in making the economic corridor development a success. As his research also included an analysis of strategic decision-making at the firms' level, he points to institutional factors hampering local spill overs (improving for example export-oriented industrialization strategies) and a detrimental reinforcement of the heterogeneity of various industries linked to firms' characteristics and ownership.

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As this review of WP3's research shows, multiscale and interdisciplinary approaches to SEA's FDI-driven capitalist models point to powerful and momentous dynamics against a background of failures to implement inclusive growth, as outlined in the formulation of CRISEA's project proposal. However, the broader picture which emerges in the new research is vastly more complex. State policies do not display a homogenous profile but are necessarily diverse, informed by competing pressures (particularly the rise of China) and result in new opportunities and contrasting outcomes. These policies of upgrading capacities and capabilities seem relatively less contentious in a well-advanced country like Malaysia by comparison with Vietnam which defines itself as a socialist state. When we shift to the grass-roots level, the micro-perspective produces a nuanced view of coping strategies and subjectivities that embed the experience of industrial work with a grounding in traditional lives.

C. Contesting the Liberal State in Southeast Asia (Work Package 4)

The diversity of regime forms, institutional capacities, and ideological orientations of Southeast Asian states has been a product of the region's ethnic and religious heterogeneity, colonial pasts, and the impact of Cold War-era conflicts. It is also reflected in the diverse patterns of economic development revisited in the previous section. Once described as a region of "recalcitrant" democratizers and political liberalizers, Southeast Asian countries have moved towards illiberal and authoritarian forms of politics in the most recent past.¹⁶

CRISEA researchers in WP4 took the liberal/illiberal character of the state in Southeast Asia as the starting point for their investigation of ideological and political contestation across the region. Raising questions about the character and the modes of legitimation of the Southeast Asian state is complicated by the puzzling variety of regimes classified as flawed democracies, authoritarian or hybrid. As WP4 researchers focused on populist, religious, institutional and regime-related challenges to the liberal state in four distinctive modules, they have thrown new light on state governance and its instruments, underpinning ideologies, and a host of other agents such as religious and academic institutions or non-government organizations impacting the understanding and practices related to the rule of law, the limitations of government and the respect for rights of individuals. Teasing out the functioning of checks and balances and the performance of safeguards for minorities and a variety of identities, WP4's concern about liberal institutions in Southeast Asia updates our understanding of the contestation and negotiation over the boundaries of belonging and exclusion.

If external pressures, as research focused on the Southeast Asian region and its political economy would suggest, support the idea of a reactive and affirmative state, a strong state raises the question of its legitimacy. Southeast Asia's diverse political regimes mixing liberal and illiberal practices in hybrid ways confront researchers with a variety of contexts. But the overall conclusion of CRISEA research on the Southeast Asian state is essentially pointing in a single direction, namely an authoritarian turn, or at least a conservative-authoritarian twist. It comes in various shades, colours, and expressions and, where the state displays surprisingly liberal streaks, it comes along with caveats.

One of WP4's modules discussed popular and populist challenges to the liberal state in SEA. **Andreas Ufen's** research sees Southeast Asia as a fertile ground for populism because of the corruption of national oligarchies, the weakness of political parties, the strong personalization of politics, and low trust in public institutions and democracy. Poverty and crime rates are instrumentalized by strongmen politicians. But, unlike in the West, populists in Southeast Asia have a problem to define "the people" in ethno-nationalist terms because SEA's states are multicultural and multi-ethnic. Addressing questions how to situate Southeast Asian populism and its policies and how to assess its actors, drivers, and support, Ufen argues that Southeast Asian populists (taking the examples of Prabowo and Duterte), lacking external enemies, actively produce internal ones such as drug addicts and pushers while intensely targeting, though in vague terms, parts of the national elite.

In his CRISEA research, **Lisandro Claudio** asks the question of the "re-erosion" of the Philippine liberal state driven by Duterte, "a political storm-trooper and disruptor" thriving on unconventionality. Claudio recalls that the Philippine state was "originally imagined as a bastion of liberal democracy" and despite the Marcos dictatorship, the liberal democratic heritage seemed to live on until President Duterte's populist rule. The "sudden and dramatic change in the dominant political culture" and the solidification of a "new form of illiberal politics" raise therefore the question of an activist opposition

¹⁶ Donald K. Emmerson, "Region and recalcitrance: Rethinking democracy through Southeast Asia", *The Pacific Review* vol. 8, no. 2 (1995); James Putzel, "The Philippines as an extreme case in the worldwide rise of populist politics", *LSE Southeast Asia*, 25 May 2018 (accessed at <https://medium.com/@Iseseac/the-philippines-as-an-extreme-case-in-the-worldwide-rise-of-populist-politics-6cdd248a079b>).

to *dutertismo*. But Southeast Asian middle classes, as Claudio argues, have rarely performed the expected role as vanguards of democratization. Rather, Duterte has found huge support for his brutal war against drugs. Still, from his research, Claudio concludes that “contrary to conventional Marxist literature, the lower middle class is not inherently inclined towards populism or fascism. Rather, they have a contingent relationship with liberal democracy [where] factors such as the openness of the liberal state, degrees of tension between the lower middle class and the upper classes, and historical changes in popular nationalism influence (...) views of liberal institutions.”

Vatthana Pholsena’s interest in Southeast Asia’s multicultural countries took her to investigate everyday life amongst citizens of various ethnicities in urban areas to understand their contentious relationship with the state’s majority-minority policies. She recalls that SEA states have tried to transform historically multi-ethnic societies into mono-cultural nation-states where ethnic majorities exert effective power. So how are social identities determined in contexts of enforced assimilation and state-led intolerance? Her study of a multi-ethnic town in southern Laos shows that attitudes and ways of seeing are shaped by a number of factors such as formative years and life trajectories including social and geographical mobilities. She finds that ways of knowing and doing, thinking, and feeling, are not fixed either by ethnicity or by the state, and enable people to connect with others through shared memories, everyday cosmopolitanism, and the smoothing out of social hierarchies by class atonement.

Her research embeds important lessons as she describes both accommodation and resistance to the state’s efforts of assimilating ethnic and cultural difference. Her conclusion that cultural accommodation and social selfhood are affected by life experiences is relevant in a comparative perspective with Western contexts where coexistence in the shape of multiculturalism is both taught and institutionalized.

Exploring the deportation and banishment of 20,000 Chinese people from British Malaya to China between 1948 and 1953, **Rachel Leow** directs our attention to exclusionary state practices in the late colonial and early postcolonial era. Her research highlights several aspects such as issues of jurisdictional negotiation as deportees were transshipped across several states, the gendering of deportation as families were divided and reshaped, and deportation as a catalyst of identity formation. The relevance of her research does not only touch the theme of the contested liberal state and CRISEA’s transversal theme of migration, but also the notion of Southeast Asia’s “ASEAN” as merely one of various possible regional constructs. Historicizing transnational Chinese migrants, as her research does, delineates an area of circuitous and often state-determined movement within a region including both Southeast Asia and southern China.

In a module focussed on religious challenges to the liberal state, **Rémy Madinier** combined a review of the formation of Indonesia’s “national religious” identity in the *Pancasila* principles with research on the Islamist challenges to this national ideology. Indonesia’s equal recognition of six religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Confucianism), enshrined in the five principles (*Pancasila*, 1945) and drawing on a plurality of spiritual references, is based on great political pragmatism. Madinier explains the role that the Society of Jesus, a Catholic monastic order known as Jesuits, played in the genesis of the *Pancasila* as their educational institutions and political influence impacted the national debate that led to the adoption of *Pancasila*. In more recent times, Muslim hard-line groups presented the *Pancasila* as a conspiracy hatched by the Christian minority, referring in particular to the role of the Jesuit Joop Beek who was involved in Suharto’s New Order regime (1966-1998) which was hostile to political Islam. Like other research within WP4, Madinier’s findings contribute to our understanding of political contestation over religion-state relations, as much as national and subnational identity formation as ongoing processes.

Tomas Larsson shows how, since the death of King Bhumibol (2016), the institution of the Thai monarchy and the ideology of righteous Buddhist kingship were mobilised to counter more modernist

religious-nationalist ideologies in Thailand. His fine-grained analysis of “religious purification” demonstrates how the ruling political elites turned away from liberal institutions and mechanisms to address a dual crisis of legitimacy pertaining to the newly ascending king and the *sangha* (Buddhist monastic order). Through amendments to the Sangha Act that invoke “ancient royal traditions,” repression of “corrupt” elements and disciplinary measures that separate monks from “worldly” affairs, the military-monarchical state re-asserted domination over the ecclesiastical realm, claiming a restoration of its historical role as a central pillar of political legitimation in the Thai political system. Larsson concludes that this process amplified a neo-traditionalist and absolutist mode of monarchical government in Thailand.

Vanina Bouté’s research on the legitimation of new elites along the Lao border ties in with other CRISEA research on local resilience and contestation of state-imposed power relations. Her starting point is the threat posed to the legitimacy of the Lao party-state by the continuity of territorial spirit cults and millenarian movements which have frequently been focal points of popular mobilization. While Buddhist beliefs and practices were integrated into the Marxist discourse as an element of unifying a diverse population, spirit cults were interpreted as divisive superstition. Pointing to the rise of new religious leaders, their audiences and the performance of rites and ceremonies, Bouté points to the state’s failure to folklorize *satsana hitkong* (traditional religion) and demonstrates the persistence of local forms of identification. This process also includes conversions to transnational religions such as Islam and Christianity which function as a “soft” means of contesting the sole legitimacy of the Lao state’s ideology.

Iza Hussin’s project explored the making of public reason and unreason in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia through the study of state explanations of natural and political disasters, spectacular corruption, and security catastrophes. It plunged her into questions about expectations of credulity, varieties of prevailing reasonable and unreasonable explanations and the state’s answers to supernatural rationales. Her results are, at first sight, counterintuitive when she concludes that it is not, that the state as a rule is rational and the public irrational. When activists working in the liberal tradition base their assumptions on arguments, persuasion, and reason, she writes, “they often find their opponents appealing to radically different norms and traditions of discourse, in which evidence and persuasion are indexed to different scales of value”.

The relevance of her research for CRISEA is both theoretical and practical. While liberal institutional arrangements have provided spaces for the proliferation of public reason and unreason alike, “political theory and social science research do not have an adequate conceptual or methodological apparatus with which to deal with the endurance of unreason in politics”. Recognizing everyday proliferation of unreason as a response to crises (corruption, civil unrest, violence) in Southeast Asia, Hussin points out that we need to look beyond liberal theoretical understandings of the functions of political communication to investigate the rejection of state reasons and the rise of public reasons which extend “from suspicions of corruption and conspiracy to faith in the supernatural”.

Challenges by political regimes to liberal principles and forms of accommodation were explored in another module of WP3 highlighting contexts in Vietnam, Myanmar and Indonesia. **Kristian Stokke**, in collaboration with **Soe Myint Aung**, raised questions about the character and substance of Myanmar’s democratic opening which had opened new political spaces for political parties, ethnic armed organizations and civil society organizations since 2011. Their description of the pre-2021-coup state as a “hybrid regime” which followed an open-ended trajectory rather than becoming a state in transition to democracy fits seamlessly with the most recent developments, the coup d’état and the attempt of the military to regain full control over the state. Stokke’s research on the performance of ethnic parties in the electoral process points to the continued centralization of governance and the relevance of organizational factors such as fragmentation and weak institutionalization of these parties. Efforts to improve their record did not materialize at the November 2020 elections which took

place after CRISEA research concluded. Relating to other theory-related research, the latest political deterioration does clearly not contradict Stokke's conclusions on the country's "illiberal peacebuilding strategies" which place it outside the prospects of models of international peacebuilding and liberal peace outcomes.

Southeast Asian states' human rights records provoke questions about the mandate and the effects of their national human rights institutions. **Marco Bunte** classifies them into three groups according to their compliance, those who resisted pressures to install a human rights commission (such as Brunei, Singapore, Laos, Vietnam), those who have installed human rights commissions with limited autonomy from the government and fail to meet international standards (Cambodia, Myanmar and Thailand) and those that have installed strong human rights commissions (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines). While nearly all human rights commissions primarily serve the purpose of educating the public on human rights and promote human rights across the region, their trajectories vary tremendously, as in the worst cases, such as Thailand and Myanmar, the scope of their work is restricted, appointed members are close to the government, and they lack independence.

Strikingly, even the strongest SEA human rights commissions (Philippines and Indonesia) could not prevent executive aggrandizement and serious human rights abuses in recent years. Bunte's research indicates therefore the persisting vulnerability of human rights in Southeast Asia.

Jörg Wischermann's research on state-society relations in Indonesia and Vietnam focused on state reactions towards state-critical protests. His team found confirmation for the hypothesis that although governed differently, the state in Indonesia and Vietnam (re-)acts in rather similar ways and forms vis-à-vis protest. Why is this so despite the regime difference and how can similarities and/or differences then be explained in a theoretically substantial way? Wischermann builds on Jessop's idea of "states in capitalist societies" to highlight an in-built bias of capitalist societies shared by all states of the region, independently of their regimes. This, in turn, leads him to assume that "progress in further regional integration In Southeast Asia could be expected". However, such integration, with state-society power relations resisting change, would not bode well for further democratisation or the future of the "liberal state".

Against the background of its reputation as an authoritarian party-state imposing restriction on civil society and violating human rights, Vietnam has appeared as one of the most progressive countries in Southeast Asia on LGBT+ issues. **Phạm Quỳnh Phương's** research on the rise of the vibrant LGBT+ movement and its toleration by the state sheds new light on the nature of state-society relations in Vietnam, and on the nature of the state as it negotiates new challenges to the legitimacy of its policies and practices. Nonetheless, while Vietnam has lifted the ban on gay marriage, recognised transgender peoples' rights and voted in favour of UN resolutions on anti-discrimination against LGBT+ persons, the movement still lacks full legal recognition, stifling its expectations. The current level of recognition which includes sympathy from the public, too, seems to reflect a governance strategy which combines tactics to sustain power and vernacular cultural elements.

Jérôme Tadié's research on NGOs acting as advocates for the poor and fighting against evictions in Jakarta sounds a similar tone of reaching a level of compromise in state-society relations. Tadié raised the fundamental question of how people access power at different levels of society in an urban context where modernizing visions of the authorities of new social housing in the form of buildings, clash with perceptions of the poor for onsite rehabilitation. He shows that everyday politics in Jakarta, beyond the experience of an implacable state, reveal the importance of interpersonal relationships in the process of defending a cause. Using social capital, they demonstrate the coexistence of official and informal ways where boundaries between different realms of power are often blurred.

Researchers in a fourth module of the project further looked at institutional challenges to the liberal state. **Eugénie Mérieau's** emerging research is looking at the constitutionalization of emergency

provisions in Southeast Asia as a threat to the set of protections provided by a normative state. Her research, like Wischermann's, looks beyond the diversity of regimes and focuses on a dualistic character of the state.

In a different way, **David Camroux** formulates his criticism of ASEAN describing the regional institution as a tool of nation-states to preserve, in a populist fashion, their authoritarian modes of action. From his research on the exercise of effective domestic power of Southeast Asian governments, and as he reviews the benefits of ASEAN membership, he concludes that ASEAN membership is "somewhat cost-free" because "ASEAN does little to check the behaviour of its members".

D. Shaping Alternative Identities in Southeast Asia: Youth, Violence and Transnationalism (Work Package 5)

Southeast Asian nation-states' domestic and transnational ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity predicates a complex pattern of national, regional and local identities and senses of belonging. Yet such identities are not fixed but evolving and often competing. Against this background, the promotion of a regional ASEAN identity driven by elites is challenged by Southeast Asia's diversity and its rapid social and economic evolution.

To explore the way in which community identities are impacted, recreated, or reshaped, CRISEA's Work Package 5 researchers studied the emergence of alternative identities within societies and at the peripheries adding to existing forms of diversity and contestation. The work package's modules highlight three analytical grids, namely transnationalism, violence, and generations, which overlap in several of the individual projects, particularly those focusing on non-state actors. Most studies also embed gender and security aspects and highlight migratory movements, touching directly upon the CRISEA project's transversal themes. The relevance of understanding individual, collective and national identities to reflect meaningfully on regional integration has already been demonstrated in various projects of WP3 and WP4. WP5's projects exploring how identities are shaped by transgenerational and transborder contexts as well as legacies of violence add to this by including historical perspectives. They further strengthen CRISEA's argument about *competing* regional integrations as they underscore the diverse and contentious nature of the process both domestically and transnationally.

Transnationalism and generational markers overlapped in several projects. **Natasha Pairaudeau's** historical research on the identity of the Kola of Pailin (West Cambodia) demonstrates how migrant identities may shift down the generations. The Kola are descendants of ethnic Shan migrants (from Burma) who discovered and settled sapphire and ruby tracts along the Siamese upland frontiers with French Indochina. The Kola developed into a wealthy and powerful community in an isolated frontier region first under Siamese and subsequently under French administration when they enjoyed a high level of autonomy over the gem districts. This autonomy was weakened in newly independent Cambodia, and under the Khmer Rouge, they disappeared entirely as a distinct community. Lately their identity was revived and reconfigured as an ethnic population despite the absence of a coherent grouping. As she explores the distinctive social, political and occupational identity of the Kola, shaped through succeeding generations as state control over the area in which they settled, shifted, Pairaudeau wonders if the "not quite ethnic" Kola are "ethnic at all". As it takes us to the peripheries of SEA, Pairaudeau's research is relevant for CRISEA's project in two ways. It underscores the fluidity of identities across generations and geographical contexts. And it points beyond the gridlock of ethnicity, calling for an understanding of the experiences of historical, political and economic actors in their own terms.

Volker Grabowsky and **Sirui Dao's** research on Buddhist pilgrimages in the Upper Mekong Basin takes us among the Tai Lü, a Tai ethnic group originating from southern Yunnan (Sipsòng Panna) and spread today, due to resettlements, migrations and civil unrest during the colonial period, across the borders of China, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. Their field-based study discusses the collective impact of cross-border pilgrimage, temple foundations and refugee support in enhancing ethnic-religious connections across national borders and sustaining both cultural nostalgia and belonging. Grabowsky and Dao's work fleshes out the complex meanings of WP5's focus on transnationalism. It illustrates the common experiences of people in the borderlands at various levels of society, pointing to historical, emotional, and cultural connections. As they argue, the reconstruction by the diaspora of a holy *stupa* in the Sipsòng Panna homeland is not only a collective meritorious deed in Buddhist terms, but also meant to overcome traumatic experiences caused by past violence. The efficacy of the transnational monastic network which coordinates the flow of pilgrimages is significant for CRISEA's

research on processes of competing integration. Cross-cultural pilgrimage does not only support spiritual connection, but it also provokes mistrust from state authorities who suspect threats to the stability of the frontier.

Jan van der Putten and **Alan Darmawan**'s research on the (re-)construction of Malay identity by local, transregional, and transnational initiatives in the Indonesian province of Kepri (Riau Islands) bears an equally powerful message on the ambivalent force of transnationalism. They studied the organization of art festivals celebrating local artistic forms and ritual performances in the Riau Islands considered as the homeland of Malay identity. As various agencies localize and enact a commodified everyday Malay identity, they simultaneously aim at disseminating it to visitors. The cultural movement is intimately linked to religious endeavours emphasizing pious Muslim habits within the construction of Malayness. The resurrection of transregional Malay identity has also been enhanced by the creation of a new regional Islamic leader (the Sultan of Bintan) preaching adherence to strict Islamic rules and promoting a transnational Islamic currency. The resonance of Van der Putten and Darmawan's research is amplified by WP5's web documentary which adds to the presentation of potentially contentious cultural and economic efforts the transgenerational goal of transmitting old traditions to a younger generation.

Kwanchewan Buadaeng's work on the Talaku Karen in the borderlands of Thailand and Myanmar adds to our understanding of the alterations caused by the impact of political and economic transformations in the borderland communities. The Talaku cult is one among various Karen religious practices and formed as a hybrid cult among urban Karen under the impact of Buddhist and Christian missionaries in the middle of the 19th century. As a result of internal conflicts in Burma, cult members were dispersed after the 1960s and their deterritorialization led to the formation of alternative identities and new beliefs. In recent years, the sense of belonging of Talaku Karen has been split among 'traditional' Talaku, Buddhist Talaku, Christian Talaku, and 'modified' Talaku. Buadaeng points to the impact of oppressive conditions in Burma/Myanmar and Thai administrative integration in the borderlands, but also to the agency of networks and movements within the Karen communities to explain the diversification of Talaku identities coping with contentious pressures. Beyond the transnational dimension of her research, the investigation of the Talaku Karen speaks to the CRISEA themes of migration, violence and risks for human security.

Prasit Leepreecha's research on the transnational indigenist movement pulls our attention to an entirely different form of mobilization at the margins of the nation-state. The indigenist movement originated in formerly colonized countries of North and Latin America as well as Australia with the activism of native peoples and has only recently taken root in Asia as a network of national organizations (Asian Indigenous Peoples' Pact, AIPP). Leepreecha argues that transnational indigenism in Southeast Asia is mainly a response to the marginalization of minority ethnic groups by the state and as much a result as a reaction to globalization.

While the fluidity of identities is commonly considered as a truism by social scientists, an intimate change of identity or the adoption of an alternative identity conditioned within a process of integration is neither predictable nor a naturally given. **Filomeno Aguilar**'s research on skilled Filipino labour migrating to Singapore demonstrates that the integration of Filipinos into Singapore's society is very limited. Filipinos hold on their Filipinoness either by not giving up their natal citizenship or, if they have been naturalized, hanging on to their being Filipino as their primary cultural identity. He explains this phenomenon of non-integration as the combination of a strong sense of Filipino identity and domestic Singaporean politics. In the 1990s, Singapore wanted to become the "talent capital" of the global economy and liberalized its immigration policies for skilled migrants. Permanent residency (PR) and citizenship became relatively easy to acquire, but resentment against skilled labour crystallized in the wake of the financial crisis of 2008–2009 when fellow Southeast Asians were locally perceived as competitors for jobs and housing. Access to Singaporean citizenship became very stringent and benefit

entitlement to permanent residents was shrinking, substantially altering the situation of skilled migrants. Aguilar concludes that while regional integration may have occurred in economic terms, Singapore is far from being a microcosm of a Southeast Asian regional community. Importantly, national identity remains preponderant over regional identity and ASEAN's goal of promoting regional integration through transnational skilled migration remains to be accomplished.

After overseeing CRISEA's coordination as head of the project until the 2nd Research Workshop (2019), **Yves Goudineau** returned to field research with an investigation of the transnational circulation of cultural stereotypes on "ethnic minorities". First results of his field research in Salavan and Xekong (South Laos) point to a reversal of the official discourse on the culture of some Austroasiatic ethnic groups once decried as archaic but now publicly encouraged with a view to promoting tourism. However, designs of ethnic model villages are stereotypes of ethnic heritage as commodified in local museums and appear disconnected from their ritual foundations.

Danny Wong Tze Ken's research on the evolution of how Chinese have identified and been identified in Malaysia combines both change and continuity as met in other CRISEA research reviewed above. Wong explains that being Chinese "in the face of government policy" was a rather new notion, because Chinese in Malaysia used to identify themselves through their dialect identity. This identity seemed to be heading towards extinction, marking a generational change, when the community was confronted with greater challenges at the national level. Strikingly, dialect identity has undergone a recent revival in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore a fact which Wong links to the current rise of China. The country hosted indeed many transnational dialect activities including conferences at the world level. Wong's research shows that the alternative Chinese sub-ethnic identity defined by a dialect remains crucial, as the need to emphasize an overall Chinese ethnicity to negotiate status with the Malaysian state has receded.

One of the yet lesser-known phenomena of transnational dynamics 'from below' is the evangelistic work by Filipino Christians of different denominations in Buddhist Thailand. **Jayeel Cornelio** and **Erron C. Medina's** research focused on personal narratives, biblical or spiritual principles for missionary work and the role of Filipinos in Christian evangelism in the region. They describe the vision of Filipino missionaries as framed by a religious imaginary where Thailand is a space "where they can fulfil their calling, which is a result of personal discovery based on temporal transformations in their lives". Their calling is experienced as an "interruption" imbuing the purpose of being Filipinos in a foreign land as meaningful and strengthening their faith. Integrating themselves, being involved in church activities, learning Thai language, and familiarizing oneself with Thai culture become important as part of a concrete practice and activity of missionary work.

Erron C. Medina and **Bianca Ysabelle Franco's** research on anti-criminality policies becoming central to political campaigns of politicians across Southeast Asia, straddles the borders of WP5's transnationalism module and WP4's interrogation of the state's liberal standards. Both show how SEA leaders like Duterte or Jokowi Widodo have exploited the transnational nature of crimes, especially of those related to illegal drugs, to advance anti-crime campaigns at the expense of democratic standards and human rights and garner popular support.

While they find that citizens in SEA still value elections, Southeast Asian leaders' heightened focus on criminality has generated a rhetoric of punitiveness widely shared across the region both in actual implementation and rhetoric. The effectiveness of this punitive approach is achieved by appealing to a constructed culture and identity which justifies the need for strong government and by sympathetic cross-referencing of similar stances about the primacy of discipline and order as part of national identities in other countries of the region.

State violence, not the least in the contemporary Philippines, appears as an important element of contentious contexts in a number of CRISEA projects. WP5's module on mass violence and its impact on identity formations includes three studies on the impact of traumatic pasts.

Volker Grabowsky's study of the impact of violence on the identity of youth under the regime of the Khmer Rouge points out that mass violence created a group identity among Democratic Kampuchea's hardcore supporters. In research where he combines the role of the Cambodian male and female youth in mass violence with the impact of violence on their identities, Grabowsky analyses how the leadership of the Communist Party exploited the idealism of young Cambodians for their political ends. The widespread notion that *any* kind of education ceased to exist is wrong because the Cambodian communists introduced a qualitatively different system of education which put emphasis on communal and participatory forms of learning (notably manual labour) to transform human nature. Drawing on Jörg Baberowski's notion of 'spaces of violence' (*Gewalträume*) and Gunnar Heinsohn's concept of "Youth Bulge", he describes the instrumentalization of young people by a violent ideology which dehumanized real or imagined, external and internal enemies. Perpetrators of violence in Democratic Kampuchea hardly felt guilt about their deeds as violence created a sense of belonging which enabled a "second life" after 1979 under a nationalist banner.

In their contribution to the module on violence and identity, **Đào Thế Đức** and **Andrew Hardy** show how the blurred memory of a politically motivated massacre of ethnic Viet people by Hrê chiefs in January 1950 (the Son Ha revolt) was suppressed by the state but lives on in retellings during religious observances. Like Grabowsky, Hardy sees the identity formation of Southeast Asians as an arena where the memory of past violence became a key issue shaping allegiance. The nexus of history and social memory is at the heart of his research because it is conditional to an understanding of the massacre's meaning. He explains that despite a long history of violent interactions between the Hrê and the Viêt, the massacre was not an act of ethnic conflict but a consequence of regime change and an expanding state: the Viêt Minh seizure of power in the Hrê districts (1945) threatened the power base of certain Hrê chiefs. The killing of ethnic Viet people came as a brutal reaction. However, as the state tried to suppress the memory of the massacre, knowledge of this political context diminished and the impression of an ethnic conflict was enhanced. As family and community practices of remembrance of the victims provided a framework for settling the collective past, motivations to prolong the conflict did not emerge in either ethnic group.

Jacques P. Leider's research dissects the ongoing cycles of violence determined by territorial rivalry, competing sub-nationalisms and ruthless state repression in Arakan (modern Rakhine State, Myanmar) during the decade from 1942 to 1952. Transregional labour migration from Bengal to Arakan in the late 19th century led to an increase of the Muslim population, but frictions with the Buddhist majority did not arise before the 1920s. Communal riots exploded in 1942 following the Japanese invasion triggering ethnic cleansing and mass flights of both Buddhists and Muslims fleeing persecution. The post-war years did not see a decrease of political and criminal violence and ruthless state repression. Leider's research demonstrates the nexus between violence and identity by using the prisms of belonging and territoriality. After independence in 1948, Rakhine Buddhist and Muslim sub-nationalisms sought ethnic and political recognition and political quick wins from the state. They were driven by a mix of ideological and emotional motives generated during a long decade of disorder and disorientation. The close examination of this extremely violent decade (1942-52) also underscores its significance for an understanding of the emergence of the Rohingya movement. Rooted in the transborder environment of Bengal and Burma, the study connects to CRISEA's transversal themes of security and migration and WP5's module on transnationalism.

Researchers in WP5's module on generations looked at the impact of generational change on integration and perceptions of integration in various contexts. **Medelina Hendityo** explored the perception of ASEAN integration and identity by different generational cohorts in Indonesia with a

focus on the millennials who represent the region's future. A regional identity may be a requirement to develop ASEAN integration, yet it is difficult to create a common identity with so many competing cultural identities, frictions about sovereignty and territorial issues. Against this background, Hendityo's research asked questions about the awareness and the knowledge of millennials about ASEAN, its perceived benefits, factors of weakness and how the organization could be strengthened. While young Indonesians might not be familiar with ASEAN's historical background, they are nonetheless aware of ASEAN economic cooperation, but are less informed about ASEAN's social, cultural, educational, political and environmental goals. Results showed that the primary perception of ASEAN was geographical proximity leaving out any sense of emotional binding as being part of a community. They also showed a lack of awareness of benefits derived from regional cooperation. One third of respondents were not motivated to engage with ASEAN's development as they had not experienced or did not see any benefit, revealing a lack of ASEAN's performance to promote its own goals and consider the concerns and interests of youth.

Oliver Tappe's study of a tin mining area in central Laos uses various lenses to capture the past and present effects of global capitalism on local life worlds such as Vietnamese labour mobility, alternating macro-micro perspectives and generations. Tin mining in Khammouane Province was originally an attempt of industrialization by French colonizers which increased the migration of Vietnamese laborers. Today local Lao artisanal miners operate next to and within Vietnamese and Chinese mining concessions that employ mainly Vietnamese workers. Tappe's primary approach focuses on intergenerational shifts of social relations and livelihoods and explores the transformations induced by the mining industry, environmental degradation and socio-political dynamics. A second similarly generational approach locates the successive historical breaks such as the establishment of French colonial rule in 1893, the first independence movement, 1945, national independence, 1954, and the beginning of communist rule in 1975 which affected the life worlds of both Lao and Vietnamese workers by the economic transformations they triggered.

Vidhyandika Perkasa's work on the generation of young Papuans shows how Papuan youth identity has been constructed out of a generational legacy of violence and marginalization. The conflict- and poverty-stricken province of Papua in eastern Indonesia has been the site of an ongoing struggle between separatists and the Indonesian army accused of human rights violations. The mistreatment and discrimination of the mostly Christian Papuans has fed their nationalism throughout several generations. Perkasa puts his research within a perspective where ASEAN members states feel compelled to foster pride and attachment to their country among their young citizens so as to ensure ASEAN integration and stability. From the results of his field work, he concludes that the Papuan youth does not adhere to Indonesian identity because it rejects Indonesia as a "colonizer". Nor do the Papuans see ASEAN as an organization which is relevant for their struggle. Rather than perpetuating the armed struggle of the previous generation, the Papuan youth has emerged as better educated, better organized, and invested in transnational networks with the support of the Papuan diaspora. Young Papuans have thus improved their participatory practices which have strengthened the cohesiveness of their identities embedding the generational transmission of traumatic collective memories through story telling.

Janina Pawelz's research on youth, violence and identities of insecurity in Timor Leste tested the potential of a common regional identity in a country where identities are multi-layered due to its multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic society. She focused on martial arts groups which exert a considerable attraction on Timorese youth. Pawelz explains how psychological aspects such as pride, self-esteem, and belonging shape the identification with the violence-prone martial groups and generate social gains such as brotherhood, patronage and protection. Her research adds to our understanding of the gendered character of these groups and their entanglement with local party politics. Her findings need to be read in connection with CRISEA research produced by Paulo Seixas and Nuno Mendes in WP6

exploring East Timor's status vis-à-vis ASEAN membership. Timorean youth identification with martial arts groups "bears potential friction with national and political identity" reiterating the question of ASEAN being mainly an elite-driven project.

E. Going Beyond ASEAN's Integration Narrative (Work Package 6)

As a regional organization of Southeast Asian countries founded to bolster and protect nation-building, ASEAN has been a positively transformative vector shaping a peaceful and prosperous Southeast Asia. It has done so by promoting political rapprochement and confidence-building, by ensuring stability among potentially rival countries, and by leveraging Southeast Asia's unique geopolitical position to be heard in the global arena. Much of ASEAN's success has been ascribed to the so-called "ASEAN way" which "involves informal diplomacy, consensual decision-making, restraint in expressing public criticism and a lack of sanctions in case of non-compliance".¹⁷ ASEAN has respected the primacy of domestic political projects; non-intervention has been paramount and supra-nationality a taboo. But while its broad future-oriented narrative of "enhancing stability, security and prosperity" has been carried for decades, the weakness and limitations of the ASEAN way appeared with the 1997 economic crisis and other hazards, such as environmental (haze), forced migration issues (Myanmar's Rohingyas) and military coups (Thailand 2014, Myanmar 2021), to which the organization was unable to respond efficiently (referred to as the "ASEAN integration trap"). China's increasingly prominent role with the Belt and Road Initiative, the US-China rivalry with its divisive potential and the attraction of alternative regional organizations of economic cooperation have multiplied the challenges facing ASEAN. As they take a critical look at ASEAN's overriding narrative of 'integration', researchers in WP6 agree about the usefulness of the narrative as such to emphasise regional cohesion but recognize on the other hand that integration means above all cooperation as "common and mutual interests are better served through cooperative endeavours".¹⁸

It is against this background that WP6 researchers invested in a number of projects to understand how ASEAN, in a changing global environment, can still be "a tool in the pursuit of each of its member-states' own interests" and promote national objectives. In this context the notion of ASEAN centrality, used in ASEAN parlance since 2006, has gained prominence and with it questions such as "how does ASEAN impose its centrality" and "what does ASEAN mean in a transitional, polycentric context where the Association is but one among several competing actors?"¹⁹ So, while the rhetoric about ASEAN integration continues unabated because it instils "bonds, actions and goals", the attention of researchers is redirected towards the manifold challenges to ASEAN centrality²⁰.

Research in WP6 was organized in four modules addressing these questions. Researchers in two modules undertook case studies focusing on the impact of external competing actors, such as Japan and Russia, and an evolving East Asian architecture marked by new connectivity and alternate regionalization, on Southeast Asian integration. Another module was dedicated to the challenges of transborder interactions generated by China's approach towards Southeast Asia and ASEAN countries

¹⁷ Kevin H.R. Villanueva and Rosario G. Manalo "ASEAN Consensus: The Intangible Heritage of Southeast Asian Diplomacy", in ASEAN@50, vol. 4, *Building ASEAN Community: Political-Security and Socio-cultural Reflections* (Jakarta: ERIA, 2017), p. 88.

¹⁸ Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, "The ASEAN Conundrum: Facing Competing Regional Constructs", *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper WP6 "The Region"*, pp. 5, 8. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/wp5.pdf>

¹⁹ Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, "Going Beyond Asean's Integration Narrative". *Empirical Research, Case Studies Results, Working Paper WP6 "The Region"*, December 2019", p. 13. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Del-6.2WP6.pdf>

²⁰ Boisseau du Rocher, "Going beyond...", p. 9.

and the core question of ASEAN energy security. The fourth module included research on Myanmar, being inside ASEAN since 1997, and Timor Leste, still a candidate, both countries raising a variety of questions about the meaning and implications of joining ASEAN.

In her project, **Sophie Boisseau du Rocher** reviewed the “ASEAN dilemma”, which denotes the gap between ASEAN’s rhetoric of integration, on the one hand, and its de facto prioritization of national interest, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, and informal consensus building, on the other. As a result, she characterizes ASEAN’s alleged integration progress as an “epistemic fallacy”. Looking for a definition of ASEAN more in tune with her field observations, she acknowledges “centrality”, a term promoted by ASEAN’s 2007 Charter as a notion better defining ASEAN, namely as a process where actors can consistently harmonize their interests, compromise their differences and reap mutual rewards for their interactions. Taking stock of this re-appreciation, it is possible to evaluate ASEAN’s performance in connecting multiple stakeholders in Southeast Asia and its transactional capacity to create networks and set regional agendas.

Moreover, as it facilitates dialogue, ASEAN becomes an interface between the member states’ perceived vulnerability and their inherent comparative advantages and the outside world, where ASEAN allows the preservation of national interests and the defence of such interests on a regional scale.

Research led by **Dominik Mierzejewski** on China’s multi-layered relationship with ASEAN echoes Terrence Gomez’s economic research and conclusions on China’s multi-scaled investments in Malaysia. Within WP6, it illustrates ASEAN centrality as an interactive process where China uses nodes within ASEAN to conduct its policy towards Japan, South Korea and the United States, too. Mierzejewski brings our attention to the practical dimensions of this policy by highlighting elite cultivation, middle-countries concept, and economic interdependence. The way China has promoted its consultative governance model through the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea is one example. Another example is the role of local governance in China’s relations with Myanmar. Beijing used the cross-border policy of the provincial government in Kunming to acquire resources, such as is the case of the tin-ore trade between Southern China and Northern Myanmar.

Shafiah F. Muhibat’s case study of ASEAN-Japan relations, led in cooperation with **Andrew Mantong**, tests the thesis of ASEAN centrality examining how Japan, an ASEAN dialogue partner, has used the framework of the Japan ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) and the Economic Research Institute of ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) to engage with ASEAN. As Japan has supported ASEAN’s development through JAIF and research activities conducted under ERIA, it has had a positive influence maintaining ASEAN centrality as well as furthering ASEAN’s institutionalization as a regional organization. But this process is limited on the other hand by the intra-ASEAN decision-making process. Muhibat and Mantong’s research shows that the influence any external power can have on ASEAN depends on its capacity to work with a member state at the highest political level, bearing in mind that the member state itself has an “adequate outlook of centrality, harmonic vision between regional concerns and national interest with solid support from its domestic stakeholders such as experts community and civil society”. Both conclude that facing current regional dynamics and geopolitical rivalry, ASEAN will have to come up with agendas of its own to escape simply muddling through with bilateral processes.

Russia, another dialogue partner, has seen only slow progress of its relations with ASEAN. Its efforts to diversify its Asian partners came as a follow-up to the intensification of the Asian direction of its foreign policy in the second decade of the 21st c. **Małgorzata Pietrasiak**’s research aimed at an evaluation of Russia’s influence on the integration processes in Southeast Asia. She shows that while Russia verbally supports ASEAN centrality and regional integration, its impact on the region remains small. Russia has been keen to build the image of an independent and altruistic state which might be beneficial to highlight its independence from China. However, Russia fails to implement its own “Greater Eurasia”

project in its interaction with ASEAN partners, because it lacks economic power and sees its own initiatives defeated by China's dominance. The result is that Russia's means of influence remain limited to the sphere of arms trade, military security, energy and potentially information technology.

Timor Leste has been involved in a long-lasting procedure as a candidate for ASEAN membership. Research undertaken by **Paulo Seixas** and **Nuno Mendes** with the support of **Nadia Lobner**, adds a socio-cultural perspective to appreciate Timorese elites' pondering of advantages and disadvantages of joining ASEAN. The ongoing debate of politicians, businesspeople and youth in Timor Leste translates a continuous process of negotiating a quest of geo-strategic belonging. In their approach, it leads Seixas and Mendes to look at Timor Leste as a country 'in the making' in a region 'in the making'. The debate questions ASEAN centrality when viewed through the 'integrating/not integrating' lenses, and once the pending membership is resituated in regard of ASEAN's relations with other regional stakeholders such as China, the EU or the US. Both researchers also applied Timor Leste's situation to an analysis of dynamics of the Covid-19 pandemic in regard of global interdependence and economic nationalisms.

Field research led by **Aye Aye Myat**, **Kyawt Kyawt Khine**, **Thida Tun**, and **Moe Ma Ma** supported an investigation into ASEAN's central role for Myanmar's foreign policy since the 1990s. As Myanmar joined in 1997, ASEAN became a trusted friend for its military rulers because members of the regional organization did not interfere with its internal affairs. Unlike in the case of its relations with China, Myanmar's military regime felt comfortable and secure in its dealings with ASEAN. In the aftermath of the cyclone Nargis (2008), ASEAN played a significant role as a mediator with the international community. In the case of the Rakhine State crisis, however, as it involved the issue of the Muslim Rohingyas (since the outbreak of communal violence in 2012 and more so after the mass flight to Bangladesh in 2017), ASEAN's involvement remained limited to humanitarian assistance. The organization did not address the root causes of the conflict as it recognized the Rakhine crisis as a domestic issue and upheld ASEAN's non-interference principle.

In a similar vein to these researchers at the University of Mandalay and illustrating Boisseau du Rocher's description of ASEAN as a tool to protect national interests, a team at the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, including **Hoàng Hải Hà**, **Nguyễn An Hà**, and **Đỗ Tá Khánh** studied Vietnam's integration in ASEAN as an effort to balance the asymmetric relationship between Vietnam and China after 2015. They find that as Vietnam has played an active role in the ASEAN community: it has maintained its strategic autonomy, avoided being pulled into great power rivalry and prevented political and economic dependence on China. Another team of VASS authors, composed of **Nguyễn An Hà**, **Nguyễn Đình Ngân**, and **Đỗ Tá Khánh** characterizes, in a forthcoming research paper, Vietnam's perception of the increasing impact of China's rise on ASEAN's cooperative process.

F. Gender, migration, and security

CRISEA's project architecture raised awareness about three fundamental themes, migration, gender and security, which were considered as essential to the projects discussed within the five 'arenas of competition'. The present section reviews how these three transversal themes were present in the project, in which way they were relevant to individual research projects and how they were significant for CRISEA's engagement with Southeast Asia's processes of integration and risks of disintegration. As the section above on the web-documentaries has already underscored, migration, gender and livelihood security were important components in their narratives.

Gender

At the outset of the project (1st CRISEA Research Workshop, Hanoi), a workshop on gender in research was held for all the researchers to gain a critically informed approach to their various subjects. It was both an operational and a theoretical workshop which raised fundamental questions for key disciplines in CRISEA, such as economy and ecological geography, which are not routinely involved with "gender issues" – these being generally seen as regarding women.

The approach proposed included a reflection on the EU Gendered Innovations proposals (<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/news/gendered-innovations-how-gender-analysis-contributes-research>), underlining the importance of seeing gender as an ideology concerning and inhabiting both women, men and other non-binary subjects at all levels of society. It was taken for granted that no research on integration as a process fundamentally concerned with equality falls outside this structure and can be fruitfully apprehended if ignored.

CRISEA research results reflect different levels of achievement of this thoroughly critical approach stating its fruitfulness for the Southeast Asian context as well as for general theories of practice and policy recommendations. CRISEA's gender sensitive approach and equality awareness also applied to internal project practices and in line with criticism formulated at the mid-term project review, notably organizing dissemination activities. Best practices were followed as the scheduling of project activities took into account researchers' family contexts in regard of child rearing. Nonetheless, not all gender-related components of project implementation were necessarily pre-planned. It is noteworthy that female researchers took the lead in producing the web-documentaries. Gender-related aspects of memorialization in WP3 and WP4's web-documentaries should be considered as several key outcomes of the project's engagement with contentious forms of integration vs disintegration.

As a transversal theme, gender was frequently linked to 'migration' and 'security' in projects addressing social and economic issues in transdisciplinary perspectives on work, workers, employment regimes, mobility, flow of money, indebtedment and processes of citizenship. In-depth research emphasized in what ways gender-based inequalities lie at the bottom of industrial strategies. Masina and Cerimele's research on industrial workers confirms the hypothesis that a large part of the industrial transformation carried out in Southeast Asia through the implantation of industrial compounds relies on a planned separation of the sites of production, reproduction, ageing, and care through a specific labour policy.

National political-economic agendas feature, ideally, an intensive exploitation of young workers, especially young women, mostly regarded as "on loan" to industry while essentially developing their lives in villages. This assumption is not proved by evidence. Returnees, failed returnees, and poor returnees from industrial employment are most often women who fall outside work-based networks of care and have to turn to impoverished relational structures. Life-span analysis points to a regional circulation of impoverished workers who become separated from their village background. It also underscores a "gender gap" discouraging female-led entrepreneurship at informal and formal (though unformalized) levels of the local economy.

Contractualization plays different roles. Đỗ Tá Khánh's research shows how less labour-intensive and worse-paid jobs in Vietnam's state-owned enterprises are targeted by former foreign-employed electronic workers after motherhood. The specific gender ideology which underpins Vietnam's socio-economic structure is described by Phạm Quỳnh Phương in her study on the LGBT+ movement.

Bolotta's ethnography of illegal Myanmar workers employed in Thai fisheries and Tabacco's multi-sited research on returnees from Batam's industrial zones to agriculture in Java highlight changes in generational gendered attitudes and depict a strategic, migration-based reformulation of both genders. Vignato illustrates the impoverishment of poor working women in the new Special Economic Zone of North Aceh in her web documentary *Aceh, After* situated in centre-periphery dynamics heavily influenced by the long civil conflict and contrasted by a gender-based migratory cycle. Bouté's work on newly emerging elites along the Lao border and Arnold's research on the impact of Covid-19 on Cambodia's garment industry underline how ethnicity, gender and economic plans intersect.

The gendered entanglement of ethnicity and the state and the invisibility of women as workers or citizens emerges both at macro and micro levels across several CRISEA work packages: Pawelz' ethnographic work on Timor Leste's martial arts' groups, Roszko's research on transborder maritime space, Grabowsky's study of Cambodian youth highlighting female agency under the Khmer Rouge regime, Pairaudeau's historical portrait of migrant identities along the Thai/Indochinese border, and Đào Thế Đức and Hardy's reconstruction of the Son Ha massacre underscoring women's memorialization of mass violence. Leow's web documentary on the deportations of Chinese from Malaysia to China builds on gendered micro-stories which highlight women's active roles in shaping events, memories and Malaysia's post-independence Chinese selfhood.

Madinier's analysis of Pancasila, the pillars of the Indonesian State as stated at its constitution, and its later contestations, particularly during the Orde Baru (1967-1998) points to the absence of female voices as structural to the dictatorial regime. A similar absence is striking in Leider's historicization of the extreme violence in Arakan during the transition from the British colonial regime throughout Japan's occupation towards Burma's independence.

In conclusion, both in framing its thematic orientations and dissemination practices, CRISEA has moved forward in integrating gender as an angle of enquiry and interpretation. The experiences the project accumulated deserve to be further developed, especially as far as disciplines such as macro economy and political science are concerned. The "gender for dummies" workshop (Vignato) applied at the project's early stage may be considered as a seminal step in future EU projects.

Migration

By choosing 'migration' as one of three transversal themes, the project's architects intended to recall the relevance of migration as a binding and pervasive component of SEA's historical profile, settlement patterns and multi-ethnic identity, on the one hand, and highlight its contested character in the contemporary context of nation-states and global challenges, on the other.

Domestic and transnational migrations raise social and economic issues, identity issues, legal issues, and human security issues. Therefore 'migration' appears commonly in social sciences' research as a matter connected to problems waiting for a solution rather than uplifting projects to further the ASEAN community. Nonetheless, as Aguilar shows, back in the 1990s, Singapore's openness towards skilled immigration from Southeast Asia hailed the prospect of contributing to the formation of a transregional identity. He shows for the case of skilled Filipino labour that with increasingly restrictive migrant policies and an ongoing bond to Filipino-ness, Filipino migrants, even when changing nationality, remained strongly attached to their identity of origins. Medina and Cornelio provide new insights into the impact of Filipino migration with their research on Christian missions in Thailand. They refer to a "theology of migration" underpinning the religious imaginary of contemporary Filipino missionaries.

Regarding migration, CRISEA research divides, in simple terms, into voluntary, often circulatory migration flows, and enforced migration such as displacement and deportation. Whatever shape it takes, migration is inseparable from integration, gender and competing identities. It can become an issue of historical contestation itself, as Leider shows in the case of Muslim migrants to British Burma and the newly forming identities of the modern Rohingyas in the colonial aftermath. While the impact of migrations viewed as a historical legacy endures, migrations are seen less as a security threat as they used to a few decades ago, but rather a ground for human rights activism, humanitarian management, and socio-economic interventions.

Nonetheless, migrations are rarely welcomed, as Perkasa shows. Indonesia's transmigration policy to Papua is deeply resented by native Papuans as a form of economic colonization and an impending threat of Islamization. Some have unpredictable consequences: Đào Thế Đức and Hardy's research on the migration of Viet traders and farmers into the Hrê valleys figures prominently in his reconstruction of the Son Ha revolt of 1950. Certain types of migration have recently gone out of fashion: Vignato notes that illegal migration to Malaysia, which was important for unemployed Indonesians, is no longer a profitable solution for either men or women and has entirely stopped with the onslaught of Covid-19.

Leow's analysis of the deportations of unwanted Chinese from Malaysia to China (1948-53), vividly portrayed in her web documentary, connects the migrant history of generations of Chinese to CRISEA's engagement with regionalisms and regionalization. The transnational history of Chinese circumscribes an alternate Southeast Asian region which may not match contemporary political borders. Wong's research on Chinese identities in contemporary SEA adds to our understanding of transnational links as it connects linguistic preferences (Chinese dialects) to changes in the relationship between mainland China and the populations of Chinese origins in Indonesia and Malaysia. Cultural resilience and adaptability of ethno-religious identities are also seen among other groups with a legacy of ancient migration. Grabowsky and Dao's investigation of transnational Buddhist pilgrimage and religious networking of the Tai Lü is a case in point, projecting the imaginary of yet another Southeast Asian subregion including a part of China. In a similar transborder context determined by colonial conditions, Tappe's work on the tin mines of Khammouane retraces the generational changes of Vietnamese migrant labour to Laos and the transformations of their livelihood.

Dam constructions and water droughts condition ecological change and involuntary displacement, and often inferior livelihood conditions (Zaręba, Middleton, Chu). They may lead to the deterioration of cultural practices and massive dispossession, as in the case of many of Myanmar's Karen who have been an object of state securitization for decades (Beckenham and Farnan).

The examination of circular labour migration (from rural areas to industrial parks) and the generational profiles of migrant workers in Indonesia and Vietnam formed a research cluster in WP2 Economy (Vignato, Tabacco). Stepping on earlier research which had demonstrated the precarious lives of migrant labour in special economic zones (underscored by Soriente's study of informal migrations and marginalization in Semeriot), CRISEA research showed that migrant labour was an essential component of the region's uneven development as there was no upscaling of work opportunities when industrial workers left the production process (Masina). Analysing Malaysia's industrial labour policies, Devadason shows that the state has failed to align its policies with the needs of the labour market while migrants (and not investors) have actually lowered the labour rights of the unskilled group of workers. Lanzona's conclusion that remittances of Filipino workers do not provide the expected benefits in more developed economic activities or domestic educational investments adds to new research questions emerging from the project.

The relevance of migration in a number of history-oriented CRISEA research projects has led to the sub-project for a journal special issue called "The Politics of Migrant Welcomes: Connection and

Disconnection in Migration Histories of Southeast Asia”. It will offer a novel (“transversal”) theoretical framework for exploring themes of inclusion and exclusion, violence, ethnic and identity construction, and complex state-society dynamics in case studies of migrant populations in Southeast Asia (Đào Thế Đức and Hardy, Leow, Leider, Pairaudeau, Wong).

Security

Security (and particularly non-traditional security) was perceived by many CRISEA researchers as broadly relevant to research on SEA’s competing forms of integration. It is a desirable good potentially threatened by transformations and disintegration. The real or perceived absence of security is lessening the prospects of political legitimacy and weakens social cohesion. Across the five work packages, security issues were located at the human, national and regional levels and can be broken down into environmental security, livelihood security, regime security, individual and communal security and regional security. As these categories would suggest, security turns out to embed many applied meanings and it comes to no surprise that “insecurity” is often highlighted, when ‘security’ implicitly denotes to be secure *from* ... (dangers such as...) rather than secure *with* as we find in other contexts.

Researchers in WP2 on the environment agreed on a mode of addressing their core theme of “securing the commons” by embracing the co-production of ecological knowledge as a method to articulate contestation of state hegemonies and modernizing imaginaries, but also as a tool of communication to share insights, negotiate competing views and overcome resistance. Arnez’ work on sand mining reminds us of the fragility of the ecological balance. Clean air and the transition into a low carbon economy (Kamiński, Valente), sufficient river water for livelihood (Zaręba, Middleton) and access to marine resources (Roszko) and remediation for losses of livelihood (Chu) are implicit goals which framed such research and underscore aspects of human security. In Farnan and Beckenham’s work on the Salween Peace Park, environmental security links to a much broader agenda of safeguarding peace, rebalancing economic constrictions, and re-establishing (‘reterritorializing’) culturally grounded relations between the land and the people who live there.

Anthropological and economic research in WP3 focused on the livelihood of migrant workers at macro- and micro levels intimately connected to the other transversal themes, gender and migration. Projects led by Vignato, Soriente, Tabacco and Bolotta were interested in ways how livelihood security and welfare is created, maintained, and imagined against the background of the notorious precarization of mobile labour. They describe the challenges to human security linked to migrant lives in Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam and the coping strategies apparent in migrant life cycles. Research at the macro-economic level investigating the roots of uneven development (Pietro Masina and Đỗ Tá Khánh studying the electronics sector in Vietnam) shows that labour security is a rare and temporary good in FDI-driven industrialization. Young female labour is condemned to leave the most rewarding production process after a few years to transit into jobs with lesser earnings. In their connection to the state, these issues raise questions of social security frameworks and welfare systems.

Security itself becomes a contested issue when it is used by populists to generate electoral support. Populist leaders have fostered a heightened focus on criminality and cross-reference each other within Southeast Asia (Medina and Franco). They are garnering support for their anti-criminality rhetoric and punitive campaigns to justify strong government. The transformation of social issues (such as drug consumption) into security stakes produces implicitly a threat to the liberal state. Iza Hussin’s research on the rationalization of natural and political disasters (including national *security* catastrophes) by SEA states throws light on public perceptions of security from the angle of a *competition* of reasonable and unreasonable explanations.

The impact of insecurity, violence and trauma on national and subnational identifications was discussed by historians focusing on the legacy of mass violence in Vietnam, Myanmar and Cambodia

(Grabowsky, Đào Thế Đức and Hardy, Leider). Pawelz talks about “identities of insecurity” when examining the role of martial arts groups in Timor Leste’s recent troubled history and acts of violence as co-productive of male self-esteem and self-protection. While borders have been commonly construed in security terms, CRISEA research unpacks transnational connections and border contexts in terms of subregional forms of integration (Grabowsky and Dao, Bouté) and social cohesion (Pholsena).

Regional security is affected by many factors tracked across the work packages such as the environment, the economy, and issues of migration. Valente’s work focused specifically on energy security as a regional issue. She demonstrates that while resource nationalism and cooperative agreements are superficially contradicting each other, countries that practice resource nationalism do not abandon energy cooperation. But her observations also underscore the low level of effective cooperative arrangements which contrasts with ASEAN’s rhetoric on securing resources. With issues of national security and calls for regional integration rivalling, the need for transboundary governance adds to the arenas where forces compete.

G. Ongoing research

CRISEA-generated research delayed by the pandemic and new research initiatives raised during the project were not discontinued after the end of the project. Many of the individual reports submitted at the end of the project made clear that these projects will be maintained as lead researchers remain linked to the network of their field research collaboration. While it is difficult to present an exhaustive list of this overspill of research dynamics, a few examples may be referred to as they were firmly on track when the project concluded. Some are linked to draft publications whose titles were submitted in wrap up reports.

- Hege M. Knutsen and Đỗ Tá Khánh pursue a project called “Vietnam’s SOE reform and workers”.
- Arve Hansen in cooperation with Manoj Potapohn and H. M. Knutsen continue their research on the globalization and regionalization of the beer industry in SEA.
- Entitled “The Politics of Migrant Welcomes: Connection and Disconnection in Migration Histories of Southeast Asia”, Rachel Leow and Andrew Hardy launched a sub-project on migration. Collaborating researchers are Natasha Paireudeau, Jacques Leider, and Danny Wong Tze Ken

Part 4: Insights and Conclusions

As the dissemination of CRISEA's academic output is still in progress, conclusions presented below should be considered as preliminary. The present part is an attempt to catch some of the collective essence which springs from the sum of individual projects. It is ultimately a personal take drawing on the privilege of the scientific coordinator who enjoyed an ongoing dialogue with the project's researchers, their work, and their individual conclusions. A wide array of topics and insights were echoed across the work packages. Such "echoes" and correspondences are worth to be pointed out as they reinforce each other.

CRISEA's project architecture emphasized five arenas where forces compete to bring Southeast Asia's countries closer together or risk to play out as drivers of division. Building on the summaries of part 3, the following paragraphs try to step back from the work package themes and reconnect research outcomes in regard of the project's macro-micro approach of competing regional integrations. When the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world, the work of CRISEA researchers was not just impacted in practical ways, researchers themselves were much aware how the objects of their research and potentially the future conditions and directions of their research were undergoing change. But above all, there was the immediate question how Southeast Asia fared in the crisis. The same is true regarding the events in Myanmar and the rapid deterioration of the country's situation which have shocked observers in Southeast Asia and beyond just a month before the project ended. The project's results are not immune from the implications of these recent developments.

A. Myanmar – ASEAN's geopolitical black swan?

The preamble of CRISEA's project proposal started with a statement relating to a humanitarian crisis in Myanmar: "For most of the European media in late 2016, SEA meant one subject: the repression of the Rohingyas." As the present report was written, nearly five years later, Myanmar was once again making headlines as the coup d'état of 1 February 2021 triggered a steady deterioration of the political and economic situation in the country, potentially foreshadowing a humanitarian crisis with the rising risk of civil war. The unfolding disaster which challenges Myanmar's neighbours to respond to the bloodshed should not be left out of view when reflecting on preliminary conclusions of a project engaged with arenas of regional discontent. Nor should the Rakhine State crisis which had taken an unprecedented dimension at the time the CRISEA project took off in late 2017: the Rohingya mass flight in late 2017 led to unfathomable suffering due to the Tatmadaw's brutalities. Two years later, the widely held incriminations of ethnic cleansing and genocide led to a request by the International Criminal Court Prosecution for a pre-trial chamber authorizing an investigation into alleged crimes (July 2019). Myanmar's contentious issues were present in CRISEA workshop discussions, notably because contributing researchers from one of our partner institutions, the University of Mandalay, examined the country's place in ASEAN; several projects dealt directly or indirectly with the country's challenges; and Myanmar's problems, like any other country, are relevant for ASEAN's claims to possess centrality in representing and dealing with the region's issues. Moreover, CRISEA held one of its dissemination workshops at two locations in the country (Mandalay and Yangon) while two policy briefs and other research informed by CRISEA research engaged directly with Myanmar.

CRISEA research has contributed to an understanding of the country's weaknesses in several ways. When Soe Myint Aung and Kristian Stokke wrote about the dynamics and outcomes of democratization in the period before the 2021 coup d'état, they made clear that democratic participation was "hampered at all levels", public affairs "exempted from democratic control", and "political

representation ... unequal and weak".²¹ Stokke's analysis of the ethnic parties preparing ahead of the November 2020 elections gave an appreciation of their ongoing efforts at democratising the country's political life. Lasting improvements in civic education and civic awareness may play out beneficially in the aftermath of the coup. Nonetheless, the ethnic parties' disappointing results came as a surprise, yet with hindsight, the massive support for the NLD is best interpreted as creating a bulwark against the military.

Another weak point during the last decade was the country's human rights situation. Myanmar's National Human Rights Organization has been assessed by CRISEA's Marco Bunte as one of the weakest in SEA. Karen villages situated in the area of the "Salween Peace Park" (Mutraw district), studied by CRISEA's Beckenham and Farnan, were bombed at the end of March 2021; thousands of refugees fled to the border with Thailand. While years of ecological and conciliatory endeavours invested in this indigenous Peace Park project seem to get crushed, the outcome of a learning process of cooperative work and autonomous civil engagement is likely not lost neither for the present nor the future of the country.

Myanmar's international relations also give cause for concern. CRISEA's Pietrasiak analysed Russia's ambitions in SEA and her conclusions on sales of Russian military gear as a unidirectional entry point into ASEAN and a way to counterbalance China's regional predominance, got confirmation barely two months into the coup with the visit of Russia's Deputy Defence Minister Alexander Fomin in Myanmar and the signing of contracts to buy drones. While China's role as an all-weather friend of Myanmar and ill-tempered observer of the military says little about current neighbourly prospects, Dominik Mierzejewski's exploration of the role of Yunnan's government in China's ties with multi-ethnic Myanmar highlights the complexity of China's mix of soft-power and public diplomacy. Other CRISEA research like Bolotta's work on illegal Myanmar workers in Thai fisheries or the impact of Covid-19 at a moment when priorities of the masses backing the Civil Disobedience Movement have shifted is open-ended as the impact of the coup on the health situation is not yet clearly perceptible.

Other pressing questions relate to ASEAN's capacity of playing a central role in the current crisis. Thai political commentator Thitinan Pongsudhirak foresees no less than an "existential crisis for ASEAN" as the organization is divided between those who call for resolute action and those who stick with ASEAN's non-interference dogma.²² CRISEA's Shafiah Muhibat disagrees, but acknowledges "ASEAN's underwhelming response" which she attributes to "its decision-making process and institutional design".²³ Aye Aye Myat, Kyawt Kyawt Khine, Thida Tun, and Moe Ma Ma explained that for Myanmar's leaders ASEAN was a trusted and politically helpful organization when the country joined in 1997. As ASEAN stuck to its policy of non-interference, Myanmar got away lightly with Rohingyas fleeing from 2015 onwards, notably with their mass flight in 2017, as well as accusations of ethnic cleansing. In the medium term, the policy of non-interference might be unsustainable as it does not only taint ASEAN's credibility but hurts the region's own interests. The question to be asked is if Myanmar is a "geopolitical black swan" (Vatikiotis), being the Southeast Asian country who remains indefinitely entrapped in its cycles of violence, humiliated by its lack of social and economic progress and tied to the whims of a

²¹ Kristian Stokke and Soe Myint Aung, "Transition to Democracy or Hybrid Regime? The Dynamics and Outcomes of Democratization in Myanmar" *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 32, 2020, pp. 274–293. DOI: 10.1057/s41287-019-00247-x.

²² Thitinan Pongsudhirak, "Asean's Myanmar crisis out of control" *Bangkok Post*, 26 March 2021; <https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/2089727/aseans-myanmar-crisis-out-of-control>; Aye Aye Myat's case study presentation, "Southeast Asia Regionalism and Myanmar's Relations with ASEAN", CRISEA Final conference, 22 February 2021.

²³ Shafiah F. Muhibat, "Embracing Change to Stay Resilient", *ASEAN Focus* 36 (March 2021), p. 5.

military elite.²⁴ While CRISEA's research confirms the pertinence of this question, underscoring the weak and limited nature of Myanmar's social and political change in terms of resilient progress over the last decade, the current situation conclusively exposes Myanmar as a stumbling block for ASEAN's ambitions, be they political, economic or diplomatic.

B. Towards a political economy of equitable growth: the primacy of the state

Taking stock of the crisis of legitimacy of neoliberal globalization, CRISEA's research proposal asked the question if ASEAN-led regional integration was part of the problem or part of the solution. Rather than providing a straightforward answer, the project's research takes us towards a reformulation of the stakes and a reframing of the question. While CRISEA's macro-micro approach exposed the need to pay attention to processes at different levels of analysis, it redirected attention to the state's organizational role in defining policies at the intersection of bottom-up and top-down perspectives.

A key question raised by several CRISEA researchers was the issue of equitable prosperity and the role of the state in establishing conditions that both favour and hinder this goal. In this respect, the present section looks at the complementary insights of socio-economic approaches which underscore the challenges, goals as well as the demands on the SEA state in the quest for equitable prosperity.

CRISEA social and economic research shared a concern for understanding uneven development ('middle-income trap') and labour conditions. Some researchers examined the performance of government policies in implementing promises of domestic and regional development (Malaysia, Philippines) or reforms focusing on the transformation of state-owned enterprises (Vietnam). Others looked at the impact of China's elite-level diplomacy of cultivating state-state connections to carry out its investment policies in the region. Overall, CRISEA research results in a broad and nuanced picture highlighting the opportunities yielded by openness and reform, but also exposing weaknesses and failures of certain state policies. While the impact of forces of globalization is understood and criticised by researchers, attention is newly directed to a lack of actions and oversight at the domestic and regional level. Or to put it differently, the conclusion that emerges is the need for responsive, responsible, and well-informed states. Such a conclusion ties in with a growing understanding that ASEAN's achievement of resilience and cohesion will depend on the domestic responsiveness of its nation-states.

Nonetheless, it is the pandemic above all which has brought to the fore the leading role of the state, as CRISEA research underscores eloquently in several policy briefs on Vietnam and Cambodia. The impact of Covid-19 has indeed highlighted both the response and the capacities of individual states to counter the spread of the pandemic. Covid-19 has also put increased pressure on governments to counter the economic contraction caused in 2020.

Unlike in East Asia, the first generation of industrialization in Southeast Asia has not been followed by a more technology-intensive production with improved labour conditions. Rather the FDI-led industrialization model has strongly constrained industrial upgrading and the competitiveness of national productions. Foreign investors replicated their traditional supply chains within new industrial parks in host countries and a very limited involvement of local firms. What is described as "semi-proletarianization" (Masina, Đỗ Tá Khánh, et al.) is a process where national productions continue to rely on cheap labour, poor working conditions, and very limited workers' rights. Moreover, industrial employment did not result in a permanent movement to industrial centres but remained largely limited to a temporary phase of (mostly young female) workers life trajectory, as shown above.²⁵ This

²⁴ Michael Vatikiotis in *Asia Times*, 30 March 2021, https://asiatimes.com/2021/03/the-geopolitics-of-myanmars-black-swan-coup/?mc_cid=7045d92721&mc_eid=3dcb31a8fc.

²⁵ Further research focusing the trajectory of labour in the change of job structure from agriculture to non-agriculture and the sustainability of employment in the FDI sector was run by Đỗ Tá Khánh and Dang Thai Binh.

macro-perspective is complemented by bottom-up perspectives of migrant (or formerly migrant) labour. Studying post-conflict and pandemic contexts in Indonesia, Vignato and Tabacco describe “mostly seasonal employment” of women in low-technology industries, state actions of poverty relief (loans and aids) deemed as inadequate and traditional family structures (including child rearing) as a means of security.

Public dissatisfaction has generated increased pressure on the state. In Vietnam, state-owned enterprises were meant to take the lead in the accumulation of wealth and development, but bad debts, corruption, and the need of assuring sufficient capital have generated “strong pressure from within” (Knutsen) in the latest phase of SOE reform appealing for a greater role of the private sector and ‘more market’.

In the case of Malaysia (Devadason), CRISEA research shows that while the country’s industrial policies have driven successes in manufacturing, policy alignments with the needs of the labour market were lacking. Unskilled locals were relegated to contractual jobs with little entitlements as foreign migrant labour was drawn to insecure and exploitative jobs. Also, for highly developed Malaysia, Chandran demonstrates that the basic infrastructure development provided for regional economic corridors alone cannot prevent the middle-income trap. The state policy makers need to provide “adequate institutional support system to facilitate the industrial development process and transformation” and uplift firms’ level activities and capabilities.

Lanzona speaks to policy makers in the Philippines when he concludes that policies promoting remittances are not sustainable because they have not only weakened the trade and industrial sector, but also proven “detrimental to maximizing the gains from the country’s growth and demographic dividends”. Bolotta critically reviews the Thai state’s legal reforms in the country’s important seafood sector, examining the gap between ‘image’ and ‘reality’, formal policy advancements and the behind-the-scenes negotiations between migrant rights NGOs, fishing companies, and state officials. The contradictions of Vietnam’s agricultural policies raise questions of “what the so-called socialist market economy really is” (Hansen). As the government’s initiatives to scale up and mechanize agriculture attract domestic and international capital, the accumulation of private land causes worries that Vietnam could return to a situation of unequal land distribution.

CRISEA research on China’s engagement in Malaysia demonstrates the importance of state-state relations in China’s investment politics. China’s deployment of its State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) to pursue infrastructure projects and industrial investments has championed public-public partnerships at an elite political level and displaced the regional states’ close nexus with Multinational Companies (MNCs). Gomez’ research findings drawing on interdisciplinary perspectives display a potentially beneficial picture of China’s engagement with ties extending to privately-owned enterprises. The financing of research and development in expensive—and potentially risky—technologically-based industries and the creation of globally-based production networks fostering the rise of small and medium enterprises in SEA are such positive outcomes from state-state ties. Still, the increasing interdependence between China and Southeast Asian governments may in conclusion alert us to the primary responsibility of state governments and underscore the need of informed states.

This strand of CRISEA research highlights the central role played by state policies in shaping the economic arena where forces of integration impact on the region’s prosperity, and the way it is shared – equitably or otherwise – among its population. Whether those forces take the form of Southeast Asian firms, multinational companies, external states or the Covid-19 virus, the project’s findings reveal a balanced picture with potential benefits emerging from state-state ties with China, more contested outcomes generated by FDI-propelled industrialization, and responses to the pandemic that vary widely in their effectiveness from state to state.

C. State legitimacy and liberal values

As the SEA state may be called upon to become more responsive and responsible in social affairs and economic policies, it might actually become more assertive in very different ways. Though SEA states display sometimes surprisingly liberal streaks, CRISEA research on the contest between embattled liberal values and the state's claims of legitimacy points essentially into one direction, namely an authoritarian turn. However, as the balance of power tilts in favour of state authority rhetorically grounded in cultural references to time-honoured traditions, research projects also reveal ongoing tensions between rulers and ruled where processes remain open for negotiation and compromise.

Philippines President Duterte's populism marks a shocking break in the country's liberal tradition, demonstrating how Southeast Asia's highly personalized populism brought together very diverse groups by creating *internal* enemies (such as drug addicts). The turn towards a neo-traditionalist and absolutist mode of monarchical government under King Vajiralongkorn reflects a re-assertion of the military-monarchical state in Thailand. The process was legitimized by the alleged "purification of Buddhism" ahead of the recent royal coronation, representing an effort to restore institutional Buddhism to its historic role as a central pillar of political legitimation (Larsson). In the context of the recent rise of religious-nationalist mass movements in Theravada Buddhist countries, this move of the ruling Thai elite signals an anti-liberal trend to counter Buddhist modernist ideologies. The exception to an otherwise very diverse picture is Myanmar, as portrayed above, where a tutelary regime (Bünté) has been unseated by a ruthless military junta putting an end to the hybrid arrangements between civil and military actors.

Besides those spaces where liberal norms are clearly receding, other research recognizes local contexts where negotiation between the authorities and civil organizations pays off, or consensual societal practices overcome predominant state ideology. Tadié's study of the conflicted city demonstrates that formal and informal links between the people and the state authorities are constantly re-created around competing visions of the urban space. Another example is Hussin's examination of the state's politics of the supernatural in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The SEA state does not effectively monopolize rational approaches to manage publicly contested issues of an extraordinary nature or ascribed to the supernatural. Liberal activists may actually be more bound by rationality than state-supported arguments rooted in traditional norms. The Vietnamese state's acknowledgment of LGBT+ rights provides an example of negotiated ambivalence where recognition in global fora is ultimately not met by a full legal recognition (Phạm Quỳnh Phương). Despite this, an interplay between global and national forces has resulted in substantial progress for a previously unacknowledged minority. On the other hand, liberal principles may be challenged by civil groups, such as Islamists contesting the Pancasila principles in Indonesia. Even when ambivalent relational modes might prevail, the nature of a political regime does not make it potentially more liberal in its reactions to state protests, as Wischermann and Sirait explain in their comparison of Indonesia and Vietnam. Protest may be managed by both states in different ways, but there are "similarities if not sameness" as reactions are "intended to help maintain existing patterns of political, economic and socio-cultural domination".

State contestation does not arise in street protests alone. The legitimation of new elites in Laos by religious conversion or the appropriation of supernatural practices for the sake of warranting local power subverts the state's ideological hegemony (Bouté). Pholsena underscores how in an urban Lao border context, multi-ethnic conviviality and a learning process of shared memories and class atonement can belie the official discourse of a mono-cultural nation-state. What these cases show is that the contestation between the hegemonic state and civil society results in the carving out of autonomous civic spaces which do not undermine power relations but do implicitly question and eschew the state's hegemony. The conclusion here is that ASEAN integration (despite all these different regimes) is possible, but on terms that are likely to be less liberal and subject to influences that escape state control.

D. Lives and identities: integration in the non-state world

While CRISEA research sees integration as a contested field of regional policy and legal arrangements at the macro-level, it unpacks, at subregional and local levels, dynamics of getting together, acting together, and imagining commonality. Indonesian millennials testify to their awareness of geographical proximity and shared regional interests which also drive ASEAN's integration vision, though many of the benefits of the regional organization are still not visible to its citizens (Hendityo). Shared regional interests of a different sort underpin the integration of business relations and inter-ASEAN investments, illustrated in Hansen's project on Vietnam's livestock sector which points to its rapidly expanding poultry farming thanks to Thai investments.

CRISEA researchers working on "identity" went a step further with their focus on the complications of *alternative* identity formations. Their research draws on grass-roots perspectives and collective re-imaginings which take place below the radar of states, and often in reaction to national ideologies, state policies or regional frameworks. Such alternative identities suggest a deeper and more organic form of integration as the one formally inscribed in ASEAN's rhetoric. They also echo the autonomous and highly connected civic spaces mentioned above where the hegemony of the state is kept at bay.

Interdisciplinary research in the social sciences has long agreed on the fluidity of identities. In the context of Southeast Asia, the description of evolving socio-cultural environments in multi-ethnic societies has commonly pinned 'identity' to ethnicity. Yet CRISEA research highlights an array of other material, legal, historical, linguistic, and political factors to understand the emergence of alternative identities or the resilience of culturally rooted identities. It did so by focusing on the contexts of transnationalism, mass violence and generational shifts. Three conclusions arise from the bulk of this research. Alternative identities are shaped and transformed by frictions, confrontations, ruptures, and often brute violence. When conflict and rejection persist, identity and resistance will merge, as the generational transmission of Papua nationalism in Indonesia shows (Perkasa). Second, identities can alternately grow out of accommodation, cooperation, adaptation, and integration when people have learnt to live (and/or resist) together in urban and border contexts (Pholsena). A third conclusion is that identity formations and changes need to be studied on their own terms; they are not mechanic or predictable, but context-dependent. Paireudeau's deconstruction of the history of the Kola people is a case in point as she asks if "ethnic" is the proper term to be used. Significantly, she describes process of "shifting *migrant* identities down the generations".

The case of Myanmar's Rohingyas is inscribed in a comparable history of migrations but entangled in claims of indigeneity and a multi-layered history of Muslim settlements. Claims and counterclaims have become infinitely more politicized due to Myanmar's state ideology of ethnic legitimation and relentless state repression, but Rohingyas, too, should be studied with reference to a specific historical context (Leider). The case of the Taluku Karen in the border area of Thailand and Myanmar demonstrates the impact of political upheaval on the reconfiguration of religiously divided identities (Buadaeng) and illustrates, like Pholsena's study, processes of accommodation. The cultural perpetuation of the cross-border ethnic community of the Tai Lü is sustained by Buddhist practices (pilgrimage, construction of sanctuaries) and takes place in the margins of state control (and suspicion), while it illustrates the permeability of the China-Thailand-Myanmar border space (Dao and Grabowsky), and as stressed above, ethnic resilience.

Spanning the transregional spaces of Southeast Asia and southern China, the identity of Chinese of Southeast Asia docks to various points of reference, such as local integration, cultural background, interaction with majority societies, and state policies, which interact and vibrate together. Wong Tze Ken's study of the renewal of Chinese cultural pride manifested in Malaysia and Indonesia highlights the ongoing importance of Chinese dialects in the actualization of Chinese-ness. In Leow's study of the deportation of Chinese from Malaysia to China (1948-53), Chinese identity is plotted at the intersection

of the colonial state's arbitrary policies, gendered memories, familial divide, and jurisdictional challenges.

Intra-regional bonds are effectively created outside official ASEAN discourses of integration, as we observe in the networks created by Philippine Christian missionaries of various denominations active in Thailand: this may be a marginal religious phenomenon, but the religious imaginary of migrant missionaries fits a transnational pattern (Cornelio and Medina). What CRISEA research shows is thus a complex, multi-layered set of horizontal and vertical links across the region, which are doubtlessly impacted by state action, but do still largely evolve outside its immediate grip. However, while all these studies tell us about being and growing together locally and transnationally, they do not hail a cosmopolitan Southeast Asian melting pot. Aguilar's study of the presence of skilled Filipino labour in Singapore throughout several decades shows, as we have seen, that obtaining citizenship or residency does not alter their sense of belonging or cut them off from their Filipino origins.

Southeast Asian identities defined by events of mass violence, latent insecurity, or memories of past violence become socially integrated or may be passed over into silence, muted and likely unquestioned. Loyalty and feelings of security are social gains derived from wide-spread membership in Timor Leste's martial arts groups (Pawelz), collective group identity experienced by youth members of the Khmer Rouge (Grabowsky) and the confinement of violent memories of the Son Ha revolt (Vietnam) within intra-family transmission (Hardy) illustrate this particular nexus of identity and violence.

The entanglement of local interests, regional patterns and transregional claims can sometimes reach mind-boggling proportions, as Roszko's seminal work on Vietnamese coastal fishers underlines. Her research shows how, as they access illegally fishing grounds in the South China Sea, fishers do not only struggle with overfishing to obtain rare marine resources, but become, at the same time, "national actors" representing national claims within the greater geopolitical game of regional rivals. Their traditional lives seemingly at the limits of state control get now by force integrated by a straight-jacket of strategic state-state competition.

CRISEA research reveals contexts of regional identity building where transnational and intra-regional connectivity proceeds apace without reference to ASEAN rhetoric or nation-state framing and where a generational shift has been made from violent conflicts in the past to present commonalities which have processed the memory of such conflicts. In this sense, Myanmar is not an exception because recent events underline an increasing social sharing as already experienced by many Southeast Asia's citizens.

E. The centrality of environmental concerns

Environmental issues and issues of ecological governance are global, and this is well understood in Southeast Asian countries where environmental policies have been put into place, urban publics have gained increasing awareness and NGOs are actively engaged in conservation projects. Nonetheless, ASEAN and its states are performing unequally and below their potential, as questions raised by CRISEA researchers about the transition into a low-carbon economy and how to secure the commons show. Many gaps are revealed thanks to the methodological concept of "co-production" of environmental knowledge created by competing stakeholders at multiple levels. Following Jasanoff, CRISEA researchers on the environment focus on this issue of knowledge, agreeing that the way we want to govern our resources depends on how we represent the world we want to live in which derives from what we know. The bottom-line is not just the question if stakeholders are going to prioritize modernization or conservation, but rather how competing forms of integrating knowledge (enacted by a broad array of stakeholders, experts and institutional players) are generating particular outcomes.

What CRISEA research explored is the clash of the modernizing visions possessed by business conglomerates and states seeking to exploit the resources of rivers and the sea, on the one hand, and,

on the other, the interests of local communities (Arnez). Other research unravelled how regional organizations like the Mekong River Commission struggle to stay relevant in their hydropolitical confrontation with national interests and fail to balance competing ecological visions (Zaręba).

The inference is that water resource politics are not just about competing stakeholders, but fundamentally about different values associated with water and expressed in cultural practices (Middleton). Can sharing knowledge generate fruitful dialogue? This nexus is explicit in a study of global city networks sharing their experiences about environmentally relevant policies for urban contexts. The study makes clear that SEA cities still see themselves on the receiving side, learning from the West, rather than sharing their own experiences (Kamiński). Though energy resources nationalism does not predicate a rejection of transnational cooperation in the interest of ASEAN's increasing need for energy, regional cooperation has largely remained a rhetorical exercise while the adoption of energy-efficient technologies, another challenge, has been unevenly successful (Valente).

In the worldwide discussion on securing the commons, the centrality of environmental concerns seems obvious. Within the limited array of contexts studied by CRISEA, research results reveal an insufficiently exploited and undervalued potential for integrating regional efforts of transboundary governance. In the crucial transition towards a low carbon economy, CRISEA research shows the gap in both business culture and governance hampering the prospects for a regional alignment and integration of ASEAN's energy-hungry economies.

Given the current situation, dim prospects await an indigenous project of the Karen people in Myanmar, the Salween Peace Park. Situated along the border with Thailand, it has embodied ethnic endeavours to reconcile a locally resident population with a natural and hopefully conflict-free environment (Beckenham and Farnan). The shelling of the area by the Myanmar air force in March 2021 augurs badly for its future.

F. ASEAN and the urge for regional centrality

For over five decades, ASEAN has shielded the national and collective interests of its members states, pursued a rhetoric of regional integration focused on economic objectives and, more recently, invested in tools of political dialogue and exchange to demonstrate its relevance for the region as a whole. Acknowledging that ASEAN has not practiced or sought to practice the type of deep integration which the EU has followed, CRISEA researchers joined in a shared effort to explore ASEAN cooperation and centrality (Boisseau du Rocher). They show that joining ASEAN was an attractive option for Myanmar and served its needs well since 1997 (Aye Aye Myat et al.). And it remains attractive for a country like East Timor, a candidate (Seixas and Mendes). These are arguments in favour of ASEAN centrality, which should bolster ASEAN's pivotal position in Southeast Asian regional integration.

However, economic crises, environmental hazards, the rise of China and even conceptual change, such as the Indo-Pacific, have put pressure on ASEAN's claims to centrality and raised the question how it would adjust its mode of operations. Broadly speaking, CRISEA's research argues that ASEAN centrality is a road of opportunities if ASEAN can take the lead and deploy "agency". It demonstrates both the risks and the chances for ASEAN with new regional and trans-regional agreements (such as the RCEP) and facing an array of initiatives linked to China's OneBelt-OneRoad (Françoise Nicolas, Marisa Paderon). ASEAN has not only been a facilitator of dialogue, but also an integral part of agreement-making (as Muhibat's case study of ASEAN's partner Japan underscores).

To be sure, as CRISEA research shows, ASEAN as a group is also challenging for outsiders. Take Russia which struggles to build its own credentials as a big player in the region, or even China which must deploy an array of strategies such as consultative governance, cultivation of elites and support of frontier governance (Mierzejewski). These outside players present challenges to ASEAN too. But the

most pressing challenge comes perhaps from within: in the current situation of political anarchy in Myanmar, ASEAN's own credentials and claims to centrality are once again severely tested.

G. Conflicting integrations to integrating competitions

CRISEA set out to investigate the multiple and competing forces of integration such as China's hegemony, neoliberal forces, international organisations, information flows, regional crises and cooperation responding to shared threats. Its findings deliver a complex picture which confirms the economic, political and social challenges hypothesized by CRISEA's framework where integration depended on resolving conflicts.

Much of CRISEA's research is densely packed with meanings embedded in the project's title: competition and (often enforced) integration. But the research also contains a second set of meanings that run counter to that narrative. Indeed, some of the findings articulate a critique of the project's original assumptions. There are multiple forces of integration at work in the region, but not all of them compete. And when they do compete, that is not always detrimental to integration.

In many contexts, cooperation results from competition. Our research shows that China's multi-level strategy and economic interdependence are not just predatory but also offer opportunities. Shared concerns pull countries together at the elite political level. Resource nationalism does not preclude cooperation. CRISEA researchers take a mixed, but overall positive view of recent trade agreements. However, regional progress depends on progress at the state level and calls for responsive governance and informed responsible statecraft. Subregional forms of integration, transregional imaginings and transnational identities add to the multi-layered social and historical substance of what Southeast Asia is. They do also appear as reactions and antidotes to the state's ideologies and hegemonic tendencies which translate as threats to more liberal values.

In conclusion, the project results make a strong case for enhanced integration in the long-term. This integration will be driven by multiple forces that cooperate as much as they compete. Finally, with social media and global insecurity, there are forces at the grass-roots level that bring members of the younger generation in the region together. The young would rather side with the liberal than the authoritarian state. As we look on to political protests led by young people both in Thailand and Myanmar who talk to each other, we realize that the competing forces for the political direction of a country may not just play out within a single national arena but across borders and will therefore be of fundamental significance for the orientation of the region as a whole.

However, at the interstices, CRISEA projects do also point to contexts where ASEAN countries are muddling through in trying to cope with the requirements of international standards and entrenched practices of exploitation. Or, put it differently, they still lack determination to trust their own capacities and remain poorly invested in pursuing goals with a positive return for all. The states do not yet show the level of responsiveness that ASEAN's citizens might wish for in the near future.

Again, as this report is being written, the road leading down to civil war in Myanmar, with a level of violence on daily display in the news and not seen for decades in this region of the world, will likely produce some soul-searching among ASEAN's elites: not just questions about the aspirations of the rebelling citizens of Myanmar, but more generally about the regional (dis)order, the environmental conundrum, and the incumbent responsibilities of powerholders within the region. Clear answers will have to weed out polished, yet confused statements.

Part 5: Implications and Recommendations

Most of CRISEA's policy briefings (oral presentations) and policy briefs (policy briefings in written format) included policy implications and/or policy recommendations. Listing these recommendations individually would not be a meaningful exercise and attention is therefore directed towards the full list of briefs with their respective hyperlinks in appendix 1 below.

Recommendations typically support EU policies bolstering environmental preservation and the promotion of human rights. More broadly speaking, CRISEA policy briefs stress the need for the production of grounded knowledge which CRISEA researchers committed themselves to generate and deliver.

However, many presentations in the policy briefings provided, first and foremost, new knowledge and unique analytical work produced outside the flow of the daily news cycle. Rather than merely adding recommendations to otherwise well acknowledged issues, CRISEA researchers raised awareness and deepened understandings in innovative ways. Feedback gathered along CRISEA's track record of over three years strongly confirms this conclusion.

Policy briefs on Covid-19 in Southeast Asia have added to a rapidly growing literature worldwide on the impact of the pandemic. Those who focused on Vietnam were the outcome of intense collaborative local CRISEA work aiming at developing a unique multidisciplinary approach to the study of the pandemic. Other Covid-related policy briefs were remarkable as they tied into existing CRISEA research, further fleshing out conclusions emerging from ongoing studies, one notable example being the vicissitudes of China's entanglement with the region.

Appendix 1 CRISEA Publications

Working Papers

State of the Art & Theoretical Framework

Boisseau du Rocher, Sophie. "The ASEAN Conundrum: Facing Competing Regional Constructs". *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper* WP6 "The Region". <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/wp5.pdf>

Gomez, Terrence, Pietro Masina and Silvia Vignato. "Development and Transformation in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of Equitable Growth". *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper* WP 2 "The Economy". http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/CRISEA_WP2_The_Econ.pdf

Grabowsky, Volker, Jayeel Cornelio and Medelina Hendytio. "Shaping Alternative Identities in Southeast Asia: Youth, Violence, and Transnationalism". *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper* WP4 "Identity". <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/wp4.pdf>

Kamiński, Tomasz, et al. "Contested Knowledges of the Commons in Southeast Asia". *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper* WP2 "The Environment". <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/wp1.pdf>

WP3 Team Members (coordinated by Tomas Larsson). "Contesting the Liberal State in Southeast Asia". *State of the Art & Theoretical Framework, Working Paper* WP3 "The State". <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/wp3.pdf>

Empirical Research Case Studies

Boisseau du Rocher, Sophie. "Going Beyond Asean's Integration Narrative". *Empirical Research, Case Studies Results, Working Paper* WP6 "The Region", December 2019. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Del-6.2WP6.pdf>

Cerimele, Michela, Terrence Gomez and Pietro Masina. "Competing Models and Practices of Capitalism: Research results". *Empirical Research, Case Studies Results, Working Paper* WP3 "The Economy", January, 2021.

Grabowsky, Volker and Jayeel Cornelio. "Shaping Alternative Identities in Southeast Asia: Generations, Transnationalism, and Violence". *Empirical Research, Case Studies Results, Working Paper* WP5 "Identity", November 2019. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Del-5.2WP5.pdf>

Larsson, Tomas. "The State: Contesting the Liberal State". *Empirical Research, Case Studies Results, Working Paper* WP4 "The State", November 2019. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Del-4.2WP4.pdf>

Middleton, Carl et al. "Contested Knowledges of the Commons in Southeast Asia: Research Progress report - Vignettes from the Field". *Empirical Research Case Studies, Working Paper* WP2 "The Environment", March 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Del-2.2WP2.pdf>

Macro-Micro Dialogue Studies

Arnez, Monika. "'Flow of Sand': The macro-micro research dialogue in a documentary on environmental impacts and infrastructural politics in Malaysia". *Macro-Micro Dialogue Studies, Working Paper* WP2 "Environment", October 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Del-2.3-Working-Paper-Macro-micro-Dialogue-Studies.pdf>

Bouté, Vanina, and Rémy Madinier. "Questioning National Religious Compromises in Southeast Asia: Local Accommodations and Transnational Challenges in Laos and Indonesia". *Macro-Micro Dialogue*

Studies, Working Paper WP4 “The State”, June 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Del-4.3-Working-Paper-Macro-micro-dialogue-studies.pdf>

Gomez, Terrence Edmund and V.G.R. Chandran. “The Political Economy of Southeast Asia-China Investment Patterns”. *Macro-Micro Dialogue Studies, Working Paper* WP3 “Economy”, April 2021.

Tappe, Oliver. “Assessing the Micro-Macro Dimension of Integration/Disintegration Processes: The Case of Tin Mining in Laos”. *Macro-Micro Dialogue Studies, Working Paper* WP4 “Identity”, December 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Del-5.3-Working-Paper-Macro-Micro-Dialogue-Studies.pdf>

Valente, Andrea. “Energy security and cooperation in ASEAN: Resource nationalism and the need of a multi-level analysis”. *Macro-Micro Dialogue Studies, Working Paper* WP5 “Region”, February 2021.

Covid-19 related work

Grabowsky, Volker, and Pong Pheakdey Boramy. “The Covid-19 Pandemic and Cambodian Government Political Adaptation: Successes and Challenges.” *Working Paper* WP4 “Identity”, February 2021.

Policy Briefs

Arnez, Monika, and Tomasz Kamiński. “Strengthening Southeast Asia’s Resilience: the Role of City and Community Initiatives for Post-Pandemic Recovery”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, September 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Policy-brief-Covid-19-Arnez-and-Kaminski.pdf>

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Camroux, David. “Southeast Asia’s Political Leaders: Populists, Demagogues or Something Else?”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, March 2019. http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/CRISEA_POLICY_Brief_4_SEA_Political_Leaders_Populist_D_Camroux.pdf

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Devadason, Evelyn S. “Non-Tariff Measures in ASEAN: From Evidence to Policy”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, August 2019. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Del-7.4-3-policy-briefs-Economy.pdf>

Đỗ Tá Khánh, Arve Hansen and Sigrid Wertheim-Heck. “Governing Covid-19 in Vietnam: the Politics of Pandemic Control”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/PB2-VN-political-leadership-03.pdf>

Đỗ Tá Khánh, et al. “Vietnam’s Covid-19 Strategy: Political Mobilisation, Targeted Containment, Social Engagement and Control”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/PB1-VN-Covid-19-synthesis-08.pdf>

Frydenlund, Iselin. “Buddhist Justifications of Violence during the 2017 Rohingya Refugee Crisis”. *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, October 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Del-7.10-CRISEA-Policy-Brief-EU-3.pdf>

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Lubina, Michal. "Myanmar's Spring Revolution - A People's revolution". *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, April 2021.

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Middleton, Carl. "Reciprocal Transboundary Cooperation on the Lancang-Mekong River: Towards an Inclusive and Ecological Relationship." *CRISEA Policy Brief*, published by the Center for Social Development Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, 2018. [<https://www.csd-s-chula.org/publications/2018/10/28/policy-brief-reciprocal-transboundary-cooperation-on-the-lancang-mekong-river-towards-an-inclusive-and-ecological-relationship>] [Open access]

Mendoza, Ronald U. "The Duterte Administration on Year 3". *CRISEA European Policy Brief*, April 2019. http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/CRISEA_policy_brief_3_The_Duterte_Administration_on_Year_3_Ronald_Mendoza.pdf

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E-Newsletters

CRISEA E-newsletter 1 May 2018. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/CRISEA-1st-Newsletter.pdf>

CRISEA E-newsletter 2 November 2018. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/CRISEA-2nd-Newsletter.pdf>

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CRISEA E-newsletter 5 October 2020. <http://crisea.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/CRISEA-5th-Newsletter.pdf>

CRISEA E-newsletter 27 April 2021.

Special journal issues and themed publications (forthcoming)

WP2: The Environment

“Ecological knowledge co-production and the contested imaginaries of development in Southeast Asia”

Special Issue accepted by the Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography

Guest Editors: Carl Middleton (Center for Social Development Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University; Carl.Chulalongkorn@gmail.com), Robert A. Farnan (Department of Environment and Geography, University of York; bobby.farnan@york.ac.uk) and Sally Beckenham (Department of Environment & Geography, University of York, U.K.; sally.beckenham@york.ac.uk)

Proposed papers:

- “Southeast Asian cities as co-producers of ecological knowledge in Transnational Cities Networks” by Tomasz Kamiński
- “Constructing the South China Sea through state-led environmentalism: Geopolitical, geographical and sociotechnical imaginaries at the maritime frontier” by Edyta Roszko
- “Ecological knowledge co-production and contested imaginaries of coastal development at the Malacca Strait” by Monika Arnez
- “Transition and disruption of the power sector in Southeast Asia: Imaginaries of change, survival, and the co-production of knowledge” by Andrea Valente
- “The co-production of ecological knowledge, governance, and contested future imaginaries of the Mekong River” by Carl Middleton and Thianchai Surimas
- “Ecological knowledge co-production and the contested imaginaries of development over the Xayaburi dam in Laos” by Michał Zaręba
- “The politics of indigenous reterritorialization: Infrastructure development and ecological knowledge co-production in the Salween Peace Park, Myanmar” by Sally Beckenham and Robert Farnan
- “Ecological knowledge coproduction and geographical imaginaries of the colonial Karenni trans-Salween frontier (1880s–1910s)” by Amnuayvit Thitibordin

WP3: The Economy

“Ecological knowledge co-production and the contested imaginaries of development in Southeast Asia”

Proposal for a Special Issue in *European Journal of East Asian Studies*

Proposing Guest Editors: Silvia Vignato and Monika Arnez

Proposed papers:

- “Introductory remarks” by Silvia Vignato and Monika Arnez
- “Belonging and the senses: contestations over sea and land at Malacca's coastline” by Monika Arnez

- ““Invisible Worldings”: Image and Reality in the Thai Seafood Industry’s Humanitarian Engagements” by Giuseppe Bolotta
- “Orders of Feeling and Worlding Covid-19 Infrastructures in Kupang, Indonesia” by Thomas Stodulka
- “Dwelling and Being Safe in different Indonesian working sites: industrial Batam, Post-Industrial Indonesia and Rural East Java” by Giacomo Tabacco
- “The Conflicted City: NGOs and Globalized Urban Development Visions of Jakarta” by Jérôme Tadié
- “The Jakabaring Sport City in Palembang, Indonesia: A Worlding Site of Modernity, Urban Development and Competitiveness” by Friederike Trotier
- “Death on the gas scene: Worlding through the past and the future in an Indonesian Special Economic Zone (North Aceh)” by Silvia Vignato

WP4: The State

“States, Peoples, and the Politics of Difference in Southeast Asia”

Proposal for a Special Issue in *Modern Asian Studies*

Proposing Guest Editors: Tomas Larsson and Vatthana Pholsena

Proposed papers:

- “Politics of Recognition: The Struggle of the LGBT Movement in Vietnam” by Phuong Quynh Pham (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi)
- “When are the Lower Middle Classes Liberal, and When do They Support a Mass Murderer? Cultural Notes on Liberal Revolutionaries and Rodrigo Duterte’s Trolls” by Lisandro E. Claudio (Department of South & Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley)
- “Vanishing Populism in Indonesia” by Andreas Ufen (GIGA Institute for Asian Studies, Hamburg)
- “Jesuit Influence on Indonesia’s Pancasila Policy: Fantasy or Reality?” by Rémy Madinier (Institut d’Asie Orientale, CNRS, Lyon)
- “Buddhists, Multiculturalists, and Secularists: The New Politics of Religion in Thailand’s 2019 Election” by Tomas Larsson (St John’s College, Cambridge)

“Checks and Balances? Political Institutions and State Power in Southeast Asia”

Proposal for a Special Issue in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*

Proposing Guest Editors: Tomas Larsson & David Camroux

Proposed papers:

- “Autocratization through Judicial Review in Southeast Asia” by Eugénie Mérieau (Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore)
- “Tools of Constraint or Victims of Executive Aggrandisement? An Empirical Analysis of National Human Rights Institutions in Southeast Asia” by Marco Bünthe (Institute of Political Science, Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg)
- “It’s about Capitalism and the State in a Capitalist Society! Protest and State (Re-)Actions in Indonesia and Vietnam” by Jörg Wischermann (GIGA Institute for Asian Studies, Hamburg), Dang Thi Viet Phuong (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi), and George Martin Sirait (Department of Business Administration, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, Jakarta)

- “At the Margins of the Liberal State: Ethnic Political Representation Within Myanmar’s Tutelary Hybrid Regime” by Kristian Stokke (Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo)
- “Separation of Powers: Parliamentary Contention and Civil-Military Relations in Myanmar” by Soe Myint Aung (Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo)
- “ASEAN Membership: Minimum Checks, Maximum Balances” by David Camroux (Sciences Po, Paris & Vietnam National University, Hanoi)

WP5: The Identity

“Identity: Generations, Transnationalism, and Violence”

Proposing Guest Editors: Volker Grabowsky & Jayeel Cornelio

Proposal submitted to Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai

Year of Publication: 2022

Proposed papers:

- Module 1: Generations (4 chapters)
 - “Generational configuration to support ASEAN integration and identity: Indonesian perspective” by Medelina Hendytio (CSIS)
 - “Hakka dialect identity versus Chinese identity in the face of state policy in Malaysia” by Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya)
 - “Kula’s perceptions of who they were and how they have changed over time” by Natasha Pairaudeau (Cambridge University)
 - “Tin mining among Vietnamese laborers in Laos” by Oliver Tappe (ISEAS)
- Module 2: Transnationalism (7 chapters)
 - “Transnational indigenism in Southeast Asia” by Prasit Lepreecha (Chiang Mai University)
 - “Malayness, cultural performances, and reinvention of heritage in the Malay world” by Jan van der Putten and Alan Darmawan (University of Hamburg)
 - “Skilled migration, citizenship, and regional belonging in Southeast Asia” by Filomeno Aguilar, Jr (Ateneo de Manila University)
 - “Filipino Christianity in Bangkok” by Jayeel Cornelio and Erron Medina (Ateneo de Manila University)
 - “Karen conversion in the Thailand and Myanmar borderland” by Kwanchewan Buadaeng (Chiang Mai University)
 - “Buddhist pilgrimages in the Upper Mekong basin: Revival of Tai identities” by Volker Grabowsky and Sirui Dao (University of Hamburg)
 - “Death of the King: Memory, Identity and Belonging among the Tai Lü of Sipsòng Panna” by (Roger Casas Academy of Sciences, University of Vienna)
- Module 3: Violence (6 chapters)
 - “Youth and violence in Papua” by Vidhyandika Perkasa (CSIS)
 - “Anti-criminality and democracy in Southeast Asia” by Erron Medina and Bianca Franco (Ateneo de Manila University)
 - “Democratic Kampuchea’s Revolutionary Terror in the 1970s: The Role of the Cambodian Youth in Mass Violence” by Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg)
 - “Violence and Belonging - Conflict, War, and Insecurity in Arakan, 1942-52” by Jacques Leider (EFEO)

- “Youth, violence, and identities of insecurity in Timor Leste” by Janina Pawelz (GIGA, Hamburg)
- “Mass violence and regime change in the Vietnamese highlands” by Đào Thế Đức and Andrew Hardy (EFEO)

WP6: The Region

Special journal proposal forthcoming (Sophie Boisseau du Rocher).

Articles and Papers (open access)

- Arnez, Monika. "Reclaiming the Sea from the Melaka Gateway." [Online] *New Mandala*, 2020. [<https://www.newmandala.org/reclaiming-the-sea-from-the-melaka-gateway/>]
- Bolotta, Giuseppe. "'God's Beloved Sons': Religion, Attachment, and Children's Self-Formation in the Slums of Bangkok." *Antropologia*, (Special Focus: Independent Children and their Fields of Relatedness, edited by Giuseppe Bolotta, and Silvia Vignato), Vol. 4, No. 2, 2017, pp. 95–120. [<https://www.ledijournals.com/ojs/index.php/antropologia/article/view/1290>]
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Lanzona, Leonardo Jr. A. "Human Capital Loss and Socio-Economic Reintegration of Households Victims in a War on Drugs Approach to Drugs Policy in The Philippines." [forthcoming article]

Lanzona, Leonardo Jr. A. "The Impact of Remittances on Philippine Development: Panel Data Fixed Effects Estimates." *Review of Development Economics*. [forthcoming article]

Phạm Quỳnh Phương. *Bước về phía cầu vồng: Sự trỗi dậy của phong trào LGBTQ ở Việt Nam đương đại* [Heading to the rainbow; the rise of LGBTQ movement in contemporary Vietnam]. [forthcoming book publication, in Vietnamese]

- Stokke, Kristian, (in collaboration with Nang K. L. Nge, Klo Kwe Moo Kham, and Silje Hvilsom Kvanvik). "Hybrid Peace in a Hybrid Regime: Military-led Illiberal Peacebuilding and Hybridization of Peace in Myanmar." *Political Geography*. [forthcoming article]
- Thitibordin, Amnuayvvit. "Teak: From Export Commodity to Nature Conservancy in Thailand," unpublished paper submitted for the book project *Natural Heritage in Southeast Asia: Law, Power and Identity*.
- Tze-Ken, Danny Wong. "Repatriation of Malayan Chinese to China during the Emergency: A Neglected Chapter in Malaysian History." [ms.; forthcoming article]

Appendix 2 CRISEA Web-documentaries

Web documentaries were uploaded on <http://crisea.eu/publications/crisea-web-documentaries/> ; they are also accessible on YouTube by weblinks indicated below.

WP2 Environment	<p>“Flow of Sand” by <i>Monika Arnez</i></p> <p>Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jxqb_r9j7tQ</p>
WP2 Economy	<p>“Aceh, After” by Silvia Vignato and Giacomo Tabacco</p> <p>Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SR89korhLwQ</p>
WP3 State	<p>“Chinese Go Home” by <i>Rachel Leow</i></p> <p>Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nw6sRY7gRI ; https://tinyurl.com/chinesegohome</p>
WP4 Identity	<p>“Malay Identity on Stage” by Jan van der Putten and Alan Darmavan</p> <p>Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9w7DKVTuNU ; https://youtu.be/dYuovF4U0pU</p>
WP5 Region	<p>“Competing ASEAN: competing perceptions on regional integration” by <i>Sophie Boisseau</i> and <i>Nattanan Kumanas</i></p> <p>Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mdALXXDgxLw</p>
Book Discussion <u><i>China in Malaysia: State-Business Relations and the New Order of Investment Flows</i></u>	<p>Recording of E. Terrence Gomez’ book presentation <i>China in Malaysia</i> (https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-981-15-5333-2) with the active participation of the Head of the EU Delegation in Malaysia discussing themes at the heart of CRISEA WP2 on the economy (5 March 2021). https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ciyMFKtWQ9jz7qiLlfMuQi8JkJAkTI7/view?usp=sharing)</p>

Appendix 3 CRISEA Research Workshops: programmes

Kick-off Meeting (1-3 December 2017, Chiang Mai)

Day 1: Friday 1 December 2017

Venue: EFEO Chiang Mai

19.30	RECEPTION at the EFEO Center
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Day 2: Saturday 2 December 2017

Venue: EFEO Chiang Mai

9.00 – 9.15	COFFEE
9.15 – 9.45	WELCOME WORDS: Presentation of meeting program & history of the project Yves Goudineau, CRISEA Coordinator Jacques Leider, CRISEA Scientific Coordinator David Camroux, CRISEA Dissemination Coordinator Andrew Hardy, CRISEA Advisor
9.45 – 10.20	INDIVIDUAL INTRODUCTIONS (tour de table)
10.20 – 10.50	COFFEE
10.50 – 11.10	CRISEA THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, METHODOLOGY AND TRANSVERSAL THEMES Jacques Leider, David Camroux, Andrew Hardy, and Silvia Vignato
	RESEARCH WORK PACKAGE PRESENTATIONS by WP Leaders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chayan Vaddhanaphuti & Tomasz Kamiński: WP2 The Environment • Terrence Gomez & Pietro Masina: WP2 The Economy • Tomas Larsson & Phạm Quỳnh Phương : WP3 The State • Volker Grabowsky & Jayeel Cornelio: WP4 Identity • Sophie Boisseau du Rocher & Moe Ma Ma: WP5 The Region
12.10 – 12.40	QUESTIONS
12.40 – 14.00	LUNCH at EFEO Centre
14.00 – 14.20	PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECT'S SCHEDULE FOR EVENTS & DELIVERABLES Elisabeth Lacroix
14.20 – 14.40	PRESENTATION OF EXPECTED PROJECT IMPACT AND PUBLICATIONS
14.40 – 15.10	QUESTIONS
15.10 – 15.40	COFFEE
15.40 – 16.10	PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECT'S DISSEMINATION PLAN IN SEA AND BRUSSELS David Camroux, Jacques Leider, and Yves Goudineau
16.10 – 17.00	GENERAL DISCUSSION and CLOSING WORDS

19.30	DINNER at Ban Hom Mai restaurant
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Day 3: Sunday 3 December 2017

Venue: EFEO Chiang Mai

9.00 – 9.15	COFFEE
9.15 – 10.00	H2020 RULES Elisabeth Lacroix
11.00 – 11.40	PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECT'S COMMUNICATION PLAN Medelina Kusharwanti Hendytio, Leader of WP6 Christine Thin, Responsible for dissemination Silvia Vignato, Film Advisor
11.40 – 12.40	RESEARCH WORK PACKAGE MEETINGS (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentations of individual projects within the WP
12.40 – 14.00	LUNCH at the EFEO Centre
14.00 – 15.15	RESEARCH WORK PACKAGE MEETINGS (2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentations of individual projects within the WP
15.15 – 15.45	COFFEE
15.45 – 16.45	PLENARY FEEDBACK SESSION, led by WP Leaders
16.45 – 17.30	GENERAL DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

CRISEA Coordination:

- Prof. Yves Goudineau, CRISEA Project Coordinator
- Dr Jacques Leider, CRISEA Scientific Coordinator
- Dr David Camroux, CRISEA Dissemination Coordinator
- Prof. Andrew Hardy, CRISEA Advisor
- Ms Elisabeth Lacroix, CRISEA Project Manager

CRISEA Participants:

- EFEO Representatives (France)
 - Dr Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI)
 - Dr Vanina Bouté, CASE-CNRS
 - Dr Vatthana Pholsena, CASE-CNRS
 - Dr Jérôme Tadié, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)
- University of Hamburg Representatives (Germany)
 - Dr Monika Arnez, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Prof. Volker Grabowsky, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Dr Janina Pawels, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)
 - Dr Oliver Tappe, University of Cologne
 - Dr Andreas Ufen, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)
 - Prof. Jan van der Putten, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Dr Joerg Wischermann, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

- University of Naples "L'Orientale" Representatives (Italy)
 - Dr Michela Cerimele
 - Dr Pietro Masina
 - Dr Antonia Soriente
 - Prof. Silvia Vignato, University of Milano-Bicocca
- Institute of Social and Political Sciences Representatives (Portugal)
 - Dr Nuno Canas Mendes
 - Prof. Paulo Seixas
- University of Lodz Representatives (Poland)
 - Dr Tomasz Kamiński, Department of East Asian Studies
 - Prof. Malgorzata Pietrasiak, Department of East Asian Studies
 - Prof. Dominik Mierzejewski, Department of East Asian Studies
 - Dr Michal Zaręba, Department of East Asian Studies
- University of Oslo Representatives (Norway)
 - Dr Arve Hansen, Center for Development and the Environment
 - Prof. Hege Merete Knutsen, Department of Sociology and Human Geography
 - Prof. Kristian Stokke, Department of Sociology and Human Geography
- University of Cambridge Representatives (UK)
 - Dr Tomas Larsson, Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS)
 - Dr Rachel Leow, Faculty of History
 - Dr Natasha Pairaudeau, Faculty of History
- Chiang Mai University Representatives (Thailand)
 - Dr Anthony Amnuayvit, independent researcher
 - Dr Kwancheewan Buadaeng, Department of Sociology and Anthropology
 - Dr Prasit Leepreecha, Center for Ethnic Studies and Development
 - Prof. Carl Middleton, Chulalongkorn University
 - Dr Manoj Potapohn, Faculty of Economics, CMU
 - Prof. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Director of Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD)
- The Centre for Strategic and International Studies Representatives (Indonesia)
 - Dr Medelina Kusharwanti Hendytio, Department of Politics and International Relations
 - Dr Christine Thin
- Ateneo de Manila University Representatives (The Philippines)
 - Dr Jayeel Cornelio, Director of the Development Studies Program
- University of Malaya Representatives (Malaysia)
 - Prof. Terrence Gomez, Faculty of Economics and Administration
- Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences Representatives (Vietnam)
 - Dr Đỗ Tá Khánh, Institute for European Studies, VASS
 - Dr Phạm Quỳnh Phương, Head of Department of Contemporary Culture Studies, VASS
- Mandalay University Representatives (Myanmar)
 - Prof. Moe Ma Ma, Department of International Relations
 - Dr Aye Aye Myat, Department of International Relations

1st Research Workshop (28-30 March 2018 Hanoi, Vietnam)

Day 1: Wednesday 28 March 2018

Venue: EFEO Centre (5a Xóm Hạ Hồi, Hoàn Kiếm, Hanoi)

17.00 – 18.00	Steering Committee Meeting
18.30	Dinner for all workshop participants

Day 2: Thursday 29 March 2018

Venue: VASS Tower B (1 Liễu Giai, Ba Đình, Hanoi)

8.15	Minibus departs from the hotel
9.00 – 9.15	WELCOME (room A) Đặng Nguyễn Anh, Vice-President of VASS Yves Goudineau, CRISEA Coordinator
9.15 – 10.00	UPDATE ON PROJECT & PRESENTATION OF WORKSHOP PROGRAMME Jacques Leider, CRISEA Scientific Coordinator Elisabeth Lacroix, CRISEA Project Manager
10.00 – 11.00	TRANSVERSAL THEME: Gender Silvia Vignato
11.00 – 11.30	COFFEE BREAK
11.30 – 12.30	TRANSVERSAL THEME: Seminars on Gender, Migration, Security <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gender (room B), seminar led by Silvia Vignato• Migration (room C), seminar led by Andrew Hardy• Security (room D), seminar led by David Camroux
12.30 – 14.00	LUNCH at Hoa Ban Restaurant (at the garden beside VASS Tower A)
14.00 – 16.00	MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS WP Leader presents the WP's common theoretical framework Presentations of individual researchers' projects within the WP (I) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• WP 1 Environment (room C)• WP 2 Economy (room A)• WP 3 State (room E)• WP 4 Identity (room B)• WP 5 The Region (room D)
16.30 – 17.00	COFFEE BREAK
17.00	Minibus departs from VASS Tower B
18.00	PUBLIC LECTURE: "Southeast Asia: 'Integration' at the Grassroots" Round-table led by Andrew Hardy (French Institute, 24 Tràng Tiền, Hanoi)
20.15	DINNER, Au Lac House Restaurant (13 Trần Hưng Đạo, Hanoi)

Day 3: Friday 30 March 2018

Venue: VASS Tower B (1 Liễu Giai, Ba Đình, Hanoi)

8.15	Minibus departs from the hotel
9.00 – 9.15	COFFEE
9.00 – 9.15	MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS
9.15 – 10.45	Presentations of individual projects within the WP (II) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• WP 1 Environment (room C)• WP 2 Economy (room A)• WP 3 State (room E)• WP 4 Identity (room B)• WP 5 The Region (room D)
10.45 – 11.00	COFFEE BREAK
11.00 – 12.00	MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS
	Further discussion
	Conclusion by WP Leader
12.00 – 13.30	LUNCH at Hoa Ban Restaurant (at the garden beside VASS Tower A)
13.30 – 15.30	PLENARY FEEDBACK SESSION (WP Leaders' reports; discussion of micro-macro approaches; documentary films (room A))
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jacques Leider, CRISEA Scientific Coordinator• WP 1 – Chayan Vaddhanaphuti & Tomasz Kamiński• WP 2 – Terrence Gomez & Pietro Masina• WP 3 – Tomas Larsson & Phạm Quỳnh Phương• WP 4 – Volker Grabowsky & Jayeel Cornelio• WP 5 – Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Natthanan Kunnamas & Moe Ma Ma
15.30 – 16.00	COFFEE
16.00 – 17.15	MANAGEMENT ISSUES (Data Management Plan, deliverables, ethics requirements) Jacques Leider, CRISEA Scientific Coordinator Elisabeth Lacroix, CRISEA Project Manager
17.15 – 17.30	CONCLUSION Yves Goudineau, CRISEA Coordinator

2nd Research Workshop (WP3) (16-18 April 2019, St John's College, Cambridge)

Day 1: Tuesday 16 April 2019

Venue: Hall, St John's College

18:45	WELCOME RECEPTION
19:30	DINNER for all workshop participants

Day 2: Wednesday 17 April 2019

Venue: Lightfoot Room, Old Divinity School, St John's College

9:00	WELCOME, UPDATE, AND WORKSHOP AGENDA Tomas Larsson Phạm Quỳnh Phương
9:30	MODULE 1: Popular and populist challenges to the liberal state in Southeast Asia
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers Andreas Ufen Vatthana Pholsena
10:30	COFFEE
11:00	MODULE 1 (continued)
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers Lisandro Claudio Rachel Leow
12:30	LUNCH
13:30	MODULE 4: Institutions and the Challenge to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers Eugénie Mérieau Marco Bünthe David Camroux
15:30	COFFEE
16:00	MODULE 2: Religious Challenges to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers [Vanina Bouté] [Rémy Madinier] Iza Hussin Tomas Larsson
17:30	BREAK
19:00	DINNER, Luk Thai at The Cricketer

Day 3: Thursday 18 April

Venue: Lightfoot Room, Old Divinity School, St John's College

9:00	MODULE 3: Regimes and the Challenge to the Liberal State in Southeast Asia
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers Kristian Stokke and Soe Myint Aung Marco Bünte Jörg Wischermann
10:30	COFFEE
11:00	MODULE 3 (continued)
	Presentation and discussion of draft papers Phạm Quỳnh Phương Jérôme Tadié
12:30	LUNCH
13:30	PLENARY SESSION: discussion and feedback
	Documentary film – Rachel Leow Working papers 2 & 3 – Tomas Larsson Publication strategies Dissemination
15:30	COFFEE
16:00	CONCLUSION Tomas Larsson Jacques Leider
16:30	END OF WORKSHOP

2nd Research Workshop (WP2, WP2, WP4, WP5) (24-25 May 2019, Procida, Naples, Italy)

Day 1: Friday 24 May 2019

Venue: Summer Schools Centre, Terra Murata, Procida

13.30 – 14.30	BUFFET LUNCH
14.30 – 14.45	WELCOME Elda Morlicchio, Rector of University of Naples l’Orientale Yves Goudineau, CRISEA Coordinator
15.30 – 15.50	WEBSITE/E-NEWSLETTERS Medelina Hendityo, Leader of WP7
15.50 – 16.20	COFFEE
16.20 – 18.30	MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS (I)
	Introduction by WP Leader

	Presentations of individual researchers' fieldwork and preliminary research findings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WP 1 The Environment • WP 2 The Economy • WP 3 The State • WP 4 Identity • WP 5 The Region
18.30 – 18.45	CONCLUSION Jacques Leider
20.30	DINNER

Day 2: Saturday 25 May 2019

Venue: Summer Schools Centre, Terra Murata, Procida

9.00 – 11.00	MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS (II)
	Presentations of individual researchers' fieldwork and preliminary research findings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WP 1 The Environment • WP 2 The Economy • WP 3 The State • WP 4 Identity • WP 5 The Region
	CONCLUSION by WP Leader
11.00 – 11.30	COFFEE
11.30 – 13.30	PLENARY FEEDBACK SESSION: WP LEADERS' REPORTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WP 1 – Tomasz Kamiński & Carl Middleton • WP 2 – Terrence Gomez & Pietro Masina • WP 3 – Tomas Larsson • WP 4 – Jayeel Cornelio & Jan van der Putten • WP 5 – Sophie Boisseau du Rocher
13.30 – 14.30	BUFFET LUNCH
14.30 – 15.30	TRANSVERSAL THEME: 'Security' by David Camroux Chair: Silvia Vignato Discussants: Tomas Larsson, Natasha Pairaudeau
15.30 – 16.10	WEB-DOCUMENTARIES Silvia Vignato Jan van der Putten (WP4)
16.10 – 16.40	COFFEE
16.40 – 17.00	CONCLUSION

	Yves Goudineau Jacques Leider
17.00 – 18.30	STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

List of Participants:

- EFEO Representatives (France)
 - Yves Goudineau, Coordinator
 - Jacques Leider, Scientific Coordinator
 - Andrew Hardy, Special Advisor
 - Elisabeth Lacroix, Project Manager
 - Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI)
 - Vanina Bouté, CASE-CNRS
 - David Camroux, Sciences Po
 - Rémy Madinier, CASE-CNRS
- University of Hamburg Representatives (Germany)
 - Ramayda Akmal, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Alan Darmawan, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Soleman Karmani, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Janina Pawelz, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)
 - Jan van der Putten, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Dao Sirui, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
 - Roberta Zollo, Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI)
- University of Naples "L'Orientale" Representatives (Italy)
 - Dennis Arnold, University of Amsterdam
 - Pietro Masina, Department of Human and Social Sciences
 - Antonia Soriente, Department of Asian, African and Mediterranean Studies
 - Giacomo Tabacco, University of Milano-Bicocca
 - Silvia Vignato, University of Milano-Bicocca
- Institute of Social and Political Sciences Representatives (Portugal)
 - Nuno Canas Mendes, ISCSP, Center of Administration and Public Policies
 - Nadine Lobner, ISCSP, Center of Administration and Public Policies
 - Paulo Seixas, ISCSP, Center of Administration and Public Policies
 - Andrea Valente, ISCSP, Center of Administration and Public Policies
 - Lunting Wu, ISCSP, Center of Administration and Public Policies
- University of Lodz Representatives (Poland)
 - Tomasz Kamiński, Department of East Asian Studies
 - Dominik Mierzejewski, Department of East Asian Studies
 - Michal Zareba, Department of East Asian Studies
- University of Oslo Representatives (Norway)
 - Arve Hansen, Center for Development and the Environment
 - Hege Merete Knutsen, Department of Sociology and Human Geography
- University of Cambridge Representatives (UK)
 - Tomas Larsson, Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS)
 - Natasha Pairaudeau, Bye Fellow, Murray Edwards College
- Chiang Mai University Representatives (Thailand)
 - Robert Farnan, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University

- Carl Middleton, Chulalongkorn University
- Manoj Potapohn, Faculty of Economics, Chiang Mai University
- The Centre for Strategic and International Studies Representatives (Indonesia)
 - Medelina Kusharwanti Hendytio, Department of Politics and International Relations
 - Perkasa Vidhyandika, Department of Politics and Social Change
- Ateneo de Manila University Representatives (The Philippines)
 - Jayeel Cornelio, The Development Studies Program
 - Leonardo A Lanzona, Department of Economics
 - Marissa Maricosa Paderon, Department of Economics
- University of Malaya Representatives (Malaysia)
 - Evelyn Devadason, Department of Economics
 - Terrence Gomez, Faculty of Economics and Administration
- Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences Representatives (Vietnam)
 - Đỗ Tá Khánh, Institute for European Studies, VASS
 - Nguyen An Ha, Institute for European Studies, VASS
 - Phạm Anh Tuấn, Institute of World Economics and Politics, VASS

3rd Research Workshop 5-7 February 2020, Chiang Mai, Thailand)

Day 1: Wednesday 5 February 2020

Venue: EFEO, Chiang Mai

17.00 – 18.30	STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
18:30	RECEPTION-DINNER at the EFEO Center

Day 2: Thursday 6 February 2020

Venue: Chiang Mai University

8.15	Minibuses depart from Chiang Mai Plaza Hotel (meeting in the lobby)
9.00 – 9.15	WELCOME by CMU & EFEO
9.15 – 10.45	PROJECT MANAGEMENT TEAM SESSION Andrew Hardy, Jacques Leider, Elisabeth Lacroix and Medelina Hendytio <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project schedule • Deliverables • Data Management Plan • Website • Publications
10.45 – 11.05	COFFEE
11.05 – 12.35	WP LEADERS' SESSION: Macro-Micro Presentations Chair: Jacques Leider, CRISEA scientific coordinator <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WP2 The Environment: Tomasz Kamiński & Carl Middleton • WP2 The Economy: Terrence Gomez & Pietro Masina • WP3 The State: Tomas Larsson & Phạm Quỳnh Phương • WP4 Identity: Volker Grabowsky & Jayeel Cornelio

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WP5 The Region : Sophie Boisseau du Rocher
12.35 – 14.00	BUFFET LUNCH
14.00 – 15.45	WEB-DOCUMENTARIES (I) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction by Silvia Vignato • Film 1 • Film 2 • Film 3 • Film 4
15.45 – 16.00	COFFEE
16.00 – 17.00	WEB-DOCUMENTARIES (II) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Film 5
17.00 – 17.30	GENERAL DISCUSSION Moderator: Silvia Vignato
18.00	Minibuses depart

Day 3: Friday 7 February 2020

Venue: EFEO, Chiang Mai

9.00 – 9.20	COFFEE
9.20 – 12.30	SEPARATE MEETINGS OF 5 INDIVIDUAL WORK PACKAGE TEAMS (I) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction by each WP Leader • Presentations of individual researchers' fieldwork and final research findings
12.30 – 14.00	BUFFET LUNCH
14.00 – 17.30	SEPARATE MEETINGS OF INDIVIDUAL/JOINT WORK PACKAGE TEAMS (II) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be organized by WP leaders • Open discussions on overlapping research topics • Open discussions on cross-WP publication coordination
17.30 – 18.15	CONCLUSION
	Closing Plenary Session in the Library

Final Conference: The Project and its Findings (22 February 2021)

Day: 22 February 2021 (17.00-19.10 (Jakarta time))

Venue: (virtual workshop)

17.03	PROJECT SYNTHESIS
	The Project's Challenge Yves Goudineau, EFEO (CRISEA's first overall Coordinator)

	<p>Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia: The Project and its Findings</p> <p>Jacques Leider, EFEO (CRISEA Scientific Coordinator)</p>
17.26	RESEARCH FINDINGS: CASE STUDIES
	<p>Southeast Asia and China: Transnational Water Issues on the Mekong</p> <p>Carl Middleton, Chulalongkorn University (Environment – WP2)</p>
	<p>The Impact of Covid-19 on Special Economic Zones in Southeast Asia</p> <p>Dennis Arnold, University of Amsterdam (The Economy – WP2)</p>
	<p>State-Society Relations and the Rise of the LGBT Movement in Vietnam</p> <p>Phạm Quỳnh Phương, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (The State – WP3)</p>
	<p>Christianity and the War on Drugs in the Philippines</p> <p>Jayeel Cornelio, Ateneo de Manila University (Identity – WP4)</p>
	<p>Southeast Asia Regionalism and Myanmar’s Relations with ASEAN</p> <p>Aye Aye Myat, University of Mandalay (The Region – WP5)</p>
18.16	RESEARCH FINDINGS: WEB DOCUMENTARIES
	<p>Presentation</p> <p>Silvia Vignato, Università di Milano-Bicocca</p>
	<p>Extraordinary Passages: Deportations of Chinese from Southeast Asia to China</p> <p>Rachel Leow, University of Cambridge</p>
18.28	COMMENTS
	<p>Research Results and Networking</p> <p>Michael Montesano, ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore</p>
	<p>Dissemination and Dialogue with Policy Makers</p> <p>Terrence Gomez, University of Malaya</p>
18.48	CONCLUDING REMARKS
	<p>Medelina Hendytio, CSIS, Indonesia (Leader of Work Package 6 – Dissemination)</p> <p>Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Institut français des relations internationales (Leader of WP5 – The Region)</p> <p>Volker Grabowsky, University of Hamburg (Leader of WP4 – Identity)</p> <p>Tomas Larsson, University of Cambridge (Leader of WP3 – The State)</p> <p>Pietro Masina, University of Naples L’Orientale (Leader of WP2 – The Economy)</p> <p>Tomasz Kamiński, University of Lodz (Leader of WP2 – The Environment)</p>
19.00	CLOSING KEYNOTE: “Alternate Futures for Southeast Asian Regionalism”

	Amitav Acharya, American University, Washington D.C (the Chair of CRISEA's Academic Advisory Board)
19.10	END OF THE CONFERENCE

Appendix 4 CRISEA Dissemination Workshops: programmes

1st Dissemination Workshop (14-15 February 2019, Manila)

Day 1: 14 February 2019



MORNING SESSION (10.00-12.00)

SHAPING SOUTHEAST ASIAN IDENTITIES: A closed-door session with the EU Delegation in the Philippines

European Union Delegation Office, Makati City

10.00-10.10	INTRODUCTION Volker Grabowsky and Jayeel Cornelio
10.10-10.30	China, the Chinese, and changing geopolitics in Southeast Asia Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya)
10.30-10.50	Violence and Identity in Southeast Asia Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg)
10.50-11.00	BREAK
11.00-11.20	Is There a Southeast Asian Form of Populism? David Camroux (Sciences Po)
11.20-11.40	Duterte and the Future of Philippine Politics Ronald Mendoza (Ateneo de Manila University)

11.40-12.00	OPEN FORUM
12.00	LUNCH
10.00-10.10	INTRODUCTION Volker Grabowsky and Jayeel Cornelio
10.10-10.30	China, the Chinese, and changing geopolitics in Southeast Asia Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya)

AFTERNOON-EVENING (14.00-19.00)

Cultural Tour / Dinner / WP Meeting

City of Manila

Day 2: 15 February 2019

MORNING SESSION (09.00-11.00)

NEW GEOPOLITICS, POPULISM, AND VIOLENCE: Roundtable discussion on contemporary issues in Southeast Asia

Facebook Philippines Representative Office, Bonifacio Global City, Taguig City

Co-hosted by the Development Studies Program of the Ateneo de Manila University, the Public Policy Team of Facebook Philippines, and Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia (CRISEA)

09.00-09.05	INTRODUCTION Clare Amador (Facebook Public Policy), Volker Grabowsky, and Jayeel Cornelio
09.05-09.20	China, the Chinese, and changing geopolitics in Southeast Asia Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya)
09.20-09.35	Violence and Identity in Southeast Asia Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg)
09.35-09.45	BREAK
09.45-10.00	Is There a Southeast Asian Form of Populism? David Camroux (Sciences Po, Paris)
11.00	LUNCH
10.00-10.15	Christianity and the War on Drugs Jayeel Cornelio and Erron C. Medina (Development Studies Program, Ateneo de Manila)
10.15-10.30	Duterte and the Future of Philippine Politics Lisandro Claudio (De La Salle University / Ateneo de Manila University)
10.30-11.00	OPEN FORUM

11.00	LUNCH
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AFTERNOON SESSION (13.30-18.45)

CONTEMPORARY IDENTITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A public forum on youth, violence, and transnationalism

Dean's Conference Room, Leong Hall, Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City

Competing Regional Integrations in Southeast Asia (CRISEA) in partnership with the Philippine Sociological Society and the Development Studies Program of the Ateneo de Manila University

13.30-13.40	WELCOME ADDRESS Dean Fernando Aldaba (School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila) WORKSHOP OVERVIEW Volker Grabowsky and Jayeel Cornelio Leaders, Work Package 5 (Identity)
13.40-14.00	KEYNOTE ADDRESS Filomeno Aguilar (Ateneo de Manila) Skilled Migration, Citizenship, and Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia
14.00-14.15	OPEN FORUM
14.15-15.15	PANEL 1: YOUTH
14.15-14.35	Youth and the Marawi Siege Septrin John Calamba and Reemar Alonsagay (Ateneo de Manila / MSU-IIT)
14.35-14.55	The exploration of generational configuration to support ASEAN integration and identity: Indonesia's perspective Medelina K. Hendytio and Vidhyandika D. Perkasa (CSIS Jakarta)
14.55-15.15	Shifting migrant identities down the generations: <i>Kula</i> case studies from the Thai/ Indochinese borderlands Natasha Pairaudeau (Cambridge)
15.15-15.30	OPEN FORUM
15.30-15.40	BREAK
15.40-17.00	PANEL 2: TRANSNATIONALISM
15.40-16.00	Reconstructing ethno-religious identities of Karen People at Thailand-Myanmar borderland Kwanchewan Buadaeng (CMU)

16.00-16.20	Vietnamese migration to Laos: The case of the tin mines of Khammouane Province (colonial to present times) Oliver Tappe (Cologne / Hamburg)
16.20-16.40	Indigenous People's Movements in ASEAN Prasit Leepreecha (CMU)
16.40-17.00	Modern Malay identity and the (re)appearance of a sultan in the configuration of identity Jan Van der Putten (Hamburg)
17.00-17.15	OPEN FORUM
17.15-17.25	BREAK
17.25-18.25	PANEL 3: VIOLENCE
17.25-17.45	Community Responses to Duterte's War on Drugs Erron Medina and Bianca Franco (Ateneo de Manila)
17.45-18.05	Researching the Son Ha Incident in the Quang Ngai uplands (central Vietnam), 1950 Andrew Hardy (EFEO Hanoi)
18.05-18.25	Weaponizing Religious Freedom: Same-sex marriage and gender equality in the Philippines Robbin Dagle (Ateneo de Manila)
18.25-18.40	OPEN FORUM
18.40-18.45	CLOSING ADDRESS Jacques Leider (Scientific Coordinator, CRISEA)
18.45	DINNER

2nd Dissemination Workshop (9 July 2019, Kuala Lumpur)



Day 1: 9 July 2019

DEVELOPMENT & TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: The Political Economy of Equitable Growth

Venue: Sheraton Hotel, Petaling Jaya

8.30-9.00	REGISTRATION
9.00-9.30	WELCOMING REMARKS Carl-Henrik Hall (Charge d'affaires, EU Delegation to Malaysia) Jacques Leider (CRISEA Scientific Coordinator)
9.30-10.15	KEYNOTE ADDRESS: "Government's Economic Reform Agenda" Dato' Seri Azmin Ali (Minister of Economic Affairs)
10.15-10.45	Europe, China and Southeast Asia: From Cheng Ho To Bri Prof. Jomo Kwame Sundaram
10.45-11.15	Q & A
11.15-11.45	COFFEE BREAK
11.45-12.15	Growth, Equity & Rural Asia: Three Puzzles, Two Problems and A Challenge Prof. Jonathan Rigg
12.15-12.45	Q & A
12.45-2.00	LUNCH
2.00-2.30	VIDEO SESSION: "Flow of Sand" (The Melaka Gateway Project) Prof. Monika Arnez (University Of Hamburg)

2.30-3.00	China in Malaysia: Investment Flows and State-Business Relations Prof. Edmund Terrence Gomez
3.00-3.30	Q & A
3.30-4.00	TEA BREAK
4.00-4.30	Is FDI-Industrialization The Way Forward?: Re-Reading The Middle Income Trap Narrative Prof. Pietro Masina
4.30-5.00	Q & A
5.00-5.30	CLOSING REMARKS Frédéric Laplanche, Ambassador of France

3rd Dissemination Workshop (1-3 December 2019, Chiang Mai)



WP2 'The Environment': Securing the Commons

Day 1: 1 December 2019 (Reception for participants)

18.00	Dinner at the EFEO Center, Chiang Mai
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DAY 2: 2 December 2019

How to Secure the Commons in Southeast Asia

Venue: Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University – Public Event

8.30-9.00	REGISTRATION
9.00-9.15	WELCOME & OPENING Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and CMU representative INTRODUCTION Jacques Leider (EFEO / CRISEA Scientific coordinator)
9.15-10.00	KEYNOTE: “Environmental Populism: The Politics of Survival in the Anthropocene” Professor Mark Beeson (University of Western Australia)
10.00-10.45	Documentary Film: “The Flow of Sand” Monika Arnez (University of Hamburg)
	DISCUSSION Jacques P. Leider (EFEO-Bangkok)
	Q&A
10.45-11.00	BREAK
11.00-12.30	SESSION 1
	CHAIR: Philip Hirsch (University of Sydney / CMU)
	“Southeast Asian Cities in Transnational Networks - Patterns of Engagement” Tomasz Kamiński (University of Lodz)
	“Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas (ICCAs) and Practices of Reterritorialization in the Salween Peace Park” Sally Beckenham and Robert A. Farnan (Chiang Mai University)
	Q&A
12.30-14.00	LUNCH
14.00-15.30	SESSION 2
	CHAIR: Chayan Vaddhanaphuti (Chiang Mai University)
	CHAIR: Chayan Vaddhanaphuti (Chiang Mai University)
	“Hydropolitics and the Multiple Ontologies of the Lancang-Mekong River” Carl Middleton (Chulalongkorn University)
	“A Study of Sesan Riverine Communities’ Livelihood, with a focus on Cambodia’s Stung Treng Province” David Ta Wei Chu (Chiang Mai University)
	Q&A
15.00 – 15.15	BREAK
15.15 – 17.00	SESSION 3

	CHAIR: Tomasz Kamiński (University of Lodz)
	“Disentangling land reclamation at Malaysia’s West Coast” Monika Arnez (University of Hamburg)
	“Natural Resources and Territorialization on the Siam–British India Border 1890s–1910s” Anthony Amnuayvit Thitibordin (Kamnoetvidya Science Academy)
	Q&A

DAY 3: 3 December 2019

River and Land Crucial Environmental Issues

Venue: EFEO Center, Chiang Mai - Closed sessions

9.00-9.30	WELCOME Yves Goudineau (director of the EFEO-Center) INTRODUCTION Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and Tomasz Kamiński
9.30-12.00	SESSION 4: “CONTESTED SHARED NATURAL RESOURCE OF THE MEKONG AND SALWEEN BASINS” (presentations of NGO projects and round-table)
	CHAIR: Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and David Chu
	“International River Network” Pianporn Deletes “Earth Rights International” Worawan Sukrarok “Legal Advocacy Center for Indigenous Communities” Laofang Bundidterdsakul
	DISCUSSION WITH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE(S)
	Q&A
12.00-13.00	LUNCH
13.00-16.00	SESSION 5: “LAND ISSUES / HAZE POLLUTION” (presentations of projects, round-table, Q&A with journalists)
	CHAIR: Monika Arnez and Tomasz Kamiński
	“Land Issues from a Regional Perspective” Philip Hirsch (CMU) “Value Chain: Maze Plantation & Land Relations in the Mekong Region” Daniel Hayward (Mekong Land Research Forum / CMU) “Haze Pollution in Northern Thailand”.

	Olivier Evrard (IRD) & Chayan Vaddhanaphuti (CMU) “Prince of Songkla University” [TBC] Perapong Tekasakul “Chiang Mai Breathe Council” Chatchawan Thongdeelert and Plai-or Thongsawad
	Q&A
16.00-16.15	Conclusion from the CRISEA perspective Yves Goudineau and Jacques Leider

4th Dissemination Workshop (10-11 February 2021, Mandalay et Yangon)

The dissemination of research projects of CRISEA Work Package 4 “The State” took place in February 2020 at two locations in Myanmar, the University of Mandalay and the French Cultural Institute in Yangon. Both events followed similar dissemination conferences and briefings in Manila, Kuala Lumpur and Chiang Mai.

The dissemination conference on 10 February was convened by the Department of International Relations, the University of Mandalay’s CRISEA partner. Presenters at the morning session provided insights into public policy challenges in Myanmar and the region with papers on China’s state-state ties and business relations in Southeast Asia by Edmund Terrence Gomez from the University of Malaya, highlighting both the visibility and invisibility of these relations, an overview of obstacles and achievements by Myanmar’s National Human Rights Commission comparing them with other ASEAN countries by Marco Bunte (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany), as well as the party-building processes among ethnic parties in Myanmar’s Kachin and Shan states (Kristian Stokke, Oslo University).

The afternoon session focused on dynamics of political change in Myanmar with critical contributions from Soe Myint Aung (Oslo University) on the character of the country’s democratic opening, Kyawt Kyawt Khine on Myanmar’s relations with ASEAN and ASEAN’s illiberal norms and practices reviewed by David Camroux. The last session threw light on various forms of “purification” as a political practice in Southeast Asia. While Rachel Leow’s research offered novel insights into the deportation of unwanted Chinese from SEA to China in the first half of the 20th century, Tomas Larsson (both Cambridge University) illustrated practices of religious purification as part of a process of legitimation of the new monarch ruling in Thailand. Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg) concluded with a discussion of mass violence in relation to the state as it emerged from the trial of Khmer Rouge leaders. The presentations drew much interest from professors and students as well as social and political actors from the Mandalay Region.

On 11 February, the French Cultural Institute in Yangon (Institut français de Birmanie) hosted a half-day briefing session by CRISEA researchers sharing their findings on Myanmar’s democratic transition, the country’s Human Rights’ Commission, its place within ASEAN since 1997 and the prospects of party-building processes of ethnic parties in the perspective of the 2020 elections. The numerous audiences of journalists, academics, activists, international diplomats and members of NGOs actively engaged in the Q and A session which followed the presentations voicing matters of concern in the context of Myanmar’s current crisis issues and future challenges.

5th Dissemination Workshop (7-8 January 2021, Jakarta)

Day 1: 7 January 2021 (Virtual Workshop)

RESEARCH DISSEMINATION WORKSHOP

15:00-15:15	<p>OPENING REMARKS</p> <p>Philips J. Vermonte (Executive Director, CSIS Indonesia)</p> <p>Jacques Leider (Scientific Coordinator, CRISEA)</p>
15:15-15:25	<p>INTRODUCTION of CRISEA WP5</p> <p>Moderator: Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (Senior Research Fellow Center for Asian Studies, IFRI (French Institute of International Relations))</p>
15:25-16:10	<p>PRESENTATIONS (10 minutes each speaker)</p> <p>“RCEP - What's in it for ASEAN and the EU?”</p> <p>Francoise Nicolas (French Institute of International Relations (IFRI))</p> <p>“Analysing ASEAN's Relations with Its Dialogue Partners”</p> <p>Shafiah F. Muhibat (CSIS Indonesia)</p> <p>“The People's Republic of China and ASEAN: Centrality, Peripheral Diplomacy and Intermediary States”</p> <p>Dominik Mierzejewski (Universty of Lodz)</p> <p>“Energy Cooperation and Resource Nationalism in Sout-East Asia”</p> <p>Andrea Valente (Institute of Social and Political Studies, University of Lisbon)</p>
16:10 -16:30	<p>COMMENTS from Discussants from the ASEAN region (5 minutes each)</p>
	<p>Discussant 1: Dandy Rafitrandi (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)</p> <p>Discussant 2: Richard Javad Heydarian (GMA Network, the Philippines)</p> <p>Discussant 3: Benjamin Ho (S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, NTU, Singapore)</p> <p>Discussant 4: Thomas Daniel Benjamin (Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia)</p>
16:30-17:00	<p>Q & A</p>
17:00	<p>MEETING ADJOURNED</p>

Day 2: 8 January 2021 (Virtual Workshop)

Southeast Asia and the COVID-19 Challenge

15:00-15:10	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <p>Moderator: Tomas Larsson (Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge)</p>
15:10-15:55	<p>PRESENTATIONS (10 minutes each speaker)</p> <p>“The Role of City and Community Initiatives for Post-Pandemic Recovery: Strengthening Southeast Asia’s Resilience”</p> <p>Monika Arnez (University of Hamburg) and Tomasz Kamiński (University of Lodz)</p>

	<p>“Indonesia’s Response to Covid-19” Philips Vermonte (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)</p> <p>“Vietnam’s Response to Covid-19” Andrew Hardy (EFEO, Hanoi) and Đỗ Tá Khánh (Institute for European Studies, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences)</p> <p>“Cambodia’s Response to Covid-19” Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg)</p>
15:55-16:20	COMMENTS from Discussants from the ASEAN region (5 minutes each)
	<p>Discussant 1: Muhammad Habib A Dzakwan (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)</p> <p>Discussant 2: Sulfikar Amir (School of Social Sciences, NTU, Singapore)</p> <p>Discussant 3: Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam</p> <p>Discussant 4: Vannarith Chheang (The Asian Vision Institute, Cambodia)</p>
16:20-16:50	Q&A
16:50-17:00	CLOSING REMARKS
17:00	MEETING ADJOURNED

Appendix 5 Participation of CRISEA researchers at 4th ITASEAS and 10th EUROSEAS 2019

CRISEA presenters at the 4th ITASEAS (2019)

Below are listed CRISEA project members who presented papers at the conference. Panels are not indicated. A full overview of the events held at the 4th Conference of the Italian Association of Southeast Asian Studies is available at <https://www.unior.it/ateneo/19014/1/4th-itaseas-conference-2019.html>.



Themes: Economical and Political Processes; Social Transformations; Culture, Literature, Language, and Linguistics

Venue: University of Naples “L’Orientale” (Summer School Centre)

Boisseau du Rocher, Sophie (Center for Asian Studies, IFRI) – *ASEAN’s challenged centrality*

Camroux, David (Sciences Po, CERI / Vietnam National University of Hanoi) – Liberal Democracy / Electoral Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia and ASEAN’s Collective Norms.

Cornelio, Jayeel S. (Ateneo de Manila University) – Christianity and Duterte’s War on Drugs in the Philippines.

Devadason, Evelyn Shyamala (University of Malaya) – A Revisit of State Policies Related to Immigrants and Labour Market Outcomes in Malaysia.

Farnan, Robert A. (Chiang Mai University) – Hydrosapes of Knowledge and Controversy: Infrastructural Publics and Transboundary Environmental Governance and Activism in Myanmar and Thailand.

Hardy, Andrew (École Française d’Extrême-Orient) – General, Diplomat, Ethnographer: Nguyen Tan and the Pacification of the Borderlands of Quang Ngai (Vietnam), 1863-1871.

Kamiński, Tomasz (University of Lodz) – International cooperation of South East Asian cities: environmental dimension.

Lanzona, Jr, Leonardo A. (Ateneo de Manila University) – Households and Communities: Factors Affecting Demand for Justice of Drug War Survivors Under a Repressive Regime.

Larsson, Tomas (University of Cambridge) – Royal succession and the politics of religious purification in contemporary Thailand .

Larsson, Tomas (University of Cambridge) – Chair for the Panel 4c: *Democracy and Authoritarianism*

Leider, Jacques P. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient) – The quarry of the historical archive and the shifting discourse on victimhood: a review of the Rohingya case 1988-2018.

Paderon, Marissa Maricosa A. (Ateneo de Manila University) – *Regional Economic Integration of the EU and ASEAN.*

Pairaudeau, Natasha (Cambridge University) – Borderland Conundrum: Kula Gem Mining at the Siamese-Indochinese frontier.

Seixas, Paulo Castro, Nuno Canas Mendes & Nadine Lobner (ISCSP, Universidade de Lisboa) – *The 'readiness' of Timor-Leste: Narratives about the admission procedure to ASEAN.*

Soriente, Antonia (University of Naples "L'Orientale") - Roles, morality and criticism of women in Indonesian Literature: some case studies.

Tabacco, Giacomo (University of Naples "L'Orientale" and University of Milano Bicocca) – Infrastructural assemblages, appropriations and failures in two atypical Indonesian Special Economic Zones; Batam and Lhokseumawe

Valente, Andrea, and Lunting Wu (ISCSP, Universidade de Lisboa) – Southeast Asia's Transition to A Low-Carbon Economy and the Role of External Actors: A Comparative Study on the EU and China's Science Diplomacy towards the ASEAN.

Vignato, Silvia (University of Milano Bicocca) - Unplanned pregnancies, moralities and the outset of BPJS in Aceh, Indonesia.

Zaręba, Michał (University of Lodz) – Hydropolitics of the Mekong River Basin and Its Influence on Regional Integration.

CRISEA presenters at the 10th EUROSEAS (2019)

The list below presents the round-table and panels organized by CRISEA lead researchers and includes only CRISEA project members. A complete overview can be consulted at the organizers' website <https://euroseas2019.org/>.

Venue: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Round Table (13 September 2019, Session 10)

Theme: Current and Future Challenges of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia

Convener: Jacques P. Leider (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient)

Participants:

Boisseau du Rocher, Sophie (Institut Français des Relations Internationales)

Goudineau, Yves (École Française d'Extrême-Orient)

Grabowsky, Volker (University of Hamburg)

Kamiński, Tomasz (University of Lodz)

Masina, Pietro P. (University of Naples L'Orientale)



Single Panels

Session 2 (11 September 2019)

Theme: The Political Economy of Southeast Asian States

Conveners: Pietro P. Masina (University of Naples L'Orientale) and Terrence E. Gomez (University of Malaya)

Participants:

Gomez, Terrence E. (University of Malaya) – BRI, Investment Flows and New State-Business Relations: A Case Study of China's Investments in Malaysia

Masina, Pietro P. (University of Naples L'Orientale) – *State, Capital, and Labour in Post-Doi Moi Vietnam*

Session 5 (12 September 2019)

Theme: Performing Sumatra Through Cultural Heritage

Conveners: Alan Darmawan (University of Hamburg) and Jan van der Putten (University of Hamburg)

Participants:

Darmawan, Alan (University of Hamburg) – Raja Ali Haji and Contemporary Cultural Production in Riau Islands: Malay Heritage Performance in Film, Museums and Art Festivals

Session 6 (12 September 2019)

Theme: "Worlding Sites": Globalized Visions and Material Constructions of Future Southeast Asia

Conveners: Monika Arnez (University of Hamburg) and Silvia Vignato (Università di Milano-Bicocca)

Participants:

Tabacco, Giacomo (University of Naples L'Orientale) – Building a Safe Future in Different Worlding Sites: From Batam, a Failed Industrial Project, to Malang, Where Returnees Farm Cash Crops and Work in Services

Tadié, Jérôme (French Research Institute for Development) – The Conflicted City: NGOs vs. Globalised Urban Development Visions of Jakarta

Session 7 (12 September 2019)

Themes: Identity: Forging Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia

Convener: Volker Grabowsky (Universität Hamburg); discussant: Yves Goudineau (École Française d'Extrême-Orient)

Participants:

Cornelio, Jayeel (Ateneo de Manila University) - The Rise of Militant Christianity in the Philippines

Darmawan, Alan (Universität Hamburg) and Jan van der Putten (Universität Hamburg) - Malayness on Stage: Cultural Spectacle and Identity Formation in the Malay World A Re-Emerging Riau Sultan Providing a Modern Islamic Touch to Traditional Malay Customs

Grabowsky, Volker (Universität Hamburg) – Democratic Kampuchea’s Revolutionary Terror in the 1970s: The Role of the Cambodian Youth in State Supported and Grassroots Violence

Leider, Jacques P. (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient) – Ethno-Religious Entanglements, Tensions, and Violence in the Bengal-Burma Borderlands (Chittagong and Sittway Districts) 1920–1960

Tappe, Oliver (Universität Hamburg) – Local Lao Identity and Vietnamese Labour Mobility: The Case of the Tin Mines in Khammouane, Laos

Session 9 (13 September 2019)

Themes: The Liberal State and Its Discontents in Southeast Asia

Convener: Tomas Larsson (University of Cambridge); discussant: Rachel Leow (University of Cambridge)

Participants:

Bünthe, Marco (Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg) – *National Human Rights Institutions in Southeast Asia*

Hussin, Iza (University of Cambridge) – Reasons of State: Making Sense in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia

Mérieau, Eugénie (University of Göttingen) – *Autocratization Through Judicial Review*

Ufen, Andreas (German Institute of Global and Area Studies) – *Polyvalent Populism in Southeast Asia*

Appendix 6 List of CRISEA researchers

	Name	Affiliation	CRISEA Work Package
1.	Aguilar, Filomeno	Ateneo de Manila University	WP5 "Identity"
2.	Arnez, Monika	Palacký University, Olomouc	WP2 "Environment"
3.	Arnold, Dennis	University of Amsterdam	WP3 "Economy"
4.	Aye Aye Myat	University of Mandalay	WP6 "Region"
5.	Beckenham, Sally	Department of Environment and Geography, University of York	WP2 "Environment"
6.	Boisseau du Rocher, Sophie	Institut français des Relations Internationales	WP6 "Region"
7.	Bolotta, Giuseppe	University of Milano-Bicocca; National University of Singapore	WP3 "Economy"
8.	Bouté, Vanina	Université de Picardie	WP4 "State"
9.	Buadaeng, Kwanchewan	Chiang Mai University	WP5 "Identity"
10.	Bùi Nhật Quang	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
11.	Bünthe, Marco	Friedrich–Alexander University Erlangen–Nürnberg	WP4 "State"
12.	Camroux, David	Centre de Recherches Internationales (CERI)	WP6 "Region" and WP4 "State"
13.	Cerimele, Michela	Univeristy of Naples 'L'Orientale'	WP3 "Economy"
14.	Chandran, Govindaraju, VGR	University of Malaya	WP3 "Economy"
15.	Chu (David), Ta-Wei	Chiang Mai University	WP2 "Environment"
16.	Claudio, Lisandro	Berkeley University, San Francisco	WP4 "State"
17.	Cornelio, Jayeel	Ateneo de Manila University	WP5 "Identity"
18.	Đặng Thái Bình	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
19.	Dao Sirui	University of Hamburg	WP5 "Identity"
20.	Đào Thế Đức	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP5 "Identity"
21.	Darmawan, Alan	University of Hamburg	WP5 "Identity"
22.	Devadason, Evelyn S.	University of Malaya	WP3 "Economy"
23.	Đỗ Tá Khánh	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
24.	Farnan, Robert	Department of Environment and Geography, University of York	WP2 "Environment"
25.	Franco, Bianca Ysabelle	Ateneo de Manila University	WP5 "Identity"
26.	Gomez, Edmund Terrence	University of Malaya	WP3 "Economy"
27.	Goudineau, Yves	EFEO Chiang Mai	WP5 "Identity"

28.	Grabowsky, Volker	University of Hamburg	WP5 "Identity"
29.	Hansen, Arve	University of Oslo	WP3 "Economy"
30.	Hardy, Andrew	EFEO Hanoi	WP5 "Identity"
31.	Hendytio, Medelina K.	Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta	WP5 "Identity"
32.	Hoàng Hải Hà	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
33.	Hussin, Iza	University of Cambridge	WP4 "State"
34.	Kamiński, Tomasz	University of Lodz	WP2 "Environment"
35.	Knutsen, Hege Merete	University of Oslo	WP3 "Economy"
36.	Kunnamas, Natthanan	Chulalongkorn University Bangkok	WP6 "Region"
37.	Kyawt Kyawt Khine	University of Mandalay	WP6 "Region"
38.	Lanzona, Leonardo A., Jr.	Ateneo de Manila University	WP3 "Economy"
39.	Larsson, Tomas	University of Cambridge	WP4 "State"
40.	Leepreecha, Prasit	Chiang Mai University	WP5 "Identity"
41.	Leider, Jacques P.	EFEO Yangon and EFEO Bangkok	WP5 "Identity"
42.	Leow, Rachel	University of Cambridge	WP4 "State"
43.	Lobner, Nadine	University of Lisbon	WP6 "Region"
44.	Madinier, Rémy	Institut d'Asie Orientale, CNRS, Lyon	WP4 "State"
45.	Masina, Pietro	University of Naples L'Orientale	WP3 "Economy"
46.	Medina, Erron C.	Ateneo de Manila University	WP5 "Identity"
47.	Mendes, Nuno Canas	University of Lisbon	WP6 "Region"
48.	Mérieau, Eugénie	University of Göttingen	WP4 "State"
49.	Middleton, Carl	Chulalongkorn University Bangkok	WP2 "Environment"
50.	Mierzejewski, Dominik	University of Lodz	WP6 "Region"
51.	Moe Ma Ma	University of Mandalay	WP6 "Region"
52.	Muhibat, Shafiah	Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia	WP6 "Region"
53.	Nguyễn An Hà	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
54.	Nguyễn Bích Thuận	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
55.	Nguyễn Đình Ngân	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
56.	Paderon, Marissa	Ateneo de Manila University	WP6 "Region"
57.	Pairaudeau, Natasha	University of Cambridge	WP5 "Identity"
58.	Pawelz, Janina	German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg	WP5 "Identity"
59.	Perkasa, Vidhyandika D.	Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta	WP5 "Identity"

60.	Phạm Anh Tuấn	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
61.	Phạm Quỳnh Phương	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP4 "State"
62.	Pholsena, Vatthana	National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)	WP4 "State"
63.	Pietrasiak, Malgorzata	University of Lodz	WP6 "Region"
64.	Potapohn, Manoj	Chiang Mai University	WP3 "Economy"
65.	Roszko, Edyta	Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen	WP2 "Environment"
66.	Seixas, Paolo Castro	University of Lisbon	WP6 "Region"
67.	Soe Myint Aung	University of Oslo	WP4 "State"
68.	Soriente, Antonia	University of Naples L'Orientale	WP3 "Economy"
69.	Stokke, Kristian	University of Oslo	WP4 "State"
70.	Surimas, Thianchai	Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok	WP2 "Environment"
71.	Tabacco, Giacomo	University of Milano-Bicocca	WP3 "Economy"
72.	Tadie, Jerome	Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)	WP4 "State"
73.	Tappe, Oliver	University of Hamburg, AAI	WP6 "Region"
74.	Thida Tun	University of Mandalay	WP6 "Region"
75.	Thitibordin, Amnuay	Kamnoetvidya Science Academy, Thailand	WP2 "Environment"
76.	Ufen, Andreas	University of Hamburg	WP4 "State"
77.	Vaddhanaphuti, Chayan	Chiang Mai University	WP2 "Environment"
78.	Valenta, Andrea	University of Lisbon	WP6 "Region"
79.	Van der Putten, Jan	University of Hamburg, AAI	WP5 "Identity"
80.	Vignato, Silvia	University of Milano-Bicocca	WP3 "Economy"
81.	Vũ Ngọc Quyên	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS)	WP3 "Economy"
82.	Wischermann, Joerg	German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg	WP4 "State"
83.	Zaręba, Michał	University of Lodz	WP2 "Environment"

Appendix 7 CRISEA individual and group projects

The following list presents research projects grouped under the five work package headings with their titles as they appear in the individual wrap up reports submitted at the end of the project. Projects were modified, reduced or abandoned for a number of circumstances. New projects were also launched. The list below reflects the effective implementation of research projects as stated by researchers as the project came to an end. Some projects extend beyond CRISEA's lifeline. As most projects were initiated by lead researchers, but implemented in collaboration with senior students, staff colleagues, and assistants, all names which were credited in the wrap up reports, appearing as co-authors or acknowledged on CRISEA's website are included below.

WP2: Environment

Project: Analyzing the coproduction of ecological knowledge and transboundary water governance on the Lancang-Mekong River through a hydrosocial lens

Researchers: Carl Middleton and Thianchai Surimas

Project: Creating land from water: land reclamation in maritime Southeast Asia

Researchers: Monika Arnez

Project: Ecological knowledge co-production and territorialization of the trans-Salween region 1880s–1910s

Researchers: Amnuayvit Thitibordin

Project: Hydropolitics of the Mekong River Basin and Its Influence on Regional Integration. Case of Xayaburi hydropower plant

Researchers: Michał Zaręba

Project: Hydropower Development, Indigeneity and the Politics of Environmental Governance in the Salween Peace Park (SPP)

Researchers: Sally Beckenham and Robert Farnan

Project: A Study of Sesan Riverine Communities' Livelihood, with a Focus on Cambodia's Stung Treng Province

Researcher: Ta-Wei (David) Chu

Project: The South China Sea and Environment: Tracing ecological and livelihoods realities in maritime borderlands

Researcher: Edyta Roszko

Project: Southeast Asian Cities as co-producers of ecological knowledge in Transnational Cities Networks

Researcher: Tomasz Kamiński

WP3: Economy

Project: Capitalism, agriculture and the socialist market economy: A multi-scalar analysis of the Vietnamese livestock sector

Researchers Arve Hansen

Project: China in Southeast Asia: BRI-Development, Investment Flows and New State-Business Relations

Researcher: Edmund Terrence Gomez

Project: Different generation of migrant factory workers in de-industrializing Indonesia

Researcher: Giacomo Tabacco

Project: FDI-led industrialization and its impact on labour in Southeast Asia

Researchers: Pietro Masina and Michela Cerimele

Project: Industrialization, Trade and Labour Revisited: Industry-Level Evidence from Malaysia

Researcher: Evelyn S. Devadason

Project: 'Invisible Worldings': Image and Reality in the Thai Seafood Industry's Humanitarian Engagements

Researcher: Giuseppe Bolotta

Project: Impact of 'development' in several villages in Indonesia

Researcher: Antonia Soriente

Project: The Impact of Remittances on Philippine Development: Panel Data Fixed Effects Estimates

Researcher: Leonardo A. Lanzona, Jr.

Project: Globalisation and regionalisation of the brewery industry in South East Asia

Researcher: Hege Merete Knutsen, Arve Hansen and Manoj Potapohn

Project: Regional Economic Corridors: Avoiding the Middle-Income Trap and Aiming for Inclusive Growth in Malaysia

Researcher: VGR Chandran Govindaraju

Project: SOE reform in Vietnam

Researchers: Hege Merete Knutsen and Đỗ Tá Khánh

Project: SOE reform and workers

Researchers: Hege Merete Knutsen and Đỗ Tá Khánh

Project: Stunted development, labor politics and low-value added GPNs

Researcher: Dennis Arnold

Project: Welfare and generations of workers in Indonesia

Researcher: Silvia Vignato

WP4: State

Project: Accessing the State? NGOs, civil society and access to power in everyday Jakarta

Researcher: Jerome Tadié

Project: Democratic transition or autocratic reforms? The character and outcome of the democratic opening in Burma/Myanmar

Researchers: Kristian Stokke and Soe Myint Aung

Project: Extraordinary Passages: Deportations of unwanted Chinese from Southeast Asia to China, c. 1900s-1950s

Researcher: Rachel Leow

Project: Liberalism in the Philippines

Researcher: Lisandro Claudio

Project: Local Power in Southeast Asia: legitimation of new elites at the Lao borders

Researcher: Vanina Bouté

Project: National Human Rights Institutions in Southeast Asia

Researcher: Marco Bünthe

Project: Negotiating with the State: State-Society Relations and the Rise of the LGBT Movement in Vietnam

Researchers: Phạm Quỳnh Phương

Project: Pancasila and its Contestation in Indonesia

Researchers: Rémy Madinier

Project: Populism in Southeast Asia

Researcher: Andreas Ufen

Project: Protest and State Reaction: An Intra-Regional Comparison (Indonesia, Vietnam)

Researcher: Joerg Wischermann

Project: Reasons of State: Making Sense in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia

Researcher: Iza Hussin

Project: Royal succession and the politics of religious purification in contemporary Thailand

Researcher: Tomas Larsson

Project: State, citizenship, belonging, and urban diversity in Laos

Researcher: Vatthana Pholsena

WP5: Identity

Project: Anti-criminality and democracy in Southeast Asia

Researchers: Erron C. Medina and Bianca Ysabelle Franco

Project: Buddhist Pilgrimages in the Upper Mekong Basin: Revival of Tai (Transnational) Identities

Researchers: Dao Sirui and Volker Grabowsky

Project: Democratic Kampuchea's Revolutionary Terror in the 1970s: The Role of the Cambodian Youth in Mass Violence

Researcher: Volker Grabowsky

Project: Violence and Belonging - Conflict, War, and Insecurity in Arakan (Burma), 1942-52

Researcher: Jacques P. Leider

Project: The Exploration of Generational Configuration to Support ASEAN Integration and Identity: Indonesia's Perspective

Researcher: Medelina K. Hendytio

Project: Mass Violence and Regime Change in the Vietnamese Highlands: The Son Ha Revolt (1950) as History and Memory

Researchers: Đào Thế Đức and Andrew Hardy

Project: Malay Identity on the move

Researchers: Alan Darmawan and Jan van der Putten

Project: Papuan Youth Identity: The Contestation of Violence, Oppression and Marginalization

Researcher: Vidhyandika D. Perkasa

Project: Reconstructing Ethno-Religious Identities of Karen People at Thailand-Myanmar Borderland

Researcher: Kwanchewan Buadaeng

Project: The Religious Imaginary: Filipino Missionary Work in Thailand

Researchers: Jayeel Cornelio and Erron C. Medina

Project: Shifting Migrant Identities down the Generations: Kola case studies from the Thai/Indochinese borderlands

Researcher: Natasha Piraudeau

Project: Skilled Migration, Citizenship, and Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia

Researcher: Filomeno Aguilar

Project: Tin Mining in Laos: Questions of Labour, Migration, and Identity

Researcher: Oliver Tappe

Project: Transnational circulation of cultural stereotypes about ethnic minorities in the Indochinese peninsula

Researcher: Yves Goudineau

Project: Transnational Indigenism in Southeast Asia

Researcher: Prasit Leepreecha

Project: Youth, Violence and Identities of Insecurity in Timor-Leste

Researcher: Janina Pawelz

WP6: Region

Project: ASEAN: forget about integration and focus on centrality

Researchers: Sophie Boisseau du Rocher

Project: ASEAN's Relations with its Dialogue Partners Amidst Effort to Maintain Centrality: The Case Study of ASEAN-Japan Relations

Researchers: Shafiah Muhibat

Project: The Centrality of ASEAN in Myanmar's Foreign Policy

Researchers: Aye Aye Myat, Moe Ma Ma, Thida Tun, Kyawt Kyawt Khine

Project: EU-ASEAN normative relations

Researcher: Natthanan Kunnamas

Project: Multilayered relationship: ASEAN centrality and China's policies and responses

Researcher: Dominik Mierzejewski

Project: Regional (des)integration dynamics and centrality construction through the case of Timor-Leste

Researchers: Nuno Canas Mendes, Nadine Lobner and Paulo Castro Seixas

Project: Resource Nationalism and Energy Cooperation in Southeast Asia: A New Analytical Approach

Researcher: Andrea Valente

Project: Russia-ASEAN relations. The role of Russia in the process of regional integration in Southeast Asia

Researcher: Malgorzata Pietrasiak

Appendix 8 CRISEA scientific deliverables

The following list sums up CRISEA's scientific deliverables for *public consultation*, numbered D12 to D45 and submitted in line with the project's contractual obligations. It includes all the written pieces described as "reports" as well as the web documentaries with the indication of the date at which each was submitted by the Management Team pending approval. All pieces went through an internal review process of evaluation, consultation, recommendations, and comments before final submission and posting on the website. Note that the production of the website itself was one of the deliverables within the purview of Work Package 7 in charge of the dissemination of project outputs.

The deliverables are grouped below by work packages for ease of reference in relation to the commitments of the original project proposal. Detailed information on the working papers and the policy briefs is found in Appendix 1. Information on the web-documentaries is recorded in Appendix 2 and comprehensive information is found in part 2, section F. The set of E-Newsletters is listed in Appendix 1 as well.

WP2: The Environment

D2.1 (D12) Working Paper Environment 1, "State of the Art and Theoretical Framework", 13 September 2018

D2.2 (D13) Working Paper Environment 2, "Empirical research case studies results", 26 March 2020

D2.3 (D14) Working Paper Environment 3 Working paper on "Empirical research case studies results", 6 November 2020

D2.4 (D15) Web-documentary Environment Web-documentary on land reclamation, 1 December 2020

WP3: The Economy

D3.1 (D16) Working Paper Economy 1 on "State of the Art and Theoretical Framework", 12 September 2018

D3.2 (D17) Working Paper Economy 2 on "Empirical research case studies results", 21 January 2021

D3.3 (D18) Working Paper Economy 3 on "Macro-micro dialogue studies", 27 April 2021

D3.4 (D19) Web-documentary Economy on the impact of de-industrialization in special economic zones, 20 March 2021

WP4: The State

D4.1 (D20) Working Paper State 1 Working Paper on "State of the Art and Theoretical Framework", 27 August 2018

D4.2 (D21) Working Paper State 2 Working paper on "Empirical research case studies results", 26 November 2019

D4.3 (D22) Working Paper State 3 Working paper on "Macro-micro dialogue studies" 22 June 2020

D4.4 (D23) Web-documentary State Web-documentary on the deportation of Chinese from Malaysia, 1 March 2021

WP5: Identity

D5.1 (D24) Working Paper Identity 1 on "The State of the Art and Theoretical Framework" 27 August 2018

D5.2 (D25) Working Paper Identity 2 on "Empirical research case studies results" 20 November 2019

D5.3 (D26) Working Paper Identity 3 on "Macro-micro dialogue studies" 5 October 2020

D5.4 (D27) Web-documentary Identity on the revival of Malay identity in the Riau Islands, 20 March 2021

WP6: The Region

D6.1 (D28) Working Paper Region 1 Working Paper on “State of the Art and Theoretical Framework”, 23 October 2018

D6.2 (D29) Working Paper Region 2 Working paper on “Empirical research case studies results”, 6 December 2019

D6.3 (D30) Working Paper Region 3 Working paper on “Macro-micro dialogue studies”, 6 April 2021

D6.4 (D31) Web-documentary Web documentary on competing perceptions on regional integration (ASEAN), 2 March 2021

WP7: Dissemination

D7.1 (D32) Project Website (www.crisea.eu) , 6 June 2018

D7.2 (D33) Six e-newsletters, 27 April 2021

D7.3 (D35) Three Policy Briefs linked to WP5 Identity as a result of Dissemination Cluster 1 (Dissemination Workshop for stakeholders in SEA/ Policy Briefing Session for SEA stakeholders/ Policy Briefing Session for EU delegation in SEA), 4 November 2019

D7.4 (D36) Three Policy Briefs linked to WP3 Economy as a result of Dissemination Cluster 2 (Dissemination Workshop for stakeholders in SEA/ Policy Briefing Session for SEA government/ Policy Briefing Session for EU delegation in SEA), 19 February 2020

D7.5 (D37) Three Policy Briefs linked to WP2 Environment as a result of Dissemination Cluster 3 (Dissemination Workshop for stakeholders in SEA/ Policy Briefing Session for EU delegation in SEA), 18 March 2021

D7.6 (D38) Three Policy Briefs linked to WP4 on State as a result of Dissemination Cluster 4 (Dissemination Workshop for stakeholders in SEA/ Policy Briefing Session for SEA stakeholders/ Policy Briefing Session for EU diplomats in SEA), 15 March 2021

D7.7 (D39) Three Policy Briefs linked to WP6 Region as a result of Dissemination Cluster 5 (Dissemination Workshop for stakeholders in SEA/ Policy Briefing Session for SEA stakeholders/ Policy Briefing Session for EU delegation in SEA), 2 March 2021

D7.8 (D40) Policy Brief EU 1 linked to WP2 Environment, 27 August 2018

D7.9 (D41) Policy Brief EU 2 linked to WP3 Economy, 24 April 2019

D7.10 (D42) Policy Brief EU 3 linked to WP4 State, 16 November 2020

D7.11 (D43) Policy Brief EU 4 linked to WP5 Identity, 17 November 2020

D7.12 (D44) Policy Brief EU 5 linked to WP6 Region, 2 March 2021

D7.13 (D45) Policy Brief EU 6 linked to WP6 Region, 1 March 2021