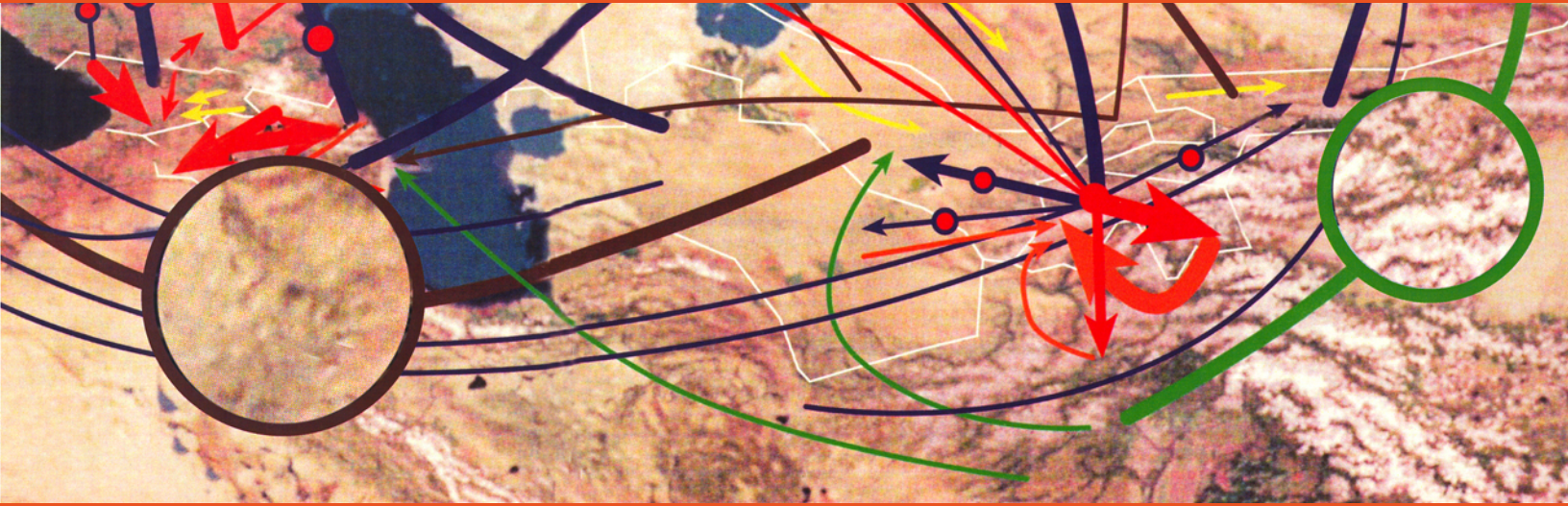


Conference on Inter-Asian Connections



Detail of migration map of Asia: courtesy UNHCR

Conference Proceedings

February 21-23, 2008
Dubai, United Arab Emirates

Co-Organized by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC)
and the Dubai School of Government (DSG)



Funded by the Ford Foundation

Sponsored by DSG, Zayed University, the University of Dubai,
the National Bank of Dubai, and Dubai Properties

INTRODUCTION

This international conference brought together over one hundred fifty leading scholars from renowned universities to explore an exciting new frontier of “Inter-Asian” research.

The conference was organized around eleven concurrent workshops featuring innovative research from the social sciences and related disciplines on themes of particular relevance across Asia. Workshop themes, directors, and participants were selected by an SSRC committee in a highly competitive process: the conference organizers received 105 applications for workshop directors and 582 applications for workshop participants. In addition to the eleven workshops, the conference also showcased the work of the South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (SARFP), bringing together fellows who had been awarded collaborative grants to work on inter-country projects in the South Asia region.

The structure and schedule of the conference were designed to enable intensive working group interactions on a specific research theme, as well as broader interactions on topics of mutual interest and concern to all participants. Accordingly, a public keynote panel and plenaries addressing different aspects of Inter-Asian research were open to all participants as well as the general public. The concluding day of the conference brought all the workshops together in a public presentation and exchange of research agendas that emerged over the course of the deliberations in Dubai.

The conference also included a plenary session entitled “Dubai: Interconnecting Asia” that explored issues of pressing relevance to the Gulf region within the context of Asia as well as highlighting the distinctive relations between corporate, private, and state organizations in the United Arab Emirates and their potential role in connecting local and international research communities.

This was the first forum to bring together such a wide range of scholars of the Middle East, South Asia, Russia/Eurasia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia to discuss the shared histories and shared futures of Asia. The host city of Dubai exemplified the conference theme of “Inter-Asian Connections” and reminded us of the importance of creating and furthering exchanges and dialogues among the different regions of Asia.

The Conference on Inter-Asian Connections was organized by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in partnership with the Dubai School of Government (DSG).

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103	Postcollective Economic Lives and Livelihoods: Studies of Economy, Institutions, and Everyday Practice in Postsocialist Eurasia and Asia Workshop directors: • Beth Mitchneck, University of Arizona, US • John Pickles, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US
118	Sites of Inter-Asian Interaction Workshop directors: • Sunil Amrith, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK • Timothy Harper, University of Cambridge, UK
127	Transnational Circuits: “Muslim Women” in Asia Workshop director: • Annelies Moors, ISIM/University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands
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ORGANIZING INSTITUTIONS

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL (SSRC), headquartered in New York, is a pioneering international institution for the promotion of cutting-edge research; it was established in 1923. The SSRC leads innovation, builds interdisciplinary and international networks, and focuses research on important public issues. SSRC initiatives have played a leading role in educating and training new generations of social science researchers, providing over ten thousand fellowships to graduate students and young researchers around the world. Its networks and committees have pioneered new approaches to understanding society and processes of social, cultural, economic, and political change. SSRC fellows have included Nobel Prize winners and members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. SSRC donors have included the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Hewlett Foundation; the governments of Germany, Japan, and the United States; and the United Nations.

Independent and not-for-profit, the SSRC is guided by the belief that justice, prosperity, and democracy all require better understanding of complex social, cultural, economic, and political processes. It works with practitioners, policy makers, and academic researchers in all the social sciences, related professions, and the humanities and natural sciences. With partners around the world, the SSRC mobilizes existing knowledge for new problems, links research to practice and policy, strengthens individual and institutional capacities for learning, and enhances public access to information.

THE DUBAI SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT (DSG) is a research and teaching institution focusing on public policy in the Arab world. Established in 2004 under the patronage of HH Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai, in partnership with the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the DSG aims to promote good governance through enhancing the region's capacity for effective public policy.

Toward this goal, the Dubai School of Government also collaborates with international institutions, such as the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and the Brookings Institution, in its research and training programs. In addition, the school organizes policy forums and international conferences to facilitate the exchange of ideas and promote critical debate on public policy in the Arab world.

The DSG is committed to the creation of knowledge, the dissemination of best practices, and the training of policy makers in the Arab world. To achieve this mission, the school is developing strong capabilities to support research and teaching programs including applied research in public policy and management; master's degrees in public policy and public administration; executive education for senior officials and executives; and knowledge forums for scholars and policy makers.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Thursday, February 21

8:30—10:30	Registration; introductory session Dubai World Trade Center
10:30—5:30	Individual workshop sessions (concurrent) Dubai School of Government
6:30 onwards	Workshop working dinners

Friday, February 22

9:00—1:00	Individual workshop sessions (concurrent) Dubai World Trade Center and Dubai School of Government
1:00—2:30	Lunch
2:30—4:30	“Inter-Asian Connections: Past, Present, and Future” Panel Discussion [public] Zayed University Auditorium Chaired by: Rima Sabban , Independent Researcher Gopalan Balachandran , Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies Magnus Bernhardtsson , Williams College Engseng Ho , Harvard University Shahnaz Rouse , Sarah Lawrence College
5:00—7:00	“Methodologies of Inter-Asian Studies” Panel Discussion [public] Zayed University Auditorium Chaired by: Ravina Aggarwal , The Ford Foundation Michael M.J. Fischer , Massachusetts Institute of Technology Dru Gladney , Pomona College Tansen Sen , Baruch College – The City University of New York Etel Solingen , University of California, Irvine Banquet (dinner/reception)

Saturday, February 23

11:00—12:30	Conference Synthesis and Workshop Reports [public] Dubai World Trade Center Chaired by: Srirupa Roy , Social Science Research Council; University of Massachusetts at Amherst
12:30—1:30	Lunch
1:30—3:00	Continued: Conference Synthesis and Workshop Reports [public] Dubai World Trade Center
3:30—5:30	“The Asian Century” Keynote Panel [public] Dubai World Trade Center Chaired by: Seteney Shami , Social Science Research Council Prasenjit Duara , University of Chicago
5:30—7:30	“Dubai: Interconnecting Asia” Plenary Session [public] Dubai World Trade Center Chaired by: Tarik Yousef , Dubai School of Government Abdulkhaleq Abdullah , United Arab Emirates University HE Najla Al-Awadhi , Federal National Council (FNC); Dubai Media Incorporated (DMI) Nasser Al Shaali , Dubai International Financial Centre (DIFC) Authority HE Anwar Gargash , UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs
8:00 onwards	Closing Reception/Dinner

PLENARY and KEYNOTE PANEL SPEAKERS BIOGRAPHIES

“Inter-Asian Connections, Past, Present, and Future”

Panel Discussion

Chair/discussant: **Rima Sabban** (Independent Researcher)

Rima Sabban is an assistant professor of sociology in the United Arab Emirates. She has previously served as head of the Department of General Education at the University of Dubai, and a dean of student affairs at the American University of Sharjah. Sabban is the author of *Motherhood: Experiences of an Arab Woman* and co-author of “General Sociopolitical Trends and Perceptions of Youth in the GCC Countries.”

Gopalan Balachandran (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies)

A Story of the “Coolie”: Asian Labor and Global Social Relationships, 19th to the 21st Centuries

Gopalan Balachandran teaches international history and politics at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. Previous to this he taught at the Delhi School of Economics. His research interests include international financial history, labor history, and intellectual history.

Magnus Bernhardsson (Williams College)

Resisting Uncle Sam: Anti-Americanism in Asia 1950-2008

Magnus Bernhardsson is a historian who teaches at Williams College in the United States and also at the University of Iceland. He received his PhD from Yale University and specializes in the political and cultural history of modern Iraq. He is the author of *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Iraq* and has edited several collections of essays. He is currently researching the history of US-Iraqi relations.

Engseng Ho (Harvard University)

Inter-Asian Connections: Past, Present, and Future

At the time of the conference Engseng Ho was professor of anthropology at Harvard University in the United States, and senior scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. He is interested in the international and transcultural dimensions of Islamic society across the Indian Ocean, and its relations with Western empires. He has conducted anthropological and historical research in Arabia, India, and island Southeast Asia among diasporic Arab, Chinese, and Malay communities. He is the author of *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Ho is currently Professor of Cultural Anthropology and History, Duke Islamic Studies Center at Duke University in the United States.

Shahnaz Rouse (Sarah Lawrence College)

Borders, Boundaries, and “Split Publics”: Satellite News Broadcasting and Mass Mediated Intersections

Shahnaz Rouse is professor and chair of the Sociology Faculty at Sarah Lawrence College in New York. She received her PhD in development studies from the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Her current research includes a social history of pre-Independence Lahore, and broadcast news and transnational connections in Dubai and Pakistan. Current publications include *Shifting Body Politics* and *Situating Globalization: Views from Egypt*, co-edited with Cynthia Nelson.

“Methodologies of Inter-Asian Studies”

Panel Discussion

Chair/discussant: **Ravina Aggarwal** (The Ford Foundation)

Ravina Aggarwal joined the Ford Foundation, New Delhi office, as Program Officer for Higher Education and Scholarship and Arts and Culture in 2006. She received a PhD in anthropology from Indiana University, Bloomington, and is currently on leave from Smith College, where she was an associate professor in the Department of Anthropology. Her scholarship is based on extensive field research in the Himalayan region of Ladakh in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. Her writing illustrates the historical, political, and cultural struggles experienced by diverse religious communities and marginalized social groups in this border area. Among her publications is *Beyond Lines of Control: Performance and Politics on the Disputed Borders of Ladakh, India*.

Michael M. J. Fischer (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

New Republics of Science and Cultural Cosmopolitics

Michael M. J. Fischer is Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities and professor of anthropology and science and technology studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. He is the author of three books on Iran and three books on anthropology and social theory in the modern world: *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*; *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition* (with Mehdi Abedi); *Mute Dreams, Blind Owls, and Dispersed Knowledges: Persian Poesis in the Transnational Circuitry*; *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (with George Marcus); *Emergent Forms of Life and the Anthropological Voice*; and the forthcoming *Anthropological Futures*. He has done fieldwork in West, South, and Southeast Asia.

Dru Gladney (Pacific Basin Institute, Pomona College)

Crossing Asia, Transgressing Boundaries: Reflections on Studying Transborder Nomadic and Diasporic Peoples in Inner Asia

Dru Gladney is president of the Pacific Basin Institute at Pomona College in the United States, a research foundation widely recognized for its work to enhance understanding among the nations of the Pacific rim; he is also professor of anthropology at Pomona College. He received his PhD in social anthropology from the University of Washington and among his numerous books, his most recent is *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*.

Tansen Sen (Baruch College – The City University of New York)

India, China, and Inter-Asian Interactions before 1500 CE

Tansen Sen is professor of history at the Weissman School of Arts and Sciences, Baruch College, in New York; he specializes in Asian history and religions, and has major scholarly interests in Buddhism, Sino-Indian relations, Indian Ocean trade, and Silk Road archeology. He received his PhD from the University of Pennsylvania; he is a member of the Nalanda Mentor Group and an Honorary Fellow of the MAK Azad Institute of Asian Studies. Sen is currently working on a monograph that examines cross-cultural trade in Asia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a collaborative project on the southern Silk Road, and creating a Web site to archive the history and experiences of the Chinese Indian community.

Etel Solingen (University of California, Irvine)

Comparing East Asia and the Middle East: Observations, Opportunities, and Challenges

Etel Solingen chairs the Steering Committee of the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. She is professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine, and is the author of *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East*. She received her PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles, and her research interests include the connections between international political economy and international security, internationalization, institutional theory, regional and international security regimes, democratization, and the comparative political economy of science and technology.

“The Asian Century”

Keynote Panel

Chair/discussant: **Seteney Shami** (Social Science Research Council)

Seteney Shami is an anthropologist from Jordan with degrees from the American University in Beirut and the University of California, Berkeley. Shami joined the regional office of the Population Council in Cairo in 1996 as director of the Middle East Awards in Population and the Social Sciences (MEAwards). She has also been a visiting professor at numerous universities. She joined the Social Science Research Council in July 1999 and her research interests center on issues of ethnicity and nationalism in the context of globalization, urban politics and state-building strategies, and population displacement and transnational movements. Her publications include a co-authored book, *Women in Arab Society: Work Patterns and Gender Relations in Egypt, Jordan, and Sudan*.

Prasenjit Duara (University of Chicago)

Visions of History, Trajectories of Power: China and India since Decolonization

Prasenjit Duara was a professor in the History Department and East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago at the time of the conference. He is the author of *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942*, which won the Fairbank Prize of the AHA and the Levenson Prize of the AAS. He received his PhD from Harvard University. At present he is working on religion and citizenship in Asia and Hong Kong during the Cold War. Duara joined the National University of Singapore as Director of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences from July 2008.

“Dubai: Interconnecting Asia”

Plenary Session

Chair/discussant: **Tarik Yousef** (Dubai School of Government)

Tarik Yousef is dean of the Dubai School of Government. He joins the DSG from Georgetown University, Washington, DC, where he has been associate professor of economics in the School of Foreign Service and Sheikh Sabah Al Salem Al Sabah Professor of Arab Studies at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. He received his PhD in economics from Harvard University and specializes in development economics and economic history with a particular focus on the Middle East. His current research interests include the structure and dynamics of labor markets, the political economy of policy reform, and development policies in oil-exporting countries. At present, he is a senior fellow in the Wolfensohn Center at the Brookings Institution and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Abdulkhaleq Abdulla (United Arab Emirates University)

Abdulkhaleq Abdulla is a professor of political science at United Arab Emirates University, a member of the Dubai Cultural Council, the general coordinator of the Gulf Development Forum. He holds a PhD in political science from Georgetown University and an MA from the American University, Washington, DC. He was a Fulbright Scholar and visiting professor at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University. His research interests include issues of political change in the Gulf and the Arab world, Gulf security, contemporary issues of the Arab Gulf states, and international relations. His most recent book is *Narrative of Politics*, and he is the lead author of the *Arab Knowledge Report*, a partnership between the Mohammed bin Rashid al Maktoum Foundation and the UNDP for joint work toward the promotion of knowledge in the Arab world.

HE Najla Al-Awadhi (Federal National Council)

HE Najla Al-Awadhi is a member of the UAE parliament (the Federal National Council). She was appointed in February 2007 as a representative from the emirate of Dubai. Al-Awadhi is one of the first women in the history of the UAE to be appointed to parliament, and is its youngest member. Al-Awadhi is also the deputy chief executive officer of Dubai Media Incorporated (DMI), a media group that operates four free-to-air satellite channels that are owned by the government of Dubai, and general manager of Dubai One. Al-Awadhi is a board member of the UAE chapter of Young Arab Leaders and the Dubai Establishment for the Development of Women. She holds a BA in history and started her career as a journalist at Dubai TV in 2002.

HE Anwar Gargash (UAE Minister of State for Federal National Council Affairs)

HE Anwar Gargash serves as UAE Minister of State for Federal National Council Affairs, and is the executive director of Gargash Enterprises, a family partnership distributing Mercedes-Benz in Dubai and the northern Emirates since 1957. Gargash is also a member of the board of trustees of the Sultan al-Owais Foundation, a pan-Arab cultural association based in Dubai, and serves as a board member of both *Al-Ittihad* newspaper and Emirates Media, the UAE's largest media group. He is a member of the Dubai Economic Council and the executive committee of the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry, where he heads the trade and economy committee. Gargash is a teaching assistant and lecturer at UAE University's Department of Political Science. He was also the managing editor of *The Emirates Occasional Papers* in English and *Dirasat Strategia* in Arabic, both published by the Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi.

Nasser Al Shaali (Dubai International Financial Centre)

Nasser Al Shaali was appointed chief executive officer of the Dubai International Financial Centre (DIFC) Authority in November 2006. He also serves on the boards of the DFM; UAE University, College of Business and Economics Executive Advisory (Ministry Social Welfare Fund); and Dubai Statistics Centre. He previously held the position of chief operating officer at the Dubai International Financial Exchange (DIFX), where he helped to launch the region's only international exchange for a range of financial products, and attracted leading regional and international companies. He also saw the DIFX established as the world's

largest Sukuk (Islamic bond) exchange. Al Shaali began his career freelancing as an emerging technologies consultant in Washington, DC, where he served with C&O Resources, conducting strategic research and analysis of US Mideast policy for selected governmental and private clients, and in 1998 received a BA in philosophy and international relations, with a specialization in communication technologies, from the American University.

CONFERENCE WORKSHOPS:

CONCEPT NOTES, PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS,
FINAL REPORTS, and PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Border Problems: Theory, Culture, and Political Economy

- David Ludden, New York University, US
- Julie Mostov, Drexel University, Pennsylvania, US
- Dina Siddiqi, University of Pennsylvania, US

National borders once seemed to be natural markers of the geographical limits of state sovereignty, but recent globalization has stripped them of this benign appearance. Resisting the naturalization of borders, scholars now recognize them as constituents of political environments, and as such, subject to constant reinterpretation, mutation, and contestation. This workshop explores research problems concerning the construction, meaning, operation, and transformation of borders. It seeks to develop mobile conversations across disciplines and among world regions to improve research methodologies.

Our point of departure is the idea that territorial borders articulate inequality and power relations among people inside and across territories. We are particularly concerned with border politics that constitute national environments by controlling social space with national institutions. But because rampant mobility of people, capital, commodities, ideas, and symbols now renders national territory increasingly open to disarticulation, we must also interrogate borders inscribed inside nations, produced across nations, and projected by nations into wider social spaces, such as empire, diaspora, the world of Islam (*umma*), and globalization itself.

Imagining, defining, mapping, regulating, transgressing, and contesting borders generate many methodological problems for scholars to consider. We approach these problems from three perspectives, which depend upon one another: theory, culture, and political economy. By “theory” we refer to ideas about borders that inform philosophical discourse, public debate, official state practices, and unofficial maneuvering around borders. By “culture” we refer to meanings that borders acquire in everyday social practice among people who live among borders with particular histories and specific implications for inhabitants. By “political economy” we refer to the productive power relations of modern capitalism, which make national states containers of wealth and also imbue border making and border crossing with costs and benefits. These perspectives enrich one another and do their best work when combined.

Each of our directors has a particular border concern that will inform the workshop. Julie Mostov’s work in political theory argues that “soft borders” represent a viable alternative to current “hard-border” politics, which produce oppressive constraints and conflicts that afflict poor and weak groups most severely. Dina Siddiqi’s research in anthropology explores the contested constructions of gender within transnational frames of global liberalism and Islamism, on the one hand, and within national and local frames of social identity and progressive politics, on the other. David Ludden’s research focuses on power relations of economic inequality in global and national development regimes.

Our perspectives converge on the study of border environments under capitalism. We are concerned with symbolic as well as physical borders: what borders mean and how they live in the imagination are as powerful as iron gates and cement barriers. We are especially interested in the gendered character of border environments, because the gendering of spatial politics reveals how the political economy of capitalism operates in border practices and their tangled disputation in public discourse.

We invite to this workshop participants who do research on state policy and related theories of border making and border control, on cultural movements and disputes that inscribe the various borders of national politics, on border regulations that discipline migrant workers within national economies, and on struggles over borders inside and across national environments of territorially defined rights and entitlements.

Some specific topics for research papers at our workshop include:

- Neoliberalism and structural adjustment as border-changing/challenging policies
- US imperial expansion as border reconfiguration
- Ethnonationalism and national border politics: symbolic markers and territorial boundaries
- Cross-border migration: movement and constraint, mobility and vulnerability, linkage and disjuncture
- Cultural movements spanning borders—invading territory—e.g., Islamism, Christianity
- Border-crossing technologies, border challenges, and border controls
- Violence and borders: crossing (internal and external) borders and life in borderlands
- Cultural contestation and negotiation of borders

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Shapan Adnan, South Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore

The Political Economy of Border Control and Manipulation in the Context of Ethnic Domination and Capitalist Expansion in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh

This paper explores the ways in which the dynamics of border control and manipulation can be driven by the propensities of capitalist expansion and projects of ethnic domination. The issues are illustrated by evidence from a case study of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh inhabited by Hill peoples (ethnic minorities) and subject to massive in-migration and land occupation by Bengali migrants. Border crossings by the Hill peoples have been caused by direct mechanisms of displacement, as well as indirect mechanisms of surveillance and spatial control. These processes have also led to substantive changes in *nonterritorial* internal boundaries of the CHT, reflected in the altered loci of ethnic composition, legal-administrative status, property rights, distribution of land, subjection to surveillance, and freedom of movement. The rules of entry and exit of its territorial borders have been subject to various forms of negotiation and manipulation, making them porous or permeable to varying extents. The two key mechanisms driving the border dynamics of the CHT have been capital accumulation and the political project of Bengali ethnic domination. The capitalist propensity to break through borders converged with the efforts of Bengali interest groups to undermine the internal border that had imposed restrictions on their entry, residence, and land-holding rights in the CHT. However, this no longer held once large-scale in-migration had created a massive Bengali population *inside* the CHT, which had also acquired possession of large chunks of land and other assets and businesses. Consequently, at this historical conjuncture, Bengali interest groups gave priority to protecting the lands and property they had already gained, leading to the creation of new internal security borders and surveillance mechanisms to repress and contain resistance of the Hill peoples. The outcome of these contrary propensities has led to a basic contradiction between the requirements of Bengali ethnic domination and the drive for borderless passage of people and commodities demanded by capitalist expansion. At the same time, however, both capital accumulation and Bengali ethnic domination have mutual interests in further acquisition of CHT lands and other nonmarket resources, making use of mechanisms of forced commoditization.

Donya Alinejad, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Imagining a Territorial Homeland Online: Nationalism on Iranian Diaspora Weblogs in North America

A common concern around the Internet is the extent to which virtual worlds operate independently of physical space and geographical territory. This paper addresses this concern by studying migrant virtual diaspora communities. This investigation pertains to debates on deterritorialization by showing how online meanings are embedded in physical spaces, and more specifically how diaspora nationalist meanings are configured by nation-state borders. Focusing on political and cultural nationalism among Iranian diaspora Weblog users located in North America, it is argued that the territoriality of homeland and host land ties is articulated quite differently, but as part of the same process of nationalist identification. The concept of the territorial nation-state of origin is still very important for diaspora despite connectivity on a transnational level. And the localized nature of geographically dispersed diaspora groups remains a defining feature of migrant hyphenated/dual national identity. Hence, de-/reterritorialization does not appear to take place despite the technical characteristics of this Internet media application.

Bina D'Costa, College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University

Strangers Within Our Borders: Human In(security) in South Asia

Scholars who have studied borders and boundaries in international relations and human geography suggest that state borders construct and accentuate differences not only between states and “geographical spaces,” but also between “insiders” and “outsiders.” These analyses disregard the complexities that are reflected

within a territory, where people experience invisible boundaries imposed by states. Even without crossing borders, people can be powerless, oppressed, and disenfranchised. Traditional security scholars and policy makers, on the other hand, often argue that only those people who cross borders become a human security concern for states. This view overlooks the reality that, from a human security perspective, states are often a part of the problem rather than a source of a solution. As agents of insecurity, states contribute to the marginalization of communities, with resulting human security implications. National borders determine the human security responsibilities of states for those people who live within those borders. In this paper, I address two specific questions: How can a conceptualization of borders and national boundaries based on human security theories explain the “everyday practices” of the people who are strangers within the state? and How is the sociopolitical boundary reinforced by the citizenship and identity politics of a state? After consideration of case studies of the Rohingyas refugees on the Burma–Bangladesh border, the stateless Biharis in various camps across Bangladesh, and the Jumma people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, as internally displaced people (IDPs), I argue that Bangladesh has contributed to insecurities of these communities within its national boundaries. I further suggest that it is essential to address the concerns of refugees, stateless people, and IDPs by analyzing borders and the movement of peoples from human security perspectives in order to generate strategic responses.

Charu Gupta, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; Motilal Nehru College (Eve.), University of Delhi

Bonded Bodies: Coastal Fisherfolk, Borders, and National Anxieties in India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan

This paper is about the troubled and tragic journeys and livelihood insecurities of coastal fisherfolk of India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan, who are arrested and jailed by these countries for having entered each other’s waters. These fisherfolk are victims of defined and undefined boundaries in the seas and increasing conflicts over renewable resources. The paper attempts to understand coastal conflicts from several overlapping but distinct perspectives, including from the point of view of fisherfolk, security, and border anxieties. It questions the cartographic and border anxieties of these countries, which come into fundamental contradiction with the lives, livelihoods, and desires of the majority of coastal fisherfolk, who are short-term migratory subjects on an everyday basis. In being fisherfolk-centric, the paper marginalizes the concerns of the state from the perspective of security and borders, questions its very basis, and argues for a shift in its perspective. The paper further explores how and why coastal fisherfolk are constantly subjected to categories such as insider and outsider, safety and danger, domestic and foreign, self and other. At the same time, it reveals how these fishing communities themselves mark an ambiguous space, located on the margins of two countries, also providing emancipatory possibilities that can emerge from the spatial freedoms they have practiced. However, there are also contradictory voices; some of these fisherfolk are articulating the very same language that is used to suppress them. In attempting to highlight these complexities, the paper widens our definitions of borders and identities.

Wai-Yip Ho, Department of Mathematics, Science, Social Sciences, and Technology, Hong Kong Institute of Education

Islamic–Confucian Axis as Transworld Connectivity: Digital Islam versus the Great Firewall of China

Despite recent discourses emphasizing a moderate Islam and China’s peaceful rise, the double perils of an Islamic–Confucian connection against the West has been widely speculated in global arenas. Departing from Samuel Huntington’s problematic imagery of a civilizational clash with the West, this paper contests the unilateral Islamic–Confucian alliance by examining the dubious developments and distinctive characteristics of Sino–Islamic cyber environments. Through studying emerging Chinese Islamic Websites in the midst of a growing autonomy of civil social movements as well as state surveillance, it is argued that transborder Sino–Islamic digital movements are positioned in both the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and its domestic politics among its fifty-six local nationalities. Externally, Beijing’s progressive energy diplomacy with Muslim states in the Middle East and Central Asia has allowed for unprecedented vocalization of local Muslim voices in the public sphere as an expression of religious liberty. Internally,

fostering a harmonious society is a key national priority in order to sustain economic growth; therefore cyber-police have been deployed to preempt any ethnic and religious mobilization, which could manifest itself anywhere from communal protest to separatist violence, before it can escalate into a destabilizing force beyond Beijing's control.

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Arabic Transnational Satellite Television and the Problem of Borders

Television in the Arab world developed for nearly half a century under the tight control of nearly two dozen sovereign states, and narrowly reflected those states' policies, worldviews, and interests. The satellite television revolution of the late 1990s and early 2000s, spearheaded by the Al-Jazeera news channel based in Qatar, has carved out a new public sphere for the Arab world, qualitatively different from the path of media development in Europe or North America; this poses a number of challenges to the twentieth-century regimes of territorial and firmly bordered states. Al-Jazeera and other news channels (such as Al-Arabiya) have raised the bar of public discourse critical of Arab governments, even if they do maintain preferential blind spots for the sponsors and subsidizing governments. This has resulted in the short term in temporary expulsion of their network from many countries in the region. But popular pressure and competition for audience market share have forced the old centralized regimes and their broadcasters to adjust their practices to accommodate far more freedom of expression than in the previous century. In other models pioneered in Lebanon, nonstate actors representing parties and sects (most notably Hezbollah, through its popular activist religious channel al-Manar) appeal to broad audiences far larger than their original constituencies. Are such channels capable of changing the regional balance of power? Finally, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia presents a case study in the contrary directions of state television and private corporate empires in which Saudi capital invests heavily in entertainment products that flaunt the conservative religious values espoused by the state. In playing out the various effects of television media grounded in territorial states but transcending them and pulling together transnational audiences, this paper asks to what extent the imagined communities of the new satellite broadcast system threaten the world of bordered Arab states, and to what extent they help maintain it by acting as safety valves for political opposition.

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Translating Borders

"Borders" no longer apply only to territories. They are political operators and have a political consistency beyond merely defining spaces. The meaning of a border draws on whatever it delineates, protects, or stands for. Presenting it as a "line" is a simplification. Borders establish binaries, the simplest and most reductive form of plurality; but the dichotomies that arise when a border is drawn are insufficient to express the complexity, diversity, and connectivity of things inside and outside of it. Soft or hard, borders appear within states and beyond them. They traverse individuals and collectivities, encompass and outgrow them, and call for *translation*. Now, more than the two terms "from" and "to" are needed to make the complex and intersecting translation. Notoriously, through globalization, and as they multiply, all kinds of borders (cultural, social, political, juridical, administrative, identitarian, gender, etc.) are now drawn deep within spaces. They, as well as citizenship or labor (which are interdependent), are now partly detached from state territory, disturbing the relation "within/without." Borders mean a number of different statuses in citizenship and nationality. They are both soft and hard, for different purposes and different people. We need to investigate the *politics of borders*, not limited to state politics. "Soft" and "hard" are extreme designations or characteristics difficult to measure, while a border is actually a *relationship* forever in transformation. There are no stable borders. I try to understand how borders as institutions (keeping in mind their local consistency, particularly in Asia) *translate* into individual or collective social, cultural, and political practices, in terms of emotional or symbolic investment, and so on. In terms of political theory, I attempt to subvert some received ideas about borders by taking translation as crossing the border, and by taking borders as in themselves political and productive of subjectivity and political agency, notwithstanding their role in impeding that. Borders are also

patterns we need to study as a fundamental form of *partage de la raison*, since they function first and foremost in our minds as operators in thinking.

Tara Schwegler and Olga Sezneva, Social Sciences Collegiate Division, University of Chicago

Spaces of Danger: International Trade Restrictions and the Symbolic Geography of the Global Economy

This paper examines three groups of consumer goods—Mexican avocados, Chinese toothpaste, and Chinese poultry—in order to adumbrate the critical cultural geographies that are engendered by their circulation. All three commodities have been subject to bans that have invoked a specific set of claims about health and safety. Yet the bans articulated distinctly different imaginaries of the connection between spaces, bodies, and risk. The analysis focuses first on the process of attributing meaning to each of these commodities; and second, on the public discourses and governmental policies that regulate their circuits. The bans established the conditions of possibility for the emergence of new forms and imaginaries of borders that defy geographical proximity. The avocado case involved US producers' concern about possible contamination of the US crop by Mexican avocado seed weevils. The product itself had not been tested as contaminated; it is the perception of Mexico as an "impure" space that prompted the US farmers' lobbying. The European and US seizure of thousands of tubes of Chinese toothpaste responded to concern for the consumer body posed by diethylene glycol. Although it is the product itself that contains poison, explanations of the presence of diethylene glycol locate the problem in the Chinese economy, an affinity that enforces the othering of China. Finally, the case of Chinese poultry potentially tainted with avian flu poses simultaneous risks to bodies and spaces: infected birds not only threaten to destabilize the poultry industry, but also pose a health risk to those who handle contaminated birds or their byproducts. The very nature of the problem seems to equate the international participants afflicted by the epidemic, yet the rhetoric of risk displays deep-seated anxieties about the perceived prodigious economic vigor of Asia, and China in particular, and thus has opened up new border imaginaries among countries that are not necessarily physically contiguous with it. The Mexican case involves contaminated spaces, the toothpaste concerns potential injury to bodies, and avian flu constitutes a double threat to spaces and bodies. It has been commonplace to identify trade bans or suspensions as a cloak for protectionist agendas. Through a systematic comparison of three distinct forms of trade bans, this paper argues that they reflect diverse and contextually dependent factors that cannot be reduced to pure economic interests. Through three case studies, we reveal the underlying social processes by which specific goods become receptacles of consumer/producer anxieties. We argue that the study of trade restrictions constitutes a vital site from which to glean the formation of new spatial imaginaries of connection between Asia and other world regions and the shifting scales of political action in which consumers and producers situate themselves.

Malini Sur, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam

Border Battles: "Suspects" and "Citizens" at a Foreigners Tribunal in Assam

This paper engages with borders of ambiguity that surround citizenship in Assam (Northeast India) by studying a specially constituted judicial tribunal that tries "suspected" foreigners in Gopalganj district (pseudonym). Formerly part of greater Sylhet (Bangladesh), Gopalganj is now sealed off by an international border. However, kinship and trading affiliations straddle Bangladesh, encouraging migration and settlement that mostly escapes the gaze of the state. The specially constituted border police periodically plunge into villages and towns and weed out suspects. The process of authentication plays out at the Foreigners Tribunal, which summons detected suspects to prove their citizenship. By studying case records and police interrogation reports, the paper investigates the contours of citizenship and the centrality of borders in Assam produced through tussles between the judiciary and settlers in Gopalganj.

Kamala Visweswaran, Department of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin

“We the People”: Genocide, Sovereignty, and Diaspora in the Remaking of South Asian Borders

The purpose of this paper is to develop an analytic framework for understanding the ways in which political violence remakes the relationship between border and sovereignty through the production of what I call “genocide diasporas.” Border conflicts are increasingly important for understanding the nexus of national/transnational ideological formations, for such conflicts also produce the diasporas that seed transnational imaginaries. I look at three cases of ethnic conflict (in Gujarat, Punjab, and Kashmir) as well as the partition of 1947 and the 1971 war for Bangladesh independence to try to understand the appearance of “genocide” as a social imaginary, and to track the narrative circulation of this cultural form as constitutive of (displaced) nationhood. While the conflicts in Punjab and Kashmir, as well as the 1971 war, stem from partition, and the conflicts in Punjab and Gujarat are not primarily delimited by border tension, each of these cases animates the Hindutva ideological project in particular ways. While both Gujarati Muslims and Kashmiri Hindus claim to be victims of genocide, the pronouncement that “(violence in) Gujarat is the payback for (violence in) Kashmir” operates as a linguistic statement about borders analogous to the ways in which Hindutva claims that Bangladesh is a part of Akhand Bharat (undivided India.) This paper does not ask the empirical or juridical question of political science: When does ethnic conflict *become* genocide? It rather asks the anthropological question: When is violent conflict *understood* as genocide? I suggest that this is not merely a rhetorical, but an ongoing substantive shift in the symbolic constitution of sovereignty (from “we the people” to “we the nonexistent people”) through the production of genocide diasporas. The generativity and interreferentiality of the above cases suggest the need for new questions and theoretical frameworks: for example, In what ways do genocide diasporas force a transitivity of minority/majority relations with respect to national boundaries? To what extent does the internationalization of conflict through diaspora publications and Web sites force a shift in our understanding of the ways in which conflicts travel beyond the border as a site of return, which then becomes constitutive of the border?

Origins

Our workshop derived from the intersection of three different kinds of work on border problems engaged in by the three workshop organizers: Julie Mostov's political theory of "hard" and "soft" borders, which provides our conceptual point of departure; Dina Siddiqi's anthropology of globalization and everyday life in Bangladesh, which adds a feminist perspective on cross-border Islam; and David Ludden's spatial history of economic development and social relations of power, inequality, and impoverishment under capitalism in Asia.

Analytical Frame

Papers and discussion at the workshop suggest that we should focus specifically on Mostov's analytical axis of hard and soft borders, which forms a continuum of border conditions and institutional dynamics created by political processes of hardening and softening. The continuum between open and closed borders also emerged as an important analytical axis where, at one extreme, borderlands are hardly inscribed at all by a border that remains notional, invisible, and uninstitutionalized; and, on the other extreme, a border is clearly and definitely inscribed, marked on the physical and cultural landscape, and highly institutionalized. This continuum corresponds roughly with a temporal shift toward the creation of modern state borders imbued with maps, surveys, border markers, passport regulations, and legally codified territorial identities. Hard and soft borders both presupposed a modern style of established border institutionalization.

Regionality

The papers by Shapan Adnan, Bina D'Costa, Charu Gupta, Malini Sur, and Kamala Visweswaran concern South Asia. Interestingly, all of them focus on conflict, exclusion, and vulnerability in borderlands between and inside national state territories. These papers all stress the harshly violent hardness of South Asian borders; the pain inflicted by border enforcement, discrimination, and deprivation in the borderlands; and state criminalization of everyday life among people who cross state borders during the normal pursuit of their livelihoods. The papers also refer to the more rigid inscription of borders into the operation of state systems of power in recent times, and to the arbitrary imposition of borders upon peoples by modern states. The violent partition of British India lies behind all these papers; so do current state and popular conflicts over borders and borderlands.

By contrast, the papers by Donya Alinejad, Wai-Yip Ho, Leila Hudson, Rada Ivekovic, and Tara Schwegler and Olga Sezneva, which do not focus on South Asia, stress the distinctiveness of the present as a temporal context of cultural life across borders. They depict increasingly rapid, voluminous, and influential border crossings of ideas, information, and commodities, which produce fluidity and ambiguity as well as anxiety. In these papers, the politics of territorial identities and the changing character of border thinking inside cultural spaces emerge as major concerns.

All of the non-South Asian papers make arguments that could be made as well for South Asia: that new communication technologies define "imagined communities" today on lines described by Benedict Anderson; that borders are mental constructs filled with ambiguity and contradiction, always susceptible to renegotiation and "translation"; and that the movement of commodities (as well as people and other things) across borders generates episodic outbreaks of anxiety about the pollution, invasion, contamination, and protection of national territory, conceived as the body of the nation. These papers are distinguished by their stress on the softening and malleability of territorial identities defined by borders, in a world where borders have already inscribed cultural landscapes with firmly territorial cultural formations.

Borders are often justified in the name of security, but as many of our papers suggest border-making/controlling practices often exacerbate tensions and create lethal crossings.

Themes

An interwoven set of themes became prominent in our discussion. We simply list them here in outline form.

A. The Border as Experience

- Our papers emphasize fieldwork methods and personal experience of and on the border.
- Borders in themselves are less our central concern than people on the border, people afflicted by border discipline, and people living territorial identities marked by borders.
- Our papers focus on everyday life in a world of borders more than on dramatic acts of border making. Our workshop paid more attention to experience and routine practices (pain and suffering) than to spectacular events. We argue that banal border practices create quotidian border reality.
- Border fluidity and ambiguity in everyday practices, ranging from digital communication, to radio, to trade, to mobile life ways and migrations, coexist with rigid official border definitions and enforcement.
- People negotiate borders. Borderland communities experience borders in struggles. These groups are typically marginal to the nation, and as border peoples, outside the core conceptions of national territorialism. They live on the cusp of inclusion and exclusion; they suffer a precarious position that they can also deploy sometimes to their own benefit, to define their own space of identity and livelihood inside or outside the nation, as it may suit them.
- Borders are points of friction and resistance, of limits and liminality. Border guards and protectors often operate outside the law. Everyday pain and suffering in borderlands result from legitimate state action and from lack of state control over borders on national frontiers.
- Borders are boundaries of the imagination of territorial worlds that form a cognitive frame of useful knowledge for the nation. The border is the boundary of the public self, steeped in private feelings and emotions attached to territory. The border is the sensitive skin of the imagined community conceived as a body and as a realm of intimacy, tenderness, and protection as well as space vulnerable to occupation and violation. This makes border imagery particularly susceptible to gendered metaphors of motherhood and the vigilance of state fathers and masculine border guards. Outside is danger and fearsome alien life.
- The border is subjective, a place for discovering self and other, for enacting difference. Hence the border is drama, spectacle. A bordered nation is like a gated community: an enclosure for the self. Having a key to get in, turning the lock, knowing our way around, being sure of the limits, talking about our place and its exterior, touching the edges; these experiences define the territorial self.
- The border is a production of sentimentality. Sentiment plays an important role in creating borders, which in turn shape sentiments. Processes of circulation enact or perform the border as a definitive constituent of lived social space.

B. The Border as Process

- At the same time as we emphasize the border as an experiential feature of human spatial identity, we also stress the role of power and institutions in creating borders that shape experience. Again, the banal and quotidian processes most attract our attention.
- There are many types of borders. Some are territorial or legal, some are conceptual and social. Some separate spaces, some separate people and cultures. The territorial state border entails all these others.
- A border is a connection as well as separation. It connects entities defined by the border on both sides. Changes on either side change the character of the border. For instance, international relations alter the character of borders within which people experience their territorial identity: bordered identities change politically.

- Activities at various levels of scale and in institutions that span local and global spaces construct borders that people experience. Local activity on the border and global dynamics of law, diplomacy, capital, and electronic messages construct borders of community.
- Processes of physical mobility alter territorial imaginations and border sensibilities, whether mobility is in cyberspace or in diasporic migration, forced or voluntary.
- State and national anxieties, juridical processes, and fears among state authorities change borders of belonging and inclusion, leading to expulsion, rejection, and expropriation. Politicians can change the locks on the gated community, or distribute more keys.
- Borders produce inequalities, and contesting inequality often brings borders into question, particularly as they concern property and citizenship. Rebellions typically cross borders and work with the liminality of borderland peoples, routes, and spaces.
- State power is starkly visible on the border, in making the border solid, in regulation and monitoring. State power is not about making the border impenetrable but rather about regulating flows across it.
- The connectivity of states' spaces is in the borderlands, where border-crossing routines signal change in the character of state relations and in the character of state modalities of governance. The emergence of new kinds of cross-border discourse signals a change in the discourse of governance, nationality, and power relations.
- At this specific historical moment, border processes appear to be at a new juncture. In framing what David Harvey calls its necessary "spatial fix," capitalism is opening borders for the movement of capital, but more strictly regulating the movement of labor and the directional flow of goods. Information and communication move across borders with the least regulation. Neoliberalism is a generalized framing device for this combination of regulatory strategies at the border: soft for communications and capital, hard for labor. Unregulated border crossings from viruses to environmental pollution and from shadow networks to everyday acts of contestation challenge the control of interstate systems, regulatory strategies, and notions of sovereignty. Military engagement is one response to this challenge.
- Hard borders—most in evidence in our papers on South Asia—sustain inequalities of proprietary power. Neoliberal opening of borders has not changed this. In China too, it seems that border hardening for labor (and some cultural flows) coexists with selective border opening for capital. Capitalism or the world market economy does not seem to be moving in general toward the softening of borders.

C. The Border as Topic

- Thinking about borders stimulates exploration of various interconnected issues in the social sciences and humanities. It is thus a good way to generate interdisciplinary conversations and methodological mixing, and provides a way to address the substance of area studies without reifying its boundaries.
- Borders provide a critical angle on the spatiality of society, culture, political economy, and history.
- Borders in the mind—as in area studies and national traditions of scholarship—are entangled with borders of states and nations. Borders define identities, categories, and mental boundaries that cannot be separated from bodies feeling pain on real borders regulated by states.
- We explored a number of methodological issues, stressing fieldwork and the problem of contextualizing border experiences within border-making processes.
- What is the novelty of our contemporary moment? Some people see a change of historical epoch and episteme with globalization. Order persists but is transformed. New methods seem to be necessary—for instance, to understand virtual spaces and borders-in-the-making. Methodology thus shares the

- We seek a new political economy beyond economic reductionism and political science of the state, a new theoretical approach based on case studies widening our sense of the cultural to include the political and the economic.
- Gender is embedded in our approach, as part of *partage*—a binary that provides the historical model for “naturalized” hierarchies; the impact of feminist thinking is strong here. Gender can suffuse a discussion without being explicitly named. Gender did not always come up explicitly as a separate analytical category but it was always present as a tool, especially in our understanding of binaries and the production of difference.
- What is the *Inter-Asia* substance of our topic?

We bypass the West in a South-South perspective; Europe is a vanishing mediator.

We acknowledge an unspoken background element in the naturalization of post-WWI postcolonial boundaries. These are imposed and constituted as a historical commonality of Inter-Asia, shaping border processes.

Postcolonial nationalists can be imperialists too. New forms of domination and subordination emerge during and after the dismantling of imperial borders. Banality of everyday border processes is embedded in the particularities of the environment.
- We discovered the border as a very visual subject; its study requires pictures and illustrations. Hegemonic maps need countervisualization through imagery of various kinds.

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Distant Divides and Intimate Connections: Migrant Domestic Workers in Asia

• Nicole Constable, University of Pittsburgh, US

Hundreds of thousands of women from far-flung regions of South and Southeast Asia (especially the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) migrate each year to be domestic workers in the private homes of employers in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East (especially Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates). Each host and sending country has its unique history and trajectory of migration and the patterns of labor migration are propelled by a variety of factors. One main factor is the shortage of domestic labor in wealthier and more developed regions of the so-called global North, and the high rates of unemployment and underemployment in the poorer and less developed countries of the so-called global South.

Many scholars have studied migrant domestic workers within the social and recent historical context of a single host region, and most have focused mainly on a single group or nationality of migrant worker. Others have focused on two regions: the sending and the receiving country. A growing number of researchers have examined the impact of migrant workers' remittances and their absence on their place of origin and on the family members who are left behind. Much less scholarly attention has been paid, however, to comparisons between the same or different groups of migrant domestic workers in different host countries, to the interconnections between domestic workers of different nationalities within and beyond state boundaries, or to the ways in which different receiving locations impact the work and life experiences of different nationalities of migrant workers.

This workshop solicits papers from researchers from a wide range of social science and related disciplines (e.g., anthropology, cultural geography, sociology, women's studies, etc.), as well as from activists or policy makers who have conducted first-hand ethnographic research among migrant domestic workers in one or more regions of Asia broadly defined. Although individual papers might focus primarily on one region or one nationality of domestic workers, collectively they will allow us to compare a range of political, socioeconomic, religious, personal, and/or cultural themes that define and structure the work and life experiences of migrant domestic workers.

Of particular interest are papers that will do one or more of the following:

- Illuminate instances and possibilities (or impossibilities) of affiliations, collaborations, or connections between different nationalities of domestic workers within one geographical region of Asia
- Analyze connections between workers and others (e.g., family members, recruiters, advocates, or other workers) in different geographic regions of Asia
- Point to a complex of factors that promote or inhibit various forms of formal or informal advocacy or activism on issues of relevance to domestic workers within and between different Asian locations
- Illustrate the geographical trajectories and multisited experiences of domestic workers in Asia and the influence of these experiences on their own lives and those of others

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

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High in the Hierarchy, Rich in Diversity: Asian Domestic Workers in Yemen

The employment of migrant domestic workers in the economically rich countries on the Arabian Peninsula is well known, but few people know that also in the Republic of Yemen, the least economically developed country in West Asia, predominantly migrant women are employed as domestics. Yemen is primarily known as a sending country in migration with many Yemenis migrating to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states in the 1970s. As a result of their remittances Yemen's economy monetarized and a middle and upper middle class emerged in the main cities; employing domestic workers is becoming common among these classes. Yemeni women are reluctant to work as domestics because of its low status, and employers also prefer to employ foreign women. Although most domestic workers come from neighboring countries such as Somalia and Ethiopia, there are also Asian workers; they mainly come from the Philippines and Indonesia, but also from India and a small number from Sri Lanka. There is a clear hierarchy of domestic workers in Yemen. Asian women are positioned at the top; they have high status, are employed by the upper classes, and receive the highest salaries. African women have a lower status; they are employed by the middle and upper middle classes and receive lower salaries. Although the tasks for which Asian and African women are employed differ, this does not mean that Asian domestics are a homogeneous category. Whereas Filipinas and Sri Lankan women were preferred as domestics in the 1980s and 1990s, today there is a strong preference for Indonesian domestics. In this paper I analyze the differences between Asian domestics in Yemen, based on their nationality and religion, and explain the shift in employers' preferences. The paper is based on anthropological fieldwork between 2003 and 2006 and in-depth interviews with fifteen Asian domestic workers in two cities in Yemen.

Elizabeth Frantz, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science

Clientage in the Employment of Sri Lankan Domestic Workers in Jordan

Each year, thousands of Sri Lankan women are recruited on two-year contracts as live-in domestic workers in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Their migration is part of an exodus triggered by the burgeoning demand for domestic workers in the Arab world since the mid-1970s. The oil-rich Gulf states remain the most frequent destinations, but demand also has risen in Jordan, where some seventy thousand foreign domestic workers are now employed. Much of the literature on migrant domestic workers in the Arab world has been dominated by human rights perspectives that focus on exploitation and abuse. These studies are marked by a tendency to see domestic workers in terms of their obvious vulnerabilities, but they fail to problematize why and how the demand for their services has come about. Moreover, accounts of domestic work in the Arab world have tended to be one-sided, failing to consider the perspectives of both employers and domestic workers. In an attempt to fill some of the gaps, this paper discusses the social, economic, and political factors influencing the market for foreign domestic workers in Jordan, particularly how the demand has been driven by changes in class formation and kinship. It also chronicles Sri Lankan migrants' experiences in the host country, suggesting that there are meaningful cohorts differentiated by age, length of stay, and place of residence, which have distinctively different experiences in the host country. The final part of the paper explores the dynamic and often contradictory relationships between Sri Lankan domestic workers and the families that employ them, arguing that an essential strategy used by both employers and housemaids involves the construction of patron-client bonds.

Michele Ruth Gamburd, Anthropology Department, Portland State University, US

A Puzzling Paucity: Inter-Asian Migration and Stunted Labor Activism in Sri Lanka

For three decades, Sri Lankan migrant women have labored as transnational domestic servants. Half a million women currently hold jobs in West Asia. They are poorly paid and vulnerable to exploitative labor practices. Despite the importance of worker remittances to the national economy, and Sri Lanka's history of organized labor and active political participation, there is relatively little advocacy for migrants by the state, labor unions, or migrant-oriented NGOs. In this paper I explore the puzzling paucity of activism in Sri Lanka by comparing this South Asian case with the energetic organizing going on in the Philippines. I hypothesize that activism correlates with the political and personal freedoms transnational domestic workers experience in labor-receiving countries. Most of Sri Lanka's female domestic migrants (90 percent) work in West Asia (particularly Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE). In contrast, only 30 percent of Filipino women go to West Asia, while 60 percent go to countries in East and Southeast Asia (especially Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore). Compared to states in West Asia, states in East and Southeast Asia give women workers more chance for autonomous activities (such as socializing and moving around unsupervised), are more conducive to labor organizing, are marginally more open to political protest, and are slightly more responsive to governmental pressures from labor-sending countries. But all Asian labor-sending countries, even the Philippines, fall short in advocating for transnational domestic workers because of their weak positions in the global economy. To support my argument, I examine circumstances of labor unions and NGOs in Sri Lanka and the Philippines, labor and political conditions in Asian destination countries, international regulations of labor, and state-to-state negotiations. My data come from ethnographic fieldwork and published sources. I conclude that global economic dynamics, combined with political conditions in destination countries, affect the sorts of migrant labor activism possible in both labor-sending and labor-receiving countries in Asia. Significant improvements in migrant laborers' conditions can only spring from multilateral state-level agreements between labor-sending countries, accompanied by international protections for migrant workers.

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Relocating "Intimate Connections":

A Journey to Unbind Relations between Migrant Domestic Servants and their Employers

In the spring of 2007, I returned with my housekeeper of twenty years to her hometown in Ilocos Norte in the Philippines. I went to meet her family and trace the journey of this migrant domestic worker back to her home. In this paper I provide an account of an employer making the rare trip to meet the family of his servant and the questions, issues, and dilemmas that such a journey raises. I also critique my own method, approach, and position to highlight creative ways to represent and write about employer relations with domestic workers. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the northern Philippines as well as observations in the migrant worker's country of employment, Kuwait, I try to provide a preliminary framework for how to understand the conditions of exploitation that consume domestic workers in general. Ultimately, this paper traces critical questions and reflections that emerged during my fieldwork in a Filipino community and how this reproduced and relocated a relationship between me and my housekeeper and her sending community. The paper will provide a narrative that will analyze critical negotiations that took place between me, as son/employer/guest, and my housekeeper as mother/servant/host, exploring the haze that surrounds these constantly shifting positions vis-à-vis each other. This is an account by the supposedly "good" employer, but through my narrative and style I hope to expose the conflicting positions of "good" employers and how they are entangled in a web of global processes as well as the docile practices of domestic workers. The primary objective in reconstructing my narrative is to find spaces in which domestic workers can find new and creative ways to organize, resist, and change the desperate conditions in which they often find themselves, and in which conscientious employers can work with them to produce systemic changes.

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The Making of a Transnationalist Grassroots Migrant Movement in Hong Kong

International labor migration has regained its significance in academic writings as capitalist globalization intensified in recent years. Studies have shown how globalization has increased the extent of labor migration and how it has greatly affected the lives of migrant workers. However, few studies have documented how migrant workers from different countries have made collective efforts in resisting and challenging capitalist globalization, and have created transnationalism from below. This paper focuses on the development of the Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB) in Hong Kong to illustrate how grassroots migrant organizations have organized to resist globalization. Hong Kong as a site of “transnational activism” for migrant issues has been well studied. However, most studies neglect the importance of grassroots migrant organizations or confuse them with migrant NGOs. The AMCB is particularly interesting and important not only because it is the first coalition of migrants from different Asian countries, but also because it is a coalition of grassroots migrant organizations from different nationalities. By studying the AMCB, this paper analyzes how migrant workers from different Asian countries, including the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, have been working together across nation–state, racial, and gender boundaries. This paper will address what has made AMCB possible, what it has achieved, how it has expanded to influence other migrant organizations, what challenges it has been facing, and what strategies it has used to overcome difficulties.

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Cultural Encounters and Women’s Solidarity: South Asian Domestic Help in the UAE

Both long-term and temporary migration have become integral features of globalization. The focus of this paper is to explore the changes in the lifeworld of female South Asian domestic workers in the United Arab Emirates. Most recent studies on domestic workers focus on the vulnerability of women workers in alien lands. Many women are trafficked into jobs other than they were promised, and many of the studies reveal sad and sordid stories of exploitation and oppression. In this paper we do not discount such matters and are fully aware of the risks these women take and the processes of their victimization. However, here we want to take up the issue of the coping strategies of these women. Based on intensive interviews with four Bangladeshi and two Sri Lankan domestic workers in Abu Dhabi, we explore the everyday life of these women in search of better opportunities and financial security in a faraway land. We see them as exercising their agency to turn a gloomy situation into one of hope and survival and even empowerment by forging feminist solidarity with their female employers.

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On Orientalists, Christian Zionists, and “Working Class Cosmopolitans”:

Filipina Domestic Workers in Israel and Beyond

Within a global gendered economy based on an international division of labor, Filipina migrants have become nannies, maids, and caregivers in numerous Asian and Middle Eastern affluent homes. Filipina migrants who seek work as domestic workers abroad have been described as “classical” transmigrants who keep in touch with family members back home, and commute back and forth between their countries of origin and destination. It is less often recognized that they are integrated into large social networks of Filipinos in their countries of migration. Based on sixteen months of ethnographic research in Israel and the Philippines between 2003 and 2007, I argue that Filipina migrants are transnational in a much broader sense than commonly discussed in (anthropological) studies on migration: engaged in border-crossing journeys through a number of nation states, many Filipina migrants move *on and on* rather than *back and forth*. They do so within a global hierarchy of desirable destination countries, ranked according to the great differences between nation–states with regard to salaries, the legal entitlements migrants can claim, the costs and risks migrants have to take in order to enter, and their overall subjective and imaginative attractiveness. Within this global hierarchy,

Israel holds a middle position, above most Asian and Middle Eastern destination countries, where many women were employed before coming to Israel, but clearly below those in Western Europe and North America, which ultimately grant citizenship, so they hope, and to which many dream of going. By overcoming multiple hardships, restrictive migration policies, and border regimes; by being intimately confronted with culturally foreign practices as domestic workers in the private homes of Asian countries; and by collectively claiming the land they currently inhabit through traveling and organizing in religious communities, Filipina migrants acquire an intimate and comparative picture of “Asia backstage,” and turn into Middle Eastern experts, politically active Christian Zionists, or sentimental Orientalists, who in spite of their Christianity miss fasting on Yom Kippur or during Ramadan. In my paper, I will focus on Filipina migrants’ subjective narratives as well as collective practices in Israel and beyond. As “working class cosmopolitans” (Werbner 1999), I argue, Filipina global migrants transcend the divide typically drawn in the literature between parochial migrants and bourgeois cosmopolitans.

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The Challenges of Working across Borders: Transnational Migrant Worker Activism in Southeast Asia
Globalization provides a reference point in the work of many activists and NGOs. Through their involvement in transnational advocacy networks and their alliances with international NGOs, locally and nationally based migrant worker rights organizations are engaged in new forms of transnational activism. However, as differently situated actors with diverse agendas, motivations, and priorities, they face a range of challenges and contradictions in addressing migrant workers’ rights within a transnational frame. This paper examines the limits of transnational activism in support of foreign domestic workers (FDWs) through case studies of organizations in Malaysia and Singapore. In exploring the case studies I consider three interrelated issues—the ways in which organizations in both countries understand and portray the problems faced by female migrant workers (i.e., whether they understand these problems to be transnational in origin); the solutions they pose to these problems (i.e., whether the solutions are transnational in character); and the extent to which they are able to organize and network transnationally. By considering the factors that support or inhibit transnational activist engagements by migrant worker organizations, this paper examines the local and national constraints and opportunities that activists face in building effective transnational alliances. This study demonstrates that the ability to “think transnationally” is an important factor in determining the success of efforts to organize transnationally. Thinking transnationally involves more than recognizing that the issues facing migrant women workers are part of a global phenomenon. It involves understanding how the conditions facing migrant workers at the national level are connected to the global division of labor, which provides the conditions for middle-class women in places such as Singapore and Malaysia to appropriate the labor of poor women from developing countries throughout the Asian Pacific. It also requires activists to interrogate the reasons why different nation–states respond to FDWs in remarkably similar ways.

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Women versus the State: Empowerment and Leadership in Labor Migration from Indonesia
The emergence of the modern nation–state has had varying effects on large groups of people, from areas of advanced development to others characterized by a lack of basic social services, political uncertainties, violence, landlessness, unemployment, poverty, insecure livelihoods, increasing wealth gaps, environmental degradation, and so on. This paper examines how the nation–state can serve to limit the mobility of people driven by poverty and a lack of livelihood opportunities to search for jobs beyond national boundaries. Economic globalization feeds the labor markets of wealthier states with a ready supply of short-term labor from less-developed economies, but migrant workers not only bear the brunt of protectionist and discriminatory practices in receiving countries, they are also subject to exploitative practices from their own sending countries. Indonesian women migrant workers in Hong Kong have begun to organize collectively around some of these issues and in the discussion of how these have percolated since 2000, this paper will explicate some of the aspects of labor migration to show how the interests of private capital and the state are

symbiotic, and how these collude in women's labor migration in ways that create vulnerabilities for them. More precisely, it examines the role of the Indonesian state in the creation of debt bondage and conditions of near slavery among Indonesian migrant women in Hong Kong, and traces the responses to state-generated oppression in the development of the Indonesian women's labor movement in Hong Kong. Ideas and definitions of women's leadership vary widely and attempts to empower women do not always bring about the desired effect or lead to transformations in the structures of women's exclusion. This paper attempts to distill the different notions of women's leadership and empowerment in labor migration and shows why certain modes of empowerment lead to structural transformations while others are less promising for women. Although it serves as documentation of a historical phenomenon of women's labor migration from Indonesia, this paper concludes with some of the principles that engender women's empowerment as social and collective qualities.

This workshop aimed to collectively and critically reflect on theoretical insights and methodological innovations that result when we use migrant domestic workers as a lens through which to examine Inter-Asian formations that are characterized by distant divides and intimate connections of many sorts.

Over the past three decades, Inter-Asian connections have become more *distant* in the sense that hundreds of thousands of women domestic workers migrate from ever more far-flung regions of South and Southeast Asia, to regions of East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and West Asia. In this workshop we looked at migrant domestic workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka and the destinations of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, the UAE, Jordan, Yemen, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Israel. We considered women's experiences, relationships, and the advocacy (or lack thereof) provided by sending and receiving states, NGOs, and grassroots organizations.

Inter-Asian connections are at once more *intimate* in the sense that these workers live and labor in the very private spaces of the homes of their employers. As such, they gain intimate knowledge of family dynamics, religious practices, and the everyday lives of their employers. In turn such intimacies often require mechanisms for maintaining distance: distinguishing worker from employer, maid from ma'am, be they distinctions of nationality, race, appearance, uniforms, or delineations of household space.

Although in some receiving countries migrant workers are able to bring family members and establish households, most are geographically separated from their family members. Despite such distance, some workers manage to maintain a degree of intimacy with home—given information technology, especially mobile phones in some regions. Or the relations between migrant workers and their spouses, children, and other family members back home can become emotionally strained with distance. Cell phones also provide opportunities for more intimate communications between workers who are otherwise isolated in their employers' homes.

Both distance and intimacy are evidenced in the relations between workers and employers who are proximally close but often socially, culturally, or emotionally distant. Sami Hermez's paper recounted his travels back to the Philippines with Julie, the domestic worker he grew up with in Lebanon. His family relations—his relationship with his mother, his parents' relationships with the servants, for example—all influence his own relationship with Julie. Hermez confronts the issue of symbolic violence, querying and problematizing his role as employer and the existence of possibilities for "good employers" to advocate for their workers.

In relation to this reflexive micronarrative of one employer and one worker, situated within a specific moment and location in the global political economy, and in relation to Mehraj Jahan and Habib Khondker's paper on Bangladeshi workers in the UAE, we asked how workers benefit from "good relations" with their employers. What constitutes a "good employer" in the sorts of contexts in which workers cannot depend on legal recourse or state support from either the state in which they hold citizenship, or the host society where they are denied such rights? In such cases, the good employer is defined by measures that are highly reminiscent of the patron-client relations of a moral economy. By contrast, in other contexts, with Hong Kong as a prime example, as discussed in the papers of Amy Sim and Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, we come to think of "good employers" not as those who pay domestic workers their legal wages, give them gifts and money to take home for their children, and do not beat them, but those who participate in broader forms of activism and advocacy and allow their workers the flexibility to do so as well.

Each host and sending country is part of the current global economy as manifest in Inter-Asian connections that have their own unique histories and trajectories of migration. Patterns of labor migration are pushed by a variety of factors. Neoliberal globalization is a key factor propelling forms of labor migration as the shortage of domestic labor in wealthier and more developed regions of the so-called global North are satisfied by workers

from the poorer and less-developed countries of the so-called global South that suffer from high rates of unemployment and underemployment.

Yet far from a simple pattern of South-North migration, we see a multiplicity of patterns of mobility as workers—for a variety of reasons—move from one work destination to another. Why do some workers, as Marina de Regt's paper demonstrates, choose to go to Yemen, which is generally on the sending end of migration? Some hierarchies are defined and reflected by recruitment costs (agencies that charge, for example \$4,000-5,000 for a worker to go to Israel, \$8,000 to go to Canada). Government laws and regulations, quotas, restrictions, and lack of restrictions also play a role. There are also factors of employer and worker preferences and the global imaginings that color the patterns of mobility. As de Regt writes, in Yemen—the least economically developed country in West Asia—a range of factors serves to classify a hierarchy of nationalities of domestic workers: women from Asia (mostly from the Philippines and Indonesia) are paid more and valued more highly than workers from Somalia and Ethiopia.

Migratory patterns are influenced not only by recruitment agencies and employer's preferences, but also by worker perceptions and desires. As Claudia Liebelt describes in her paper on Filipina domestic workers in Israel, certain Christian Filipino domestic workers are drawn to work in the Holy Land because of their Jesus Is Lord Pentecostal Christian orientation and a desire to proselytize. Parenthetically, as Liebelt noted, mainland Chinese domestic workers appear to have had a short-lived career compared with other nationalities that comprise Israel's three hundred and fifty thousand migrant workers.

Liebelt's work shows that many domestic worker migration patterns can be better described as “on and on” rather than “back and forth.” This is a simple but important point. Workers work their way up the hierarchy of East Asian destinations (Hong Kong and Taiwan) to eventually work in Israel, the Promised Land in the eyes of some Christian domestic workers. Increasingly, workers tell of having worked in more than one country or for more than one nationality of employer. What intimate knowledge do they carry with them across borders? What networks facilitate their Inter-Asian mobility? What new sorts of identities are created? What new forms of “worker cosmopolitanism” are reflected in such movements as workers develop concrete and comparative religious and cultural practices, narratives, and concepts of Inter-Asian connections, as well as international communities of action and belonging?

Over the past two decades many scholars have studied migrant domestic workers within the social and recent historical context of a single host region. The first edition of my *Maid to Order in Hong Kong* (Constable 1997) focused on Filipina migrant workers; given radical shifts over the past decade, the new edition (Constable 2007) necessarily reflects the increase in Indonesian domestic workers and the burgeoning transnational coalitions of workers. Some scholars have focused on the sending and the receiving country. Some have examined the impact of migrant workers' remittances and their absence on their place of origin and on the family members who are left behind. Less attention has been paid to explicit comparisons or connections between the same or different groups of domestic workers in different host countries, to the interconnections between domestic workers of different nationalities within and beyond state boundaries, or to the ways in which different receiving locations impact the work and life experiences of different nationalities of migrant workers and the connections between workers, workers and employers, and workers and advocacy groups.

Several of the papers in this workshop further our understanding of the range of relationships and coalitions (divides and connections) between migrant workers of different nationalities, considering national/ethnic implications of worker advocacy and activism. Michele Gamburd asks why political activism and affiliations are not as likely to be found among Sri Lankan workers in the Middle East as they are among Filipino workers. As she writes, “Despite the importance of worker remittances to the national economy, and Sri Lanka's history of organized labor and active political participation, there is relatively little advocacy for Sri Lankan migrant workers by the state, labor unions, or migrant-oriented NGOs.” She hypothesizes that this has most to do with the political and personal freedoms (or lack thereof) of domestic workers in the Global Cooperation Council (GCC) labor-receiving countries in contrast to Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong. Gender issues also deserve careful attention, as men—not women—are the ones who are mainly involved in politics and labor organizing in Sri Lanka.

By contrast with the situation of Sri Lankan domestic workers in the GCC countries, Amy Sim describes factors that have obstructed Indonesian activism and women's leadership in Hong Kong. During the past two decades, as the abuse and underpayment of Filipinas has decreased, the numbers of Indonesian domestic workers has grown, and so have the abuses they suffer. Although activism has grown over the past fifteen years, clearly influenced by Filipino activists, the Indonesian state's alliance with capitalist interests and the "debt bondage" imposed by employment agencies continues to fuel the vulnerability of Indonesian workers.

Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, an academic and an activist, takes a look at the Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB), a coalition of grassroots migrant organizations based in Hong Kong that links together migrant workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, and Nepal. She distinguishes NGOs from grassroots organizations, approaching the AMCB as a successful example of transnationalism from below. AMCB focuses on issues that crosscut the interests of migrant workers of all nationalities, for example wage issues, and (drawing on her adaptation of Alain Touraine) she highlights the transformation of worker subjectivity from personal, to communal, to historical. A key question is whether this model of successful organizing can be adapted to other groups in other settings.

Lenore Lyons poses broader questions about the limits of transnational and national activism in support of foreign domestic workers by closely examining two case studies of NGOs and activist groups in Malaysia and Singapore. Pointing to a distinction between "cross-border organizing" and a "transnational frame of reference," she asks what role the ability to "think" and organize transnationally plays in successful organizing on behalf of migrant domestic workers. Lyon's paper—like that of Hsia—requires that we think carefully about the problems of "NGOism" and consider who actually benefits from particular NGOs and domestic worker advocacy organizations. What are their connections with grassroots organizations? Do they benefit domestic workers by measures such as providing abused workers with shelter and relief services and legal/paralegal and counseling assistance; by promoting communication and media messages; and by providing advocacy?

Many of the papers point to a variety of ways that we might move beyond the single space/single nationality of worker approach, pointing to new directions for comparison and contrast and for accountability. Elizabeth Franz is conducting a multisited project with workers in the receiving country of Jordan and the sending country of Sri Lanka. In Jordan we see little of the overt activism that is evident in Hong Kong. Yet in such a highly restricted context, churches and Christian religious groups serve as sources of social support. Such religious groups do not promote or speak in a language of "human rights" but instead speak in the language of "love, compassion, loyalty, and sacrifice." As in the UAE case described by Jahan and Khondker, we see loyalty and deference exchanged for benefits in what might be considered a hierarchical and power-laden relationship that exchanges obedience and docility for patronage.

Collectively the papers point to the necessity of new sorts of longitudinal, multisited, and multiperspective methodologies to fully appreciate the constraints faced by transnational domestic workers and also the opportunities for improved conditions. The papers suggest the need for ongoing comparisons between regions and nationalities, raising questions about the difficulties of translating the experiences of one group, location, or nationality of workers to another.

This workshop indicates the importance of understanding the formal institutions (state, local, familial, transnational, and capitalist) that shape and promote migratory labor, advocate for workers, or curtail workers rights and their ability to improve work conditions. It also points to ways that social identities and cultural practices and beliefs relating to gender, religion, class, race, and nationality are linked to affiliations, divides, and transformations that traverse and also transform and create new and unique experiences and sites of interaction, new pathways of mobility, new Inter-Asian spaces, or new Inter-Asian-scapes.

Among the many issues and topics for further research that were discussed we highlight the following :

- Mobility and immobility. Further attention must be paid to patterns of mobility and immobility. Particularly important is to see who moves, where they go, where they go next, and who does not move or why migrants sometimes remain in one place. Migrants often move *on and on* through a hierarchy of destinations rather than back and forth from home. What is the nature of these

- Family institutions. We must continue to interrogate the patriarchal institutions of family in relation to the position of domestic workers. Further research needs to consider the role of the employers' family and household, especially gendered patterns of sex-segregated households in regions of the Middle East, in relation to the position and experiences of domestic workers. Do such gender relations and isolation promote patron-client dependencies perhaps at the expense of rights discourses? Relatedly, what are the implications of migrants' own family formations in the host society: particularly familial chain migrations and possibilities of family formation abroad.
- Comparative hierarchies. What factors promote or justify comparative hierarchies of domestic workers and employers in different settings within a context of neoliberal globalization? Although Filipinas are at the top of the hierarchy in many locations, what does this mean? What factors define "good" workers? How do such hierarchies change across time and vary across locations? What is the role of class/race/nationality in relation to such hierarchies and subordinations? And perhaps most significantly, how do workers themselves participate in such othering and in reproducing rights discourses that serve to deny the rights of others?
- Transnational framing. What is the value of transnational framing versus cross-border organizing? Is transnational organizing indeed the promising feminist methodology once hoped for and commonly assumed? How do East Asian, Middle East, and GCC contexts empower or delimit the ability of domestic workers to improve their circumstances (here we think of patronage, strikes, protests, or prayer groups)? Future work must continue to examine the variety of factors that promote or allow for improved conditions, considering which aspects can be translated into other contexts.
- State–citizen relationship. The state–citizen relationship has been transformed in the face of neoliberalism. Migrant workers call the notion of "citizenship" into question in unique ways. What are the obligations of the state in relation to the rights of its citizen subjects at home and abroad? Sending states differ in their relationships with host states, and the interests of workers are often clearly subordinated to the desire to maintain diplomatic relations and to yield economic benefits from relationships with wealthier and more powerful receiving countries. Sending-state representatives are often unable or unwilling to advocate for their citizens abroad. What roles might NGOs play, and in what circumstances, to galvanize states to act?
- Religion and faith-based groups. What are the varied roles and possibilities for religious institutions and faith-based groups to benefit domestic workers? Research suggests that such groups might have greater potential in the Middle East/GCC than in East Asia, where religious groups are often seen as an impediment to change and activism.
- Research relevance. Future researchers ought to consider the relevance and reception of their work in relation to domestic workers themselves. Given the difficulty of conducting multisited research, we must make greater efforts to share our work and information with scholars, activists, and other researchers.
- New mappings. Methodologically we urge scholars to develop new ways of mapping routes: individual migrants and their life stories; movement and connections of organizations, NGOs, grassroots organizations, and networks; and longitudinal studies of workers. There is a great need to pay attention to recruitment agencies—and the movement of capital—comparatively, globally, and cross-regionally.

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Initiatives of Regional Integration in Asia in Comparative Perspective: Concepts, Contents, and Prospects

- Howard Loewen, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Germany
- Anja Zorob, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Germany

The workshop aims to explore the past, present, and future role of regional integration initiatives in Asia. As in other parts of the world, “regionalization” is proliferating in Asia and its major subregions (East Asia, South Asia, and Central Asia and the Middle East). Many countries in Asia form part of a steadily growing network of regional integration agreements (RIAs). In addition, regionalization has developed also outside the framework of formal agreements fostered for instance by the growth of international production networks.

In contrast to the first wave in the 1960s, however, most of the RIAs concluded during the new or second wave of regionalism are designed in a framework of open regionalism. They increasingly include so-called deeper integration issues and are to a substantial degree signed between countries at different stages of development and/or economic size. In addition, many agreements are no longer limited to purely economic aspects or security cooperation but integrate a whole range of different economic, political, and security issues. Accordingly, there is a growing body of literature assuming that formal regional integration, if designed appropriately, could contribute to liberalization of trade and investment in line with (and not against) the multilateral process in the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Moreover, RIAs might even be able to foster efforts at democratization in these parts of the world. Finally, regions, or better regional and subregional organizations leading the process of regionalization, are increasingly viewed as being or trying to become important political actors in the international arena. The numerous new initiatives at inter- and intraregional integration however differ considerably in scope, content, membership, and outcome from one RIA to another, from one regional or subregional organization to another, and even between the different subregions of Asia. The same applies to the patterns of regionalization that have developed on a more informal level or been driven by market forces. These differences and their effects on regional integration processes are the core aspects to be investigated in this workshop.

On the one hand this workshop will bring together speakers and discussants from different disciplinary backgrounds. On the other hand it promises to take up an “Inter-Asian” perspective offering the opportunity to explore and compare the fairly diverse experiences of regionalization in the different parts of Asia. Moreover, the workshop shall enable us to critically discuss and compare new approaches and concepts put forward by political actors and institutions in and outside the Asian region. Finally, case studies presented in this workshop and the accompanying discussions may help to critically test the theories of regional integration and in particular its “potential effects,” its constraints, and prerequisites as stipulated in the literature. Against this background, the papers selected for presentation deal with one or more of the following issues of regional integration:

- Introducing new methodological and/or innovative theoretical conceptualizations regarding the causes and effects of bilateral/multilateral RIAs
- Debating and comparing preconditions for successful integration among RIAs in Asia/its major subregions
- Assessing and comparing concepts underlying the design of existing and potential future RIAs in Asia
- Measuring outcomes of formal integration initiatives and market-driven patterns of regionalization in different policy fields (trade, investment, political and security cooperation, etc.)
- Assessing the role of regional powers/potential hubs (China, Japan, India) as well as extraregional actors (US, EU) in promoting or hindering regional economic and/or political cooperation/integration

- Case studies of bilateral and multilateral RIAs in Asia and their interplay with global economic institutions/governance

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

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Regional Economic Integration and Foreign Direct Investment in South Asia: Prospects and Problems

This paper is an attempt to understand the prospects for and progress toward greater economic integration in South Asia. This subregion comprises seven economies, namely, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, which are members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The slow progress in and modest achievements of regional integration in South Asia have generated a great deal of skepticism about its role as an effective growth strategy. The present study however argues that there is a need to forge deeper integration within the region and examines the prospects and problems of the movement there. It describes current efforts at regional cooperation and integration in South Asia; examines the channels through which regional cooperation affects investment flows in the integrating region; investigates the magnitudes and patterns of intra- and extraregional foreign direct investment (FDI) flows in the region; assesses future prospects of regional FDI flows; explores the role of regional integration in promoting these flows; analyzes the challenges and constraints that need to be addressed to exploit the potential of regional initiatives; and identifies lessons in East Asia's success. It argues that regional integration has the potential to promote intra- and extraregional FDI flows and economic development in individual countries of the region. This will pave the way for the most efficient use of the region's resources through additional economies of scale, value addition, employment, and diffusion of technology. Unresolved structural weaknesses, institutional bottlenecks, political movements, narrow nationalism, and mutual mistrust are some of the factors that explain the failure of the region to tap its potential; however, these problems themselves provide a strong motivation for strengthening regional cooperation arrangements.

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The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China, Russia, and Regionalism in Central Asia

In the relatively short period since its creation in June 2001, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has emerged as a viable regional integration initiative in Central Asia. It has six members—Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan—and four observers. Its regional agenda covers cooperation in a whole range of economic, political, and security fields, with emphasis on enhancing Central Asian security by combating terrorism and other threats to the region and fostering regional trade, investment, and economic development. This paper discusses the origin and evolution of the SCO; and the content and scope of its cooperative activities in the security, economic, and political domains and their future outcome in view of the challenges still confronting the organization. It attempts to answer several questions, such as: How has SCO made a difference in Central Asian regionalism? What more does it need to do structurally and practically to overcome the remaining challenges? What roles have China and Russia, as great powers, played in setting its agenda? How much importance do Central Asian member-states attach to SCO? How far has the organization succeeded in assuaging US/Western perceptions about its potentially confrontational capacity? And, which theoretical framework is more appropriate to understand SCO-led regionalism in Central Asia, its past progress, and future prospects? In the post-Cold War period, regionalism in Central Asia has also involved other initiatives such as the Economic Cooperation Organization and the Commonwealth of Independent States. However, SCO seems to have proven its comparative distinctiveness by serving, in however limited a way, its member-states' objective national needs and interests in an era of globalization and terrorism.

Lurong Chen, International Economics, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

The de facto Bilateral Trade Liberalization and East Asia Regional Integration

East Asian countries have long enjoyed “market-driven” integration through trade and foreign direct investment. Since the formation of the EU and NAFTA, the neutral integration in East Asia has reached a “critical stage” such that a region-wide institutional scheme might be necessary to promote further integration. This paper studies East Asian regionalism via a focus on the bilateral trade relations between East Asian countries. The de facto bilateral trade liberalization (BTL) index and the “economic distance” calculated serve as new tools to compare de facto trade preference in relative terms. It suggests that Japan and China are two individual “hub” candidates for the possible hub-and-spoke formation in East Asian regionalism. The China-ASEAN free trade agreement might be a milestone of regional integration in Asia.

Christopher M. Dent, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Leeds

New Regional Financial Agreements (RFAs) in East Asia: Beyond “Trade-Oriented” Regional Integration and Cooperation

Much of the regional economic integration literature still tends to ascribe primacy to trade integration above all other forms of internationalized economic activity. This can to some extent be explained by the legacy of traditional Eurocentric integration theories (e.g., Vinerian customs union theory) whereby free trade agreements (FTAs) constitute the first progressive stage of economic integration. While there has been a dramatic expansion of FTA activity in Asia (albeit mostly bilateral in nature), and trade regionalization has made substantial advances at the micro level in the region through the growth of international production networks and other factors, the emergence of regional *financial* agreements (RFAs) in Asia has been equally important. Asia’s new financial regionalism has largely arisen through the ASEAN Plus Three framework in conjunction with other supportive diplomatic processes and organizations, in particular the Asian Development Bank. Strengthening regional financial governance in Asia can be understood in three broad contexts: as a crisis-aversion strategy, seeking to avoid the turbulent events of 1997-98; as harnessing financial market development as a broader tool for economic development; and as a vehicle for advancing regional integration and cooperation. Asia’s new RFAs have centered on the following initiated or proposed schemes:

- The Chiang Mai initiative scheme of currency swap agreements, launched in 2000, initially based on an expanding number and collective value (now US\$ 85 billion) of bilateral swap agreements, soon to be an upgraded multilateralized system
- The Asian bond market initiative introduced in 2003 and designed to foster domestic and regional bond market development in East Asia, and therein better utilize the region’s substantial financial resources more effectively toward meeting the region’s investment needs
- The Asian currency unit scheme, first proposed in 2006 as a mechanism for improving regional cooperation on exchange rate policy and possible future regional monetary integration in Asia

This paper will look at what contributions these new RFAs can make to Asia’s future regional integration, including its interface with other integrational developments, for example, trade. It will also offer new theoretical insights regarding the nature of regional integration per se.

Ruediger Frank, East Asian Institute, University of Vienna

East Asian Regionalization and North Korea: Causes and Effects

East Asian regionalism has an impact on the North Korean issue, and vice versa. The paper analyzes this relationship and presents a regional approach to the question of a lasting solution to the various issues surrounding North Korea, including the nuclear question. Structuralist international relations theory provides the framework for an analysis of interests and power, and of the applicability of multilateral contractual

solutions. It is shown that a regional body such as ASEAN+X including the ASEAN Regional Forum could be the foundation of a reliable security guarantee, and that it has sufficient economic power to tackle the financial side of North Korean integration. The institutional structure of the North Korean political system suggests that such a setting could be politically acceptable for Pyongyang. Based on past experiences and an evaluation of interests, preferences, and limitations, a number of criteria that mark ideal partners for a cooperative alliance from the perspective of North Korea are identified and contrasted with existing multilateral arrangements. It is demonstrated that ASEAN+X clearly qualifies for a cooperative solution, while the Six Party Talks are structurally determined to serve as a forum for a confrontational game; both serve North Korea's interests but differ significantly in the effects on other parties. The issue of varying effects of multilateralism on North Korea is not only relevant as an example for analyzing other cases, but also against the background that the North Korean issue is becoming a major front in the relationship between China and the United States.

George Gavrilis, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

State Failure and Regional Cooperation: The Case of Afghanistan

State collapse is seen largely as a negative: a liability for the international community, a refugee crisis for states bordering on the collapsed states, and a breeding ground for extremism and warlordism. Yet, in the case of Asia, the breakup of the Soviet Union and the failure of Afghanistan took place alongside a number of regional cooperative initiatives: China established trade networks deep inside Central Asia's newly independent states and spearheaded the founding of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization; the United Nations Development Programme partnered up with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Central Asia to facilitate cooperation across state authorities to make borders both more secure and easier to cross; Iran tacitly cooperated with international agencies such as the UN to curtail drug smuggling networks from Afghanistan but stopped short of signing broader free trade and security agreements with its neighbor; and donors from East Asia and the Middle East began to sponsor road-building projects in and around weak or failed states, opening up regions within Asia formerly isolated from one another. Focusing in particular on the collapse of Afghanistan, this paper asks under what conditions does state failure broaden cooperation among the remaining states in a region. The paper investigates the role of Iran, Pakistan, India, and China in the recovery effort in Afghanistan to understand whether problems of state failure create new regional cooperative agreements among surrounding states; why state failure triggers formal cooperative initiatives in some cases, but informal or ad hoc initiatives in others; and the relative weight of regional organizations versus security concerns in the role that proximate states play in the recovery of a collapsed state.

Norma Nicole Hazboun, Social Sciences Department, Bethlehem University

A Critical Reading of Arab–Israeli Regional Cooperation: Its Political Strategic Future Impacts

The notion of regional cooperation in the Arab–Israeli context is not new; in fact, it goes back to the end of the 1940s as manifested by US policies toward the Middle East. Today, mainly after the Annapolis conference, we are witnessing a revival of the call for regional cooperation among Middle East and North African countries, which was suspended after 1997, along with calls advocating democracy and good governance, among others. The proposals for such regional and economic projects are often strategic in nature, making their intended meanings seem contradictory in light of the nonabidance by peace agreements, which contributed to the absence of peace and security. Experience shows that any strategy based on a counterargument would most probably lead to other outcomes, especially when the call for economic integration in the region comes within the framework of the logic of the effect preceding the cause. Economic development strategies and policies cannot be implemented in the absence of a true peace that coincides with the logic of equal partnership. This paper will discuss the research findings from a study of the Palestinian leadership in the Bethlehem Governorate regarding the issue of approval or disapproval of an economic solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict in general, and the Palestinian–Israeli conflict in particular; the

overwhelming majority rejected this proposition, which builds on the economic factor rather than on political dimensions. This solution aims in principle at bringing an end to the political and economic isolation of Israel. However, such a solution may work against Palestinian inalienable rights: when Israel failed to accomplish this through the use of power and war gains, it opted instead to achieve its goals via the economy. So what is the alternative? The issue is not limited to putting forward a framework for a solution; in fact, it might be resolved by determining the preconditions and bases for the fulfillment of such a solution in a way that guarantees equal and just rights to all citizens who could then enjoy the promised security in this region.

Fred H. Lawson, Government Department, Mills College, California

Comparing Regionalist Projects in Southeast and Southwest Asia: Outcomes, Processes, and Prospects

Regionalist projects in Southeast and Southwest Asia exhibit broadly similar historical trajectories. In both parts of the world, regional organizations initially grew out of attempts by states to promote common security interests. Such organizations then stagnated for several decades, leading most observers to conclude that they could provide little if any foundation for greater political, economic, or social integration. Nevertheless, the turn of the twenty-first century witnessed an acceleration of regionalization in both arenas, which has arguably been more pronounced in Southeast Asia but is evident in Southwest Asia as well. Explaining the trend toward heightened regionalism requires a systematic comparison of the dynamics that have propelled governments to reinvigorate and expand long-dormant multilateral institutions. In particular, the circumstances that led the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to augment formal and informal collaboration not only among member-states but also—and more importantly—between the members of the organization and neighboring states (resulting in the arrangement commonly known as ASEAN Plus Three) can usefully be counterposed against the dynamics that have generated episodes of greater regionalization among the member-states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This paper traces the key developments that have transformed the GCC from a loose security arrangement into a more integrated regional formation, and then indicates to what extent parallel trends can be ascertained in contemporary Southeast Asia. On the basis of this sort of rigorous comparative analysis, the paper indicates factors and processes that stimulate consolidation and sustain regionalization across contemporary Asia.

Peter Richter, German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

Constraints on and Solutions to Subregional Integration in Asia: A Case Study of BIMP-EAGA

The Brunei Darussalam–Indonesia–Malaysia–Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP–EAGA) subregional cooperation initiative was formally launched in 1994 as a key strategy of the participating governments to address the social and economic development of their less developed and more remote territories. The immediate objective was and still is to encourage increased trade, investment, and tourism in the subregion, which covers various island economies from Borneo via Sulawesi to Mindanao and the Moluccas. Basically the private sector is seen as the “engine of growth,” with the governments providing the enabling environment to allow the promotion of private sector business and investment. As integration with regard to the three “pillars” of trade, investment, and tourism did not develop as originally expected, specifically as a fallout of the Asian financial crises at the end of the 1990s, in 2004 a BIMP–EAGA roadmap was agreed upon to earmark key interventions as well as milestones expected to lead to an accelerated integration process through 2010, with the Asian Development Bank, the German Technical Cooperation, and other potential donors like AusAID making available substantial technical and financial inputs. It is obvious that the BIMP–EAGA concept follows the successful model of the so-called growth triangles (GTs) in Southeast Asia (Indonesia–Malaysia–Singapore GT, Indonesia–Malaysia–Thailand GT, and the Mekong subregion), which prosper under specific favorable conditions, such as geographical proximity, a dynamic private sector, and strong support from the public sector. This paper draws on these and other success factors for regional and subregional integration deduced from international “good practices” in order to come up with a clear picture of the causes for the still broad underachievement in mobilizing the vast potentials in BIMP–EAGA with regard to natural resources, manufacturing capacities, and services, particularly in the tourism sector. Two sets of issues have to be seen with regard to BIMP–EAGA: on the one hand its

enormous “spread” of development levels (e.g., Sabah and Kalimantan) and its extension over a vast and remote area; and on the other hand only weak political support and a very light institutional setup (an inadequate facilitation center, small and medium enterprises as “implementers,” no budget of its own, local governmental units sidelined, etc.). With a look to international experiences and strong national promotional policies in the region (e.g., in Malaysia), these conditions appear inadequate and insufficient to promote the self-given goal of enhanced integration in the BIMP–EAGA island world. The paper therefore presents the thesis that the BIMP–EAGA deficiencies and consequently low integration status can mainly be explained by the use of an inappropriate model, and that is why awareness building, political commitment, and subsequently the reform of institutions and promotional policies will be necessary to make the agreement really work and produce the envisaged benefits for the population.

Summary of Workshop Proceedings

The aim of this workshop was to explore the past, present, and future role of regional integration initiatives in Asia. Influenced by phenomena like the end of bipolarity, domestic dynamics, the Asian crisis, economic block building, the rise of China and India, and the slow pace of international trade negotiations, regionalism flourished in Asia and its major subregions (East Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, the Middle East) especially since the beginning of the 1990s.

A closer look at the regional integration schemes reveals that they may be bilateral in nature (bilateral free trade and financial agreements) or multilateral in nature (Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN], ASEAN+3, Brunei Darussalam–Indonesia–Malaysia–Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area [BIMP–EAGA], South Asian Free Trade Area [SAFTA], Asia Pacific Economic Organization [APEC], Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], Shanghai Cooperation Organization [SCO]). Moreover regional integration agreements (RIAs) are not limited to purely economic aspects but incorporate a whole range of different economic, political, and security issues (i.e., ASEAN, East Asia Summit, GCC). RIAs also differ considerably in scope, content, and membership. Furthermore, they did not evolve in a straightforward process as theorized in classical integration theories (Balassa, Scharpf, Schmitter, Haas). Actually, they seemed to have evolved at times rather spontaneously and showed signs of emergent properties (i.e., the “spaghetti bowl” of free trade agreements [FTAs]). It is thus hard to identify any linear sequence or static logic to Asian integration. A multidisciplinary approach to regional integration promises to be the best way to grasp the complexity of this phenomenon.

What do we exactly mean by regional integration and regionalism? Studies on regional economic integration are an essential part of the wider study of regionalism, which has become one of the defining elements of the current international system. According to Christopher Dent (2008), we may refer to regionalism as the structures, processes, and arrangements that are working toward greater coherence within a specific international region in terms of economic, political, security, sociocultural, and other kinds of linkages. These may evolve either as a result of microlevel processes (private or civil sector activities [regionalization]) or public policy initiatives such as FTAs (based on intergovernmental dialogues and treaties [regionalism in particular when contrasted to regionalization]).

Literature on topics of regionalism in Asia has mainly focused on one specific area or subregion, that is the Middle East or Southeast or East Asia, or their analysis has been based on one academic discipline only. Our workshop, in contrast, took up an “Inter-Asian” perspective offering to compare and explain variances of regionalism and regionalization in different parts of Asia; moreover, it brought together speakers and discussants from different academic disciplines such as political science and economics.

We explored a wide range of patterns in the dynamics of regionalism across the Asian continent. Despite important similarities in structures of regional institutions, we found that such institutions as FTAs are quite diverse in function and process and also hard to negotiate. Besides their function to manage economic interdependencies, political and strategic aspects of these agreements are significant. Take for example the case in which the already existing FTA between China and ASEAN generates a demand on the Japanese side to reach a similar agreement with ASEAN, thus indicating a strategic or political driving force of FTAs (domino effect). Now, such diversity needs to be incorporated into the growing literature on regionalism, which tends to ignore the distinctiveness of the Asian experience in favor of vague comparisons with Western Europe.

We also looked at the importance of financial integration as a growing force across Asia. Existing literature focuses on trade relations and trade policy, but commercial relations are increasingly being eclipsed by financial transactions as a source of regional integration. Manifestations of this development are the Chiang Mai initiative (currency swap arrangements), the Asian bond market initiative, and the Asian currency unit.

Especially the originally bilateral currency swap arrangements might evolve into a multilateralized system. In contrast to trade agreements, the basic motive behind the initiation of these agreements is primarily to avoid regional financial crisis. A key reason why financial regionalism has been able to advance in East Asia ahead of trade regionalism is that finance is generally perceived as being less politically sensitive than trade (especially trade in agriculture and textiles).

This pattern of a growing financial regionalism appears to be present not only among the more diversified economies of East Asia: the members of the GCC recently announced plans to introduce a common currency by 2010. At the beginning of this year and after several alternating periods of “burst” and retreat or stagnation of regionalization in the Gulf region, the GCC members finally succeeded in establishing a common market among them.

Perhaps most intriguing are schemes such as the subregional cooperation initiatives like BIMP–EAGA or the Indonesia–Malaysia–Thailand growth triangle. They represent efforts on the part of local businesspeople and provincial officials to forge linkages of trade and investment across parts of regions of neighboring countries. This sort of regionalization owes little to central governments, and represents a trend at the eastern end of Asia that might well be replicated elsewhere. At the same time, governments participating in the BIMP–EAGA may be committed politically but are not very eager to engage financially or to surrender parts of their sovereignty. Regional economic institutions may also serve the outspoken security interests of regional powers: the SCO, dominated by Russia and China, is a case in point.

Another major theme in the workshop discussions was the connection between multilateral institutions and processes and bilateral ones. Conventional wisdom expects these two forms of regionalism to reinforce or promote one another, but it may well be that they work in opposite directions. In a similar way, regional institutions across Asia exhibit the tendency toward overlapping memberships, whereby member-states in one organization are partners with a different set of countries in adjacent institutions (i.e., ASEAN–China FTA and the ASEAN–Korea). Such overlapping memberships are usually downplayed, but since they compete or have to be reconciled with other similar overlapping arrangements they may play a crucial role in the success or failure of regionalist schemes.

The workshop even addressed the degree to which ongoing trends in the Arab–Israeli conflict might be better understood in the context of regionalization. In this case it became apparent that identity indeed matters and has to be taken into account when assessing prospects for regional integration and cooperation. It showed also that plans and efforts at regionalization cannot be imposed from only one side or party to the scheme let alone external partners, but instead must be based on some kind of common denominator or mutual understanding and interests. The connection between regionalism and conflict resolution warrants greater attention both at the Southwestern end of the continent and with regard to festering tensions surrounding the Democratic People's Republic of (North) Korea at the Northeastern tip.

Last but not least, one study examined the degree to which state collapse might provide strong incentives for surrounding governments to initiate regional cooperation. What policy makers call “failed states” can pose real problems for neighboring states and, looking at the case of Afghanistan after 2001, offer a good deal of insight into an unexpected positive effect of governmental collapse.

Comments on Workshop Process

A. Expectations

Many countries in Asia form part of a steadily growing network of RIAs. These treaties are mostly signed bilaterally between countries neighboring each other or that belong to the same subregion. In Asia this pattern applies in particular to the subregions of both the Middle East and East Asia. Lately, however, agreements were also concluded or are in the making between countries from across the region, connecting

countries like Jordan and Singapore, China and Pakistan, or the Arab Gulf countries with Malaysia, India, or Pakistan. In addition, there are a host of multilateral RIAs, such as ASEAN, ASEAN + 3, APEC, SCO, GCC, and last but not least the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Besides all of these treaties one should not forget that regionalization in trade and factor movements has also developed in and among different parts of Asia outside the framework of formal agreements fostered for instance by the growth of international production networks or flows of aid and workers remittances among countries of the region.

Most of the literature and conferences or workshops organized on topics of regionalism/regionalization in Asia have concentrated to date on one specific area or subregion (i.e., the Middle East or Southeast Asia) or they have focused on a specific academic discipline. This workshop, however, brought together speakers and discussants from different disciplinary backgrounds and promised to take up an “Inter-Asian” perspective offering the opportunity to explore and compare the fairly diverse experiences of regionalization gained thus far in the different parts of Asia. Could these variations be traced back primarily to different concepts and/or specific contents of RIAs or to other preconditions frequently stipulated in the literature—or what, for example, the Middle East might learn from initiatives of regional integration in other parts of Asia? Besides looking at past experiences the workshop with its Inter-Asian perspective and the multidisciplinary background of its speakers aimed at critically discussing and comparing new approaches and concepts put forward most recently by different political actors and institutions inside and outside the Asian region. Case studies presented in this workshop and the accompanying discussions helped to critically test or discuss theories of regional integration and in particular their “potential effects,” their constraints and prerequisites as stipulated in the literature.

Against the background outlined above, the papers selected for presentation in the workshop dealt with one or more of the following issues of regional integration:

- Introducing new methodological and/or innovative theoretical conceptualizations regarding the causes and effects of bilateral/multilateral RIAs
- Debating and comparing preconditions for successful integration among RIAs in Asia/its major subregions
- Assessing and comparing concepts underlying the design of existing and potential future RIAs in Asia
- Measuring outcomes of formal initiatives of integration and market-driven patterns of regionalization in different policy fields (trade, investment, political and security cooperation, etc.)
- Assessing the role of regional powers/potential hubs (China, Japan, India) as well as extraregional actors (US, EU) in promoting or hindering regional economic and/or political cooperation/integration
- Case studies of bilateral and multilateral RIAs in Asia and their interplay with global economic institutions/governance

B. Results and Assessment

The workshop brought together academics, scientific staff, and practitioners in development cooperation representing experts in economics, international political economy, sociology, political science, and international relations.

The paper by Lurong Chen measured existing bilateral trade relations among East Asian countries by calculating de facto bilateral trade liberalization (BTL) indices and economic distance. Based on the comparison of de facto trade preferences among East Asian countries he discussed who might be potential hub and sub-hub candidates arguing that an FTA between China and ASEAN might trigger important domino effects and therefore represents a potential future milestone in East Asian regional integration.

Peter Richter took a critical look at the BIMP–EAGA subregional cooperation initiative launched in 1994, its slow progress to date, and its prospects for future implementation. For this purpose Richter explored the

differences in the preconditions between the BIMP–EAGA cooperation initiative and the Southeast Asian growth triangles (GTs) (Indonesia–Malaysia–Singapore GT, Indonesia–Malaysia–Thailand GT, and Mekong subregion) which success it wants to emulate and which concept it adopted. He concluded that policies and institutions in BIMP–EAGA need to be substantially strengthened and reformed; in addition he proposed an alternative concept and different institutional setup better suited to the conditions in BIMP–EAGA to make the agreement work and produce the expected benefits.

Christopher Dent spoke about the new regional financial agreements (RFAs) already initiated among Asian countries or proposed as future initiatives, such as the Chiang Mai scheme of currency swap agreements launched in 2000. He tried to assess how these new agreement schemes could contribute to fostering regional and, as part of it, trade integration in Asia. Thereby he challenged the traditional view assuming that economic integration should proceed in stages beginning with free trade as the first stage. In addition, he shed some light on potential differences between financial and trade integration with respect to political economy considerations and thus the political feasibility of such initiatives. Moreover, he explored, among other things, how the new RFAs might impact the interplay between regional and global financial governance.

The paper on Arab–Israeli regional cooperation, by Norma Nicola Hazboun, was based on the findings of field research conducted in Bethlehem District. She argued that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian leadership rejected Israeli plans to push “normalization” by way of regional economic cooperation as a means to end the regional political and economic isolation of Israel and as a precondition or basis to achieve a final settlement or Arab–Israeli peace. She further explored what might be the impact of such a strategy, which has been backed also by the West from the very beginning, on future political rights of the Palestinians and their policies and strategies of economic development.

George Gravillis proposed a rather unconventional new concept assuming that state collapse might serve as an incentive or starting point for regional integration. To illustrate this he explored two cases of state failure, the collapse of Afghanistan and the breakup of the Soviet Union, and connected them to a number of both formal and informal initiatives at integration among the surrounding countries, which followed thereafter. By doing so, he took a look, among others, at the reactions or strategies of regional powers neighboring failed states (China in Tajikistan and Iran in Afghanistan) and explained why state collapse prompted formal initiatives at integration in some cases and rather informal attempts in others.

Ruediger Frank focused on recent efforts at regional economic integration as well as security cooperation in East Asia and its impact on the North Korean issue and vice versa. Using standard international relations theories, he explored the options and limits for North Korea to participate in East Asian regional initiatives. In conjunction with an assessment of the activities conducted so far he tried to infer a number of conditions based on which East Asian regionalization could serve as an alternative approach to the solution of the various issues concerning North Korea, among them the country’s nuclear program, and analyzed how this, in turn, could affect East Asian community building.

In his investigation of the driving forces behind Asian regionalism, Fred Lawson concentrated on the case of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) founded by the six Arab Gulf countries in 1981. He tried to ascertain trends and processes stimulating, consolidating, and sustaining regionalization. By exploring the development trajectory of the GCC, marked by alternating sudden “bursts” and lengthy intervals of stagnation in integrative activity among the its members, he found that only in the face of extraordinary internal and external challenges were the governments of these countries prepared to create innovative institutional arrangements. This approach, he argued, also allows recognizing Saudi Arabia’s predominant position in regional affairs but does not assume that the kingdom’s enviable economic and military assets will necessarily convince the other Arab Gulf states to acquiesce in arrangements that institutionalize Saudi predominance. In his opinion, the current tensions in regional affairs may well set off a third outburst or deepening of regionalization in the second half of the decade.

Ishtiaq Ahmad focused on a critical evaluation of the concept, contents, membership, and outcomes of the SCO, established in 2001 by Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. He discussed the various economic, security, and political challenges the SCO is facing and described how it has responded to tackle these challenges and to elucidate what remains to be done. He framed this analysis of its

achievements and drawbacks in a comparison to the performance of other initiatives of regional integration involving Central Asian countries like, for example, the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). The author concluded by clarifying what the SCO has been able to achieve, which other initiatives at regional integration in this area could not, and this is, among others, to create greater confidence among its members. In addition, he also discussed the lessons the SCO might learn from success stories of regionalism in Asia such as ASEAN.

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Lurong Chen is a PhD candidate in international economics at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, studying cross-border trade flows in parts and component goods. He is also a researcher at the United Nations University–Comparative Regional Integration Studies. Email address: lchen@cris.unu.edu

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Ruediger Frank is a professor of East Asian Economy and Society in the East Asian Institute at the University of Vienna. Frank is an economist who has recently written on politics and development in both North and South Korea. Email address: ruediger.frank@univie.ac.at

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Norma Nicola Hazboun is an associate professor in the Social Sciences Department at Bethlehem University in Palestine. She is a political scientist who studies the Arab–Israeli conflict, resettlement and refugee policy, and regional cooperation. Email address: normah@bethlehem.edu

Fred H. Lawson is the Rice Professor of Government at Mills College in Oakland, California. He has written on international relations among the Arab Gulf states, pan-Arabism, and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Email address: lawson@mills.edu.

At the time of the conference Howard Loewen was a senior research fellow at the Institute of Asian Affairs, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) in Hamburg. He has published on the topics of interregional cooperation between Europe and Asia as well as institutional interplay and global governance. Loewen is currently a senior research fellow at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Berlin. Email address: howard.loewen@swp-berlin.org

Peter Richter is a senior advisor with the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). He manages their project on the promotion of regional economic integration in the Brunei Darussalam–Indonesia–Malaysia–Philippines–East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP–EAGA), addressing social and economic development in the remote and less developed territories. Email address: Peter.Richter@gtz.de

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Inter-referencing Asia: Urban Experiments and the Art of Being Global

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The twenty-first century will be an urban century and more significantly, it will be a century of Asian urbanization. The growth of Asian cities prompts the need for a research agenda that pays careful attention to the processes and forms of urbanism that are forming at such sites. The analytical framework of “global cities,” which is in currency, fails to capture the role of Asian cities as “worlding” nodes: those that create global connections and global regimes of value. In particular, it fails to notice the ways in which Asian cities produce global urbanism through experiments of inter-referencing, whereby urban elites borrow, copy, and articulate city making across national borders. In the dynamic context of such Inter-Asian aspirations, Dubai, Singapore, and Shanghai emerge as “models,” while aspiring cities undertake slum demolitions, invest in premium urban infrastructure, woo investors through special economic zones, deploy high-style architecture to create an urban brand, and compete for professionals in the bid to create world-class economies. Such a production of space has profound implications for the future of Asian cities: to whom will the cities belong? what will be the relationship between cities and citizenship?

We propose a workshop that focuses on the urban experiment that is the Asian city. We invite paper proposals that address the following issues:

- The “worlding” role of Asian cities in the age of late capitalism with a particular emphasis on the intercity borrowings, linkages, and competitions that drive globalization across Asia. How is such inter-referencing driven by elite actors, by the state, and by the circulation of professionals and managers? What are the aesthetic icons and symbols associated with Asian urban aspirations? In other words, what is the “art of being global” that is being cultivated at the site of the Asian city?
- The types of displacements that are emerging in such Asian cities, ranging from the flows of labor that service the success and prosperity of cities to the displacement being engendered by the development of enclave urbanism. What are the social and political limits of such displacements? How is the politics of displacement mediated by civil society actors that operate both within and across particular Asian cities? What are the forms of urban mobilization that are coalescing around the modality of displacement?

The sheer political ambition of their urban experimentations suggests a focus on the United Emirates, India, China, and Southeast Asia, but not exclusively. We invite the participation of scholars from anthropology, urban planning, architecture, sociology, geography, and cultural studies, as well as civil society actors, cultural producers, and professionals who are directly engaged in projects of Inter-Asia city making. Paper submissions can be focused on a single city or can be comparative and transnational in nature. Our workshop will foster interactions that can lead to collaborations, resulting in a new field of Inter-Asian urban studies.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Beng Huat Chua, Asia Research Institute and Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Singapore as Model

In a short span of about fifty years, Singapore has transformed itself economically into a first world economy. On the whole, the perception of others matches Singaporean self-projection: Singapore is a “successful” nation. It is this success that has attracted many politicians, cities, and countries to see “Singapore as model” for their future. This modeling is not one of cloning or mimicry but one of “possibility” in this sense: If the tiny island-nation can be successful, so could others. Beneath this general attitude, specific policies and practices executed in Singapore have been adopted by different locations in Asia, most notably in urban planning. Singapore’s national public housing program has democratized home-ownership, homogenized the regime of everyday life in comprehensively planned public housing estates, eliminated homelessness, and reduced the visibility of poverty, enhancing the sense of Singapore as a “homogenously” middle-class society. Ironically, without a national planning and housing program, the abstraction and transnationalization of Singaporean urban and housing planning principles and guidelines to other Asian locations generate not greater equality and distribution but privileged enclaves of the upper-income strata that emphasize inequality.

Michael Goldman, Sociology and Global Studies, University of Minnesota–Twin Cities

Inside the “Bangalore Model” of World City Making:

Excitement, Interurban Accumulations, and Large-Scale Dispossession

One shining light in a world of growing inequities, according to the discourse of the development industry, is the “making of world cities,” and “Asia” is its exemplar. It explains how a developing country can focus its collective resources on priming select cities to become globally competitive. As the argument goes, the synergy of high-end, information technology (IT)-related and ecologically clean services can become the great new engine for cities, which can finally catapult a country out of its peripheral status. This paper focuses on the Silicon Valley of South Asia, Bangalore, the home of IT firms with phenomenal double-digit growth and profit rates. Hitching their own fates to these cities, international finance institutions (IFIs), such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, have steered disproportionately large amounts of capital to finance the whole complex of infrastructure deemed necessary to sustain economic growth and alleviate poverty. I argue that behind the fanfare are a set of interurban transactions among elite Asian consulting firms, financial sectors, and state and development agencies that have both triggered large-scale dispossession in order to realize these accumulation strategies, and *naturalized* it as integral to the process of world city making. Based on my field research, I contend that the growth of both the IT industries and the megacity schemes threatens to further destabilize and disenfranchise the majority of the people of Bangalore, as well as the rural farming communities on its periphery. Most financial resources flowing in from the IFIs—using capital resources and consultants from Tokyo, Hong Kong, Seoul, Dubai, and Singapore—are fueling the acquisition of public land and goods for projects based on the Shanghai and Singapore “models” of rapid upgrading of urban infrastructure and the retooling of the city agencies responsible for oversight (which includes out-sourcing regionally the governance work). Yet as the public generates an infrastructure primarily to satisfy the IT sector (e.g., new international airports, toll-based highways, shopping malls, gated housing communities, 24/7 water and power systems), the sector has reinvested its profits offshore and locally into speculative real estate. Hence, the IT sector together with these megacity schemes have led to skyrocketing land values, rising in some quarters by more than 900 percent; the increase of income ratios of richest and poorest quintiles from 1:5 to 1:20; and the destabilization of the livelihoods of working-class ethnic and religious minorities who live on land in the city’s center and along the IT corridor that, it is being argued, are necessary for world-city ambitions. My study raises questions about the new forms of liberal governmentality, precarious citizenship, and accumulation/dispossession that have taken hold of some of Asia’s “world cities”-in-the-making, and the power of these interurban transactions and networks to make legitimate and indispensable such troubling urban practices.

Chad Haines, Anthropology, SAPE Department, American University in Cairo

Cracks in the Façade: Landscapes of Hope and Desire in Gurgaon and Dubai

Landscaped in the urban spaces of Dubai and Gurgaon, a satellite city of New Delhi, are multiple and distinct modes of late capitalism. Dubai, as a global destination of capital, labor, and goods, is branded as a model of Asian development, particularly in defining a modern, neoliberal Muslim place in the world. Gurgaon, a global destination of out-sourced capital, predominately from the US and the UK, but a national destination of labor, interferences the neoliberal model of Dubai and the Disneylandesque façades of an architectural wonderland, even if falling short in the mimicking project. The inter-referencing of these two cities is more than just the built environment and the structuring of neoliberal economic zones; it is also in the spatial practices of middle-class workers chasing the global dream. Dubai and Gurgaon emerge as desirable destinations for work, for play, for consumption; each urban space structuring a diversity of hopes and desires. The cities themselves are expressions of the aspirations of their “imagers,” who brand the cities to create allusions of dreams to be fulfilled, but also against particular histories, reinventing India’s third worldness and Dubai’s Muslimness. Drawing on original fieldwork in both cities, this paper engages the interplay between spatial representations, representational spaces, and spatial practices in producing Dubai and Gurgaon as neoliberal global cities, offering unique insights into global cities’ literature, shifting the focus away from Western-centric perspectives. In particular, the paper analyzes the branding and circulation of images of Dubai and Gurgaon; the modalities of inter-referencing and mimicking of the built environment; the production of façades of the global city; and the multiple modes and experiences of displacement and the everyday negotiations and practices of desire and disillusionment.

Lisa M. Hoffman, Urban Studies, University of Washington–Tacoma

Referencing Asia: Green Urbanisms and Model Cities in a Global World

“Strive not to be the largest, but to be the best” was a guiding principle of urban development in Dalian city under the leadership of Mayor Bo Xilai (1993-2000). Mayor Bo hoped to make Dalian a beautiful seaside city, friendly to investors and to the environment. By controlling the size of the city, he hoped to avoid the congestion and sustainability problems faced by megacities such as Beijing and Shanghai. A central part of Mayor Bo’s locally developed, but internationally connected urbanization plan was to beautify and “green” the city, eventually making Dalian a leading model of environmental city building and green urbanism in China. While Mayor Bo’s experiment explicitly drew on Singapore’s “clean and green” beautification campaign, it also referenced Ebenezer Howard’s 1898 garden city vision that was to be a remedy for the squalid living conditions and pollutions of early industrial development. This paper argues that the modeling of cities and the production of model cities is a central component of the “regime of green urbanism” that emerged in Dalian. Modeling processes have several aspects: choosing and implementing a model and becoming a national and potentially more global model. The paper considers how the two “garden cities” of Dalian and Singapore adopted specific technical and ethical aspects of Howard’s garden city, shaping a new regime of green urbanism in Asia, which is particularly concerned with national projects of economic growth and modernization. These elements were thus solidly rooted in pro-growth policies that were also meant to be solutions to the problem of government now articulated as “the environment” and “sustainability.” Analyzing genealogies of green urbanism, as this paper does, thus illustrates both how geographically and historically disparate practices emerge in postsocialist urban regimes and how the explanatory power of Western-generated models, such as “global cities,” may be decentered. The paper concludes with questions about what is at stake in adopting this green urbanism: how are inequalities produced and recast under such a regime? how is the urban landscape reshaped? who are the “new subjects of urban sustainability” meant to be? and how are they being fostered in the process?

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Asia in the Mix: Urban Mobilities from Hong Kong to Dubai, via Vancouver

Urban studies literatures emphasize the roles played by various stakeholders—elite experts, consultants, mediators, “gurus,” diasporic populations, entrepreneurial states, and global corporations—in the formation of new transnational (deterritorialized) urban spaces. Yet, we know relatively little about *how*—through what practices and representations—cities are articulated within emerging global networks, particularly cities outside “the over-privileged geography of North America and Europe” (Jacobs 1996, 6). The focus on the globalism of relatively few “world” or “global” cities (London, New York, Tokyo), elite actors (capitalists, planners, academics), and formal institutions (governments and corporations) has created significant gaps in the conceptual and empirical discussion of twenty-first century cities. This paper addresses this aporia in three ways: (1) it looks at the role that culture, particularly Chinese Canadian culture, has played in the development of Vancouver urban-core waterfront, that is, as a visible node of Hong Kong investment; (2) it situates cultural production in relation to this moment of urban articulation; and (3) it speculates on how the mixing of national and global cultural imperatives crucial to local/Asian Canadian culture might provide a model for thinking about urban change in Dubai. Drawing on research from a collaborative, interdisciplinary art project, this paper discusses cultural production as a counterpoint to thinking about the circulation of a high-density residential urban development model. It argues that these three (post)colonial cities—Hong Kong, Vancouver, and Dubai—are enmeshed in a network of social processes, or inter-referencing, that not only highlights the differences and similarities among the cities, but that, more important, provides openings for rich exchanges between urban studies, cultural theory, area studies, and art history (or creative praxis). Taking the Dubai Marina project with its high-rise, high-price, waterfront residential landscape as a case or particular moment of inter-referencing, this paper discusses the replication of Vancouver’s False Creek development as a milieu through which Asian capital (economic and cultural) flows and proliferates from the 1980s and 1990s on into the present.

Shannon May, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley

Global Biopolitics and Hierarchies of Value: Carbon, Consumption, and Ecocities in the Countryside

In a carbon-fearing world, China is positioning itself as the place to witness the building of the ecological age out of the ashes of the industrial. The sheer scale and speed of China’s urbanization has drawn world attention and many global partners to bolster its endeavors. When communities of fate are no longer determined by political boundaries but by the unbounded movements of air, as China goes, so goes the world. The prospect of economic development for the almost eight hundred million rural Chinese who have yet to taste the fruits of industrial capitalism raises fears of global proportions. Yet concerns over China’s rising energy consumption sound differently when raised in the countryside, where those left behind by China’s economic rise reside. In the mountains of eastern Liaoning a solution is being tested: an ecocity in the socialist new countryside. The China–US sustainable development demonstration village of Huangbaiyu (□□□) has been held up as a model for China’s other six hundred thousand villages to watch, and signals the emergence of a new global biopolitics. By meeting national goals of land consolidation and global goals of limiting carbon emissions, rural ecological urbanization holds great promise to improve rural residents’ quality of life. Yet with the requirement that such projects be as financially self-reliant as they are energy self-sufficient, the burden of balancing China’s energy consumption and carbon emissions is being put on the backs of farmers. From different histories, Chinese and American ideologies of self-reliance have converged to bring price scissors back to work to cut surplus value from the fields and sew it on the cities. While such a master plan does accord with national and global goals, it places an inequitable burden on those who have least benefited from industrialization to pay the price for previous decades of waste. With the fate of the species being invoked in the balance, the least advantaged individuals across the globe may be made available for unprecedented exploitation.

Gavin Shatkin, Urban and Regional Planning Program, Taubman College of Architecture, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

Planning Privatopolis: Urban Integrated Megaprojects and the Transformation of Asian Cities

This paper examines the equity implications of the proliferation of privately built, for-profit urban integrated megaprojects (UIMs) in Asia. The term UIM is used here to refer to “new town” projects that contain a combination of residential, commercial, office, and sometimes industrial and institutional space, and that are built to accommodate from several thousand to upwards of a million full-time residents. The proliferation of such projects is indicative of a trend toward the privatization of urban and regional planning, as private sector actors are playing an increasingly central role in the core functions of urban planning—the visioning of urban futures, and the translation of these visions into the planning, development, and regulation of urban spaces and the network infrastructures that connect them on an urban and regional scale. Although policy makers view such projects as critical to their economic aspirations, they potentially lead to significant equity issues, including displacement of communities, environmental impacts, increasing social segregation, and inequality in representation in urban policy decision making. In addition, these projects represent a radical break in urban form through the importation of new forms of urbanism, and thus portend fundamental shifts in social, economic, cultural, and political life. Through a review of the literature on UIMs, citizenship and governance in a globalizing world, and questions of public and civic space, the paper develops the hypothesis that the physical form and governance UIMs reflect significant variation in the models of state–society relations and urban citizenship they embody. These projects consequently vary in their equity implications. The paper then briefly illustrates how this hypothesis might be tested with reference to three case studies: Bonifacio Global City in Metro Manila, Dankuni Township in Kolkata, and Muang Thong Thani in Bangkok.

Alpen S. Sheth, Department of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Miami

Generating Spatial Surplus: Zoning Technologies and Demographic Reforms in Postdevelopment India

India's “inevitable path to industrialization” has taken a distinctly neoliberal spatiality. Through the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Act and the Dharavi Redevelopment Project, the Indian state is implementing zoning technologies that make capital investments within them virtually risk free through subsidies, gifts, and basic assurances of profits. Although similar “zones” have been produced elsewhere in Asia, these spaces are viewed not only as the answer to Indian capital's overaccumulation crises but also to what Indian planners see as the “crisis of overpopulation.” In the context of expensive real estate markets, megacity slums, and increasingly impoverished and indebted farmers migrating from the countryside, postdevelopment India is struggling to create space. This paper identifies and links two simultaneous spatial projects, one along coastal Maharashtra, where Reliance, India's most dominant capitalist firm, is building India's largest SEZ, which would dispossess more than forty-five thousand farmers; the other is in the heart of Mumbai, where developers will be redeveloping the Dharavi settlement. Both projects are entirely privately funded endeavors, but by facilitating this process, the state is actively making the land of these people what I term a “spatial surplus.” The state insists that these are “vital public projects,” even though they are marked largely by high-end real estate and infrastructure for global consumption. Understandably, these projects have met with massive, often violent, mobilizations. It is argued here, more generally, that through the production of neoliberal spaces, postdevelopment India is facilitating processes of dispossession that are fracturing and disintegrating the demography of the country into polarized classes.

AbdouMaliq Simone, Department of Sociology, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Toward an Anticipatory Urban Politics: Notes from the North of Jakarta

The paper explores two critical urban dynamics: first, the large degrees of informalization infused into the nominally formal order of urban production and distribution and, at the same time, the often highly systematic operations of so-called informal, artisan, and cottage production; second, an increasingly fractal spatialization of urban districts entailing diverse compositions of residents, economic activities, land uses and

tenure, and historical trajectories of development and decline in dense proximities to each other that make any sense of coherence difficult to identify. Nevertheless, highly particularized articulations of actors, infrastructure, money, and space generate new possibilities of livelihood and maneuverability for both lower middle-class and low-income residents. The North Jakarta districts of Pademangan, Muara Baru, and Penjaringan are the sites for this exploration because they are areas undergoing substantial transformation, have seen the efforts of community upgrading and organization by local urban social movements, and contain residents of highly diverse historical, social, and economic backgrounds. In these districts, attributes such as the “poor,” formal and informal, licit and illicit have little resonance in terms of how networks of reciprocity and negotiations of power are taken into account. Even in areas where livelihood and tenure are uncertain, there is a diversity of calculations at work as to what constitutes a viable approach to opportunity. How to use available resources; whether to maximize exposure to social contacts in potentially information-rich environments or minimize the risks of social obligation; whether to consolidate specific objects of investment, such as family, status, place or continuously renegotiate new terms of participation in different schemes and associations—all become matters of considerable strategic reflection and speculation on the part of the urban poor. The paper details how various complementarities among these strategic options are concretized in terms of the local social economies of given districts and in terms of their political practices.

Helen Siu, Department of Anthropology, Yale University

Cities on the Move: Brand Naming Hong Kong, Mumbai, and Dubai

The three cities have tremendous similarities in their self-perception and material presence. They claim to have transformed from fishing villages and colonial trading outposts (although less so with Dubai) to global, brand-named cities. They have ambitions to be financial hubs in the twenty-first century with well-networked banking sectors. They have flaunted their characters as encompassing nodes for multicultural entrepreneurial talents, in particular, in trading, consumption, and finance services. In recent decades, residents have experienced unprecedented volatility in life and work due to intense flows of capital, technology, migrant workers, and cultural resources. They are aggressively constructing media-dense urban spaces in fluid geopolitical environments. From urban planning to tourism, institution building, class polarization, and identity politics, the cities are (re)inventing themselves in multiple directions. As the workshop aptly observes, these are the hardware and software of the Asian urban renaissance. Their difference is highlighted by the predicament of their middle-class professionals. A rising, predominantly expatriate middle class in Dubai banks on the city’s future. Those in Mumbai live for the present Bollywood style. A localized and sinking middle class in Hong Kong is painfully aware of its having overdrawn past advantages. Circulation is the key for future survival or aggrandizement; but are the city elites, in political vision, institutional resources, and cultural imagination, ready to forge ahead? Based on a decade of fieldwork in Hong Kong, and preliminary fieldwork in Mumbai and Dubai, the paper combines macroeconomic and census data with ethnographic observations to explore the tracks, aspirations, and anxieties of certain professional groups in these cities to capture the connected volatilities of life driven by competitive finance capital. More importantly, the paper draws on rich historical processes of multiethnic trade, religious traditions, colonial encounters, and diasporic movements linking the Gulf, Indian Ocean, and South China to capture the layers of cultural resources that are relevant to the contemporary global. Islamic banking and migrant remittance services, as rapidly developed in UAE and Malaysia by Hong Kong-based British banks HSBC and Standard Chartered, are a case in point. The art of being global has emerged prominently in these cities as seen through the varied pursuits of professionals. I shall focus on the intertwining of historical and contemporary processes that operate within and across particular nodes. This allows us to rethink the “Asian region” as a range of unbounded research sites and to redefine the meaning of being “Asian.”

Workshop Overview

The twenty-first century will be an urban century and more significantly, it will be a century of Asian urbanization. The growth of Asian cities prompts the need for a research agenda that pays careful attention to the processes and forms of urbanism that are taking shape at such sites. Current models of “global cities,” on the one hand, and “megacities,” on the other, do not capture the role of Asian “worlding” cities: that is, those that create global connections and global regimes of value that span the global emergent South. In particular, the “global city” as a functional node of global capitalism (Sassen 1991), and the megacity as a “planet of slums” (Davis 2006) fail to capture the innovative models of ambitious Asian experimentation with a new global urbanism. They do this by inter-referencing each other, specifically by borrowing, copying, and linking models and techniques of city making across West, South, and East Asia.

In the dynamic context of such Inter-Asian aspirations, Dubai, Singapore, and Shanghai emerge as “models,” while aspiring cities undertake slum demolitions, invest in premium urban infrastructure, woo investors through special economic zones, and attract global corporations. Furthermore, the emergence of Asian cities as extraterritorial spaces has made them the preferred sites for a range of urban experimentations—from high-style architecture to futurist resorts, from expat enclaves to sustainable cities. Transnational players—architects, managers, financiers—are also crucial elements in national competitions to brand their cities as models of global urbanism that are reconfiguring the economies and integration of the global South. Inter-referencing and interconnecting practices on multiple scales—urban, institutional, community, and personal—pose the following questions:

- What specific models and techniques—associated with the art of being global—are transforming Asian centers into worlding cities? How do different combinations of these policies, standards, and practices shape ambitious Asian centers as distinctive kinds of world cities?
- How do these urban models, and their inter-referencing, redefine the political foundation of major Asian cities? What are the modes of displacement that mark this formation of interreferenced urbanism, as for example in the brutal carving out of space that is afoot in Indian cities seeking to remake themselves as the next Shanghai? How are such forms of urbanism constituted through novel politics of belonging, survival, and citizenship?

Workshop Discussions

A. Neoliberal Logics of Urban Innovation and Subjectivization

Two overarching themes emerge from almost all the papers presented at the workshop. First, urban experimentation in the techniques and art of being global, participants argue, is driven by a neoliberal logic of maximization, translocal entrepreneurial economy, and multiple value creation (Ong 2006). Asian cities embark on large-scale urban innovations—such as impressive infrastructure, development of special zones, attraction of international capital and clientele—as crucial elements in planning for the national future. Major Asian metropolises are of two kinds: the city-state, such as Singapore or Hong Kong SAR, or economic capitals in the emergence of large countries, such as China and India. Although urban innovations vary across cities, they are driven by neoliberal calculations for optimal outcomes in strategies of capital accumulation and creation of different kinds of value (economic, political, technological, financial, and cultural). For instance, Helen Siu notes Hong Kong’s shift from being China’s gateway to branding itself as a financial capital, interconnected with Mumbai and Dubai. Gavin Shatkin notes the proliferation of market-driven megaprojects in Southeast Asian cities that have the blessing of the state. Michael Goldman’s paper traces the neoliberal policies that unleashed the market value of land in Bangalore in order to transform it into a vanguard of high-tech India. Alpen Sheth shows that zoning practices in Mumbai generate “neourban

spaces” for investment. Beng Huat Chua and Lisa Hoffman reveal that green city models like Singapore and Dalian, respectively, are also driven by market calculations of creating world-class business environments. Shannon May shows that even ecocity innovations are used to leverage American corporate power and urban prestige in China. In short, extensive and even radical urban innovations take place within an Asian assemblage of economic, political, and cultural ambitions that crystallize situated conditions for confronting an uncertain future.

Second, neoliberal logics affect not only the design of major cities and their attractions for global capital and technologies, but market calculations also shape the norms of desirable subjects in these upgraded megametropolises. Hoffman’s work on the garden city project in Dalian is also focused on the promotion of a “sustainable subject” among its residents. Chad Haines traces neoliberal plans of Gurgaon citizens who relocate to Dubai in order to raise their economic and cultural status at home. Other papers note political and cultural activities outside the capture of urban neoliberal circuits of values. Glen Lowry, Eugene McCann, and Henry Tsang highlight the transability of global urban forms by tracing the counter- and equally mobile activities of artists that challenge neoliberal hegemony in Vancouver. For AbdouMalik Simone, the Jakarta poor left out of neoliberal policies are left to manage and calculate the ambivalences through a series of deal makings between private and public interests. These findings, as well as the large presence of noncitizens in the new metropolises of Dubai and Singapore, indicate that, contrary to the global city model as a space of global human rights (Sassen 1991, Holston 1999, Appadurai 2002), the new Asian world city is not fundamentally defined in terms of citizenship, but as prime real estate for noncitizen subjects involved in the creation of new regimes of value (Ong 2007). The world city as site of global talent mobilization and value formation therefore is characterized by neoliberal norms of self-improvement and self-enterprise. Residents and citizens who do not achieve standards of educational or professional competence are marginalized or excluded from many of the benefits of the city. Such political conditions create opportunities for new kinds of politics championing the rights or at least the protection of displaced residents and migrant workers.

B. Models and Techniques in the Art of Being Global

The Singapore model, developed in an earlier point of the global economy, has spawned many types of urban innovation and success invoked from Dalian to Manchester. Chua stresses the Singapore urban planning model as a reference for Asian cities seeking to renovate housing for the middle classes. Linked to this model is the idea of “the garden city” that, he notes, is mostly an ecological illusion of imported species and mainly geared to attract elite people from overseas. The current repositioning of Singapore as a “city in the garden” indicates that nature needs constant urban management, for example, by dissuading cars from entering the downtown and/or taxing those that do. The manicured nature is a vital aspect of the city’s cultivated sophistication for globe-trotting businessmen.

In postreform China, Dalian repositions itself as the “Hong Kong of the North” by paradoxically adopting Singapore’s green urbanism model. Hoffman gives a genealogy of green garden models that shows how the Dalian city government chooses a model, becomes the model, and presents itself as the global Chinese model of sustainable development. The careful coordination of urban entrepreneurialism and green environmentalism gives new value to the city real estate. In addition, green urbanism is a political regime that disciplines residents to exercise voluntary action and entrepreneurialism as ethical objects of harmonious living. The urban sustainable project and revalorization of Dalian and its residents are wedded to China’s goals of modernity, but in the process, new stratifications and divisions are introduced among the citizens.

Recently, an American consortium promoted a new ecomodel inspired by McDonough in reaction to alarming global energy consumption and carbon emissions. May reports the effects of such an ecocity in the Chinese countryside that has succeeded in displacing rural agricultural activities and populations, and without creating sustainability in either environmental or economic terms. Rather, she argues, impoverished Chinese peasants are thereby brought under the governance of a global environmental public that requires them to be accountable for climate change. The Chinese state’s cooperation in this venture appears to be influenced by a

form of market value transfer whereby the countryside earns environmental credits for pollution-generating cities such as Beijing.

The circulation of Singapore's urban forms engenders an "economy of mimicry" in other cities seeking to extract value from the land and displacing the resident poor. Shatkin mentions the "neoliberalization of urban space" in the construction of urban integrated megaprojects (UIMs) in Manila and Bangkok that have radical effects on high-end commercialization and governance of older neighborhoods. Sheth argues that Mumbai planners invoke Singapore in their drive to disperse the urban poor and convert land into prime real estate. Within India, selected cities are chosen to be global competitors in the high-tech games, in a process Goldman calls "getting Bangalore'd." Again, there is an echo of Singapore in forging links between private and public sectors, exemplified by Infosys's partnership with city authorities to develop megacity schemes for attracting foreign investors. Rural Karnataka is being transformed as populations are displaced and land brought under periurban development that draws elite migrants and returnees.

Another mechanism in the art of worlding is the attraction of transnational professionals and workers to the city. Singapore and Hong Kong experiments with a high density of foreign workers depend on a variety of schemes such as special visas for foreign talent, favorable tax regimes, pro-foreign salary scales, and tightly controlled low-skilled migrants. While expats are mobilized for the purpose of capital accumulation, migrant workers are brought in to provide cheap services. The attraction of foreign talents and labor to the would-be world city intensifies its capacity to produce different regimes of value (Ong 2007). Haines's presentation documents the influx of Indian professionals to Dubai, which has adopted an extreme model of the noncitizen metropolis, with over 95 percent of its residents as foreign nationals. The mirage of Dubai has put into motion hopes for better jobs, salaries, and security for ambitious Indians from Gurgaon. But these expats are soon entrapped by actual limits—legal, economic, and social—that prevent them from getting citizenship or returning home. As midrange expats, these Indian professionals do not enjoy the freer and more lucrative lifestyles realized by global managers and investors in Asian cities.

Rival cities compete not only by recruiting top talents, but also by styling and branding themselves as sophisticated citadels of excess. Haines notes the neoliberal mechanism of tweaking hopes of self-improvement in would-be migrants. Siu also mentions Hong Kong's latest move to brand itself as a financial hub for Islamic banking as yet another technique to stem the outflow of expats. Such branding of Asian cities stresses them as emergent centers populated by well-educated, flexible, and enterprising residents who are the preferred subjects of global corporations and investors. Unavoidably, there are always citizens who feel that there are cultural limits to flexibility and entrepreneurialism that do not match the neoliberal claims of their home city.

The papers thus touch on the different policies and mechanisms that are variously used in the art of crafting world cities: the city as garden; the ecocity that earns carbon credit for megacities; the zoning of high-tech centers and building of "new towns"; the collection and screening of foreign professionals and workers as city residents; and the branding of Asian cities as global hubs. Although many of these plans and practices are in place, their more extravagant claims are yet to be borne out.

C. Limits to the Art of Being Global

The hegemony of neoliberalism given concrete expression in showy urban developments is being challenged for its global claims in the spread of "best practices." Lowry, McCann, and Tsang identify street-level cultural productions in Vancouver that map a more situated constellation of historical flows and values. Vancouver's waterfront projects in Pacific Place have spawned copycat structures in Dubai Marina. But the inter-referencing of global urbanism across the world does not consider other open, multiple flows. Drawing on Tsang's conceptual art that intervenes in neoliberal venues, they argue for "Asiancy," or alternative constitutive mobilities and connected social spaces that link Vancouver back across the Pacific to Hong Kong. Everyday actor-centered cultural productions and creations engage in a struggle for the politics of meaning and performance in and through urban space as contact zones.

Another counterforce to the project of worlding urbanism is to look at the everyday forms of inter-referencing by ordinary residents of Asian cities. Jakarta is a city not yet embarked upon a globalizing project, but it was once the capital of the third world nonaligned movement. AbdouMaliq Simone presents a rich ethnography of the urban poor whose daily survival depends upon a subversive art of deal making that zigzags across the public–private divide. He does not claim this brew of ad hoc, opportunistic tactics will congeal into a social movement (as conventional theories may claim); rather, it is a pluralistic, contingent form of coalition politics found in other great cities of the global South. He suggests that the radical disarticulation of the urban poor from megaprojects of new wealth, knowledge, and transnationality breeds anticipatory politics of the “preyman” that can erupt into violence and chaos.

Indeed, what would a fine-grained analysis of the politics of inclusion and exclusion be like in the reengineered world city of the global South? How is urban populism shaping the grassroots of the (Inter)Asian global city? How is this grassroots managed, represented, and disciplined by an infrastructure of populist mediation, namely NGOs (Roy 2003)? The worlding attempts of ambitious cities in Asia are challenged by the excluded masses that cannot and perhaps will not be incorporated into the global stakes of urban experimentations. In short, the workshop papers generated research and concepts that focused on the emergent Inter-Asia flows of urban forms and ambitions, as well as their pitfalls and politics. The neoliberal drive of Asian metropolises and the array of schemes are reconfiguring the global landscape of investments as well as the urban foundations of subject formation, citizenship, and politics.

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Law-in-Action in Asian Societies and Civilizations

- Baudouin Dupret, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France
- Zouhair Ghazzal, Loyola University, Chicago, US

The workshop proposes to study legal practices on the Asian continent, with a particular focus on Islamic societies and civilizations. There are specific flaws, common to legal studies in the last couple of decades, the workshop would like to address. It wants to bypass the notion of “Islamic law” by focusing on networks of practices of the law: for instance, through the process of drafting codes and legal texts, or in conducting parliamentary debates and their resonance in the mass media or in courtroom interactions. It also aims at connecting, through interdisciplinary approaches (legal theory, history, sociology, and anthropology), various societies and legal practices within the Asian continent.

Thus far Middle Eastern (or West Asian) societies have been looked upon, with their predominantly Muslim populations, as cohesive units on their own. As far as legal anthropology is concerned, such cohesiveness proves deceptive due to the limitations that classical legal theory has placed itself within: by limiting itself to codes and texts, legal theory has detected signs of cohesiveness only formally, that is, through presumed intertextual similarities between codes, mostly modeled on the Egyptian civil and criminal codes and procedures; and by narrowing practice to the law’s “applicability,” legal theory fails to see the multiple levels of networks of practices in the lifeworld.

Our prime focus on legal practice would open up Middle Eastern societies to their Asian counterparts by pointing toward deeply seated similarities or differences that would only be detected through a methodological anthropology of practices. Our methodology is open to various Asian societies to conduct legal anthropology within a comparative perspective.

- First, even though the Islamic populations of Asia (in the Caucasus, Central Asia, India, China, and Indonesia) outnumber those of the Middle East per se, not much research has focused on potential ties between all such populations.
- Second, once we open our anthropological research to networks of practices, we would then investigate all kinds of similarities and dissimilarities between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations in the Middle East and Asia.
- Third, since our methodology situates itself at the macro and micro levels of reality, it also aims at bringing history together with sociology and anthropology, on the one hand, and legal theory on the other.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Rohit De, Department of History, Princeton University

Mumtaz Bibi's Broken Heart: The Many Lives of the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act

In 1939 the Central Legislative Assembly in colonial India enacted a radical piece of social legislation. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (DMMA) of 1939, which continues to remain in force in modern India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, allowed Muslim women to sue for divorce before the state courts, which gave them greater rights in law than those enjoyed by Hindu and Christian women in India and by women in Great Britain at that time. More interestingly, the law was enacted by an unlikely coalition of socially conservative clergy, reformist ulama, leaders of the newly ascendant Muslim League, and women's groups. Although debates in postcolonial South Asia over women and Muslim family law reform have always framed Muslim women's right to equality in opposition to their right to religious liberty, those enacting the bill emphasized how the former could only be achieved through the latter. Traditional scholarship on Islamic law in South Asia has focused on how the British colonial administration transformed the shariat into a static legal entity. Michael R. Anderson (1993) argues that the concurrent processes of translation, textbook writing, and codification were employed by the British to "adapt indigenous arrangements" to the dictates of colonial control. It has been suggested that encroachment of the state pushed traditional scholars out of the public domain and created a new class of British-trained lawyers who "litigated" questions of Muslim law before the colonial state. Thus, even when nationalist lawyers critiqued the interference of the colonial state they did so within the framework of the shariat as it had been reshaped by the British. The DMMA in both its form and content deviated sharply from what was accepted as Hanafi Sunni law in the subcontinent. Through the study of the DMMA my paper hopes to challenge these dichotomies by focusing on the spaces that were opening up in the courtrooms and the legislature in the late colonial state wherein Muslim identities were being negotiated. I hope to excavate the enactment of the DMMA as an "event" through which the relationships of gender, nationalism, and community identities in South Asia can be interrogated. The paper examines how this unique consensus over the bill was formed by following debates through newspapers, legislative debates, court judgments, and government records. I borrow Mrinalini Sinha's (2006) notion of a "creative event" to trace the multiple lives that the text of this law took on in South Asia.

Divinity Bridget O'Connor De Los Rios-Roberts, Department of Sociology, Iowa State University

A Case Study of the Moroccan Moudawana: Negotiating Social Change in Law

The Moroccan moudawana (personal status code based on sharia and malikite tradition) was explored as a site of directed change, where on various levels (local, national, and international) Islamic and gender ideologies regarding the roles of men and women within the family were negotiated among different stakeholders. Among broader issues of modernity, *ijtihad*, and issues over the inclusion of public participation and women's agency, the Moroccan state is seeking to modify its laws to uphold international principles of human rights and values of gender equality, while at the same time, preserving a specific socioreligious identity. In the process of their daily interactions, Moroccans engage with a variety of discourses that shape their lives. These discourses are important for understanding public contestations and negotiations in the development of the 2004 moudawana. This study utilizes a mixed-method approach (including historical and textual analysis coupled with ethnographic methods such as interviewing and observation) to the examination of law and social contexts surrounding the moudawana. It explores the potential of law for producing cultural and social changes in what is known of traditional Moroccan gender ideology. Contrary to popular stereotypes about discriminatory gender ideologies and rigid roles and statuses of women in Muslim countries, Moroccan gender ideologies and Islamic family laws are not fixed, but indeed flexible. Furthermore, the reform of the Moroccan family law revealed that it was not immutable to change, but that Islamic precepts and sharia are compatible with international values of gender equality.

Claudia Kicking, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Living Law in the Syrian Desert-Steppe:

Marriage, Divorce, Custody, and Homicide among the Sba'a and Banî Khâlid

With the formal abolition of customary law in Syria the central national power aimed at establishing a uniform centralized legal system. However, this goal has not been reached on several levels. Orally transmitted local customary rules have continued to be observed, and local arbitration is still practiced. Drawing on fieldwork data about two tribal communities, the Sba'a and the Banî Khâlid, this contribution shows how these local communities handle conflicts between two contrasting legal frameworks: customary law and official state law. With an emphasis on marriage, divorce, custody, and homicide the paper explores how people of these communities "navigate" between different values and legal norms and how different regulatory orders interact with or exclude each other. In addition, it focuses on specific strategies developed by the local communities to satisfy the requirements of both the official legal system and the customary rules. In this context the question arises as to whether and how far customary rules are adjusted to the formal legal system and/or to values of the larger society, since it would be wrong to conceive customary rules as unchangeable. Opinions among the tribal members may differ to various degrees, but in arbitration decisions must be made. Since the official modern state law with its authorities does not meet the demands of local normative orderings in various situations and since it does not fulfil important tasks within the communities, such as the reconciliation between conflicting parties, it is even more understandable that local mediation, arbitration, and reconciliation continues to be practiced. Nevertheless, arbitrators have no means of enforcing their decisions under the new conditions. They restore justice without any executive power or sanctions. How does this work? To find the answer, we must refer to deeply rooted shared cultural values as well as to codes of conduct or shared cultural perceptions of how people relate to each other and delineate social forms that allow for the orderly conduct of social life.

Dicle Kogacioglu, Social and Political Sciences Program, Sabanci University

Law as Education: Culture and Conduct of Legal Professionals in an Istanbul Courthouse

In this paper I explore the ways in which legal professionals enact their authority and give meaning to their conduct. Based on interviews and observations conducted in an Istanbul courthouse between 1999 and 2001 I examine their relation with litigants with low levels of education and socioeconomic status, mainly first- and second-generation internal migrants to Istanbul. I observe that law as practiced by these legal professionals works in a dual register of formal and informal practices. Practices of written law scrutinized formally in line with the ideal of equality before the law are mediated through informal practices of hierarchy. I examine the idiom of "education," which legal professionals strategically use to describe their actions. This idiom creates parallels between their biographies, worldviews, and daily conduct and legitimizes their informal hierarchical practices. I conclude with a discussion of the development of the legal profession in the context of Turkey in order to account for the historical making of this professional culture.

Jennifer M. Neighbors, History Department and Asian Studies Program, University of Puget Sound

"I Have Been Falsely Accused!" Testimony, Confession, and Confusion in the Courtrooms of Republican China

Many reformers in the late Qing dynasty (1644-1911) painted a stark contrast between criminal and procedural law in China and that in Western countries. As a result, when a series of legal codes was promulgated in China during the Republican period (1912-49), they were slimmed-down volumes that eliminated many Qing dynasty provisions: for criminal law, entire categories of homicide, such as premeditated killing, were eliminated; for procedural law, the confession requirement for conviction was dropped and torture was outlawed. This paper uses local-level legal cases from the 1910s to 1930s, including a one thousand-page spousal murder case stretching over four years, to explore how such changes to criminal and procedural law played out in the courtroom. The trials in these cases show the dilemma judges faced in the Republican courtrooms as they tried to negotiate the new legal codes before them. The legal reform process had produced pithy volumes that were focused on capturing legal principles. Rarely were those

principles in exact accordance with real-life situations. This dilemma opened the door for flexibility in the courtroom, and it was there that the true meaning of each new statute was worked out and explored. Examining the elimination of homicide categories, we find that a great deal of confusion arose. Judges were forced to lament the limitations of the new laws before them. As a result jurists sometimes acted to reintroduce Qing homicide provisions to later versions of the Republican code. Examining the elimination of the confession requirement, we find that some judges used new methods of criminal procedure to reintroduce patterns of suspicion against certain social categories of defendants, despite those defendants' vigorous claims of innocence. On paper the legal reform process may have been a success (or, from the perspective of the Western powers wielding extraterritoriality over China, a work-in-progress). From the realm of the law in action, we see that the legal reform process certainly provided new beginnings, some new paths that led toward Western models, and some new paths more inclined toward earlier Chinese models that were in some ways more sophisticated than Western alternatives.

Sadia Saeed, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

Criminalizing the "Heretic": Judicial Debates on the "Ahmadi Question" in Pakistan in the Long 1980s

The military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) constitutes one of the most significant moments in the genealogy of the Islamization of the Pakistani state, in particular, that of its judiciary. In addition to the formation of new religious, or shariat, courts in an attempt to bifurcate law into "religious" and "secular" spheres, the character of the secular courts too underwent a transformation, with judges invoking novel and historically unprecedented arguments, usually appropriating political rhetoric about "Islam" and "Islamic law." In some spheres of law, this change had the effect of widening the scope of the imparting of social justice; in others, such as those dealing with minorities, it had the effect of curtailing the rights of already marginalized Pakistani citizens. I examine the judicial transformation in Pakistan through an empirical focus on the judiciary's treatment of the Ahmadiyya community. A self-identified minority sect of Islam with roughly two million adherents in Pakistan today, the community was constitutionally but forcibly declared a "non-Muslim minority" in 1974 on grounds of its controversial claims about the prophethood of Ghulam Mirza Ali (1835-1908), the founder of the sect. This moment of nationalist exclusion set the grounds for subsequent legislations under the Zia regime that made it a criminal offence for Ahmadis to refer to themselves as Muslims and practice their version of Islam. Specifically, I study how the courts responded to claims and challenges by the Ahmadiyya community in both religious and secular courts that anti-Ahmadiyya legislations were against the injunctions of Islam and that they violated the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution. I argue that the courts invoked and constructed novel discourses about Islamic laws and codes to argue that the question of defining "Muslim citizenship" was central to the creation of an Islamic state. Furthermore, these legal debates provide a unique source for studying how the courts participated in the symbolic construction of the Ahmadiyya community as "heretics." I argue that the response of the courts to challenges by the Ahmadiyya community can only be put into perspective by looking at how these legal debates were anchored within larger questions about the very identity of the Pakistani nation-state.

Arskal Salim, Faculty of Sharia and Law, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta

Inside Sharia Courtrooms: Contested Norms in the Disputes of Inheritance to Insurance Benefits in Aceh

This paper is an anthropological study of legal reasoning inside the sharia courts of Aceh, Indonesia. It will look not only at conflict of claims or disagreement about rights to various forms of assets, but will also analyze gender relationships and, more importantly, contested norms in disputing processes. In looking closely at courtroom discourse, this study is not limited to examining dispute as something to be resolved at the local level or between different interests of local actors, but toward seeing local disputes as embedded in larger conflicts between different norms. The paper will focus on legal disputes of inheritance to insurance benefits that took place in different district sharia courts in Aceh as well as in appellate courts, both at provincial and national levels, from the early 1990s to the present. By explaining what norms are often referred to and contested through the adjudicating process of the distribution of insurance benefits before

and after the tsunami, this study would like to demonstrate how different norms may exist parallel to and in competition with each other with often no single rule self-evidently superior to the others. The discussion of the dispute of inheritance of insurance benefits is important to establish how law could be a contested field between various norms derived from custom, religion, national positive law, and international value in Aceh's sharia courtrooms. It is also hoped that this discussion will shed a comparative light on the complexities of the relationship between these different norms in other Muslim societies. Finally, this paper seeks to highlight the legal paradox of the implementation of sharia in post-tsunami Aceh: many judges of the Islamic court continue to maintain a secular, national-based jurisprudence rather than give priority to a social norm, which is local as well as Islamic. This is particularly true where the official implementation of sharia is currently taking place in Aceh.

Dr. Vishwanatha, Department of Economics, Mangalore University

Globalization, Law, and Livelihoods of Dalits in Indian Society

In the context of growing globalization, examining the conditions of Dalits in India (lower or "scheduled" castes as defined in the Indian constitution) is thought to be relevant for two important reasons. First, globalization is promoting changes in trade, capital, and technology in a way that differentially benefits and penalizes not only regions and countries, but also different social groups and individuals within the regions and countries. Second, Dalits in India as a social group suffering from caste-based social exclusion and discrimination are not equipped for the challenges of globalization. The present policy of liberalization under the process of globalization is narrowing down the public sector that is considered to be the source of livelihood for many millions of Dalit families. The state withdrawal from the public sector undermines the significance of the existing job reservation policy for Dalits in governmental employment, and serious concern has been expressed by intellectuals, policy makers, and civil society organizations about the future livelihood prospects for Dalits. The demand for some kind of reservation policy in the growing Indian private sector by Dalits both inside and outside the parliament is creating new challenges for both government and industrialists. Dalits in independent India live in poverty, lacking basic needs for their survival that include drinking water, food, shelter, and the right to live as human beings in society. In many parts of India, Dalits are not allowed to drink water from wells and are not allowed to sell their cattle milk in the marketplace. The problems of Dalits are thus unique, and have to be understood in terms of their being excluded from having equal rights in the past and also in terms of how such exclusions, even if not in all their original forms, continue to perpetuate themselves in contemporary India.

In spite of all the disparities among its societies and civilizations, Asia is a continent on a fast-track transition, where, as far as law is concerned, state-sponsored law has dwarfed all the preexisting imperial systems, whether sharia or custom oriented (including tribal or ethnic laws), or those that served dynastic power (e.g., the Ottoman, Qajar, Mughal, and Qing dynasties). Such transitions, which coincided with the demise of imperial systems like the Ottoman and Qing dynasties on the eve of the First World War, brought Asia to the dawn of civil law systems, based for the most part on the *Code Napoléon* and its numerous variations.

As a result of such rapid shifts, researchers often find themselves at odds while trying to delimit the various old/new boundaries of law. One common error in historically or anthropologically oriented legal studies would be an a priori delimitation of the various spheres of law, only to argue that one predominates over the other, or that they connect or fail to connect under some circumstances. Among the spheres of law that are typically (though not exclusively) predefined by researchers are modern state law (or secular civil and criminal law), Islamic sharia law, imperial law (e.g., the Ottoman *qānūn*), customary law, and tribal law. The researcher thus posits as priority the delimitation of each sphere of law as a quasi-autonomous entity, then asks what each one stands for individually on its own, and finally questions the relationships (or lack thereof) among those various spheres of law. If, for example, the Islamic sharia stands as crucial in many countries (in particular when it comes to personal status matters), then how does state law interrelate with it? Or how does state law impose itself in areas where tribes predominate? Moreover, as custom tends to be the biggest unknown of all in that equation, the endeavor would be to prejudge it in “relation” to the other spheres, in particular state law: does state law “take into account” custom? or do customary practices outweigh state law (e.g., honor crimes)?

It is rather obvious to say that state law, in its modernist connotations, finds itself at odds with sharia law, or that custom prevails in rural or tribal areas. One can even document the sudden historical evolution of modern civil systems from their ancestral imperial heritages right to their present-day incarnations as civil codes legislated by the state. Once we opt for such an historical approach, however, we are immediately faced with the various incarnations of law that we have sketched above, on one hand, and the problems that such partition into competing spheres inevitably pose on the other: Is state law “secular,” and should it be religiously neutral? Is sharia law incompatible with modern secular institutions? Can customary law survive the modern age? Does the rule of law imply the end of tribal autonomy?

For the researcher, the tendency is to posit law as a comprehensive system and then ask where the systemic character of law comes from. For this very reason, it is important to delineate various spheres of law, prior to analyzing their cohesiveness (or lack thereof). As noted above, when we look, say, at “Islamic law” in this light, we end up arbitrarily placing fifteen centuries of texts and practices under an umbrella that looks cohesive, subject to historical change, and which in the final analysis is the theoretical summa of centuries of labor. But as soon as we examine a limited number of texts that operated in a particular terrain, we realize that the umbrella of “Islamic law” is superfluous, as the connection with the broader system does not rescue those texts from the specific historical conditions in which they were situated. In other words, once we examine a limited number of texts as practices, their presupposed relation to a much broader “Islamic law” reality becomes superfluous.

From our perspective the problem lies precisely in all such preliminary attempts to demarcate first the various spheres of law, then to predefine them, and finally to figure out whether they really exist or not, and how they relate to one another. Even though such attempts are usually, though not exclusively, carried out within a combination of historical and sociological perspectives, they fail to bring to light and document the practices from the perspectives of the users. In their insistence to look at law in terms of a priori spheres of practice (state, civil, religious, customary, and tribal), the end user has no place in the system.

In order to avoid falling into the usual traps of systemic approaches, a more fruitful approach would be to look at law from the viewpoint of the practices of the users. Does a user who is, say, a witness in a criminal

case, ask him/herself whether such a practice is under state law, sharia law, or custom? What does the user actually do when s/he is witnessing? In other words, what happens when we look at law from the practices of users who are involved in legislation, juristic work, or a lawsuit? What would be the best way to adequately “frame” the practices of users under different circumstances? For example, since a lawsuit involves the coordination of several practices among different sets of actors—police, lawyers, judges, court experts, plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, doctors, and psychiatrists—what would be the optimum approach to a “case-file”? We are not proposing a false dichotomy between “law on the books” versus “law in action.” The juristic texts themselves are practices that ought to be textually studied in the way they are produced, drafted, and disseminated, and in the way some of them become authoritative.

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Dr. Vishwanatha is a professor in the Department of Economics at Mangalore University. His research interests cover a range of themes in South Asia including Dalit politics and Ambedkar, globalization, agricultural economics, and microfinancing. Email address: vishwanathak@yahoo.com

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Multiple Flexibilities: Nation–States, Global Business, and Precarious Labor

- Kevin Hewison, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US
- Arne Kalleberg, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US

This workshop brings together comparative studies of regional and transnational production and migration networks and flows with case studies from the broad Asian region (Middle East/West Asia through East Asia, and includes Eurasia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia). Consideration will be given to the relational geographies of Asian networks and flows across borders and regions (e.g., the East Asia/Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia/Australia, and South Asia/Gulf states).

We will focus on the opportunities and challenges generated by the deepening of global production and examine the strategies adopted by Asian states and Asian workers as they respond to the demands of the global economy that require states and workers to be increasingly flexible. The workshop will deal with the emergence and deepening of transnational and inter- and intra-Asia regional networks of production, the transnational migrations they are generating, and the consequences of these rescalings and restructurings for states, capital, and workers across Asia. At the heart of this workshop is the question of new patterns of economic and geographic flexibility and social precarity, and the ways in which flexibilities are generating new forms and practices of governance. The issues of flexibilization and precarity are not distinct to Asian societies, but are more widespread there because of the embedded nature of neoliberalism.

The research agenda aims to clarify the ways in which these patterns of flexibilization and precarity are emerging under specific conditions and with unique outcomes in Asian contexts. Another outcome will be the creation of a research network that can link the study of Asian flexibilization to the parallel processes occurring in other regions, particularly in Europe/Eurasia, the Americas, and Africa/Asia.

The workshop will focus on networks of production, work, and the forms of governance that are emerging in response to these. Amongst a range of possible topics, we envisage papers examining:

- Global value chains and regional production networks, focused on trans-Asia production and investment, with attention to the strategies of Asian transnational corporations
- Comparative studies of the role of state monetary, fiscal, taxation, investment, and industry policies in shaping flexible employment strategies
- Transborder and regional relocation development strategies
- Subregional divisions of labor
- Production and precarious labor (such as the role of migrant workers, informal employment, and contract labor)
- Articulations of agrarian and industrial transitions
- The conditions of life of migrant workers and precarious labor
- Economic and social justice issues associated with transnational production (such as unionization, decent work, fair globalization, and notions of a living wage)
- International labor standards and rights and varieties of labor law

Disciplinary diversity is encouraged, with the workshop open to scholars from all social science disciplines and cultural studies, Asian Studies, development studies, and international and global studies. We encourage participation from practitioners, especially from migrant and labor organizations that have contributed to the flexibilization and precarity debates. The workshop directors encourage participation from multiple national/regional locations and from a mix of junior and senior scholars.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Caroline E. Arnold, Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College – The City University of New York

Where the Low Road Meets the High Road:

Flexible Employment Practices in Tiruppur (India) and Denizli (Turkey)

In Tiruppur (India) and Denizli (Turkey), exporters collaborate to provide local infrastructure, while workers are increasingly employed on an irregular or seasonal basis. The international reorganization of the textile industry has created new labor recruitment practices and infrastructural investments that support globalized production. Large factories dominated the two cities' industrial landscapes during the heyday of state-led industrialization; now small and medium-sized enterprises comprise the bulk of local firms. Tiruppur's and Denizli's business groups have organized infrastructure provision that serves local factories, while social services for workers in those same factories are largely absent. Local employment has expanded to a remarkable extent in both towns, but so have the hours of work. Irregular employment has become a routine feature of the cities' production patterns, just as electricity, roads, and water treatment are now required to ensure the timely delivery, color-fastness, and other criteria stipulated by international buyers. This paper, based on two years of dissertation fieldwork and five months in Tiruppur and Denizli, explores the character of the latest iteration of export-oriented industrialization. Contrary to the literature on late industrialization, it finds that international factors, namely the global reorganization of the textile trade, rather than national institutions, determine the patterns of employment, labor recruitment practices, and delivery of social and public services in Tiruppur and Denizli. It argues that the very nature of late industrialization has changed. Whereas Mumbai and Istanbul employers once identified workers' agricultural ties as a detriment to workers' commitment to industrial work, now agricultural and alternative employment opportunities buffer the unstable employment arrangements in the two towns. The meaning of subcontracting has changed: once a mechanism for cutting costs, Tiruppur and Denizli producers use subcontracting to maintain the production capacity that is required by contract-based garment manufacturing. The result is a deepening of the social and organizational requisites of late industrialization. Firms now join forces to provide infrastructure that is essential to meet international quality stipulations, while seasonal and contract-based production entails mobilizing workers for 24/7 production rhythms. Late industrialization can no longer be analyzed as a process of "borrowing technology," as Tiruppur's and Denizli's producers and workers must recreate work practices that enable those technologies. In short, in the wake of globalized production patterns, technology-based conceptions of industrialization are no longer sufficient to explain local outcomes.

Dennis Arnold, Department of Geography, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Special Border Economic Zones in the Greater Mekong Subregion:

Economic Cooperation, Industrial Transitions, and Migrant Labor

Industrialization strategies in Thailand and much of the Southeast Asian region have been based on labor-intensive light manufacturing with gradual transitions toward better paying, capital- and knowledge-intensive production. The geographical patterns of industry that dominate in Thailand and within the greater Mekong subregion (GMS) have centered on a few major urban nodes. This pattern has been reinforced by foreign direct investment, which has favored major urban centers such as Bangkok over secondary cities. With competition in both low-cost, labor-intensive, export-oriented sectors, and high-tech, capital-intensive sectors intensifying in the region, particularly with China, GMS countries have initiated cooperative economic policies that aim to more actively engage both rural and postsocialist spaces in the regional and global economy. In 2003, the Ayeyawady–Chao Phraya–Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy (ACMECS) was created to structurally coordinate economic activities among its members, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Lao PDR, Thailand, and Vietnam. The ACMECS action plan promotes economic cooperation in trade and investment facilitation, agricultural and industrial cooperation, transport linkages, and human resource development. For the Thai government, which initiated the project, the strategy has two core premises: to curtail irregular migrant workers, particularly in the Bangkok and central regions; and to boost regional

geopolitical stability by decreasing income disparity in the GMS by facilitating engagement with the market economy. A cornerstone of the ACMECS is establishing and promoting at least four special border economic zones (SBEZ) targeting Thailand's borders in the west (Burma), the north (Burma, Lao, and Yunnan China), and the East (both Lao and Cambodia). The SBEZs entail government mediation at the regional level to promote investment in light manufacturing and agriculture, which build upon extensive infrastructure development and other capacities led by the Asian Development Bank and international donors. The paper will theorize the complex dynamics among the private sector, government, and labor that have led to this particular subregional pattern of industrial development and situate them within changing global production. In particular, it elucidates the process that integrates migrant labor into these regional and international economic spaces and the implications for workers' rights and local development.

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*Regional Industrialization and Flexible Employment of Female Labor in Northern Thailand:
A Case Study of Chiang Mai*

Contemporary industrialization in Thailand under the export-orientation strategy increasingly utilizes resources in the regions. The state has played a vital role in decentralizing industry to the regions and has supported companies to disperse stages of the production process to smaller producers in the regions. This has essentially affected the structure of employment, changing both the profile and the division of labor across the nation. The state's policy of decentralizing manufacturing to the regions since the 1970s has increased the complexity of industrial employment, since it supports companies that use flexible specialization in the production process. These parts of production occur in industries such as textiles, plastic flowers production, and food processing. The subdivision of specialized work allows companies to disperse their production process to smaller workplaces at each stage of production; for example, stitching the components of a blouse can be done separately. The laborers in rural areas are engaged in the industrial process through different patterns, such as employment in outwork or outsourcing. Women are mainly brought into these processes as specialized laborers. This paper investigates regional industrialization in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand, and female employment in the flexible specialization system. The flexible specialization strategies adopted by employers in several industries result in mostly unregulated working conditions for employees, without welfare and work benefits, with little awareness of their rights as workers.

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Transnational Responses to Temporary Labor Migration: Union–NGO Collaborations in Southeast Asia

Governments, civil society organizations, and international regulatory systems have struggled with the rapid growth of unskilled and semiskilled labor migration, a key part of the economic and social experience in Southeast Asia since the early 1980s. Developed economies in the region rely on the labor of international migrants to sustain economic growth, while their poorer neighbors export workers to take pressure off domestic labor markets and to raise foreign income through remittances. Importantly, the vast majority of this recent labor migration has been temporary. Foreign workers may be able to extend their stay on completion of their initial contracts, but they are ultimately expected to return home. There is no easily defined relationship between local unions and temporary labor migrants. The national scale of industrial relations means that access to its structures and institutions (including unions) is contingent on workers' citizenship and/or migration status. Temporary migrant workers remain citizens of their home countries, but are excluded from their industrial relations systems. In host countries, their migration status determines the extent to which they are recognized as workers, which, in turn, limits their access to labor rights. As a result NGOs, rather than unions, have become the primary advocates of temporary migrant workers' rights. Although most local unions remain hostile or indifferent to temporary migrant workers, there is increasing pressure to acknowledge their existence as a potentially important trade union constituency both from migrant labor NGOs and the international trade union movement. The convergence of these interests has created significant momentum for union involvement in transnational campaigns for temporary labor

migrants' rights, and important examples now exist where local unions in the region have taken on advocacy and organizing work involving temporary migrant workers. This paper examines unions' attempts to engage with the issue of temporary labor migration with a particular focus on union–NGO collaboration. It uses examples from Southeast Asia to explore the theoretical questions that emerge out of these new responses to the globalization of production.

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Social Contracts in Transition? Precarious Employment in Comparative Perspective

To what extent are social contracts being rewritten as a result of the changing nature of work from the relatively stable full-time job, with a defined career path in an organization, to the new form of nonstandard work, without the guarantee of continuous work schedules, employment relationships, and workplaces? This paper seeks to answer the question through the lens of nonstandard employment, particularly temporary work dispatched by labor-market intermediaries in Japan, China, and the United States. Lacking either implicit (derived from past practices) or explicit (arising out of contractual rights) guarantees for long-term employment makes temporary employment more precarious than the previous standard. As tacit or legal agreements negotiated within the context of institutionally embedded unequal power relations, social contracts in transition reveal the qualitative shift of expectations about the rules governing contractual rights, risks, and responsibilities between workers, employers, and the state and document the social consequences of such a shift on economic security. A comparison of China in regional proximity to Japan as well as in a growing economic relationship to the United States can bring into focus the impact of work transformation on renegotiation of social contracts in countries at different developmental stages. Institutional architectures set apart the US and Japan in comparative typologies of welfare states and varieties of capitalism, whereas China, undergoing rapid transformation from a socialist to a mixed-market economy, presents a contrasting case for comparison. The speed of the Chinese economic transition puts in sharp relief dislocations and displacements due to the influx of migrants from poor rural villages as temporary workers in booming metropolises. Economic reasons may help motivate why firms shed regular workers and hire nonstandard employees to save personnel costs. My account considers political sources (labor regulations and historical legacies of industrial disputes and resolutions) and social forces (new forms of organizing and organizations) giving rise to cross-national variation. Comparative, transnational analysis of temporary employment can chart the variation due to national-based factors and to regional and global interconnections and contribute to our understanding of emergent flexibilities.

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Transplanting Postsocialism from China to Africa:

Politics of Casualization in Chinese Enclaves in Zambia and Tanzania

If colonization once represented the highest stage of global capitalism, today the preeminent logic of capitalism is arguably the unrelenting casualization of work. Drawing on field research in two Chinese investment projects in Zambia and Tanzania, this paper examines how casualization is embedded in and enabled by the specific conditions of African neoliberal reform, Chinese capital's global search for new investment sites, and, ironically, by certain legacies of Chinese–African socialist solidarity. Both the Chambeshi copper mine on the Zambian copperbelt and the Tanzania–China Friendship Mills in Dar es Salaam have undergone precipitous casualization of employment since the Chinese assumed full or majority ownership in the late 1990s. There are many parallels across these two cases, including their common origin as flagship enterprises under state ownership during decades of African socialism, a period when these two countries were heavily influenced and assisted by Chinese Communism. In the 1990s, when neoliberalism spread across Africa and these two enterprises were privatized, China returned, only to transplant its break-neck transition to capitalism to African soil. Many African managers and policy makers eagerly embrace the Chinese model of development as more relevant and successful than the seemingly exhausted and failed experiments of American or European colonialism. Moreover, in both cases, new labor laws and regulations

have been passed to legalize the collapse of social contract and casual work. Workers in these two enterprises confront the serious challenges of social precarity and economic insecurity. Nevertheless, what is interesting is that the Zambian copper mine workers, but not their Tanzanian counterparts, seem to have successfully halted this tendency of casualization. After years of struggle, they are signing new collective agreements with the Chinese management, which has agreed to change all contract and casual jobs into permanent pensionable ones. Why? This paper offers some preliminary comparisons between the two cases and speculates on the possible causes of divergent worker power in arresting the global logic of labor flexibilization.

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Asian Labor Subordination and Resistance in Dubai, 2006

At the end of the twentieth century, Asians circulating in a global labor market deployed an evolving portfolio of strategies to ensure success both at home and abroad. Yet for South Asian workers, especially in the Gulf oil states, individual, community, and national identities and initiatives provided increasingly inadequate protections against transnational and global economic forces. This paper argues that in 2006 the Gulf model of state control based upon Asia-wide subordinated labor recruitment began to break down as international agendas of trade policy, human rights, and worker solidarity challenged and modified long-established patterns of worker subordination. Dubai labor relations in 2006 revealed how Pakistanis, Indians, and others retained comparative national advantages as workers, but increasingly benefited from identifying with all Asian workers as well as universal rights standards to demand better wages and terms of employment. Early twenty-first century narratives and analyses of globalization continued to devote much attention to the circulation of capital, technologies, media-enhanced cultural representations, and labor. By 2005, these mobile dynamics were consolidating in the Gulf and the United Arab Emirates as worldwide economic developments drove a boom in oil revenues and state expenditures. In 2006, with oil prices in the \$70 a barrel range for much of the year, the six GCC countries, Libya, Iran, and Algeria would earn up to \$500 billion. Investment in regional infrastructure meant that demand for foreign labor increased, though the rhetoric of replacing foreign workers with “nationals” continued. Locally, Appadurai’s sense of a world shaped by transnational electronic mediascape dynamics took concrete form in the Dubai Media City and Dubai Internet City developments. More difficult to discern in the prosperity were traces of social mobilization among workers tentatively negotiating the possibilities of a “globalization from below.” This paper details how in Dubai in 2006 the decades-old Gulf oil state pattern, in which state labor regulation and global capital fully subordinated an Asian labor force, was challenged and slowly modified. Labor activists now unified workers across national identities. Strikes, demonstrations, coordinated planning, and use of the media combined with pressures from international trade and labor interests to slowly force changes in United Arab Emirates and Dubai official labor policies. Other globalizing dynamics now challenged the decisive power of global capital.

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Dragon Tamers and Elephant Trappers:

Lessons from the Comparative Inquiry of Social Technologies of Flexibility in China and India

This paper investigates the aspects of legal reforms in China and India in the context of the emergent need for flexible labor due to steep economic growth. In particular, the paper examines the precarious nature of labor by exploring the legal framework for worker rights, social security, and termination of laborers in both countries. The challenge of labor flexibility is generated by competing profit making as well as rapidly changing demands for products and services. However, the responses of business groups, government, and civil society depend on contested “social and business” interests. As a result, the subjectivities of the individual and learning are vulnerable to this contested interest. Both the profit motives of transnational companies in a deconstructed supply value chain and the strategy of the nation-states to benchmark with export-oriented market reforms for achieving economic prosperity are examined. In both countries, the

unorganized sector constitutes a substantial portion of the labor supply; therefore, new measures for flexibility intensify the *informalized* labor processes. The paper adopts an economic sociology approach to examine the discursive nature of laws on work conditions, and the emergence of laws for internal and external flexibility. In particular the role and activities of temp-staffing companies are examined in detail to empirically look at the way flexibility goals are pursued. China and India provide excellent cases of comparison for governance, since the societal (traditional hierarchy based) and economic aspects (planned economy since 1950s, but recently liberalized and growing very rapidly) are similar, but the legal and governance patterns are significantly different. The paper argues that in both China and India, the social networks of employers and bureaucrats collude (with the aim of profit maximization for the former and rent-seeking for the latter) to determine the nature of flexibility actually achieved, rather than the letter of the law itself. Corruption, being endemic in both countries, critically affects the capacity of both the dragon and the elephant in a significant way to ensure decent working conditions for their laborers.

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A New Pathway from the Periphery?

Globalized Services, Diaspora Entrepreneurs, and the BPO Sector in India and the Philippines

The breakthrough in business process outsourcing (BPO) raises the question whether a new developmental “pathway from the periphery” has been found. Boosters of outsourcing boast that it enables poor countries to leapfrog industrialization. Nowhere is this new paradigm of service-led globalization more evident than in India and the Philippines, which have quickly established two of the world’s largest BPO sectors. The buzzing late-night activity in call centers, where employees have mastered not just English but also American, Australian, or British accents to sound as if they are calling from next door rather than half a world away, is an apt metaphor for this phenomenon. Diaspora entrepreneurs have been crucial in the rise of BPO. Long seen as part of a damaging “brain drain,” entrepreneurs who had moved abroad now represented a kind of “reverse brain drain” as they triangulated between their host- and homelands to bring back large BPO investments and their own expertise. BPO creates new jobs, increases consumer spending, and sparks demands for improved education, the sector can be easily uprooted, has few linkages to the domestic economy, and creates mismatches in the labor market. Although still in its infancy, this sector’s potential political impact is already evident. Because it has led to a bulge in urban employment, not a reduction in rural poverty, the moderating influence a broadened middle class is supposed to have must be viewed with skepticism. By heightening economic and sociocultural disparities between urban haves and rural have-nots, it sets the stage for electoral showdowns and populist challenges.

The starting point for this workshop was the observation that economic, political, and social changes since the 1970s—and accelerating in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s—in Asian countries (and globally) have resulted in profound macrolevel changes: these include rapid innovations in technology and growing globalization and international competition in product, capital, and labor markets. All workshop presentations were based on a common understanding of these macrolevel changes and took them as the context in which each of the cases and countries studied was located.

Macrolevel changes have meant that nation–states, businesses, and workers have had to become increasingly flexible in production, employment, and work. Transnational and inter- and intraregional networks of production have resulted from efforts by nation–states and businesses to become more flexible, with an increasing reliance on nonstandard forms of labor. The adoption of flexible forms of production and employment, in turn, has increased the precariousness of labor.

Workshop papers focused on the challenges produced by these multilevel developments associated with the deepening of global production. The workshop examined the strategies adopted by Asian states and workers as they have responded to investor demands for flexibility, while also noting that flexibilization and precarity are not distinct to Asian societies. At the heart of the workshop were issues of social precarity, patterns of economic and geographic flexibility, and the ways in which flexibilities are generating new forms and practices of governance. The workshop also aimed to clarify the ways in which patterns of flexibilization and precarity have emerged under specific conditions and especially those unique to various Asian contexts. Many of these macrolevel changes and the multiple demands for flexibility were identified with the processes of embedding “neoliberalism.” Our discussion of neoliberalism provided a rationale for the adoption of flexible forms of production and paper presenters tended to agree with this. We defined neoliberalism as both an ideological position and a particular set of ideas about markets and states that result in a collection of economic, social, and related political policies. These policies emphasize the market, fiscal discipline, trade, investment and financial liberalization, deregulation, decentralization, privatization, and a reduced role for the state. In practice, these tenets have been buttressed by related policies that limit the welfare state, decentralize labor relations and weaken unions, lower business taxes and fees, and prioritize fiscal discipline over social policies. Neoliberal policies have been implemented so broadly that they are seen as orthodoxy and as the “natural” policies for delivering progress and development. Even so, the workshop papers—notably those by Robert Nichols, Ching Kwan Lee, and Michele Ford—made it clear that neoliberal ideas and their implementation have been highly contested.

The Need for Flexibility

Global production is driven by multiple motivations and innovations that require states, businesses, and labor to enhance their competitiveness in many ways. The globalization of production has resulted in—and been motivated by—cost reduction, most especially through cutbacks in wages. Caroline Arnold’s paper provided a unique account of how this need for flexibility was evidenced in the global reorganization of the textile trade. She showed how the factory owners (rather than national institutions) shaped patterns of production and employment in the cities of Tiruppur, India, and Denizli, Turkey.

Equally, industrial relations systems—especially related to the control of labor—have also had a significant impact on investment decisions. Levels of unionization, collective bargaining contexts, and state workplace regulation are each important factors affecting global investment decisions. Competitiveness demands flexibility, which in turn requires that the market relation be dominant and that labor be subordinated to the needs of production. Dennis Arnold investigates the spatial shift of labor-intensive light manufacturing firms to peripheral areas in the riparian countries of the Mekong. Rather than representing a transition toward better-paying, capital- and knowledge-intensive production, these peripheral areas are attractive precisely

because they offer reserves of low cost, flexible labor (and utilize highly vulnerable and flexible migrant labor).

Individual states have responded to competition in many ways, yet nearly every state is required to facilitate increasingly flexible labor markets. State monetary, fiscal, taxation, investment, industry, and labor policies are measured by their flexibility. Dennis Arnold's paper demonstrated that states strategically engage their economies in entry or upgrading value chains while implementing multilayered industrial policies that include complex combinations of high, middle, and low value-added strategies. Carol Arnold made the excellent point that these strategies are not necessarily "either/or," as her paper showed that "high road" and "low road" strategies are intimately related and connected.

While production is being deterritorialized on a scale as never before, states and labor exhibit considerably more "stickiness": they are not as footloose as capital and businesses. Indeed, capital takes advantage of this situation, effectively having states compete for investment. Sony Pellissery's paper examined differential legal reforms adopted in China and India as these two countries sought to address their needs for flexible labor. His paper showed that international labor standards were often the casualty of state attempts to adopt neoliberal reforms. Businesses take advantage of limited and poorly implemented national labor laws and make good use of the state's coercive powers in seeking to limit the organizational capacity of labor.

In Asia, employment policies also create and maintain a large "reserve army" of labor in the informal sector that allows businesses to have greater control over workers in the formal sector. Significantly, they also adopt firm-level and industry-based employment practices that limit collective organization such as: outright coercion, including attacks on workers and union leaders; and the smashing of unions or establishment of company unions that are indistinguishable from management. Saowalak Chaytawee's paper explained the Thai state's role in promoting industrial decentralization and how this had resulted in the emergence of highly vulnerable household-based production. Rural industrialization in Thailand has emphasized the feminization of employment in outwork as manufacturing firms have penetrated villages. This flexible specialization has been accompanied by unregulated working conditions, without welfare or other benefits.

Precarious Work

The conjuncture of the state's political interests and capital's need for maintaining its power over workers has resulted in flexible working arrangements and the disorganization of labor. The market is seen as the main and natural regulator of economic and social life; as a result, collective labor is weakened while capital is strengthened.

Moreover, precarious and "nonstandard" work arrangements have proliferated, with work becoming more insecure, dirty, dangerous, and degrading. Precarious and nonstandard work involves the use of putting-out systems, in-house contracted labor, irregular employment, competitive work teams, and migrant workers. These forms of labor were outlined in a range of contributions. Chaytawee's paper was particularly powerful on this, demonstrating how rural industrialization via outwork in Thailand has infiltrated the domestic sphere by making outwork a part of domestic labor. Ching Kwan Lee's paper examined how Chinese investment in copper mines in Zambia and garment factories in Tanzania resulted in increased casualization. In both cases, new labor laws and regulations were created to legalize the new arrangements, resulting in greater social precarity and economic insecurity.

The term "precarity" carries the baggage of a European social movement. Feeling deserted by unions and devalued by businesses, and struggling with a shrinking welfare system, European workers have become increasingly vulnerable to the labor market, especially as neoliberal reforms have been implemented. People have begun to organize around the concept of precarity, which means a situation of living and working without stability or safety net. European activists have generally identified precarity as a part of neoliberal globalization, involving greater capital mobility, the search for lower costs, privatization, and attacks on welfare provisions. Heidi Gottfried's presentation showed that the trend toward precarious forms of

employment also impacts the most developed economy in Asia, Japan. Japan offers an interesting case as employment security had been one of the celebrated features of a high trust system that was responsible for generating high economic performance. The decade-long recession of the 1990s put an end to this. Precarious work in Japan now involves limits to workplace protection and worker rights, as well as informalization, flexibilization, and casualization.

Papers in the workshop concentrated on precarity of work in terms of welfare and residence with particular reference to migrant workers (see below). Precarity is not new in Asia and might be seen as a normal condition of work in that region, as people struggle to make a living in a world where capital is economically and politically dominant. The need to meet the basic conditions for a reasonable existence through work (securing housing, welfare, education, health, legal protection, etc.) is the norm in many parts of Asia where precarity of employment is reflected in the widespread informal sectors found in nonagricultural sectors.

Migration for Work

Migration for work is a significant outcome of the flexibilization of labor. Indeed, migrant workers are identified as a perfect workforce in the era of neoliberal globalization since they are vulnerable and easily exploited, highly flexible, and, often, expendable. Although labor may be relatively “sticky,” it is clear that migration for work has accelerated alongside the globalization of trade, production, and investment. In concert, there have been attempts to define governance innovations to deal with migration for work. In her presentation, Michele Ford focused on Southeast Asia and explained how states, civil society organizations, and international agencies have sought to develop regulatory systems to deal with the rapid growth of unskilled and semiskilled labor migrants.

Migrant workers from Asia are remarkably mobile. Migration is generally from relatively poorer regions and countries to relatively wealthier regions and countries. Migration within the region has grown most rapidly since the mid-1980s. The flow of migrants is often “serial,” in the sense that, for example, Thai workers may migrate to Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in search of higher paid opportunities, while Burmese migrate to Thailand to take the same kinds of jobs Thais do overseas, such as domestic worker or laborer. There has also been a significant feminization of migrant labor since the 1980s, a pattern that is seen in the process of flexibilization in general.

The feminization of migrant labor matches a more general pattern of the incorporation of women into the workforce in Asia. Gottfried discussed this pattern in Japan in considerable detail, Chaytawee explained this pattern for Northern Thailand, and Caroline Arnold addressed this in her study of garments in India and Turkey. A question raised in discussion among workshop participants rather than directly addressed in any of the papers was the impact of increased precarity on gender relations and families.

While large-scale labor migration is part of dynamic historical processes, the forms it takes and the experiences of workers vary. The experiences of globalization and national transformations are uneven, varying between economic sectors and their consequences for society, and workers are subject to localized political and historical influences. In his paper, Robert Nichols examined the situation of South Asian workers in Dubai. Although Dubai is unique in the sense that up to 85 percent of its residents are migrant workers, Nichols argued that there is a Gulf model of state control based on Asia-wide labor recruitment. When his paper was seen alongside others in the workshop, notably Dennis Arnold’s contribution, it was clear that despite Dubai’s uniqueness, precarity, state control, and repression were faced generally by migrants seeking work in overseas destinations. The papers by Ford, Dennis Arnold, and Nichols showed that one of the qualities that distinguishes the patterns of migration of mainly unskilled and semiskilled workers from other migrants (notably professionals and executives) is the extraordinary efforts made by capital and states to control and regulate less-skilled migrant workers and prevent their collective organization. While some migrant communities have developed networks that meet some of their needs, less skilled migrant workers remain largely outside the collective organizations. As a result, they are excluded from the industrial relations systems of host countries and have limited labor rights. However, as Ford indicated in her paper, there are

interesting and useful innovations that attempt to develop union–NGO collaborative arrangements that support temporary migrants.

Despite such innovations, the disorganization of labor is often an explicit state policy that excludes migrants from coverage by national labor laws, as Nichols demonstrated. Indeed, migrants often lack the full range of political and other rights available to citizens. In addition, many immigrant workers are indebted to labor agents and agencies, and face expulsion for breaches of an unfamiliar legal system. The control of migrant labor is by no means an exclusive concern of the state as a wide variety of other intermediaries (employers, recruitment agents and labor brokers, money lenders, banks, smugglers, and bureaucrats) also gain from the transnational flow of workers.

Early in the history of capitalist development, bordered nation–states were part and parcel of the creation of unified national markets. Today, more than ever, borders are used to create differential zones of labor and surplus capital as states compete with cheap workforces and other reduced costs of production to attract investors. So while migration is increasing, the stickiness of labor and borders creates advantages for mobile investors. Dennis Arnold provided examples of this for the Mekong subregional area where multilateral agencies (like the Asian Development Bank), bilateral organizations, and national states used the ready availability of cheap migrant labor as a means to attract investment.

While migrant workers cope with control mechanisms through kin and community networks—supplemented by ethnic, religious, and national support groups and local and transnational NGOs—the overwhelming balance of all these institutionalized controls leaves migrant workers in a largely disorganized and vulnerable state. Thus issues of human and labor rights and the lack of effective organization remain major concerns.

In his paper, Mark Thompson provided another element of the migration experience. He suggested that professionals and business people who went to the United States from India and the Philippines due to limited opportunities at home later helped to develop the business process outsourcing (BPO) sector in the latter countries. These entrepreneurs used their diaspora contacts and foreign investment to fuel rapid BPO-based growth, which was neither state directed nor even domestically driven. Thompson argued that such outsourcing can create new jobs, increase consumer spending, and generate demands for improved education. He also raised some political and developmental issues related to this kind of investment, such as the barriers it poses to a developing middle class.

Resistance

An important outcome of the workshop, not anticipated in our concept paper, was the discussion of worker resistance to precarity and exploitation. Most explicitly, Nichols argued that the so-called Gulf model of state control of migrant labor was breaking down as international agendas of trade policy, human rights, and worker solidarity challenged patterns of worker subordination. His paper recorded the birth of a labor consciousness that, by 2006, was evident in a rolling series of labor mobilizations. Strikes, demonstrations, cross-national organizing, and labor's use of the media and international NGO support pointed to a tentative negotiation of what Nichols identified as “globalization from below.”

Labor activism in Dubai often appears spontaneous, unorganized, and leaderless. This pattern has emerged as a response to state repression of collective actions in the past. Workers appear to have learned ways to organize collectively without making individuals targets for repressive state action (usually deportation). In Zambia and Tanzania, where Chinese investors often have close relationships with ruling parties, and where local unions are often hierarchical and subordinated to the ruling parties, more spontaneous labor actions have emerged and been successful. In Zambia in particular, Lee made it clear that workers' autonomous militancy has been able to leverage a boom in the world copper market and thereby to halt the trend toward casualization and to convert casual jobs into more permanent ones. While Tanzanian workers have not been

as successful, Lee places considerable emphasis on the significance of spontaneous and autonomous worker movements.

In Japan, Gottfried found that precarity and nonstandard employment have resulted in new forms of collective organization. Although a few unions had extended membership to part-time workers, only a small percentage of part-time and temporary workers belong to unions. Recently, labor federations and some unions have articulated plans to promote gender equality and to recruit more women, especially those holding part-time jobs. Worker-based reform movements have emerged outside traditional unions premised on the idea of creating more democratic structures that serve the needs of workers in precarious employment. New network organizations are extending membership across workplace boundaries and many have coalesced around the intersection of labor and gender issues at multiple sites and scales.

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Neoliberal Globalization and Governmentality: State, Civil Society, and the NGO Phenomenon in Asia

• Sangeeta Kamat, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, US

Media and policy think tanks present the growth of the NGO sector as the deepening of democracy and citizen empowerment and as a quintessential symbol of mature democracies. Countries in postcolonial Asia are seen as exemplars of this particular mode of democratization via the NGO sector and as models to be emulated by the new states of Central Asia. Although Asia has been witness to the incredible growth of the NGO sector, critical and comparative research on the NGO phenomenon in the region is surprisingly scarce.

The workshop invites new research from South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East to develop a more theoretically complex understanding of the relationship between states, NGOs, and global political economic arrangements. In addition to sociological analysis of NGOs as development organizations, we are interested in the study of NGOs as political and cultural formations legitimating particular practices and discourses of democracy, citizenship, participation, and empowerment. Framing the inquiry in this manner we hope to draw insights from a wide number of disciplines that include cultural studies, anthropology, critical geography, and political science. Though not a comprehensive list, we suggest some broad themes that are relevant to this line of inquiry:

- In what ways do NGOs represent a new logic and apparatus of neoliberal governmentality? Studying NGOs in terms of governmentality, that is, as a form of modern power characteristic of advanced capitalist societies, moves away from the oppositional dyad of state versus NGOs toward a study of new discourses of power emergent in the neoliberal postcolonial context. How are civil society *and* state transformed in this process? Does the postcolonial developmentalist context mutate governmental rationality and mark it in ways distinct from advanced capitalist societies?
- The representation of NGOs as autonomous actors, separate from state and market, has been critiqued by scholars as normative liberal conceptions of state and bourgeois civil society specific to “Western” political theory. A dialectical and historical analysis of NGOs as representing new modes of governance operative in a global economy lends itself to an examination of NGOs simultaneously as objects and subjects of governance. How are NGOs regulating and being regulated by the law and market rationalities that operate at national and international levels? In what ways are normative and legal assumptions about citizenship, democracy, and rights being formulated in this process?
- The international aid infrastructure is exceptionally influential in shaping the institutional forms and practices of national and local NGOs to the extent that national and region-specific issues are rearticulated in universalist terms such as gender equity and human rights. How do NGOs resituate certain domestic political issues while excluding others such as religion, caste, ethnicity, and class, and what implications does this have for national and international politics?

The workshop is an opportunity to develop a more theoretically rich and critically engaged body of scholarship on NGOs, state, and civil society that provides insights into the cultural politics of the new Asian century. The term NGO is applied to a wide variety of civil society organizations that work on a range of social and policy issues and operate at different scales of the local, national, and international. The workshop will provide a forum for scholars who study different kinds of NGOs across different scales and sectors to construct a more comprehensive and comparative picture of the “power effects” of NGOs in the region.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Nahla Abdo, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University

Imperialism, the State, and NGOs in the Middle East: Context and Contestation

Since the Gulf war in 1991 and more so after September 11 and the “war against terrorism,” NGOs in the Middle East in general and the Arab world and Palestine more specifically have acquired a specific predominance and weight. The almost doubling of NGOs just in the past few years has raised a number of concerns among intellectuals and activists alike. Some of these concerns relate to the rationale behind the mushrooming of this phenomenon; that is, whether it is a conscious product of national need, or the result of external, more specifically capitalist imperialist, interest/pressures in the region, hence serving foreign agendas. At the macro, international level of analysis, questions are raised regarding the “restrictive” role NGOs play in the project of nation and state building. Whereas for some, NGOs are seen as a socially divisive force leading to the segmentation of the national movement, the obliteration of the class struggle, and the fragmentation of the social fabric others lament the phenomenon for its role in transforming the women’s movement from a grassroots organization into a professional bureaucratic structure that cannot drive political and social change. Yet a third group, although critical of certain aspects of the phenomenon, tends to welcome NGOs in terms of their contribution to the development of civil society and consider them a tool for promoting citizenship, democracy, and human and civil rights. At the local/micro level some concerns are raised regarding the function of NGOs as project-driven organizations with limited short-term goals. Other concerns regard the sociocultural domain, where NGOs are seen as a tool of “cultural co-optation” by the West and a source of competition and social division in vying for limited sources of funding. The internal structure of NGOs is also an issue for various scholars who raise concerns of “professionalism,” “the institutionalization of social movements,” internal bureaucracy, and what some have referred to as “the all-encompassing role of the ‘director’ as well as the widening class gap between the NGOs and women at the grassroots level. Although the above concerns and issues seem to be common to most Middle Eastern and Arab NGOs, a proper understanding of this phenomenon remains historically and culturally specific. By studying Palestinian NGOs, also referred to as *dukbans*, both in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, these issues will be investigated with attention to the historical specificity of the Palestinians in mind./global context.

Chloé Froissart, Department for Chinese Studies, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations, Paris

Helping the Chinese Communist Party Find Its Own Way toward Modernity:

The Case of NGOs Providing Support to Migrant Workers in China

Market reforms in China have created a space for the rise of a third sector; they also triggered the largest rural-urban migration flow in world history. Rural-urban migration is one of the major challenges that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has to face: today, between 140 and 160 million peasants have left their villages to seek employment and a better life in urban areas, but live as second-class citizens in the cities of their own country. Unlike peasants and state workers, migrants’ claims for rights protection are supported by Chinese so-called NGOs that first appeared toward the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. These organizations function as substitutes for official trade unions and lobby authorities to improve migrant workers’ condition, hence appearing as an integral part of an emerging civil society in China. However, while opening up a social space and changing the system from inside, they play a key role in the way the regime functions and hardly promote radical political changes. NGOs use the language of citizenship and civil society but infuse that language with distinctive meanings that signal the continuing political dominance of the Party. Through their social work, they contribute to redefine migrants’ identity and interests, but also help the Party to embed itself more deeply within the society and preempt the emergence of migrant workers as an autonomous social group. Through their advocacy activities, they help the Party to create more effective and responsive institutions without proceeding to core political reforms, but they also negotiate a new social contract for migrant workers, playing a key role in the integration of a social group that was previously

excluded. NGOs hence directly contribute to promoting a civil society “à la chinoise” based on a pragmatic cooperation between state and society. As a new form of mediation between migrant workers and the state, NGOs meet the Party’s tendency to allow some kind of representation to each social group within the political system as a means to prevent growing autonomy for society. The regime thus evolves toward an authoritarian corporatist pattern based on a half-constrained, half-consensual collaboration rather than acknowledgement of conflicting interests. Although NGOs contribute to redefining state–society relations in China, they also help the CCP to adapt and find its own way toward modernity, hence preventing a democratic transition.

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The Limits of Success?

NGOs, Microfinance, Microenterprises, and Economic Development in Pakistan’s Northern Areas

For its advocates in economic development circles, microfinance has become a near panacea for ensuring that the poor of the developing world benefit from growth and development. In short, microfinance would ensure that the trickle down would actually trickle down. Microfinance became more than “just” a policy option when its staunchest proponent spoke of it in moral and social justice terms: Muhammad Yunus, the Nobel laureate founder of Bangladesh’s Grameen Bank, declared access to credit as a basic human right. One of the world’s largest and most successful rural development NGOs is the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), operating since 1982 in Pakistan’s northern areas (NAs). Despite covering over 85 percent of the million-plus rural population of the NAs and offering a full range of rural development services (credit; agricultural, forestry, and veterinary extension training; business consulting; civil engineering; etc.), the AKRSP has been relatively unsuccessful in creating a market-oriented focus among its overwhelmingly subsistence-farmer beneficiary base. The AKRSP has devoted substantial time, money, and other resources in trying to create a successful and self-sustaining microenterprise culture among its beneficiaries but its results have been far from encouraging. Given how few NGOs fall into the “successful” category and how few have AKRSP’s track record and institutional resources, AKRSP’s relative failure to promote successful microenterprises in the NAs of Pakistan is a clear sign of the limits of microfinance and microentrepreneurial success. Although microfinance may well offer hope for poverty alleviation and social welfare improvement, it cannot provide all of the conditions necessary for sustainable commercial and economic development and long-term success for the poor.

Emily Manetta and Jonah Steinberg, Department of Anthropology, University of Vermont

Localizing Modernity: The Dissemination of the Village Organization

The Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) is a transnational NGO focused on rural development, primarily in Isma’ili Muslim communities. At the heart of their global community-building processes is the village organization (VO), a local council established by AKF. In this paper we explore ethnographic and linguistic data that suggest that the VO radically alters the nature of the localities in which it has been established and creates a wholly new model for civil society, social hierarchies, and political participation. The VO was first put into practice by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Northern Pakistan to serve as the sole local channel for “participatory development.” The VO is not an indigenous form, but rather a form introduced by an exogenous institution working on the village level. State entities now seek to exploit and to replicate the VO model as a means of interacting with these rural communities. We see this model as emerging directly from naturalized and now widely distributed notions of development rooted in metadiscourses of modernity. Our analysis stems both from comparative ethnographic research in Pakistan and the Tajikistan Himalaya, as well as an examination of the discourse found in AKF’s annual reports, viewbooks, and conference presentations. The language of these materials indicates that the explicit goal of the NGO is to reorganize status-based hierarchies and to inculcate in the village population an appreciation for values associated with liberal humanism, democracy, and capitalism. The published materials surveyed also establish a dialectic between the AKRSP model and the nation–state, gradually bridged by an increase in the involvement of government in the project areas. Descriptors of the development model include *infused with democratic norms*,

faith in joint action, pluralism, and progress. Throughout the early years of this decade, AKRSP materials increasingly suggested that “those who previously ran the government and used authority are now compelled to work with the people.” We argue that the VO represents the creation of a new form of local political participation and citizenship, a vehicle of participation in a transnational network, and a unique and indigenized regional variety of democracy.

Janice Newberry, Anthropology Department, University of Lethbridge, Canada

Actually Existing Assemblages:

Locating the Nongovernmental in Governance of Early Childhood in Post-Suharto Indonesia

Recent attention to the concept of assemblage within social theory highlights its usefulness in understanding global forms in interaction with “other elements, occupying a common field in contingent, uneasy, unstable interrelationships” (Ong and Collier 2005, 17). In this paper, the concept of assemblage is used to consider changes in state and civil society relations since the end of Suharto’s authoritarian regime in the late 1990s. The central state has been weakened in many ways, as regional autonomy and decentralization have opened the possibility for more local control. Yet, the rollback of the central state in the era of *Reformasi* has produced a political landscape filled with the skeletons of new order forms of governmentality and the shells of programs aimed at communities and localities. Paradoxically, some of the most oppressive forms of governmentality, including programs aimed at family planning and community governance, are now repurposed to serve the aims of democratization. In some cases, these forms of local organization have been taken up by local NGOs as the means to deliver resources and education to produce a vibrant civil society. In this context there has been an explosion of programs aimed at early childhood. The proliferation of these programs in this particular period is considered here as it pertains to the possibility of an emerging assemblage of governance that represents new regimes of rule that crosscut scales and registers of governance. The realignment of nongovernmental work and governmental work is extended through virtual regimes of expertise and knowledge that are developing quickly around issues of early childhood care and development. The effects of this on forms of civil society are considered in this ethnographic analysis of early childhood programs in the Yogyakarta region of central Java.

Neema Noori, Department of International Studies, American University of Sharjah, UAE

From Buffer to Broker: Nongovernmental Organizations and Local Government Reform in Uzbekistan

Drawing upon research conducted in the summer of 2003, this paper shows how transnational institutions and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) have contributed to the articulation of state development policy in Uzbekistan. This paper is concerned with the process by which externally devised blueprints for development are locally enacted. I argue that local Uzbek entrepreneurs have played a critical role in mediating the relationship between INGOs and local institutions, encouraging INGOs to work through and with *mahalla*, neighborhood-based institutions, in staging their development interventions. The *mahalla* is a traditional Uzbek institution of pre-Soviet origins, co-opted by the current government and used for purposes of surveillance and social control. This paper demonstrates that INGO collaboration with *mahallas* does not necessarily legitimize a coercive instrument of state power. In fact I show that local entrepreneurs are capable of using the material and discursive resources of INGOs to push for local democratic reform. In other words, they succeed in modifying the character of an illiberal institution, making it function in a way that is sensitive to the needs and interests of its constituents.

Zakia Salime, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University

Women, Freedom, and Democracy in the “Broader Middle East”: The Civil Society Mandate

The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) is an American agenda for reforming states and societies in the “Greater Middle East” along neoliberal lines. Established by the US administration in 2002, this program

follows a political rationality of soft reforms through enhancement of citizen entrepreneurship, women's leadership, and capacity building of civil society organizations as means to uproot terrorism and spread democracy. The MEPI has so far monitored a wide range of partnership programs—based in institutional settings in Washington—and raised funds to support the creation of networks of NGOs and civil society organizations and provide training and business opportunities for women. In this project, civil society, women's leadership, and private interest seem to hold together, in perfect harmony, and are directed toward spreading democracy and freedom in the Middle East. The question remains: What are the logics and truths informing this emphasis on gender and women's empowerment in relation to the goals of spreading democracy in the Middle East? I consider the MEPI as a technology of power aiming to create legitimacy for the unpopular US war on terror, through social engineering, monitoring, and indirect political intervention. My paper will first discuss the grounding of the MEPI in liberal notions of freedom and normative definitions of civil society. Second, I will show the elective and paternalist grounds of the discourse on women's empowerment and identify the ways in which the MEPI has created new subjects while reinventing the “missing” connections between civil society, private interest, women's rights, and political authority in the Middle East. Third, I will discuss the tensions between a discourse of democratization, which would require making the state accountable to its own people, and the needs to support authoritarian governments that would contain the growing dissatisfaction with American policies, within the same civil society. I will conclude with an assessment of the MEPI in light of other regional forums led by NGOs, state professionals, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals across the region.

Sanjay Srivastava, School of Communication and Creative Arts, Deakin University

Citizens and Others: Urban Spaces, Consumerism, and Middle-Class Activism in Delhi

This paper explores the relationships between urban spaces, the state, new cultures of consumption, and the making of middle-class identities in India. These contexts are examined through an investigation of the culture of middle-class “activism” organized around a variety of demands for civic amenities and “safety” issues, and expressed through the actions of residents welfare associations (RWAs) that represent themselves as NGOs. The RWAs also work in collaboration with a number of other—more conventionally understood—NGOs, such as People's Action, that publicly proclaim to act on behalf of “middle-class interests.” The decline of the Nehruvian state and the rise of the neoliberal one is also the context for negotiations of middle-class identity as it articulates with a transnational context that is different from that which prevailed in the time of the “five year plans.” The case of middle-class activism provides an important entry into contemporary ideas of “revolution,” “change, and “freedom” in the absence of the “moral” backdrop of anticolonial nationalism. The paper suggests that RWA activism is carried out in the name of the “consumer-citizen” and that this figure has a relatively long history in India. Hence, the discussion begins with an exploration of the 1950s as a crucial period in the making of the consumer-citizen. This is done through outlining the history of India's largest private real estate company, DLF. The actions of contemporary RWAs, and the working of the Delhi government-sponsored *Bhagidari* [Sharing] movement, which brings together representatives of the RWAs, market traders associations, and key government officials at periodically organized workshops, form the other two sites of analysis. In particular, the paper will outline the processes and politics of imagining “civil society” in an era of postnationalism, where ideas of a “people” and the “state” traverse the registers of consumer culture, new urban spaces of leisure and residence, the logic of economic privatization, a deemphasis on production processes, and the making of the “global city.”

Damira Umetbaeva, Anthropology Department, American University of Central Asia, Bishkek

Democratization and Civil Society Building in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan

My research follows the development of democracy and its institutions in the Kyrgyz Republic (KR) since its independence in 1991, and tries to understand the conditions, forces, and agents that fostered democratization in the country; that is, what democracy and civil society, its main component, are in the context of the KR. I have divided the discussion into internal and external democratization factors. A key

internal factor was the harsh socioeconomic conditions that the KR faced after the fall of the Soviet Union, which played a decisive role in the country's choice of a neoliberal path. This direction of its socioeconomic and political development enabled the country to receive a huge amount of international financial assistance in loans and grants under the *conditionality* policy. That assistance was important for the heavily deteriorated post-Soviet economy of the KR. The major external factor in the democratization of the country, I argue, was an international community committed to democracy and market economy principles operating within the framework of the global democratization agenda of the industrialized countries, mainly the United States and those in Western Europe, that started to dominate their foreign policy after the Cold War. In order to explore what democracy is in the context of the KR I have looked at such indicators as national democratic governance, electoral process, independent media, opposition, and civil society. All these elements had some degree of democratic features, which was not the case in neighboring countries. International donors have provided substantial financial support in the KR for civil society assistance programs as part of their democratization agenda. They believed that the growth of civil society would play an essential role in the democratization and development of the country. However, as the experience of civil-society-building initiatives with the help of external forces in other corners of the planet has shown, this kind of civil society hardly contributes to the democratization of countries. Although civil society was allowed to emerge and operate freely in the KR it has not developed into the kind that is common in developed democracies. Unlike civil societies in the West, Kyrgyz is characterized by institutional instability, poorly developed volunteering and donating cultures, and great dependence on foreign donors.

The broad goal of this workshop was to establish a new direction for research on the effects of NGOs on political culture, economic relations, and subjectivity across different national contexts. There has been quite some interest in researching NGOs, especially in the last two decades, but this has tended to take the form of case studies of organizations and their impact on specific communities. In the absence of comparative and cross-national analysis, the theoretical reach of such research has remained limited. The Inter-Asia conference was a unique opportunity to develop a cross-disciplinary and cross-national exchange and dialogue on research on NGOs; to get past conventional area studies borders and bring together scholars who work on South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East. The workshop received sixty-two submissions from which eight were selected for the widest regional representation and keeping in mind a balance between junior and senior researchers and disciplinary diversity.

The historical conjuncture of economic liberalization, the break up of the Soviet Union, and the US-led war on terror frames the context for the emergence of the NGO phenomenon in the Inter-Asian region. The papers in the workshop located either one or more of these momentous events as the cause for the incredible diversity and rapid growth of this sector in their respective regions. The papers showed that the structure, form, and effects of the NGO phenomenon are neither universal, nor static, nor wholly predictable. The national/local culture in which NGOs are imbricated, the nature of the state, and its particular location within the global economy intersect to give the NGO phenomenon its own peculiar character and progression in each country.

The concept note refers to the impasse in critical development studies premised as it is on a state-civil society dichotomy, the state representing “big” modern, Eurocentric “top down” development and civil society representing people-driven, alternative, and local development. The NGO phenomenon has made this conceptual framework unviable, as it is impossible to locate NGOs empirically, theoretically, and politically as strictly a feature of the state or of civil society. The NGO phenomenon is at the center of what Watts (2003) refers to as the “globalization of the development industry” of the late twentieth century. Research on NGOs is therefore a crucial aspect of getting past the theoretical impasse and generating new and relevant insights on state-civil society theory. This workshop moved us closer to accomplishing this important goal. The limits of the state/civil society construct become apparent in empirical research on NGOs. All the papers in this workshop demonstrated the impossibility of deploying these categories, making questionable their currency in contemporary narratives of development. The argument here is that unbundling state-civil society relations is not a zero-sum game where more civil society means less state but instead points to new modalities of governance and subject formation. Equally, the expansiveness of NGO activity is not merely a transfer of power from state to civil society as some scholars conclude (Wood 1997) but rather an expression of a “changing logic or rationality of government” (Sending and Neuman 2006). The participants in this workshop took a similar view and convincingly demonstrated that contrary to neoliberal dogma, even in cases where the NGO sector is flourishing, it signals not the demise of the state but rather practices of government being embedded and circulating within the body politic.

The proliferation of NGOs and their complex genealogies, peopled by diverse ideologies, practices, and technologies, defy representations of development as a single, unified, coherent, top-down discourse. Neoliberalism cannot be understood or challenged without studying the “messy actualities” (to use Nicholas Rose’s phrase) of specific neoliberal projects. NGO activities and interactions offer an incredibly rich site from which to study the nature of rule and the inchoate set of practices that restructure ideas about citizenship, community, the state, and the economy and the contests and struggles related to these. As these papers demonstrate, the educative work of NGOs is intimately part of constructing a neoliberal hegemony.

Neema Noori’s paper on Uzbekistan, which traces the incorporation of traditional neighborhood-based *mohalla* committees by foreign-aided NGOs in the post-Soviet period, and Sanjay Srivastava’s paper, on middle-class activism in the new luxury urban enclaves in India, describe how the private, voluntary, and

public sectors intersect to constitute new practices of government that inhabit and empower new objects, places, and populations. Similarly, Janice Newberry's paper delves into the new period of Reform in Indonesia in which practices of decentralization and local governance blur the boundaries between state and civil society, making it nearly impossible to empirically distinguish these as distinct political entities or processes. Their studies underscore Foucault's ideas about what distinguishes biopower from other forms of modern power—the organizations or “assemblages,” as Newberry describes them, are not in themselves the source of biopower but rather are points of coordination on behalf of capital and public security and as such are objects of government themselves.

The production of governable subjects is the central impetus of biopower, which is the mobilization of identities and the cultivation of market subjectivities for more effective government. Distinct from disciplinary power that requires the constitution of space in the form of territorial enclosures such as the factory, school, or prison, government has to do with “a sort of complex composed on men and things” (Foucault 1991). Establishing control over a geographically defined space is secondary in the exercise of biopower; what counts is the administration of relations between people, things, and events that secures the means of sovereignty. The papers by Feisal Khan and Emily Manetta and Jonah Steinberg analyze different programs of the Agha Khan Foundation in Northern Pakistan, and illustrate that the essential character of biopower as the “administration of life” in inaccessible and remote mountain ranges of the Himalayas is just one more variable in the mix, just as culture or way of life are considered variables in the implementation of programs. Their research showed that the Agha Khan programs in this case were not concerned with enhancing control of or access to the territory but regarded it as a logistical problem, and one simply needed to get used to the difficulties it posed. The emphasis of the programs was on training individual members of the community to alter their daily routines and utilize existing skills (in weaving, sewing, etc.) to produce for export markets. Here we see a new model of government that is quite different from an older community development model. The community development model is one in which the “place” where the community lived was a core part of the development strategy: mapping the land; understanding the geography of the place and how it affected the lives and livelihood of the people who lived there; and the natural and social resources available for economic or social development were central preoccupations in this model.

The two papers on Pakistan show that these considerations are irrelevant in the neoliberal phase of development and instead interventions are attached exclusively to individual bodies devoid of any substantive relation with the “place” that these bodies inhabit. The papers also allude to how state agencies and policies are part of enabling this shift toward new development approaches. To understand the changes in practices of government and their effects in this new phase of development requires research that moves beyond “charting the diffusion and disaggregation of authority from state to nonstate actors [to] exploring the power at work in the actual practices through which governance works, as well as the more specific content or logic of the relations between state and nonstate actors” (Sending and Neumann 2006, 654).

Newberry's paper on Indonesia considers the concept of assemblage in some detail and in our discussions we frequently turned to assemblage as an enabling conceptual device in place of state and civil society. Here the writings of Aihwa Ong and Stephen Collier (2005) and George Marcus and Erkan Saka (2006) provide an excellent basis to develop scholarship on NGOs as assemblages, as wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts. The notion of assemblage retains a sense of structure without the inherent assumption of stability and fixity, and instead places emphasis on process and relationships and the “unstably heterogeneous” (Marcus and Saka 2006, 102). We need research on NGOs that productively uses the conceptual apparatus of assemblage to recoup a theory that matches the dynamism and innovation of contemporary practices of government, and that demonstrates the tenuous, contingent, and internally contradictory nature of state–civil society relations.

Different formulations of neoliberalism emerge out of a multiplicity of political forces always in competition with one another, producing unintended outcomes and unexpected alignments. Moreover, the emergence of new political projects is never a complete rupture with what has gone before, but rather is part of an ongoing process involving recomposition of political rationalities, programs, and identities. Some of the contributions

show this nicely—especially Manetta and Steinberg’s paper on Pakistan and Tajikistan and Noori’s paper on the use of mohalla committees in Uzbekistan. The management of class conflict and the creation of neoliberal subjects is not simply an imposition of an agenda from above but also a skillful improvisation from below. Social capital and empowerment are constituted from existing political relationships and discourses of community and democracy, transformed through the practices of NGOs into technologies of government.

Locations from which the political ecoprojects of neoliberalism gather force are multiple and “resistance” is figured by and within the regimes of power, rather than being external to it. Chloé Froissart’s paper on the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to manage the increasing visibility of rural migrants in the cities of China is an insightful exposition into the practices, techniques, and rules of forming governable subjects. Equally interesting is Froissart’s account of the organizing activities of migrant workers and their tactics and mechanisms to counter or at the very least apply pressure to bend the rules of government.

Several elements of Foucault’s theory of governmentality appear in this situation—the CCP is not concerned so much with imposing the law on migrant workers as it is in “disposing” (to use Foucault’s term) of the problem in the manner it sees fit, “that is to say of employing tactics rather than laws, and even using laws themselves as tactics” (Foucault 1991, 95). NGOs established by migrant workers to represent themselves are permitted to function, and the party builds tactical alliances with these organizations. In the process, migrant workers defined by the law as “illegal” entrants into the urban economy become sovereign subjects representing a certain autonomous interest and not merely subjects of the state. The “problem of sovereignty [that] is made more acute” and its unpredictable movements may indeed signal an emergent political society, in other words symbolizing the contest between democracy and governmentality that Partha Chatterjee (2004) suggests in his essays on political society.

Nahla Abdo’s and Zakia Salime’s papers on NGOs in the Middle East focused on how NGOs stand in for representative democracy in conflict areas. Salime analyzes the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), an NGO initiated by the United States, is used as a mechanism to manage the war on terror. Genuine democratic mechanisms—political parties, people’s organizations—are bypassed and the MEPI becomes the centerpiece of democratization in the Middle East. An interesting point she makes is that the MEPI displaces the true function of the state in terms of representation of the popular will and civil society organizations such as the MEPI are created that take over the political function of representing the will of the people. She argues that following neoliberalism, states in the Middle East limit themselves to expanding markets and enhancing investment. Abdo’s paper on Palestine describes the depoliticization of civil society in the country, and argues that NGOs are the main reason for this depoliticization. Both these papers make compelling arguments; however both would benefit from an explanation of the internal workings of NGOs or empirically map the activities, relationships, and process by which depoliticization actually occurs.

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Networks of Islamic Learning across Asia: The Role of International Centers of Islamic Learning in Building Ties and Forging New Identities

• Jacqueline Armijo-Hussein, Zayed University, Abu Dhabi, UAE

Although globalization is often associated with “modernity” and the transfer of Western values and cultures, in fact for hundreds of years Islamic education networks in Asia have acted as conduits for a continuous flow of ideas throughout the region. From the earliest days of Islam, as the religion spread throughout the Middle East, and then to South Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia along land and sea routes, first hundreds, then thousands, and eventually millions of Muslims would return along these same routes to participate in the hajj. As the trip often took several years many would take the opportunity to stop along the way to study with well-known scholars of Islam. These informal networks were later solidified as Islamic colleges were established, first at al Azhar in Cairo, and later throughout Asia.

Today, students from every region of Asia, including China, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, the Gulf states, and the Middle East, travel to centers of learning in other parts of Asia, primarily in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Pakistan, and Indonesia. This phenomenon is both a continuation of practices that have existed for centuries, and also the result of the recent resurgence of Islamic education in much of the world.

These students are arriving at centers of Islamic learning during a period of intense reflection on what it means to be Muslim today. At these universities they meet local Muslim students, as well as students like themselves—those coming from ethnic minority communities, those belonging to religious minority groups, those coming from societies in the midst of the economic reform and social unrest created by rapid development, those from moderate Islamic societies, and those from more conservative Islamic societies. With Arabic as their lingua franca, students from across Asia, and the rest of the world, form communities, studying together in programs lasting two to six years.

This workshop seeks to include:

- Scholars and practitioners working in the field of Islamic education in Asia, specifically those involved with international centers of Islamic learning
- Scholars carrying out research on Muslim communities that have sent students overseas to complete their Islamic studies
- Scholars in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, religion, education, and Islamic studies interested in ways in which local and transnational identities have been influenced by international centers of Islamic learning
- Teachers at centers of Islamic learning

Some of the questions that will be addressed include:

- What role have international centers of Islamic learning played in the development of local and international Muslim identities among students, both historically and in the present?
- To what extent have the networks created among students been maintained after graduation, and how have they continued to influence students?
- To what extent are universal identities forged, or local identities reinforced?
- What influence do students have on their home communities upon their return after graduation?
- Are there significant differences between the impacts of different centers of Islamic learning?

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Mohammad Arshad, Dr. Zakir Husain Study Circle (ZHSC), New Delhi

Redefining the Identity of the Ahl-i-Hadis Community in India: A Case Study of Jamia Salafia, Varanasi

With high profile active support from Saudi Arabia, Markazi Jami'at Ahle Hadis, Hind founded Jamia Salafia, in 1966 in Varanasi. Although it was established to function as *Markazi Darul Uloom* (the central madrassa), it did not meet the expectations of the Ahl-i-Hadis community. However, Jamia Salafia has been instrumental in restructuring the intellectual reproduction of the Ahl-i-Hadis ulama and also in redefining the Ahl-i-Hadis identity in contemporary India both from within and without. Apart from paving the way for the emergence of entrepreneur ulama, the exchange between the Jamia and Arab universities, especially Islamic University, Medina, has given rise to the rivalry among the Ahl-i-Hadis ulama. The role of other agencies of the Saudi government in this connection has also been very critical. The advent of the petro-dollar has resulted in reshuffling the caste structure of the Ahl-i-Hadis leadership. The paper seeks to explore and examine these subthemes related to Jamia Salafia and the Ahl-i-Hadis identity from a critical insider's perspective.

Mehmet Ozan Aşık, Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University

A Comparative Study of Two Types of Islamic Learning in Egypt and Turkey:

The Cases of Al-Azhar and Imam-Hatip Schools

Religious education has been highly elevated and demanded by Muslim societies in line with Islamic revivalism since the 1970s, and hot debates on the issues of what kind of Islamic education is taught and which methods are employed have been ongoing. In this paper, I pursue a similar debate on two types of Islamic learning in a comparative study between Egypt and Turkey: Al-Azhar schools in Egypt and imam-hatip schools in Turkey. Al-Azhar schools, which have been the bastion of traditional Islamic learning throughout history, are the most prevalent mass educational system in contemporary Egypt. Imam-hatip schools, which were established to train religious functionaries, have turned into mass religious educational centers that provide Islamic knowledge and values for the children of pious Muslim groups in Turkey. In this comparative study I try to find the answers to these questions: What sort of value systems and identities do these different Islamic schoolings provide for their students? How do these different types of Islamic schooling affect political and cultural life in Egypt and Turkey? For the Egyptian part, I use data from my field research (library research and in-depth interviews with students, teachers, professors, and educational experts) in Cairo, Egypt, as a research fellow at the American University in Cairo between April and June 2005. For the Turkish part, I benefit from first- and second-hand resources in Turkish and English. These schools have some similarities; for instance, they both deliver Islamic and secular/modern sciences together in order to train Muslim professionals. However, regarding the socialization process in their educational bodies, their roles in identity politics, and their impact on political culture, Al-Azhar and imam-hatip schools are different, due to the different cultural and political frameworks of Egypt and Turkey.

Zareena A. Grewal, Department of American Studies, Yale University

Destination, Tradition: American Student-Travelers in the Middle East

I explore the constructions of religious authority across Muslim American mosque communities and the ways complex transnational relationships, religious affiliations, and shifting connotations of the Middle East have drawn the Islamic East into the religious imaginaries of Muslim Americans throughout the twentieth century. Much of the research on Muslim American communities tends to reduce them to ethnographic "villages," isolating communities that are often quite fluid and overlapping as a practical concession to their incredible diversity. However, in my study, based on original, archival research, and a year of fieldwork in Amman, Damascus, and Cairo, the thematic threads of identity, displacement, and authority weave together blacks and whites and Arab and South Asian immigrants and their children for analytical purposes, providing one model

for examining the wide spectrum of Muslim communities together while maintaining the integrity of their differences. The ethnographic dimension of the project examines the ways the Middle East has now become a transformative *destination* for Muslim Americans concerned about the “crisis” of Islamic religious authority. Muslim youth from different class and ethnic backgrounds have begun traveling back to the intellectual centers of the Arab world in search of an authentic Islamic education in order to preserve their tradition and reform Islam in the United States. In the Middle East, they engage in the study of classical legal, theological, and exegetical texts. Although informal, undocumented, and unstructured by US university standards, “traditional” education in the Middle East is structured in that it is very hierarchical, accompanied by detailed intellectual genealogies and strict codes of respect for the teachers. Often this complex blend of oral and textual instruction takes the form of Arab scholars teaching a difficult text line by line in the students’ homes or on the floor of a local mosque. Through an ethnographic account of these spiritual journeys east and the pedagogical networks they enter into in the Arab world, I explore the ways Muslim Americans construct their roots/routes in the space between the United States and the Middle East.

Justin Jones, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

Shia Madrassas in Colonial India and the Reform of Religious Learning in Shia Islam

This paper examines the establishment and expansion of a number of Shia religious schools across colonial India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their impact upon Shia religion and society in the subcontinent. By comparison with the many available discussions of Sunni reformist movements in India during this period, these schools have been almost entirely overlooked in academic scholarship. Based on a number of vernacular histories, pamphlets, and autobiographies, this paper traces the emergence of several seminaries in Lucknow, the former capital city of the Shia Nawabs. It then locates them at the center of a web of educational establishments founded across north India, often by the teachers and their students. Much of the paper discusses the manifold changes in Indian Shiism effected by the appearance of these schools. They formalized a curriculum of religious learning, dispensed qualifications that systematized designations of Shia religious authority, and furnished India with a new and active body of ulama. By offering collective education that transcended the ties of family and kinship, these madrassas contributed to the construction of community in Indian Shiism. Moreover, the paper shows how their new curricula increasingly delineated and enhanced the boundaries separating Shia and Sunni interpretations of Islam. This paper contends that scholarship on Shia Islam has often focused disproportionately on Middle Eastern educational hubs such as Najaf and Qom, presuming religious reform and leadership to be centralized in these urban centers and then spreading outwards to the peripheries of the Shia world. It argues instead that India’s networks of religious schools emanating from Lucknow were increasingly independent from the Middle East, and were able to prompt an “Indianization” of Shiism. By furnishing India with an indigenous clerical leadership and an independent curriculum of learning, Shia seminaries across the subcontinent diminished reliance on intellectual and personal ties with the shrine cities, and facilitated a turn inwards toward indigenous religious traditions.

Faried F. Saenong, Department of Anthropology, the Australian National University

In Search of Barakka’ and Authenticity:

Local and International Networks of Pesantren and Ulama in Contemporary South Sulawesi (Indonesia)

Islam in South Sulawesi (eastern Indonesia) has been neglected by most scholars; they suggest that South Sulawesi’s ulama simply learned Islam from their teachers, who had come from Java and Sumatra (western Indonesia). Since South Sulawesi ulama do not have a special relationship with Saudi Arabia, Islam in the region has been regarded as more peripheral and less networked with heartland Saudi Arabia. South Sulawesi’s *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) are also seen as networked only with *pesantren* in Java and Sumatra, and cut off from the outside world. In fact, South Sulawesi has a long history with Islam in Saudi Arabia and Yemen that began before the modernization of Islamic education, when the annual hajj acted as the main catalyst in the creation of such networks. After having studied in Mecca and Medina, as well as in

Yemen, and returning home, some great South Sulawesi ulama played significant roles in developing centers of Islamic study, especially in eastern Indonesia. This paper will explore this past connection by scrutinizing the role of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari (1627-99), who had oral certification (*ijāza*) from some great Sufi orders in India, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Damascus. The paper will examine this network in the course of the twentieth century by looking at the role of *Andre Gurutta* (our great teacher) As'ad (1907-52), who learned Islam in Mecca and then pioneered the development of pesantren in eastern Indonesia. Using his strong network with ulama in Mecca and Medina, he frequently sent South Sulawesi's prospective ulama to learn Islam in both those sacred cities. The graduates usually returned and developed existing pesantren or founded new ones. The paper will also look at the dynamic of this network in the present day. This includes ideological issues that affect this network, shifting interest from studying Islam in Saudi Arabia to Cairo and Morocco.

Ermin Sinanovic, Department of Political Science, United States Naval Academy

Garden of Knowledge and Virtue:

International Islamic University Malaysia and the Creation of Transnational Muslim Identities

During the last decade, Malaysia has emerged as an international learning center. According to one report, the number of foreign students in Malaysia increased from 43,000 to 86,000 between 1998 and 2002. This increase was also a result of the situation after 9/11, when many Middle Eastern students who faced difficulties in obtaining visas to study in Western countries redirected their focus to the East. This is a significant shift; previously it was the Malaysian students who traveled to the Middle East, primarily to study Islam. Due to the tremendous economic development in the last four decades and its image as a progressive and moderate Muslim country, Malaysia attracts Muslim students from around the world. It is also an especially attractive study destination for Muslim minorities as it can offer them Islamic learning in institutions of higher education, which they often lack at home. This paper will examine attitudes and identity formation of foreign Muslim students at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). As an international center of Islamic learning, the IIUM has emerged as a destination of choice for Muslims from more than eighty countries. As of the academic year 2006/2007, the IIUM had 2,762 international students, out of total number of 18,815. For many of these students, this is their first chance to see the role that Islam plays in a Muslim-majority country. With Malaysia's emphasis on modernity, the use of information technology, and the capitalist approach to economy, these students form their views on Islam and about their own Muslim identity in a dynamic sociopolitical environment in which Islam plays an important role. For students who come from the majority-Muslim countries, especially for those from the Arab Gulf, being in Malaysia is often the first time they encounter Islam in a multiethnic and multireligious society. This study postulates that these various factors influence and often modify identity formation among international students at the IIUM. With the help of the IIUM Alumni Association, I plan to administer a cross-sectional, quota-stratified survey on a sample of two hundred IIUM graduates from twenty countries. Ten of these countries will be majority-Muslim countries, while ten will be countries where Muslims are in the minority or have plurality. The survey will contain both forced-choice and open-ended questions. The objective of the survey is to determine the extent to which their study in Malaysia has shaped their views on Islam and their own identity. I am particularly interested in the type of religious ideas they acquired while in Malaysia. I will also examine the role the IIUM Alumni Association plays in maintaining contacts with international graduates of the IIUM.

Leyla Ildusovna Tukhvatullina, Department of Social Sciences, Academy of Social Education (Kazan Social-Juridical Institute)

The Resurgence of Islamic Education in Present-Day Tatarstan

Islamic religious education in Tatarstan has had a painful history: the Mongolian invasion, the conquest of Kazan by Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century, and the revolution of 1917. Although each tragic event destroyed the established traditions of Moslem scholarship, each time the centers of Moslem learning rose

from the ruins. The real peak coincided with the age of Jadidism, in the beginning of the twentieth century, when Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg became the centers of education for *shakirds* (madrassa students) from the republics of Middle Asia and the Caucasus. In the 1990s, after a seventy-year interval, the renaissance of religious education happened again. Gradually a three-tiered education system was formed: primary (mosques), secondary (madrassas), and higher/baccalaureate (higher madrassas and the Russian Islamic University [RIU]). The content of religious education is still in the development stage, and there is an apparent tendency to synthesize religious and secular education. The department of theology at the RIU specializes in Islamic studies, and trains scholars and teachers rather than imams. Since religious education in Tatarstan does not include magistracy, approximately 10 percent of RIU graduates continue their education in Malaysia, Jordan, Egypt, or Turkey. The religious institutions are also aimed at the rebirth of the local Hanafi tradition of Islam. The major obstacles have been the absence of state accreditation and financing (since religion is separate from the state in Russia), the lack of textbooks, and an insufficient number of qualified teachers of religious disciplines. In addition, religious institutions do not have a clear conception of the place of Islam in modern Tatarstan society. The absence of articulated aims of religious education creates the problem of workplaces for graduates. For many of them the madrassa is not just a professional and educational institution, but a step on the spiritual path. There are, however, some positive tendencies: Kazan centers of Moslem education—the RIU and the higher madrassa “Muhammadiya”—attract many students from the republics of Middle Asia and the Caucasus; and publishing activity is expanding at the center established by the RIU, where educational literature and works in the original are translated into Russian from Arabic, old Tatar, and Turkish. International connections are also widening: the annual competitions of Koran reciters are being held under the aegis of the RIU. Thus, religious education in Tatarstan is searching for its own way of development, which is determined by aspiration for the rebirth of local traditions, especially Jadidism; the refusal to copy foreign experience; and attempts to find its own place in a secular state.

Anita M. Weiss, International Studies Program, University of Oregon

Envisioning Muslim Women: Images Portrayed by al-Huda and by the State in Pakistan

Contemporary Muslim society is undergoing unprecedented social change worldwide as Muslims reconsider and renegotiate previously accepted norms within traditional society, particularly regarding women's place in the larger social order. The engendering of Muslim civil society propels such considerations to new levels as this process raises profound questions regarding women's social roles and rights. Given advances in new technologies, of which many Muslim women can now avail themselves, this debate is also rapidly communicated worldwide. It elicits disparate, conflicting images, particularly concerning what constitutes women's rights, who is to define what these rights are, where responsibility lies for ensuring these rights, and the role states and institutions—such as international centers of Islamic learning—are playing in articulating and clarifying what is acceptable and unacceptable within a Muslim context. International centers of Islamic learning have risen in importance throughout the Muslim world in the past quarter century. Although there are important distinctions between them—for example, the International Islamic University (IIU) in Malaysia embraces all orientations of *fiqh* while the IIU in Pakistan tends to teach more rigid interpretations of *fiqh* than that commonly adhered to locally—an arena in which there is much consensus is what is taught regarding women's rights in Islam. This paper considers the situation in Pakistan as a case to discuss the identities that these “mainstream centers” foster regarding women's rights. It compares the messages promoted by the government of Pakistan with those promoted by Al-Huda, initially an offshoot of the IIU, which has since become prominent throughout the country and is fostering a new generation of educated, middle-class women to become veiled conservatives. My concern is with the unique kind of Islamic identity that is not traditional in this culture area that al-Huda espouses, and contrasts this image of women and their rights with those advocated by the government of Pakistan in the past years as it seeks to reform the Hudood laws and eliminate traditional discriminatory practices against women.

Background

Today, Muslim students from every region of Asia, including China, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, the Gulf, and the Middle East, travel to centers of learning in other parts of Asia, primarily in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Pakistan, and Indonesia. This phenomenon is both a continuation of practices that have existed for centuries, but also the result of the recent resurgence of Islamic education throughout much of the world.

These students are arriving at centers of Islamic learning during a period of intense reflection on what it means to be Muslim today. At these universities they meet local Muslim students, as well as students like themselves: those coming from ethnic minority communities, those belonging to religious minority groups, those coming from societies in the midst of the economic reform and social unrest created by rapid development, those from moderate Islamic societies, and those from more conservative Islamic societies. With Arabic as their lingua franca, students from throughout Asia, and the rest of the world, form communities, studying together in programs lasting two to six years.

Although associated primarily with the Middle East, Islam is in fact firmly centered in Asia. Indonesia, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh are the countries with the largest Muslim populations by far. By focusing on the networks created by students from all over Asia attending these centers of Islamic learning, this workshop will be able to more readily identify historical and current methods of creating and then maintaining these ties.

Outcomes

We benefited from discussing our work with others interested in this fascinating but extremely underresearched field of study. The three most important themes that came up repeatedly involved our different approaches to identifying and studying networks, the tension between local practices of Islam and Saudi Wahabi efforts to eradicate such practices, and the extraordinary power of the Islamic concept of *talab al-'ilm* (seeking knowledge) to inspire so many Muslims to travel to such distant places in pursuit of Islamic learning.

A. Approaching Networks

The topic of international networks of Islamic learning is a complex one, and workshop participants had taken very different approaches to it. For example, in my own work I study the impact of growing numbers of Chinese from different regions of China studying at different centers of Islamic learning around the world, the networks they leave in China, the networks they create with other Chinese students while studying abroad, and the networks they create at their Islamic colleges with Muslims students from around the world.

Ermin Sinanovic, on the other hand, focuses on one center of Islamic learning, the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) in Kuala Lumpur, and is interviewing graduates of that school from twenty different countries (ten Muslim majority, ten Muslim minority) and their experiences upon their return. His research examines both the network students become part of while studying at IIUM, and the networks they help create upon their return home and the various influences on their identities as Muslims.

Zareena Grewal had perhaps the most complex task in that although she was only looking at American Muslims studying at different centers of Islamic learning overseas, the range of American Muslims was truly extraordinary (South Asian Americans, African Americans, white converts, many different Arab Americans, etc.), as was their choice of where to study overseas. For the most part, Muslim Americans from immigrant communities did not travel to their family's country of origin, but instead usually went elsewhere: for

example, Yemeni Americans might end up in Pakistan, African Americans in Damascus, white converts in Morocco, and Pakistani Americans in Saudi.

B. Safeguarding Local Traditions from Saudi Wahabi Attacks

The negative impact of Saudi Wahabi efforts to eradicate all forms of local practices of Islam came up again and again throughout our workshop. Not only do Saudi missionaries travel to different Muslim communities around the world seeking to interfere with local practices by condemning them and often offering funding to have them eradicated, they also exert a huge influence through their Islamic education training. Muslim students from around the world who study at Islamic universities in Saudi Arabia are often trained to focus on the eradication of local practices upon their return to their home communities.

In her presentation Leyla Ildusovna Tukhvatullina mentioned how once the tradition of Islamic education was revived in Tatarstan, local religious leaders sought to establish a rule that all Tatar Muslims who sought to continue to their Islamic studies overseas must first complete an Islamic studies program in Tatarstan as a way to solidify their understanding of local Islam, before being exposed to ideas, such as those espoused by the Wahabis, that would condemn such practices.

Apparently one of the local customs that came under the strongest attacks from Saudi missionaries visiting Tatarstan and Tatars who had studied in Saudi Arabia was the local Muslim burial and memorial practices that had survived there. During the Soviet period almost all forms of religious worship were forbidden, but practices associated with burials and memorials were allowed to continue. Over the decades they became the most important public religious practice, but one forbidden according to Wahabi beliefs.

In Bosnia, also in response to Saudi attempts to influence local practices, they passed a rule that religious leaders had to receive their training from local Islamic schools. In China, although no such rule exists yet, there is growing suspicion of those who have studied in Saudi Arabia and seek to undermine the local practice of Islam that has survived for centuries. They are usually expected to show that they understand local religious traditions before they are allowed to have any leadership roles within the community. One of the most damaging impacts of this outside influence has been the destruction of hundreds of mosques throughout China, many dating back centuries, because they were deemed un-Islamic in their architectural style, and too reminiscent of Buddhist temples.

C. Talab al-‘ilm (the search for knowledge)

Another important commonality that came out was the determination of so many Muslims around the world to pursue their studies wherever they thought would be best. The famous hadith “Seek knowledge, even unto China,” seems to be alive and well in the Muslim world. And although *talab al-‘ilm*, or the search for knowledge, is not one of the five pillars of Islam, it definitely seems to be an honorary sixth one. We were all struck by the range of Muslims willing to travel so far to study, to learn from other Muslims, and to return home to help strengthen their own communities. By the end of our workshop I was also struck by the range of scholars who were willing to travel quite far themselves to document these networks of learning.

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES and CONTACTS

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Zareena A. Grewal is an assistant professor in the Department of American Studies and the Program in Ethnicity, Race, and Migration at Yale University in the United States. She is currently completing a research project on transnational Islam in America. She also has conducted research in Amman, Damascus, and Cairo. Email address: zareena.grewal@yale.edu

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Ermin Sinanovic is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. He has conducted research in Bosnia and Herzegovina on topics of Islamic law, revivalism, humanitarianism, and political thought. Email address: sinanovi@usna.edu

Leyla Ildusovna Tukhvatullina is an assistant professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the Academy of Social Education (Kazan Social-Juridical Institute). She conducts research on networks of Islamic learning across Asia and Islamic postmodernity. Email address: leila_almazova@mail.ru

Anita M. Weiss is a professor in the International Studies Program at the University of Oregon. She conducts research in South Asia on the topics of Muslim women, legal reforms, and women's rights as well as comparative international development. Email address: aweiss@uoregon.edu

WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Postcollective Economic Lives and Livelihoods: Studies of Economy, Institutions, and Everyday Practice in Postsocialist Eurasia and Asia

- Beth Mitchneck, University of Arizona, US
- John Pickles, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US

The collective institutions and identities of large parts of Eurasia and Asia have been rapidly replaced by new political structures and deregulated, and increasingly individualized, economic imperatives. Throughout the region from Central Europe to China, liberalization, privatization, and state deregulation have been used to ensure a rapid opening of formerly “closed” economies to the competitive pressures of international markets and global production networks and institutions. Regional economic integration, European Enlargement, and good neighbor policies have marked this opening in Central Europe, manufacturing decline and resource-based resurgence in the Russian economy, postimperial and nationalist struggles across many former Soviet states, and liberalization and globalization of former socialist economies in Asia and the Middle East. Even in the processes of the more controlled party reforms of China, lives are transformed, livelihoods disrupted and reorganized, and control over economic resources shifted and regularized in new and complex ways.

In this workshop, we focus attention on conceptualizing an economic and political subject in this phase shift from command economy to market-oriented economy. The workshop looks at the roles played by specific institutions, social practices, and individuals in shaping diverse trajectories of economic and social restructuring in countries experiencing the phase shift. We interpret Inter-Asia as the broad Eurasian region and its specific entanglements with communism and the phase shift from communism toward capitalism. The goals of the workshop are informed by Max Weber’s injunction that to understand “the spirit of capitalism” we need to build up a picture of economic development from its integral and concrete pieces, rather than from an abstract and general model.

We intend the workshop participants to focus on specific sets of instruments, policies, technologies, actors, social formations, and/or emerging regional systems and show how these articulate with processes of integration and dislocation. Participants should conceptualize the ways that these processes provide new comparative empirical and theoretical insights into debates about postsocialist economies and transformations.

Among a range of possible topics, we envisage papers examining:

- What is “the spirit of postsocialism”?
- What are the processes producing new postcollective economic subjects?
- What kinds of postcollective economic subjects are emerging as regional economic and social integration occurs?
- What does it mean to speak of an economic and political subject in this phase shift from command economy to market-oriented economy?
- Are new forms of globalization emerging in postsocialist economies and, if so, how?
- What are the new forms of economic regulation, institution, and everyday economy?
- What are the landscapes of transformed lives and disrupted livelihoods?

We encourage applications from a diverse range of junior and senior scholars from all social science disciplines and cultural studies, postsocialist studies, post-Soviet studies, Asian Studies, development studies, and international and global studies. We seek to bring together scholars and individuals from policy organizations and community groups from within and outside the Inter-Asian landscape (e.g., Middle East, Vietnam, South Asia, Eurasia) who have contributed to debates about the diverse forms of postsocialist economic institutions and practices.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Michael J. Bradshaw, Department of Geography, University of Leicester

Globalization, Postsocialist Transformation, and Regional Economic Change: A Journey to Sakhalin

This paper adopts an autobiographical approach to chart an intellectual journey from a training in Soviet area studies to a reengagement with economic geography. Along the way it considers the challenges posed to Soviet/Russian area studies by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which has forced us to redefine the object of our analysis and the ways in which we study it; and the era of globalization, which has forced us to place the subject of our study in comparative context and to embrace new ways of theorizing societal change. The paper also considers the tensions between our home discipline and the tradition of area studies. The paper advocates a “postdisciplinary” approach, whereby the researcher follows ideas and connections without concern for disciplinary boundaries. In the case of my own research biography, the focus on developments on the Island of Sakhalin in the Russian Far East has provided an opportunity to build links between contemporary theorization in economic geography and the study of regional change in Russia.

Adam Bund, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University

Zones of Innovation: Infrastructure, Labor, and Nation in Chinese Technology Parks

Chinese economic planners and corporate managers are consumed by innovation fever. At China’s National Science and Technology Conference in 2006, President Hu Jintao vowed to reshape China into “an innovation-oriented society,” dramatically altering the official postsocialist discourse of economic development. The new strategic vision targets the domestic science and technology sectors as engines of economic growth, understanding development as a race up the value chain, toward higher and higher value-added stages of production. To this end, a central pillar of China’s most recent five-year plan (2006–2010) is the concept of “indigenous innovation” (*zizhu chuangxin*). “Indigenous innovation” is a condensation of larger shifts in the Chinese and global economies, generating not only massive investment, but also new standards and benchmarks for the measurement of development, re-imagined relationships between the Chinese state and its citizens, and novel forms of transnational circulation and comparison. The assumption is that the proper configuration of policy, capital, pedagogy, and infrastructure—“mileux of innovation”—will unlock the innovative potential buried within the minds and bodies of some (but certainly not all) Chinese subjects. During its highly mediated journey from the hallways of elite universities to the factory floor, innovation discourse is broken and remade into remarkably differentiated sets of policies and practices. I study this process in a number of high-technology zones and software parks concerned primarily with domestic innovation, sites defined by the intersection between state policy, university R&D and management expertise, international and national venture capital, and new classes of Chinese entrepreneurs and workers. Technology zones are irreducibly comparative places, integrating and modifying “best practices” from a host of other Asian nations as well as from Silicon Valley. Such zones—physically and juridically separated from the remainder of the national space—can be interpreted as what Aihwa Ong calls spaces of “exception.” On the other hand, I also argue that tech zones are enmeshed in surrounding areas via other, less visible, networks: circuits of labor migration, economies of “local state corporatism,” and regional traditions of understanding labor and its value.

Rebecca A. Chamberlain-Creangă, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science

Between Money and Soul: Transforming Labor and Self in a Global Factory in Post-Soviet Moldova

This paper examines changing meanings of labor and self, as linked to emerging capitalist relations and to processes of social group identity formation in a transnational cement plant in postsocialist Moldova. The main social actors of the paper are the factory’s Russian-speaking minorities, the one-time bearers of Soviet

modernization, now toward the bottom of the factory hierarchy of power. The ethnography details how transnational management tries to produce individualized, ethnicized, competitive subjects out of workers based on the conglomerate's global, liberal economic vision of modernity. It disciplines and secures labor's cooperation through teaching "self-gratification" ("to feel good about oneself") through goal attainment; however, this runs counter to Soviet notions of the person and work, which championed sacrifice to the (Soviet) homeland, state, and kin. The paper looks at how employees from the laboratory and control room organize their everyday work practices, social identity, labor values, and intergroup relations in response. It addresses the tension of ethnic Russians/Ukrainians needing to feel bound to one another as Slav minorities, while at the same time wanting to be "modern" and "middle class," as embodied in controversial "romanianness." Through a range of methods, from shop-floor participant observation to semistructured interviews, the paper finds that industrial workers embrace, localize, and resist factory-disciplining "cultural styles" (ethnolinguistic categories) by negotiating past and present ideologies of ethnicity and labor. The study aims to be relevant to other developing economies penetrated by (and/or resisting) transnational, post-Fordist forms of capital. The research engages anthropological debates on neoliberalism and addresses how notions of neoliberal personhood are not divorced from, but constructed and embedded in social relations particular to time and place.

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The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment

This paper focuses on the interaction of economic and political forces in changing institutional and conjunctural contexts and identifies the key actors and forces that shape the trajectories of economic restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). CEE in the early 2000s looked very much like what many had expected it to be in the early 1990s. After the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, a lot of emphasis was put on the crucial role of foreign investors in the transition. Little of that had materialized, but around 2000, the dreams started to come true. Foreign-led economies crystallized in the region, with foreign control of leading export industries and most of the public utilities, and unprecedented levels of foreign dominance in the banking sector. Nowadays, the states converge toward distinctive models of the competition state. The dominant state strategies aim at promoting competitiveness by attracting foreign direct investment. The states are thus increasingly internationalized, forging economic globalization by facilitating capital accumulation for transnational investors. So why did the state strategies converge toward the competition state only around 2000? What does it tell us about the processes in which the states adapt to the environment of economic globalization, on the one hand, and help to reproduce it, on the other? What are political and social preconditions for the rise of the competition state and what are its implications? This paper makes three claims that explain the lag in the convergence to the externally oriented strategy. First, the internally oriented strategies were exhausted by the end of the nineties. Second, it took some time until the foreign investors became really active in the region. Both of these developments could have been predicted as they were determined by the structural setting of "transition," both internal and external, but the third could not. The processes of state internationalization could work only when both the structural opportunities and political possibilities of the moment allowed domestic groups linked to transnational capital to come to the fore and translate the structural power of transnational capital into tactical forms of power within national social formations. Using a case-guided comparison of the Visegrád Four countries, I investigate the politics of the internationalization of the states, societies, and political economies in the region and identify the carriers and mechanisms for internationalization. I analyze and explain recent transformations of the state and politics in CEE, as shaped by the environment of globalization.

Ase Berit Grødeland, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research

"Grand" vs. "Petty" Lobbying: Political Lobbying in Postcommunist Europe

While most studies of lobbying in postcommunist Europe focus on "grand" (i.e., elite) lobbying, this paper argues that it is necessary to investigate "petty" (i.e., citizen) lobbying as well, in order to gain a proper

understanding of the phenomenon. Both types of lobbying were common during communism and have, to some extent, been carried over from that period. The paper presents findings from 172 in-depth interviews conducted with elected representatives and political party representatives in seven countries (Czech Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Macedonia). It provides an analysis of the different types of requests politicians receive in these countries, the way in which such requests are made, and the acceptable and unacceptable types of requests and manners of behavior by type of requester. A distinction is made between (mostly) legitimate, (mostly) illegitimate, and “either-or” types of requests and the way in which requests are conveyed. While “petty” lobbying tends to be motivated primarily by difficult socioeconomic conditions or personal problems and to be conveyed in a rather benign manner, the nature and number of some of them, notably requests for jobs, are such that it is difficult for politicians to satisfy the requests. Political trust is usually perceived as generalized—that is, shaped by the public’s impression of politicians as conveyed by the media. Given the extent of “petty” lobbying in postcommunist states, however, political trust is likely also to be based on personalized trust. Failure to comply with “petty” requests thus has implications in terms of public trust in political institutions and in the politicians themselves. Further, such requests are likely to take up a considerable part of the politicians’ time. In this sense, they may also affect political efficiency, which in turn may affect generalized public trust in political institutions and politicians as well as the pace and quality of transition itself.

Nguyen Tran Lam, Health Policy Initiative, University of Amsterdam

Migration and Development: Migration Patterns of the Hmong in Vietnam

Migrating is often a tactic used by the poor to respond to adverse circumstances in order to seek a better life, even if they have to give up traditional values and leave relatives behind. In turn, migration may influence rural livelihood, and shape people’s reactions to change. This paper describes the complex relationships between migration and livelihood in the context of sociopolitical changes taking place in the Vietnam northern mountain region (NMR) during the last one hundred fifty years. Data is based on literature reviews, fieldwork, trips to the NMR during 2002-2006, and other sources. After analyzing some academic debates about the development/livelihood/migration relationships, I analyze different patterns of migration among the Hmong in the major historical periods of Vietnam. Case studies of five districts are presented. I argue that the relationship between migration and livelihood is very complex and historically contextualized. The paper shows how the migration among the Hmong is shaped by wars, policies, and livelihoods. Further research should look at how migration patterns are structured and changed in the context of globalization as well as the impacts of migration on development in different settings.

Kun-Chin Lin, Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore

Pricing Labor in Reforming State-Owned Enterprises in China: Case Studies of the Oil and Petrochemical Industries

This paper offers a detailed empirical review of changes in the wage regime of state-owned enterprises in a strategic sector in post-Mao China. Drawing from Chinese-language industry publications and twelve case studies conducted in 2000-2002 of oilfields and refineries in seven Chinese provinces, I show how changes in the wage regime—including variations in the principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures for work-related and layoff compensations—do not correlate with degrees of pressure from the market. Instead, I find that historical institutional factors largely shaped wage adjustments from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s. However, since the late 1990s Chinese state-owned enterprises have become an arena of heated contentions over notions of entitlement, fairness, and efficiency, especially as the boundaries of the firms become uncertain due to top-down reorganization efforts. As a result, wage determination has become highly localized and destabilizing for the management. In contrast to the conventional narrative that treats labor policies and workplace politics as outcomes of class policies imposed from the above by a strong party state, I argue that while reformers in Beijing have attempted to preempt the workers from key decisions regarding labor contracts and intrafirm pricing decisions, they are often unable to have their way. The dominant force of change in state workers’ economic livelihood has been one of transforming the structure of hegemony

toward imposing an artificial “commodification” process that has less to do with prioritizing market forces and more with dismantling the workplace’s social and organizational barriers against certain forms of state-orchestrated corporate control. The backlash to this hegemonic exercise is the emergence of crosscutting allegiances of factions of managers and workers, forming the social and psychological bases for sustained collective action and inaction.

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Repatriating Capitalism: Money, Lies, and Uncoined Values in Post-Soviet Siberia

In 2001-2003 (and during shorter visits in 2004-2005), I conducted fieldwork in the city of Barnaul, Siberia: I attended meetings and interviewed individually various members of local communist, national Bolshevik, antiglobalist, and religious groups. Based on these materials, my paper documents how emerging market relations polarized people and simultaneously forced them to search for acceptable explanations and theories of radical transformation. Produced in the course of privatization, the extreme social differentiation activated a variety of discourses rooted in mistrust. Partly capitalizing on symbolic skills of the hermeneutic of suspicion honed during the Soviet period, the post-Soviet narratives about universal falsehood, lies, and corruption translate the nontransparency and nonfamiliarity of the newly emerging social order into terms of its lack of authenticity. The disintegration of the previously coherent public space and the domestication of new foreign-looking retail enclaves also resulted in increasing attempts to envision and objectify “traditional” ways of life as cultural wholes. Social dislocation and economic dispossession were accompanied by “a moral holocaust” that gave rise to various forms of “bare patriotism,” as one of my informants put it. The experience of the global circulation of capital was counterbalanced with ideas of the enclosed national community and unmediated values. Increasingly, Russo-Soviet culture was construed as “inalienable wealth,” as a particular form of socially meaningful property that could be shared among people but that could not enter commercial circulation or exchange. I refer to this sociosymbolic dynamic as the *repatriation of capitalism* in order to highlight both the return of the economic regime that was abolished after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, and widespread attempts to filter new market-driven practices through the lens of myths and histories that were perceived by my informants as distinctively Russian.

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Clean Fake: Ambiguous Documents, Registration Regimes, and Everyday “Illegality” in Migrant Moscow

This paper draws on survey data and interviews with returned labor migrants from southern Kyrgyzstan to explore the contemporary navigations of a regime of residence registration in urban Russia. The paper takes an administrative regime as its point of entry and ethnographic focus, since it is the practical workings of this system, intended to keep the urban population “visible” to the state, which is crucial to the production of migrant illegality in practice. The paper explores in this specific context—and asks in a more general, comparative framework—about the subjective experience of (il)legality within this complex administrative arrangement. It pays particular attention to a recurrent trope of migrant narratives: the “clean fake” (*chistaia falshivaia*) registration document. This document, technically fake but functionally authentic, is often obtained informally by migrants from local policemen in arrangements that involve complex blurrings of the boundaries between state and society, legal and illegal. The paper explores the “clean fake” both as a common *strategy* of survival within a draconian administrative regime and as an indicative *trope* for a way that the legal/illegal boundary is encountered and discursively navigated by migrants. As such, it seeks to shed light on the topic of post-Soviet labor migrations from the perspective of the “economic subject” and to contribute broader theoretical reflections on the relationship between documentary regimes, the production of post-Soviet zones of “localized sovereignty” (Humphrey 2004) in its urban metropolises, and the everyday experience of undocumented labor.

Sam Schueth, Department of Geography, University of Minnesota–Twin Cities

*Economic Practices and Institution Building in Post-Soviet Georgia:
Multiplicity, Value, and the Capitalist Axiomatic*

While early transition models have been roundly critiqued for presuming that capitalist economies would inevitably emerge once freed from the fetters of state planning, newer institution-building transition models have received less critical attention. This paper engages critically with institutional transition models through a case study of economic practices amid reform of the “business environment” in the Republic of Georgia. Institution-building models follow new institutional economics in reducing institutions to rules that disallow certain behaviors and incentivize others. Drawing from the Georgian case of reform implementation, I argue for a different notion of economic institutions conceived not primarily as rules that restrict economic action, but rather as provisionally stable power relations between practices with antagonistic rationales. I utilize the Deleuzian concepts of capitalist axiomatics, virtuality, and multiplicity to develop a practice-based account of subjectivity and economic institutions. These concepts enable a view of capitalism as a provisional set of mechanisms for appending diverse practices of value to its circuits of exchange value. Analysis of economic practices in Georgia explores how the circuits of value stitched together by the practices of Georgian entrepreneurs exceed rationales of capital accumulation. Economic practices of building reciprocated loyalties across commodity chains in Georgia serve various business development and social reproductive goals, as well as contest state practices of institution building. Conceiving economic institutions as composed of practices of value that are never subsumed by, but rather are articulated with capitalism’s axioms and supporting metrics of value, is an avenue to nonreductionist explanations of political economic change.

Introduction

In this workshop we wanted to focus attention on what it means to speak of an economic and political subject in the phase shift from command economy to market-oriented economy, and how we are to understand the diverse ways in which individuals and collectivities are responding to these changes across the Inter-Asian region. If the communist project was about the institutional and material production of a then new socialist subject, how are we to understand and study the contemporary institutional, ideological, and material processes that are reframing this collective subject? The processes of reform (World Bank 1996) are far from straightforward and are far more complex than many theories of the liberal subject, civil society, and game-theoretic rational actors might imply. But one important technology of reform is the transitology that emerged full-blown in 1989 and continues to shape a great deal of thinking about the institutions and practices of market economies. In contrast, throughout the region, area studies specialists have been carrying out deep archaeologies and genealogies of these reform subjects, who are variously quick to capitalize, slow to abandon collective commitments, nostalgic for past coherence, and working hard to domesticate the new “revolution” and the economic spaces of postsocialism they are currently shaping (see Creed 1998).

These archaeologies of collective and postsocialist subjects pose new epistemological and methodological challenges for the social sciences and regional studies. Most of these, including our own work, of necessity (given the practical challenges of fieldwork) have been largely regionally bounded, with their own very specific historical and cultural referents and concerns (Europe, Russia, Caucasus, Central Asia, China). The workshop explicitly addressed the ways in which these epistemologies and methodologies of researching economic practices and subjects shape the nature of the questions we ask. Four issues were of particular importance.

First, we wanted to insist that comparative studies of postsocialist political and economic transformation must engage with Asian reform communism, particularly that of China. For us, Inter-Asia is a term that opens up a crucial and critical dialogue in the social sciences about the role of Euro-Asian social and economic (trans)formations, and about their relationships and their differences. It suggests possibilities for thinking differently about geographical regions and in ways that are much more consonant with the rapidly emerging globally and regionally integrated production and financial networks, and the complex and diverse flows of people and ideas they are engendering. It also poses important challenges for the ways in which we think of research methodology and practice

These interspaces of integration and articulation are, of course, not always smooth spaces of emergent formations. They are often, and perhaps increasingly, sites of sharp differences, differences that pose real translation issues for theory and methodology (Pickles and Smith 2007). Some of these translation issues were at the heart of traditional area studies goals and expertise, but others require that commitments to history, culture, region, language, and identity be articulated with transnational structures of economy and power, long the privileged domain of the social sciences. How are lives and livelihoods being recomposed as international producer- and buyer-driven value chains reshape the landscape of economic power, ownership, and class? What are the complex processes of social negotiation that are taking place as corporate and financial organizations enter the economic spaces of cooperative, collective, and state ownership, and how is the new postsocialist internationalism related to the parallel emergence and support of nationalisms, violence, and criminality? What processes of subject formation are emerging in an Inter-Asia that is normalizing its relationship with global economic institutions, civil society, and human rights; that is realigning the main axes of trade and investment (increasingly focusing on “intra-Asia linkages,” Russo-Chinese border crossings, and common economic spaces with Europe, such as Georgia’s bilateral trade agreements on GSP+ with the European Commission)? And how are we to think about postsocialist lives and livelihoods when this liberalization in particular may be as much about human and drug trafficking as it is about the integration of economic networks, as much about illegal CIA renditions across “unregulated” spaces as about institutional harmonization under the Europe Agreements, and as much about Cold War sensibilities as about post-Cold War possibilities?

These interspaces are also being articulated in nationalist terms as governments adopt defensive measures against economic liberalization and the social changes it brings. As of January 1, 2007, in an attempt to regulate retail and especially street traders, the Russian government established quotas on the citizenship of retail trade workers. No more than 40 percent of employees in retail markets may be non-Russian citizens and this figure must be reduced to zero by year's end. Regulating labor by sector and citizenship is becoming a new norm in conditions under which national capital is threatened by international investors and where xenophobia emerges as a result of labor market deregulation. But how are such grand gestures of nationalist pride actually reshaping the conditions of everyday life? what are the production relations in the reform economy? and how are new norms and regulations actually operating at the level of the retail traders?

Second, new forms of social and economic regulation appear related to a dramatic realignment of global, regional, and local economic regulation brought about by recent geopolitical change. European Union integration, the expansion of what is considered Europe, as well as European Union Neighborhood policies have contributed to theoretical explanations and understandings of these spatially interconnected processes as extensions of sociocultural and political processes in the global North. Trade, criminal, and security networks are now considered global with local linkages or expressions. Broad regions, such as southern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, participate in and are connected through production networks that are both rooted in local sociocultural and economic processes and connected to historically dominant ones. These large-scale production and regulation networks extend into the everyday lives, social networks, and practices of now highly geographically and socially mobile populations. The extension of these networks impacts livelihoods, social relations within families, social stratification, and state and society relations. Yet, despite the advent of new means of regulation and the historical and culturally rooted nature of these processes, we still lack vocabulary, concepts, and theoretical explanations to speak about the lives and livelihoods of these Inter-Asian postsocialist subjects and to do so in ways that do not reduce their complex and diverse economic logics and changing subject positions to single and simple market logics.

Third, it is clear that approaches focused on the nation-state and broader regional perspectives (Central Europe, Eastern Europe, Soviet world, China, Asia) only serve as preliminary organizing principles for the study of lives and livelihoods in economies during the phase shift. If these foci are sustained too long, they quickly become straightjackets that sever the very processes and parallels to which we need to attend. This is particularly important as the nature of the international economy and patterns of economic life are ever more integrated into global value chains. How, for example, do we speak about transnational economic networks; new, sometimes hidden flows of people, money, and goods and complex policies aimed at forging common economic spaces; good neighborhood policies; and strict new structures of security and surveillance? How do we create vocabularies and concepts that sufficiently capture the specificity of forms arising in an Inter-Asia, the emergent properties of connectivity, relationality, and difference that are driving the creation of new geoeconomic spaces, new divisions and borders, and new hybrid subjects across them? There is now in Southern Europe a social movement called *Fadaiat*—"through-space"—a term that captures well the kinds of emergent experiences of subjects who are struggling to hold on to, who have lost, and who have gained so much in the matter of a few short years. In this through-space of massive socioeconomic transformation, how individual and social identities and differences are being reworked, what economic practices are emerging in the interregnum, and what new spatial forms and imaginaries are being produced to support and sustain the new social and political projects of postsocialist Inter-Asia will shape in new ways the kinds of research questions we ask and the kinds of research practice we will pursue in coming years. In this sense, we see our workshop and research work in ways similar to the claims made by the Ford Foundation's "Oceans Connect" program; we want to assert the importance of thinking Inter-Asia through this logic of postcollective subject transformation that is not bound by regional designations or trite comparative studies of reform. That is, we want to focus our attention on the relational geographies of economic change and subject production, on the new geoeconomic practices and flows that are emerging, and on the reterritorialization of space, border, and subjects currently underway.

Fourth, this relational understanding of system transformation also implies an epistemological shift in how we understand the subject of these collective and reform imaginations. In the workshop and the projects that

follow from it, we intend to focus our collaborative efforts on: the significance of hybrid formations, complex mediations, and historical and institutional legacies for how we understand lives and livelihoods during a phase shift; old and new structures of social and economic power and their effects in shaping current conditions; and the kind of emergent imaginaries that are being deployed to reconfigure the collective social imaginaries of the recent past. Each of these has complex scalar dynamics and so one crucial aspect of the work we propose is a direct interrogation of how our understanding of economic lives and livelihoods must always be multiscalar, recognizing the structures of hegemony and normalization as well as the complexity of subject and class positions within the diverse economies of societies undergoing phase shifts.

Although there is a growing body of research that is attentive to these complex and embedded processes of economic life, such as the concept of social remittances Levitt (2001) developed to understand transnational migration between Central America and the United States, or Collins's (2004) focus on the role of a social group undertheorized during the Soviet period (clans in Central Asia), on the whole research still draws on concepts and theories framed, developed, and tested within North America and Western Europe. As Pickles and Smith (2007) have recently suggested, we have yet to develop the kinds of conversations and concepts that themselves reflect the transnationalism we study; our theories and methods are in need of much more translation and a great more traveling than we generally allow.

Summary of Workshop Proceedings

The work of the participants focused on a wide variety of regions, dealt with different topics, and did so from different disciplinary perspectives. We asked them to think about ways in which their specific regional and thematic interests spoke to three general challenges:

- *Methodological challenges:* How do we go about doing this kind of research? What are the challenges inherent in researching questions linking large-scale economic practices and change with everyday life? What are the challenges of developing methodologies and researching in an explicitly comparative way across the broad Inter-Asian context?
- *Conceptual challenges:* What are the conceptual building blocks that are necessary to link the postsocialist economic subject across time and space? What are the conceptual approaches that may be most illuminating with a broad regional perspective?
- *Challenges facing comparative research:* What are the practical challenges facing researchers in developing comparative research in an Inter-Asian setting and linking with other projects? What constitutes the "ideal" comparative project and/or the "ideal" collaboration?

We began by assuming that the study of postsocialist economic subjects can only partly be captured by approaches focused on the nation–state and broader regional perspectives (Central Europe, Eastern Europe, Soviet world, China, Asia). An Inter-Asia approach allowed the workshop participants to focus on the interconnections and comparative processes at work in the ways in which new economic and social practices are emerging and in ways that did not cut off the very processes to which we wished to attend. This was particularly important as the nature of the international economy and patterns of economic life are ever more integrated into global value chains.

Second, we started with the assumption that an Inter-Asia perspective that stresses the centrality of China and Central Asia as key regional actors in these processes of economic change and new subject constitution was an important beginning. Indeed, research on and from these regions has been particularly attentive to many of the issues in which we are interested, such as diasporic networks, global business chains, collective action problems, the appropriate temporal frame for transition studies, and the legacies of diverse socioeconomic actors.

Third, by focusing on Inter-Asian postsocialism we hoped to broaden, if not quite decenter, Eurocentric and nationalist readings of socialism and its successor "states." In their place, we invited participants to reflect on

some of the ways in which their research speaks to (questions or supports) these more traditional and universalist interpretations of what postsocialism means for economies, practices, and subjects today. That is, how does their work pose interesting questions about the ways in which postsocialism is *taking place* today?

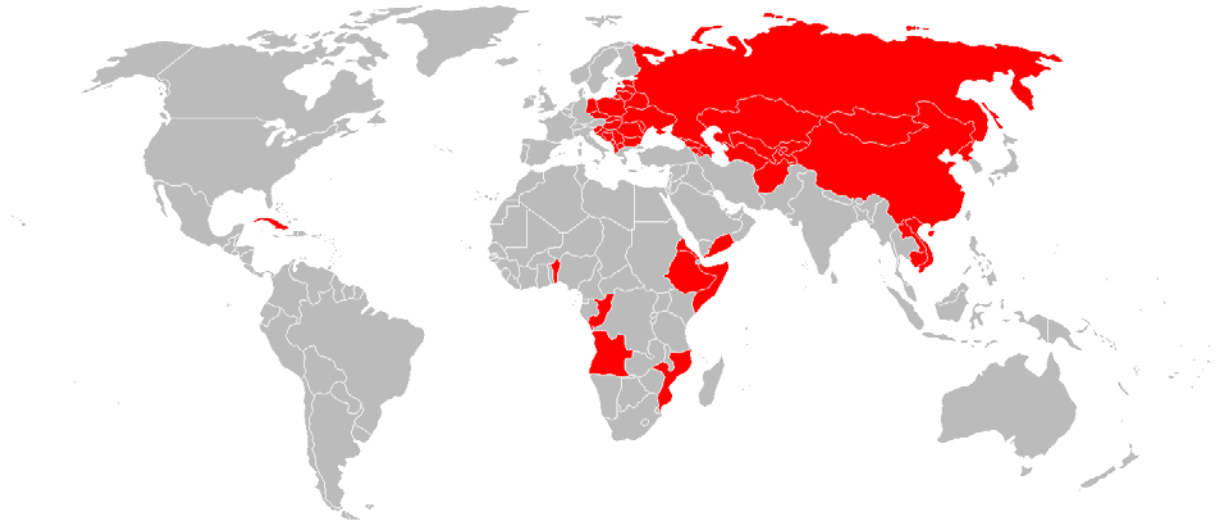
The new economies and subjects on which we suggested we might focus include:

- Transnational economic networks
- Flows of people, money, and goods
- Emergent properties of connectivity, relationality, and difference,
- New geoeconomic spaces, new divisions and borders, and new hybrid subjects
- Diverse economic practices that mediate collectivism and markets
- Through-spaces of socioeconomic change
- New spatial forms and imaginaries that support and sustain the new social projects of postsocialist Inter-Asia

Members of the workshop understood the importance of focusing attention on the common legacies of state ownership, class recomposition, and infrastructural investments and disinvestments; common challenges of collective ownership and technological innovation; common problems of access to capital; common experiences of market reform and harmonization; and common or importantly disparate social responses to the above changes and challenges. Postcollectivism is thus a broader way of conceptualizing the transformations of socialist states, societies, and economies, and the variety of ways in which they have been articulated with the global economy. We sought in our workshop to find new ways to map out this diversity of postcollective economic projects, not least with the need to find new vocabularies to help conceptualize regional processes without the restrictive filters of the language and theories of democratization, Western capitalism, neoliberalism, and transitivity.

We framed the issue in these terms to point to the geographical reach of collectivist state projects in Asia (see map). Postsocialist literatures are, to a large extent, focused on the reform economies of Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, postsocialist concerns have been heavily weighted to questions of economic integration, democratization, and political harmonization, especially in the context of the European Union and Enlargement. These are important issues, but they also constrain the conceptual and political possibilities of the work postsocialist studies does. By framing the workshop in terms of postcollective economies we seek to extend the geographic reach of our thinking and work. We are increasingly interested in asking not what EU Enlargement means for postsocialist states, but in what ways postcollective societies are experiencing and producing new forms of economic life. These new forms must be understood as Inter-Asian forms of economic and social life.

In our attempt to shift the language of engagement we chose certain terms to guide the workshop discussions. First, we use the term “postcollective” to move away from binary descriptions of social and economic processes to interpret from the inside out rather than imposing a particular interpretation on those processes. Postcollective recognizes directly the widespread shaping of large-scale economic organization (e.g., regional production chains and trading partners within the communist world as well as central planning mechanisms) as well as small-scale and individual social and economic organizations (e.g., the collective farm, the housing commune, informal sharing of resources). Second, “phase shift” recognizes the continuum of political and economic processes of engagement with capitalism and democracy as social and economic forms. The phase shift also highlights the limits of neoliberalism as a category and argues against a new hegemonic model of social and economic organization. These new vocabularies then allow for the emergence of new forms of social and economic organization that may look and feel like manifestations of democracy and capitalism and neoliberalism seen or experienced worldwide but are in fact indelibly shaped by regional processes. Those processes are then clearly nonlinear representations of multiple modernities shaped by the postcollective environment and the emergence of new spatial imaginaries surrounding regional processes.



Countries (using present-day borders) that have been ruled by a one-party Marxist-Leninist state at some point in their history.

Engagement with this map and the new vocabularies presents a reworking of the past, present, and future trajectories to highlight the new power dynamics in the region including the resurgence of importance of Russia and the dominance of China and India in the new postcollective world. The workshop participants framed presentations and discussions around the collectivities and articulations of social, political, and economic change at various scales across the space and time. While not being historical determinists but rather by carefully considering the past in the present, the discussions highlighted four areas: legacies and ruptures, new forms of life and ways of being, new state forms and processes, and convergence and divergence with past forms of socialism, communism, democracy, and capitalism. Discussions centered on (a) economic integration, (b) flows and mobilities, (c) governmentality and the biopolitical, and (d) everyday economies and new economic lives.

A. Regionalization and Global Economic Integration

We framed this workshop in terms of postcollective economies for several very specific reasons. The first was the continuing difficulty of discussing postsocialism in contexts in which states remain socialist (Chinese market socialism, Vietnamese Doi Moi), where Soviet or socialist power and institutions remain entrenched (Russia, Ukraine), or where socialist parties have been returned to power through the electoral process. Postsocialist studies struggles with these diversities and we sought to use “postcollective” to signal that all three of these forms of state and governance share—to some extent—the experience of decollectivization and political and economic liberalization, even as they may remain socialist. This poses a theoretical and political challenge that is worth engaging.

In the workshop report-backs we received several questions about this term especially from those who preferred that we use a more common term—neoliberalism. We prefer to use postcollective to distinguish the specific conditions in socialist and former socialist states. China may be neoliberal in some respects, but as a market socialist economy, what is the value of referring to it as neoliberal? Even postcollective might be a misnomer in its application to China, but it is the case that collectivities are being reworked, state ownership is diminishing, and private property relations are increasingly common. Precisely what this means in a China in which private property and foreign inward investment take place in networks of cities whose governments are involved in every aspect of infrastructural provision, industrial development, and labor market training remains unclear to us.

The term postcollective resonated particularly well with the members of the workshop. They understood the importance of focusing attention on state socialism and market socialism, which continue to shape the political economies of countries across the Eurasian and Asian continents; and the ways in which they articulate with the international economy and private property regimes and investment capital, which varies from country to country. One consequence is that the state, as it withdraws from the economy, might be seen to reconstitute new forms of collective identity and new economic subjects. Precisely what these are remains an empirical question and demands a regional imagination; perhaps a reinvigoration of regional studies beyond its Cold War forms. This regional imagination would speak to the ways in which common legacies of state ownership, class recomposition, and infrastructural investments and disinvestments are reshaping local, national, and regional economies. They are also posing new challenges of collective ownership and technological innovation in state and community enterprises, result in differential experiences of market reform and harmonization, and offer possibilities of comparative analyses of property regimes in reforming economies. The resulting geohistories of differential patterns and processes require new ways of analyzing the ways in which postcollective economies are inserted into global value chains, and the periodicities of reform and reterritorialization (e.g., differential regimes and varieties of capitalism in CEE with EU integration and harmonization; the market socialist growth models of China and Vietnam; the boom economies of resource peripheries; the uneven “imperial” economies of Moscow/Russia).

Above all, the workshop participants were unanimous in validating the need to move postsocialist studies to much more direct engagements with the literatures on global economic integration and harmonization on the one hand, but, on the other hand, that these “articulation” and “integration” tropes had to be mediated through differential logics that take into account not only the path dependency of postsocialist economies and lives, but the enormous range of transformative innovation occurring in postcollective economies. This range and the diversity of forms it implies pose an empirical, as well as a conceptual challenge to the ways in which postcollective economies are to be understood. All the papers in the workshop addressed this lacuna by providing careful empirical and grounded analyses of their case studies. We discussed at length what it meant to call for a new empiricism in this way. We did not reach any conclusions, except that the issue posed important challenges to and interesting opportunities for rethinking areas studies.

B. Flows and Mobilities

A second area of investigation emerging from the workshop was a focus on the consequences of political and economic deterritorialization and the integration of economic systems with international investment and trade economies. In the old state economies of central Europe and Eurasia, industries have collapsed with the opening of trade, investment, and labor markets. Unemployment has become endemic, infrastructure has deteriorated, and incomes levels have declined. In these same areas, where oil and other natural resources have remained significant, the more recent price increases have transformed the relationship of resource peripheries to the global economy. In areas of reform socialism like China and Vietnam, the creative destruction wrought by liberalization has been one in which regional growth and decline has occurred simultaneously. Postcollective economies seem to be typified by the intensity of these movements. The dislocation, rearticulation, and reforming of collective economies have each led to an intensification in the flow of people, goods, and capital from old to new places of economic opportunity. These flows and mobilities were an important part of the work presented in the workshop.

C. Governmentality and the Biopolitical

It is, of course, not enough to simply argue that command economies have been or are being transformed into market economies, or that collective projects are giving way to individualized and private property regimes. First, as we have seen above, this elides the intensities of geographical difference that constitute this process of reform. Second, it ignores the ongoing experiments in collective ownership that still characterize states in the region. Third, it flattens out the understanding of economic subjects in the process of transformation.

Our workshop focused on the ways in which new forms of the economic subject were emerging as the collective subject was being reformed. Many of the workshop participants simply rejected the idea that regime change is merely a shifting of economic opportunity across sector, gender, or generation. Instead, discussion focused on the production of new subjectivities. In particular, several of the younger scholars in the workshop were interested in thinking about the ways in which Foucauldian notions of governmentality and the biopolitical might be mobilized to think about postcollective economies and lives.

D. Everyday Economies, Forms of Life and the Diversity of Economic Actors

The consequence of a regionally nuanced understanding of economic liberalization, integration, and globalization, and an openness to the new geographies of movement and mobility (both positive and negative) they are producing, and the new forms of governmentality and biopolitics emerging in these postcollective spaces also implies an attentiveness to the “actually existing transition” (Pickles and Smith 1998): that is, an attention to the processes and patterns of subject formation and the ways in which these are shaping and being shaped by new and diverse and alternative forms of economic life.

This is, of course, an issue of broader import than what is happening to postcollective economies in the Inter-Asian region. It points to some interesting opportunities for thinking about the limits of the “global economy” and “neoliberalism.” Earlier in the workshop, we discussed the extent to which we can think of embedded neoliberalism as neoliberal. More concretely, if neoliberalism refers to the expansion of the market logic and the increasing subsumption of social value to market relations and economic value, what precisely do these terms mean in the reform economies of China, Vietnam, Russia, Kyrgystan, or Georgia?

Workshop participants did not have answers to these questions, but we did have several questions:

- Could a diverse economies approach mobilize a politics of hope and possibility instead of one of negativity and despair?
- What are the theoretical implications of pursuing a comparative project on the logic of “subtraction” and the pluralizing of the social economy?
- What are the theoretical implications of pursuing a comparative project that relies more on the social and economic logic lived in and experienced by people in postcollective places?

In more concrete research terms, workshop participants were interested to pursue their work on:

- Economic reform: its dislocations and opportunities
- Deterritorialization and its consequences
- Flexibilization of work
- Racializing migrants and the emergence of postcollective global cities

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Sites of Inter-Asian Interaction

- Sunil Amrith, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK
- Timothy Harper, University of Cambridge, UK

Recent work in history, anthropology, and related disciplines has opened up new ways of thinking about Inter-Asian connections. Our workshop aims to ground the study of such connections in a consideration of particular spaces, or sites, in which Inter-Asian interactions have been realized.

We define “sites of interaction” broadly, to encompass particular places (from a single building or monument to border regions, or rivers), institutions (government departments, the UN, or NGOs), and even virtual or electronic sites. In focusing closely on particular sites and spaces, the workshop will go beyond the emphasis in the existing literature on the study of texts, and on elite discourses about “Asia,” to think about practices as much as ideas. Border towns; university dormitories; places of transit, like quarantine stations for migrants and pilgrims; refugee camps; places of work, from rubber plantations to oil fields; the meeting rooms of international organizations; the sites of major Inter-Asian conferences of statesmen; places of pilgrimage, old and new; virtual sites of Inter-Asian interaction, as in the mutually linked websites of Asian insurgent groups—these are among the sites we hope that workshop papers might open up for discussion.

Key themes and questions to be covered in the workshop will include:

- Sites of interaction: We aim to go beyond a typology of “sites” in order to consider the ways in which the structures of particular sites (border towns, for instance, or madrassas) might have an agency of their own in shaping the nature of Inter-Asian encounters.
- The emergence and elaboration of Asian cosmopolitanisms: We will consider cosmopolitanism as a set of practices and accommodations forged in particular localities, ways of living with difference and connecting with a world beyond the local. To this end, we will explore the intersection of multiple diasporic worlds in, among other sites, urban neighborhoods, pilgrimage sites, and refugee camps.
- How do ideas move across Asia? The workshop’s focus on the dense interactions that emerge from particular sites will allow us to think about the precise, sometimes unexpected, channels through which ideas circulate and come to be embodied in people, things, places, and institutions.

We invite contributions from scholars at all stages in their careers working in the fields of history, anthropology, geography, cultural studies, international relations, and politics. We would also like to invite the participation of those outside the academy, particularly those working with international or nongovernmental organizations in Asia, and those in the museum and heritage sectors. We envisage a balance in the workshop between empirical papers presenting case studies of particular sites and spaces, and more general conceptual reflections on the workshop’s theme.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Lâle Can, Departments of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies and History, New York University

Central Asia Pilgrims in Ottoman Lands:

The Özbek Tekkes of Istanbul as Sites of Exchange and Mediation at the Turn of the Century

This paper examines the Central Asian hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and the multiple nonreligious functions of “Uzbek” Sufi *tekkes*, or lodges, where pilgrims traveling through Istanbul sought shelter. Based on research using new Ottoman sources, the pilgrimage and Uzbek tekkes are considered as a primary locus of Ottoman interactions with Central Asians, as well as an axis of Inter-Asian networks. Despite the Ottoman promotion of pan-Islamism in the late nineteenth century, this study highlights the actual tension that marked the encounters between Central Asian travelers and the Ottoman state, and examines how the Uzbek tekkes may have mitigated the effects of this uneasy relationship through their role as informal consulates and sites of mediation. I argue that the structures themselves facilitated pilgrimage via Istanbul (by providing room, board, and assistance to many destitute travelers), and that they were sites where people from various backgrounds could interact and engage in dialogue in a setting removed from daily life in their individual locales. Although these lodges were at least nominally affiliated with the Naqshbandi order and did have religious communal functions, this paper focuses on their less understood operations as active sites of diplomatic, cultural, and social exchange. Finally, it considers more generally the milieu and functions of one such structure, the Sultantepe Uzbek tekke, and its role as a semiprivate/semipublic sphere where travelers convened and interacted with co-religionists from Asia. This paper also seeks to explore how new sources for social history such as tekke guest registers can help challenge historiographical claims of Central Asia’s isolation from ideological and political currents in the greater Islamic world, and how these sources can help us reconstruct the lives of understudied nonelites and the channels through which they engaged in dialogue and debate on key events and issues affecting the Islamic world at the turn of the century.

Jacqueline H. Fewkes, Harriet L. Wilkes Honors College, Florida Atlantic University

Living in the Material World: Cosmopolitanism and Trade in Early Twentieth-Century Ladakh

Cosmopolitanism, which implies recognition of commonality among humans, is popularly associated with contemporary urban communities. However, historical evidence suggests other more diverse sites of cosmopolitanism. In this paper I will examine a historical trading community in Central/South Asia as a case study for how cosmopolitanism may arise, and may have arisen in the past, in communities often thought peripheral to major urban centers. I will argue that in the early twentieth century, residents of the north Indian region of Ladakh formed a cosmopolitan community through interactions with trading commodities. These commodities—including items such as cotton piece goods, synthetic dyes, and *charas*—offered material connections to multiple cultural viewpoints in the early twentieth-century global arena. The notion of cosmopolitanism employed in this paper is informed by neopragmatic or epistemological philosophy, understanding cosmopolitanism as a conceptual framework utilized by individuals termed cosmopolitans. From this perspective, cosmopolitans are those engaged in an ongoing process of traversing conceptual boundaries. Although rooted in research within a particular locale, this argument has broader implications for the ways in which we conceptualize the agency of individuals and/or communities in cosmopolitan processes, and recognize cosmopolitanism in particular sites across time and/or space.

Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in America, Brown University

Chinatowns and Borderlands: Inter-Asian Encounters in the Diaspora

For hundreds of years, Asians—Chinese especially, but also Japanese, East Indians, Filipinos, and more recently, Koreans and Vietnamese—have moved beyond their home boundaries to places far and wide. Given this diasporic propensity, if we destabilize the boundaries of geographic Asia and define them more

flexibly as wherever Asians can be found in critical masses, then Asia is a global phenomenon. Using a number of specific sites and their corresponding narratives to explore Inter-Asian, interethnic, and interracial encounters and interactions, I explore two dynamic spaces in the Americas: the ethnic enclaves called “Chinatowns” and the “borderlands” that lie between and over international boundaries: the US-Mexican and the US-Canadian. For Chinatowns, the sites are Manila in the days of Spanish America, when the 250-year long Manila galleon trade between Acapulco, New Spain (Mexico), and Manila relied almost entirely on Chinese merchants, artisans, shipbuilders, food and service providers, and laborers to trade American silver for Chinese silk and Asian luxuries throughout Asia and across the Indian Ocean to Ormuz (Persia). The more familiar Chinatowns are those on the US east and west coasts, which have been revitalized under late capitalist globalization and with new Asian immigrants, particularly women, after 1965. The US-Canadian border of the Pacific Northwest attracted Chinese, Japanese, and South Indian immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century who learned to negotiate the space, laws, restrictions, and regulations of two national entities where extractive industries on both sides of the border competed for their labor. Similarly, Chinese laborers and shopkeepers amassed on the Mexican side of the US-Mexican border to capitalize on commercial opportunities in the wake of massive US investment in mining and railroads on the borderlands. This paper provides comparison and insights gained from these multiple narratives of diasporic Asians in colonial and neocolonial settings on the American side of the Pacific.

Sumit K. Mandal, Institute of Malaysian International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

*Popular Sites of Prayer, Transoceanic Migration, and Cultural Diversity:
Exploring the Significance of Keramat in Southeast Asia*

Keramat is the Malay word for the graves of notable figures that are popular sites of prayer and dot the landscape of much of Muslim Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean region as a whole. Historically, *keramat* drew worshippers of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Although the venerated dead also came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, histories, and faiths, they were usually Muslim, and frequently Hadrami (from what is today Yemen). In this paper, I view *keramat* as significant sites of social and cultural diversity. I explore what the conjunction means of the migration of Hadramis and the localized worship of the prominent among them. I focus primarily on the Malay–Indonesian archipelago where Hadramis settled in far greater numbers than any other part of Southeast Asia. The study of *keramat* and the transoceanic movement of the people and faith to which they are linked may shed further light on the intercultural interaction that has characterized the region historically. At the same time, the permissibility of the veneration of graves constitutes a terrain that has long been contested by Muslim scholars. As a result, the fate of this popular practice may offer insights into the complex process of Islamization in the region which began well over five hundred years ago. I explore two questions in particular. First, in what ways do *keramat* embody cultural diversity? Second, where do *keramat* stand in relation to state and organization-driven Islam? Tentatively I conclude that *keramat* do not in themselves offer a moral order of the scope of a universalizing Islam—especially in the bureaucratic and ritualistic form of the world religion encouraged by the state and Islamic organizations in contemporary Malaysia. *Keramat* nevertheless constitute a significant public site of popular and historically grounded cultural diversity.

Ronit Ricci, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

Citing as a Site: Translation and Circulation in the Arabicized Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia

Networks of travel and trade have often been viewed as pivotal to understanding interactions among Muslims in various regions of South and Southeast Asia. What if we thought of language and literature as an additional network, one that crisscrossed these regions over centuries and provided a powerful site of interaction and exchange facilitated by, and drawing on, citation? My paper is a brief history of the shaping of such networks in Southeast India and the Indonesian–Malay world, drawing on sources in Javanese, Malay, and Tamil. Among Muslim communities in these regions practices of reading, learning, translation, adaptation, and transmission helped shape a cosmopolitan sphere that was both closely connected with the

broad, universal Muslim community and rooted in local and regional identities. Circulating shared stories, ideas, and citations of prior works created a space that was accessible to many, not entirely unlike the virtual space of the Internet today, allowing those with similar interests to connect over great distances by virtue of a common technology. In previous centuries the “technology” was one of copying, translating, and circulating texts in local languages infused with Arabic words, idioms, syntax, and literary forms. For example, the famous *Book of One Thousand Questions*, composed in Arabic circa the tenth century, was translated—among other languages—into Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Javanese, Malay, and Bugis. Such translations of the *Book*, in their myriad variations, point to interactions not only among particular people but also to interactions between and among languages and scripts, between the cosmopolitan Arabic and vernaculars like Javanese or Tamil. Citation—from the Quran, religious treatises, histories of the prophets, and in the form of Arabic expressions—created sites of shared coherence and contact for Asian Muslims from different localities. It also contributed to the rise of educational institutions, life-cycle rites, titles, names, and modes of expression and creativity common across great geographical and cultural space, sustaining multiple, shifting interactions among languages, literatures, individuals, and communities.

Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines-Diliman

Creating Spaces for Inter-Asian Interaction through the Antiglobalization Campaigns in the Region

This paper discusses the manner in which the antiglobalization movement, through anti-Asian Development Bank (ADB) campaigns, created sites for interaction locally (e.g., in Thailand), and globally, where they could critique the policies and programs of international financial institutions (IFIs) in general, and those of the ADB in particular. The paper makes use of the political opportunity process model to focus on the factors that have allowed for the creation of these sites for interaction. This includes the democratization process ongoing at local and global levels—for example, in IFIs such as the World Bank/International Monetary Fund; the ADB annual governors meetings, as seen in the meeting in Chiang Mai in 2000; and ADB projects, such as the Samut Prakarn Wastewater Management Project, which has been heavily criticized by the antiglobalization movement for allegations of corruption, the lack of participation from the stakeholders in its implementation, and the absence of an environmental impact assessment. The success of these anti-ADB campaigns is also seen in the manner in which they have framed their issues and the mobilization of resources, such as the presence of an anti-ADB/antiglobalization campaigns network at the local and global levels. Incremental gains from this experience have been the political socialization of antiglobalization activities and the evolution of democratic skills and norms as well as the internationalization of domestic policies. Challenges still to confront include the utility of the sites of interaction, the strategy to use (whether it should be one of engagement or confrontation), and the problem of police states that ban antiglobalization protest movements.

Kirsty Walker, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Eurasian Communities and the Limits of Inter-Asian Interaction: Reinventing “Eurasian” in Interwar Penang

Eurasians were the living result of the blending of peoples and cultures. Given the extraordinary diversity of their ancestry, with multiple family connections that spanned the length of both Europe and Asia, they appeared to embody “Inter-Asian interaction” in a very literal sense. Their existence therefore created the possibility of shaping an identity that was not defined so much by the essentialized racial boundaries of the colonial state, as by a shared space that celebrated their cultural hybridity. However, the vast majority of European writers in British Malaya believed that this hybrid, “in-between” status of the Eurasian was a negative trait. By the 1930s, the well-established scientific arguments about the alleged degeneracy of racial hybrids were reinforced by new sociological observations. It was believed that Eurasians in Malaya were lacking in intellectual ability, physical strength, and basic moral principles. Writers argued that Eurasians were burdened by debilitating inferiority complexes, which made them ape the European way of life and be disdainful of their Asian compatriots. These ideas crystallized into a rigid stereotype that served to justify a host of social and economic restrictions for Eurasians, some enshrined in law, others in social convention. In

the cosmopolitan port city of Penang, which had long been a center for the dissemination of new ideas, the local Eurasian community challenged these colonial prejudices in the public sphere. In 1934 a group of prominent Penang Eurasians created the *Eurasian Review*, a journal that connected a network of articulate, educated, and politically conscious Eurasians across British Malaya and beyond. The *Eurasian Review* proposed to reinvent the community's public image through a program of self-improvement, and aimed to eradicate the stereotype once and for all. But their strategy was a divisive one. Writers omitted all references to Eurasian cultural hybridity. Their Asian connections were if not denied, then at least ignored. Instead the strongest voices to emerge from the debates are those of an Anglophile elite rejecting their multiethnic heritage.

C. J. Wan-ling Wee, English Language and Literature Academic Group, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

"We Asians"? Modernity, Visual Art Exhibitions, and East Asia

The 1980s-1990s "East Asian Miracle" saw the revivification of the idea of "Asia." However, the "flying geese" model of development led not only to state-driven discourses on "Asian values" and "alternative" Asian modernities, but also to cultural production that circulated within the region, ranging from art exhibitions to bilingual/multilingual pop music attempting to imagine what a pan-regional culture (and also consumer) might look like, and also to cultural-intellectual fora on contemporary Asia. This paper examines how "Asia" as an historical category resulting from an "emanation" model of World History—the entrenched binary opposition of the modern West counterpoised against traditional Asia—is challenged by the new, urban-industrial visions of a modern(ized) region. A key goal is the attempt to imagine a multicultural New Asia able to transcend national boundaries, even as there is also the awareness that cultural diversity makes such an imaginative procedure challenging. Asia becomes both context and fraught theme in East Asian regionalization/globalization. One of the most visible sites of cultural interaction in which the ambiguous idea of New Asia has been curated into being is the visual arts scene. The 1980s onwards saw increasing attempts by Japanese museums (and later museums in Australia, Korea, and Singapore) to document the historical emergence of modernist and contemporary Asian art. Intellectual fora drew together critics and art curators were also organized, notably by the (now-defunct) Japan Foundation Asia Center. Such events accompanied but were *not the same* as the statist alternative Asian modernities discourses, being disaggregated enough to try to facilitate other flows of humanistic and artistic ideas. The "exhibitionary" imaginary, as it may be called, however, remained cognizant of problematic ideational and militarily enforced formations of a Greater East Asia associated with Japan's disastrous late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century attempts to "leave" Asia, with its backward nature, and modernize—or risk coming under full Western colonial domination. The current versions of the "new" are also haunted by the specter of an earlier version of the new. This paper investigates both these general issues and examines a key moment in the exhibition of Asia: the Japanese Fukuoka Art Museum's inaugural exhibition, the Asian Artists Exhibition, which transpired in two parts: part one, *Modern Asian Art—India, China & Japan* (1979), and part two, the *Contemporary Asian Art Show* (1980). They investigated how we could think of the "arrival" of modernist art in the region. The Fukuoka events were preliminary, and thus not as focused as they might have been—but they crucially set the stage for what followed.

Workshop Findings

The aim of the workshop was to lend specificity and texture to the study of Inter-Asian connections by focusing on particular spaces, or “sites,” in which Inter-Asian interactions have been realized. The initial call for papers defined “sites” very broadly, encompassing everything from port cities to international organizations, sites of pilgrimage to websites. In the workshop discussions, it was the specificity of the sites that the presenters had chosen that formed so much of the focus for discussion, and provided concreteness to comparisons that ranged widely across time and space.

Lâle Can spoke about the Uzbek *tekkes* in Istanbul, which served as boarding houses and transit points for pilgrims and students, as well as the lodges of Sufi brotherhoods. Can’s paper examined the dense and sometimes unexpected interactions that emerged from these very specific sites in the period of the late Ottoman empire.

Jacqueline Fewkes focused on the town of Ladakh, at the heart of “Silk Road” trade routes, as a center of cosmopolitan exchange and interaction over a long period of time. Fewkes’s paper showed how particular commodities themselves act as sites of interaction, bearing in them multiple meanings and negotiations of value. Fewkes also examined the question of how political and economic circumstances can quickly efface the conditions of possibility for cosmopolitanism.

Ronit Ricci examined particular texts as sites of interaction. Specifically, she looked at the *Book of One Thousand Questions*, an Arabic text that spawned translations in Javanese, Tamil, and Malay. Ricci showed how the practice of citing created, within the texts themselves, a dense web of interactions between the Arab world and South and Southeast Asia.

Sumit Mandal explored the role of *keramats* (grave sites) as sites of interaction across Southeast Asia, given their power to attract pilgrims and worshippers from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. Mandal showed that keramat could be both interregional and deeply local sites at one and the same time, binding together the Hadrami diaspora while also fulfilling deeply local roles in their littoral settings.

Evelyn Hu-DeHart reminded us that sites of Inter-Asian interaction need not only be located in Asia. Her paper focused on the Chinatowns and borderlands of the North American continent, spaces where Asian immigrants interacted with other Asians. Contrasting the openness of borderlands with the enforced closure of Chinatowns, Hu-DeHart highlighted the unequal relations of power within sites of interaction that lead, both in the past and in present-day garment factories, to co-ethnic exploitation.

Kirsty Walker moved the focus of discussion to a more intimate sphere, speaking about Eurasian families, which embodied the whole range of Inter-Asian interactions while highlighting their limits and their complications. Walker showed that an “Asian” identity was deeply contested within Eurasian communities, leading to the erasure or deliberate forgetting of certain kinds of Inter-Asian connections, and a corresponding emphasis on European connections.

Wee Wan-ling focused on a series of exhibitions of Asian art as sites of interaction. The paper highlighted the role of exhibitions in the renewed attempts to define “Asia” at a time when the economic transformation of East Asia, and the corresponding political projection of an “Asian way” to development, raised questions with which Asian artists and curators began to engage from the late 1970s, always in complex relation to older ideas of “Asia.”

Teresa Tadem drew our attention to the contemporary antiglobalization movement as a site of Inter-Asian interaction. Her paper treated the annual general meeting of the Asian Development Bank as a site of interaction, focusing on the (sometimes tense) encounters between Asian development activists and NGOs as

they shared strategies and experiences. Tadem focused on the intersection of global and local issues, as when the struggles of Thai villagers came to be the subject of a transnational political mobilization.

Key Themes

Three particularly significant themes emerged to tie the diverse papers together.

A. Methodology

Though the workshop participants came from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, one pressing concern in all the papers had to do with methodology: How are we to reconstruct and to write about Inter-Asian connections in the past and in the present? How can we make the notion of “sites of interaction” theoretically productive? Where are we to find the “archives” of mobility, when so often the connections we seek are intangible, unrecorded, or even, in some cases, deliberately erased?

The papers in the workshop emphasized the unlikely, often serendipitous location of such sources. We saw this in discussions of the tin trunks of Ladhaki merchants’ documents unearthed by Fewkes; registers from the Uzbek tekkes that Can accessed and transcribed; and the keramats of littoral Southeast Asia that contain many traces of a maritime past in the present, as Mandal showed. Hu-DeHart reminded us that some of these problems of sources are not unique to the study of Inter-Asian connections, but rather form part of the very old challenge of writing the histories and telling the stories of nonelite groups. The archives of mobility are scattered, and it takes both imagination and persistence to make them “speak.”

Moving from sources to frameworks, workshop discussions focused on the difficulty of writing about sites of interaction in a way that is free from the still-dominant assumptions of national histories and nationalist historiographies, not to mention the deeply entrenched division of academic labor across disciplines and the boundaries of area studies. The SSRC’s bold initiative to facilitate conversations across disciplinary and area studies boundaries, manifested in the Dubai conference, is likely to be an important step toward freeing scholarship from some of these institutional constraints. Our workshop participants expressed some optimism that the current generation of graduate students may be able to move more freely across academic “borders” than their predecessors.

Above all, we concluded that the study of Inter-Asian connections can only be undertaken satisfactorily through collaboration: collaboration between disciplines, and between scholars with diverse regional specializations and linguistic abilities (we counted over twenty-five languages spoken by the ten workshop participants). In time, bringing these skills and varieties of local knowledge together might form the beginning of a genuinely transregional collaboration of a kind that even the most gifted individual scholar would struggle to realize alone. As Fewkes said, each of us was like a trader on the Silk Road, with a detailed knowledge and experience of only one stretch of the vast route, reliant therefore on intermediaries, translators, and exchanges in order to gain a picture of the whole.

B. Time and Space

A number of the papers, and the ensuing discussions, pointed out that sites belong to many different worlds in time and space. In showing how circulating texts can serve as a site of interaction, Ricci pointed out that sites need not have a single location, nor be concentrated on a single point in time: texts produced in Java or South India, for instance, moved across Southeast Asia, in different variants and translations, for generations after their production. Mandal’s paper showed that keramat could belong to more than one world of meaning—the Hadrami diasporic, the regional, and the local worlds, in the case of his examples. Hu-DeHart suggested that the borderlands she was interested in were spaces that were at once transnational and trans-Pacific.

Most or all of the papers were concerned with *transitional moments*. This was not intended, but was striking nonetheless. It appears that it is at transitional moments that Inter-Asian connections are particularly intense, and at which such connections may come under strain. Two such transitional moments, picked up in a number of the papers, are the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, and the late twentieth century.

A further temporal dimension to emerge from the workshop discussions was concerned with layers of connection over time, and the ways in which different phases of connection have been overlaid upon each other and manifested in people's narratives, in architecture, in art, and in institutions. In this respect, memory emerges as a particularly significant "site" of interaction: when connections are broken, and particularly when they are broken painfully or violently, they can live on in personal and collective memory. Thus Inter-Asian interaction in contemporary Southeast Asia, for instance, often manifests itself in memories of an earlier, more plural age.

C. The Limits of Inter-Asian Interaction

The papers and the discussion emphasized the limits of Inter-Asian interaction. We were struck by the unevenness and the asymmetry of the connections under study and often also by their fragility. Far from romanticizing, the presenters made clear that particular sites of Inter-Asian interaction could reflect deep inequalities of power (most starkly, on this front, the garment factories of present-day New York and Los Angeles that Hu-DeHart discussed). Sites of connection were always prone to transformation by the politics of nations and states; the border dividing India and Pakistan, Fewkes showed, transformed quite fundamentally the nature of Ladakh as a site of Inter-Asian interaction. Mandal showed that relations of power can shape the ways in which sites of interaction are treated: keramat across the Indian Ocean world play no role in the Malay nationalist celebration of a greater Malay world, but have quite acute meaning for "Cape Malay" communities in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The further we went into the intimate realms of the domestic, and the familial, the more problematic, even painful, connections appeared to be. Walker's paper on the ambivalence of Eurasian families toward their hybrid heritage suggested that Inter-Asian interactions were always contested; within individual families, certain parts of their inheritance were valorized and other erased.

Moving into the contemporary period, Wee Wan-ling revealed that conceptions of "Asian" art are always contested, overlaid with earlier and problematic notions of "Asia," with artists and curators standing in an ambivalent relationship to officially sponsored visions of Asia. For her part, Tadem highlighted the divergent political traditions that made interaction between, for instance, Filipino and Thai activists problematic.

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES and CONTACTS

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

Transnational Circuits: “Muslim Women” in Asia

- Annelies Moors, ISIM/University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The central question of this workshop is how women’s subjectivities and identities are formed and transformed in new transnational circuits of people and things. More specifically, what do transnational circuits of labor and consumption mean for women’s sense of self in terms of class position, national belonging, and ethnic and religious identities? What new forms of distinction are produced and highlighted and what alliances are forged?

The last decades have witnessed the emergence of new and the transformation of older circuits through which people and things move in Asia, taken in a broad sense. The focus of this workshop is on how Muslim women are involved in such circuits, be it as mobile people or as producers, propagators, and consumers of travelling things, ideas, and images. One of the central issues to be discussed in this workshop is how notions about being a Muslim woman are produced and transformed through such transnational women-centered circuits. In this way we hope to gain a better understanding of the intersections of gender and Islam in an Inter-Asian context.

There are three circuits that we are particularly interested in. First, the feminization of migration has not only drawn women from the Philippines or Sri Lanka, but also from Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in Asia, into the field of transnational migration. Many of these female migrants are employed as domestic workers in Muslim-majority countries, such as Malaysia, the Gulf states, and countries in the central Middle East. People who may well hold quite divergent notions of religious and cultural propriety are engaged in relatively long-term interactions in the intimacy of the private sphere.

A second circuit is that of marriage migration. Here we are interested in transformations in transnational “Muslim or Islamic marriages,” which may, at times, be irregular in the eyes of state authorities, yet valid according to Islamic law. Men from wealthier backgrounds look for wives in poorer countries. Women themselves—both amongst the wealthy and the poor—have also become active agents in the field of such transnational marriages, sometimes going against local notions of propriety.

Third is the field of bodily appearances. With the turn of the Islamic revival movement toward a more cultural orientation, fashionable styles of Islamic dress have become a growth sector and materials, designs, and dress items have entered transnational circuits of consumption in many settings in Asia. “Islamic fashion shows” have become mainstream, from Indonesia and Malaysia to Turkey and Iran. We would like to explore whether and how women relate these new fashionable styles of dress to particular forms of religiosity, consumption, and notions of the self. In a different way, gold jewellery is a quintessential transnational commodity that is part and parcel of many Muslim marriages through dower arrangements; how, then, have new transnational circuits impacted the evaluation of gold jewelry?

We are looking for contributions from anthropology, cultural studies, gender studies, and cultural history that focus on Muslim women’s engagements in transnational circuits in Asia, which combine a theoretical focus on transnational connections and gender with well-grounded empirical research. Themes we are interested in include:

- The cultural politics of migrant domestic labor, including consumption practices (such as dress/fashion and gold) and transnational marriages (e.g., Saudi Arabia/Indonesia, Dubai/India)
- New (meanings of) transnational Muslim marriages (e.g., temporary, *misyar*, informal, summer marriages)

- Circuits of Islamic fashion (design, display, and/or consumption) and circuits of women's gold (design, carat quality): economic value and cultural meanings

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Attiya Ahmad, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Duke University

Muslim Domestic Workers, Da'wa, and Muslim Belonging in Kuwait

Flush with petro-dollars, over the past thirty years Kuwaitis have increasingly brought women, primarily from South and Southeast Asia, to work within their households. As one-sixth of the total population, they are an ever-present feature in Kuwait's social landscapes. Of different national, ethnic, linguistic, educational, and religious backgrounds, in Kuwait they share a common situation and set of experiences. Intimately imbricated into the everyday lives of Arabic-speaking Muslim Kuwaitis, their labor, whether cooking, cleaning, or caring for children and the elderly, is crucial to the social reproduction of Kuwait's population. Although the attention paid to their experiences has been at best scant, the accounts that do exist largely focus on the structural factors leading to their migration, and to their work conditions in Kuwait. Elided is another significant and fairly widespread phenomenon: in the past ten years upwards of thirty-five thousand migrant domestic workers have taken *shahadeh*, the Islamic testament of faith. Based on a year and half of fieldwork in Kuwait, and two months of subsequent work in Nepal, in this paper I discuss the forms of Muslim belonging into which these domestic workers are being articulated. I argue that in order to understand these forms of belonging, we need to pay close attention to the spaces in which domestic workers learn Islamic concepts and practices. Over the course of becoming Muslim, domestic workers attend classes organized by an Islamic *da'wa* movement, which focuses its activities on Kuwait's migrant populations. These classes are offered in the languages spoken by domestic workers, and are taught by *dai'yat* who are typically from their places of origin. Perhaps unintentionally, these classes have become spaces in which national, ethnic, and linguistic bases of belonging are being reconstituted, but these are being reconstituted in and through Muslim concepts, practices, and networks. I argue this phenomenon points to how the form of Muslim belonging being created by Kuwait's *dawa* movement is one that develops through, and not in opposition to, other forms of belonging, including linguistic, familial, ethnic, and national ones.

Eva F. Amrullah, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University

Islamic Fashion: Ways of Being Indonesian Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia

Muslim women's dress in Indonesia is no longer only a symbol of piety; it has been incorporated into identity and become a part of commoditization. Although the dynamic of Islamic fashion trends in Indonesia has been influenced by the social, economic, and political circumstances of the country, religion is also still an important aspect of Islamic fashion. This is mainly because the religious background of wearers as consumers, and Islamic fashion designers as producers, has played a very important role in deciding which type of fashion is considered "truly" Islamic and appropriate to adopt. The role of transnational engagement with other countries has been important for the growth of Islamic fashion in Indonesia. In the past, the way Indonesian Muslim women dressed was inspired by Islamic fashion in Middle Eastern countries. However, Islamic fashion designers in Indonesia have now become confident in their own work and in the use of Indonesian cultural products (*batik*, *songket*, *tenun*, embroidery, silk, and beads). If before Indonesian Muslim women were only consumers of the Islamic fashion industry or only passive agents, today they have become producers and even propagators of these transnational fashion industry circuits. I argue that several important aspects have contributed to the popularity of Islamic fashion in Indonesia and most of them have been driven largely within Indonesia, such as the increasing number of talented Indonesian designers; the growing number of celebrities who have started adopting Islamic clothing; significant contributions of the media; and returned graduates from Islamic universities in Middle Eastern countries especially Egypt. In addition, situations outside the country, such as the spirited rise of Islamist movements since the 1970s, is also worth mentioning, in particular the Iranian revolution in 1979, which brought fresh inspiration to members of Islamist movements in Indonesia.

Vivienne SM. Angeles, Department of Religion, La Salle University

Dressing the Body: Identity Construction and Fashion among Philippine and Malaysian Muslimah

This paper looks at how religious identity is expressed visually through clothing by Muslim women in the Philippines and Malaysia. It traces the changing form of what is considered Muslim women's clothing from the sarong to the contemporary dress that wearers understand to be the correct interpretation of the Quranic injunction on modesty. These changes were brought about by political and economic developments in both countries, such as the emergence of Muslim movements and increasing economic contacts with the Middle East. The twin effects of these developments are the sense of affinity with the global Muslim community and the rise of new patterns of consumption and fashion sense among many Philippine and Malay Muslims.

K.C. Bindu, Anveshi Research Centre for Women's Studies, Hyderabad

Rehana Sultana, Centre for Women's Studies, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad

Contracts to Break? A Study Based on Marriages between Muslim Women from Hyderabad and Arab Citizens

The phenomenon of senior Arab citizens visiting India to marry young local women has been noted by the media and women's activists. The practice is common in Kerala among the Muslims and is known as *Arabi Kalyanam*. Of the Urdu-speaking cities, Hyderabad is unique in this phenomenon where, in popular parlance, it is known as "Sheikh marriages." Marriage between an Indian woman and an Arab man itself needs not pose any problem. But, the reported cases of immediate abandonment of the wife by the husband after a few days of married life seems to have exposed the extent of poverty and helplessness that the women are experiencing. In a stereotypical incident, a young bride, very often a minor, is almost sold off for a few rupees by the parents to a septuagenarian Arab. After using her for a few days, the husband leaves for his country, probably never to return. In some marriages the *nikah* (marriage contract) and *talaq* (divorce) are solemnized almost together. In some cases, the money that changed hands might not even reach the parents because of the number of middlemen (or women, in many cases) who claim their share. The sexual exploitation and humiliation that the girls undergo are not talked about openly, but serve as a powerful subtext of reports on the topic. Yet, these problems need to be seen in a different light because of the general situation in India, where the targeting of a Muslim minority by the majority community is an important issue. Taking the media representation of the Ameena case, which happened in 1991, we would like to examine how the representation of this issue in Urdu but especially English newspapers served to put the blame on the Muslim community in general. This created the predictable reaction within the Muslim community (examined through Urdu newspapers) to accuse the majority (read Hindu) community of being anti-Muslim. In between, the story of the woman herself is lost in these national debates and narratives.

Frances S. Hasso, Gender and Women's Studies Program and Sociology Department, Oberlin College

Transnational "Invasions" and Emerging Selves and Desires

There is great cultural anxiety among citizens of the United Arab Emirates and Egypt about the impact of new communication and media technologies and the increased flows of people, ideas, and products into and through the country, although with occasionally different emphases given the contrasting economic and demographic situations in the two states. Fears are especially marked regarding the perceived impact on already observed and potential changes in the realms of family, sexuality, and gender ideologies and practices. Such changes are largely attributed to external forces in often totalizing understandings of "outside" or "West" in opposition to "inside" or "East." I also demonstrate a narrative of rising sexual desire and increasingly uncontrollable bodily "instincts" (*ghara'iz basiyya*) among some Emirati and Egyptian respondents, which I argue can be partly attributed to transnational flows (images, products, and people) and new subjectifications. Men and women evoked "Islamic" conceptualizations of sexual desire and satisfaction as natural and good, combined with a discourse of physical needs whose fulfillment was imperative but delayed. This paper is based on fieldwork and other research with Islamic authorities and scholars, state authorities, university students and other young people, and intellectuals in the United Arab Emirates and Egypt.

Shalina Mehta, Department of Anthropology, Panjab University

*Commodification of Culture Transgresses Religious Boundaries:
A Case Study of Muslim Women from an Urban Slum in Delhi*

Global media in the last few decades in India have reached those domains and spaces that years of conscious economic, political, and social interventions failed to penetrate. Gendered spaces most affected by religious and socially inclusive processes remained the most excluded. Muslim women in democratic secular India proceeded on journeys that were extremely complex and hugely diverse. A small group in the urban metropoli was exposed to a liberal education. This was primarily due to the agencies of family, clan, and social networks, but was certainly not representative of Muslim women in India at large. Post-Independence India witnessed a regressive movement in which the vibrant participation by average Muslim women in public spheres declined significantly. Not only this, women were kept from watching films and, in orthodox traditional households, from even watching television. In recent years aggressive marketing by cable networks made important dents in home viewing of a medium that remained tabooed for a section of the population for a long time. Cable network television also brought with it a flood of channels and an array of programs that targeted a homebound women audience. This created a silent revolution. A large number of women, in this instance young Muslim girls and housewives, were now exposed to a media-created cosmopolitan popular culture. They were learning media-crafted interpretations of language, dress style, and fashion with regard to clothes, jewelry, and accessories. At some level these messages were also extended to the domains of values, knowledge, and worldview. Certain channels that specifically targeted this audience churned out a potpourri of serials that addressed diverse cultural practices of different religious and linguistic groups in India. The popularity of these soap operas transgressed not only religious boundaries but also national boundaries, facilitating the formation of “virtual neighborhoods.” Narratives from twenty-five young Muslim women exposed to the medium and living in an urban slum in Delhi offer commentaries on ruptures that these silent revolutions are creating. These ruptures are symbolic of the impregnation that is taking place within the narrow confines of religiously defined social systems. These transitions may not facilitate the formation of a “flat world” but its impact in generating tensions in various quarters in society is indeed significant and requires in-depth sociological analysis.

Caroline Osella, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Kerala Muslim Marriage, Intimacy, and Gendering in a Context of Neoliberalism, Islamic Reformism, and Transnational Connections

This paper is part of a wider project exploring possible links between particular kinds of apparently disembedding social processes—such as those produced by neoliberal capitalism—and the emergence of universalizing, deculturalizing doctrines and narratives—such as those associated with contemporary Islamic reformism. The project is focused on Muslims from Kerala, South India, based on fieldwork both in Kerala and in the Gulf. Kerala’s Muslims have a deep history of transnational circulation with the Gulf region: via intense traffic of people, money, things, and ideas (past and present); via cultural imaginings that powerfully entangle the Gulf and Kerala and complicate the notion of border; and via contemporary transnational projects such as Islamic reformism. Kinship, marriage, household structure, and expectations of intimacy are all undergoing rapid shifts and the paper focuses on these, as experienced by women. Many families are shifting away from old off-bazaar matrilineal, large extended households and into small individual household units with patrilineal emphasis, often in new neighborhoods. Other families choose to remain in the old Muslim area, building large properties and trying to reconstitute matrilineages—an option demanding considerable capital. This paper will focus on processes of change and influences at work among transnational families. Examples include: new brides born and raised in Gulf states married back to Kerala and rapidly socialized into “Kerala style,” which brides sometimes resist; married women who accompany their husbands who work or do business; stay-back wives who take visiting visas and spend six months in the Gulf with their husbands; stay-back wives who know of the Gulf only by hearsay and imaginings; and older women married to Arabs, who appear occasionally on visits to their natal families. I will also discuss various

sites where the “new family” is being produced. These include the boxes of consumer goods sent by absent husbands/fathers; wedding videos; and women’s consumption and leisure practices. I will also address ways in which the figure of the imagined other—the Arab woman—sometimes appears, most often as exemplar of moral lack and against whom the “new Kerala Muslim woman” crafts herself.

Bindhulakshmi Pattadath, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam

Intersections of Gender, Religion, and Labor: Muslim Migrant Women Domestic Workers from Kerala to the UAE

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the UAE and Kerala, this paper tries to understand the dynamics of religion and gender when Muslim women chose to migrate as domestic workers. Research on women and migration has taken a different turn over the last few years. Instead of looking at women as only vulnerable victims, a shift has occurred to looking at their agency. Oral narratives collected from Muslim women domestic workers help us to shed many of the assumptions and taken-for-grantedness in migration. This study focuses on Muslim women and women who embraced Islam at a certain point in their labor mobility and tries to understand the significance of religious identity in the course of the migration process of domestic workers, focusing on the role of religious identity in the process of transnational migration. How does the notion of being Muslim women intersect with various inequalities women domestic workers undergo on an everyday basis in the workspace? Being a Muslim woman and being a woman domestic worker in a highly personalized unequal workspace are two significant identities that many of these women live through. Do these identities complement each other or do they also at times stand in tense relation? This paper looks at Muslim women domestic workers in the course of three phases of their labor mobility: the predeparture phase, the work phase, and the postmigration phase. The push factors that are associated with Muslim women migration will be analyzed through the travel paths of Muslim migrant domestic workers. Does the long-standing personal relationship with Arab families in terms of marriages play any role in the decision to migrate? At the site of their employment, this paper probes into the intersection of gender and religion. Can women domestic workers relate to their employers who also belong to the same religious identity? To what extent and how are their notions of Islam similar or divergent? In the postmigration phase, questions such as what they bring back home in terms of consumption practices and what change transnational migration brings in terms of religious identity are significant.

Alicia Tadeo Pingol, Department of Criminology and Sociological Studies, University of Hull

Filipina Muslim Women in Saudi Arabia

Drawing on ongoing ethnographic research in Saudi Arabia, this paper presents a preliminary exploration of the experiences of Muslim Filipina caregivers living and working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). Work in the Gulf region and in the KSA in particular is widely seen as being one of the most difficult and dangerous for migrant workers, both because of the general lack of legal protection for them and because of the dominance of a puritanical version of Islam. Moreover, it is often assumed that women working there are doing so simply out of economic necessity that drives them to endure the harshest of situations. This paper seeks to complicate the above story in two ways. First, it will consider both whether or not religious belief is a motivating factor for Muslim Filipina women working in the KSA and how their work experiences alongside other Muslims sustain or transform their own varied sets of religious beliefs, practices, and identities. Second, it will consider spaces for resistance and emancipatory practices that Muslim Filipina caregivers have created for themselves in the more male-dominated clerical Islamic society of Saudi Arabia.

The last decades have witnessed the emergence of new and the transformation of older circuits through which people and things move globally. This workshop focused on the involvement of Muslim women in Asia in such circuits, be it as mobile people or as producers, propagators, and consumers of things, ideas, and images on the move. We did not employ the notion “Muslim women” because we assumed that the meaning of this category was fixed or that religion would override other differentiations, such as class or ethnicity, but rather as a heuristic device to move beyond an area studies approach (be it in the more narrow sense of “the Middle East” or “South Asia” or in the broader sense of “Inter-Asian connections”). More specifically, a focus on Islam and gender turned out to be highly productive in an analysis of three major Inter-Asian circuits, that is migrant domestic labor, transnational marriages, and fashionable styles of Muslim dress.

Migrant Domestic Labor and Islam

Studies about migrant domestic labor have often focused on the nationality of migrant domestic workers. That may make sense when dealing with their legal position, which is usually framed within the context of national systems. But when focusing on the ways in which migrant domestic workers connect to significant others, be it their employers or their natal families, and the sense of belonging they develop, religion turns out to be a highly relevant category. This was evident both for Muslim-born migrant domestic workers as well as for those who became Muslim in the course of their migration trajectory.

Bindulakshmi Pattadath did research with poor Muslim women from Kerala who work as domestics in the United Arab Emirates. This contemporary Inter-Asian connection needs to be seen within the context of the long-standing trade links between the Gulf and coastal Kerala. A sense of familiarity between Emiratis and Muslims from Kerala (who also often have some knowledge of Arabic) is a major factor here. As it turned out, what being Muslim means has its own local particularities both between the Emirates and India and within each of these national settings. Still, living for years in the Gulf did not mean that these domestics brought “Gulf Islam” back home. In fact, many of them went to work in the Emirates to be able to better adhere to Keralese notions of propriety. For instance, they used much of their savings to provide their daughters with a substantial dowry, a practice common in South Asia, but not in the Gulf.

Whereas much academic writing deals with women from the Philippines employed as migrant domestics, the presence of Muslims amongst them has rarely been acknowledged. Alicia Pingol focused on Muslim Filipina migrants to Saudi Arabia working in the field of care. She investigates how their work experiences alongside other Muslims sustain or transform their own varied sets of religious beliefs, practices, and identities. In her contribution cases of conversion to Islam are included; for Attiya Ahmad the focus was on the process of conversion to Islam of migrant domestic workers in Kuwait. She did not discuss this in terms of a sudden transformation but rather as a process of “becoming Muslim.” One crucial site is the classes organized by an Islamic *da’wa* movement where *da’iyat* from these women’s countries of origin were actively involved in teaching Islam. The domestic workers did not so much discuss their conversions in terms of inner motivations and identities, but rather how it impacted their relation with the families for whom they worked, with other migrants in Kuwait, and with their natal families.

Transnational Marriages and the Micropolitics of Family Relations

The papers on migrant domestic workers already hinted at how labor migration and transnational marriages are intertwined as they included cases of Keralese and Filipina Muslim women marrying men from the Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Indeed, major forms of Inter-Asian marriages involve men from the Middle East and women from South and Southeast Asia. Such transnational marriages are closely intertwined with long-distance movements for the sake of trade, pilgrimage, empire building, education, and employment. Yet these marriages have gained a new meaning with the emergence of nation-states and the concomitant array of laws on nationality and residency and discourses about national identity.

Frances Hasso located transnational marriages within the wider field of “transnational invasions,” a term expressing the cultural anxiety among citizens of the United Arab Emirates and Egypt about the impact of the increased flows of people, ideas, and products. As she argues, social and political tensions regarding gender relations, sexuality, and marriage are too often inaccurately attributed solely to “external” influences, such as migration and the new media. Whereas different opinions about marriage and sexuality have historically coexisted in lay practices as well as among Islamic jurists and scholars, this history of pluralism has also been affected by the more stringent laws of modern states. Simultaneously, narratives of young men and women point to a greater emphasis on the individualization of Islam combined with a growing awareness of sexuality.

Long-distance migration has also led to transformations in family relations in Kerala. Caroline Osella pointed out how in Kozhikode many families are shifting from matrilineal large extended households into small individual household units with patrilineal emphasis, often in new neighborhoods. Other families remain in the old Muslim area, build large properties, and try to reconstitute matrilineages, enabled by remittances from the Gulf. In these settings transnational migration, family relations, and notions of the self constitute each other in a variety of ways. Examples include a wide array of transnational connections: new brides born and raised in Gulf states married back to Kerala and rapidly socialized into “Kerala style,” which brides sometimes resist; married women who accompany their husbands who work or do business; stay-back wives who take visiting visas and spend six months in the Gulf with their husbands; stay-back wives who know of the Gulf by hearsay and imaginings only; and older women married to Arabs, who appear occasionally on visits to their natal families.

K. C. Bindu and Rehana Sultana focused on the phenomenon of senior Arab citizens visiting Hyderabad to marry young local women, where such marriages are known as “sheikh marriages.” As they pointed out, a marriage between an Indian woman and an Arab man itself need not pose a problem. In fact, such marriages are part and parcel of a long history of connections with the Arab world—in Kozhikode through trade and in Hyderabad through the Nizam’s army. Yet, the reported cases of immediate abandonment of the wife by the husband after a few days of married life point to forms of sexual exploitation the girls are exposed to in a context of poverty and dependency. It is, however, important to recognize that there is also another side to this. Analyzing the 1991 Ameena case, in which an underage girl from Hyderabad was rescued from a marriage with an elderly Saudi man, they argue that especially English-language newspapers used this instance to blame the Muslim community, a minority already under threat. The story of the young woman herself, who subsequently married a much older local man, was lost in these national debates and narratives.

In a discussion about transnational marriages it became evident that some may be *‘urfi* marriages (not officially registered), *misyar* marriages in which (already married) men visit their wives but do not live with or provide housing for them, and, in the case of Shia Muslims, *mut’a* (temporary) marriages. The terms used in different local settings were by no means consistent. Especially the term *mut’a* may well be used for all sorts of nonmainstream marriages, that is for unofficial marriages amongst Sunni Muslims, perhaps an indication of the uneasiness such marriages create.

Muslim Fashions and Transnational Relations

With the turn of the Islamic revival movement toward a more cultural orientation and especially since the 1990s, fashionable styles of Islamic dress have become a growth sector with materials, designs, and items of dress part of transnational circuits of consumption. Yet, also in the field of emerging forms of Muslim fashions, the terms used are by no means univocal. Whereas in Iran the chador refers to an all-enveloping cloak and in the Middle East the term jilbab is used for a floor-length coat, in Indonesia chador refers to the face veil and jilbab to a headcovering.

Vivienne Angeles zoned in on fashionable styles of dress among Filipina and Malaysian Muslim women. Affected by the Islamic resurgence of the mid-1970s, Muslims in both countries, constituting the majority in Malaysia and a significant minority in the Philippines, have been increasingly manifesting their Muslim

identity through the use of Islamic forms of dress. In the case of the Philippines the ethnic clothing worn by tribal communities in the southern parts of the country has been affected by the growing labor migration to Saudi Arabia, with migrants taking on the *abaya* and in some cases the face-veil. For the Malays, the Islamic revival and political developments in the country have contributed to the growing popularity of the use of a style of Islamic dress that is not so much imported from the Middle East but reflects the evolution of Malay dress to conform to new Malaysian Muslim interpretations of modesty.

Also in Indonesia Islamic fashion emerged along with the intensification of the Islamic revival movement. Eva Amrullah pointed out how the desire to wear fashionable styles of veiling, and in some cases face-veiling, were at first linked to transnational engagements with countries where these phenomena had a longer presence, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Yemen, while more recently Indonesian designers have developed their own styles of fashionable Muslim dress that have also increasingly become an export item and gained a presence in cyberspace.

Discussions about Muslim fashions highlighted the importance of various forms of mediatization, be it through magazines, television, or the Internet. Shalina Mehta discussed the impact of the media on styles of dress and bodily appearances in the lives of Muslim women in an urban slum in Delhi. In doing so she pointed to the importance of the development of cable television networks targeting a “home bound women audience.” In her study, young Muslim girls who were not allowed to go to college or in some cases to complete secondary education were evidently influenced by a media-created cosmopolitan popular culture especially with respect to dress styles, jewelry, and accessories.

Taken together, the papers not only point to the mobility of Muslim women and the various ways in which they are part and parcel of “Asian connections,” they also show how these different circuits of people, products, and ideas are interconnected and produce a dense field of overlapping movement, sometimes emerging from earlier interrelations yet transformed under contemporary conditions of globalization. For instance, whereas in earlier days men from the Gulf involved in the long-distance trade married South and Southeast Asian women, after the oil boom women from these regions started to travel long distances to work in the Gulf states as domestics, some of whom married local men. The same domestic workers brought new fashions from the Gulf back home which, in turn, led to the emergence and further development of fashionable styles of Muslim dress building on local traditions. A wide array of media provided information about jobs available and propagated new trends and styles of dress, but also functioned to produce a discourse of foreign invasions, moral panics, and families in crisis. Clearly, the discussions on mobile domestic labor, transnational marriages, and Muslim fashions point to the need to link global trends in the political economy with the micropolitics of family life and gendered subjectivities or notions of the self, for these fields are at once transnational and global and personal and intimate. Moreover, they exemplify how money and love, economics and emotions, and national politics and sexuality constitute each other in people’s everyday lives.

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Frances S. Hasso is an associate professor in the Gender and Women's Studies Program and a member of the Sociology Department at Oberlin College in the United States. She has written on comparative narratives of marriage and sexuality in the Emirates and Egypt, and she has explored paradoxes of gender and politics in contemporary nationalist Palestinian discourse. Email address: fhasso@oberlin.edu

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WORKSHOP CONCEPT NOTE

South Asia Regional Fellowship Program: Collaborative Research

- Gopalan Balachandran, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland
- Srirupa Roy, Social Science Research Council, New York, and University of Massachusetts at Amherst, US

This workshop brings together four teams of researchers who were awarded grants for cross-national collaborative research by the SSRC's South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (SARFP), a program for scholars and researchers located in South Asian countries. With the assistance of a generous multiyear grant from the Ford Foundation's Delhi office, the SARFP has made a significant contribution to capacity building for social science research in South Asia. Introduced as a new initiative in a context in which opportunities and mechanisms for regional social science research and interchange in the South Asian context are all too scarce, a tangible community of fellows has emerged from this program, with a total of fifty-six individual fellowships awarded between 2002 and 2006.

In 2006-2007, the SARFP launched a set of activities to consolidate the existing networks that have been developed in the course of the program, as well as to enable the expansion and extension of these networks. Accordingly, fellows were offered an opportunity to develop and present comparative and collaborative research on the major themes of the fellowship program. Eight teams of SARFP fellows made an initial presentation of a collaborative research agenda at a workshop in Goa, India, in November 2006, and four of these have subsequently been awarded follow-up grants for sustained collaborative research.

The selected projects represent an innovative mix of paired comparisons of South Asian countries, India-Pakistan (2 teams), Pakistan-Burma, and India-Nepal. The topics include: national identity and art education in India and Pakistan; popular cinematic representations of partition in India and Pakistan; ethnic mapping and ethnic nationalism in Pakistan and Burma; and theater and democracy in Nepal and India.

In addition to the presentation of the final papers by the research teams, the workshop will also host a series of discussions on research cultures and higher educational institutional landscapes across South Asia; and on challenges and opportunities of South Asian collaborative research.

PARTICIPANT ABSTRACTS

Deeptha Achar, Department of English, Faculty of Arts, MS University of Baroda
Nadeem Omar Tarar, The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Instituting National Self-Identity? Crafting Art Education at the National School of Art, Lahore, and Faculty of Fine Arts, Baroda

Early nationalist art history of colonial India was fashioned, in part, through its sustained engagement with the notion of craft, where “craft” is seen in binary opposition to “fine art.” In fact, one of the central functions of these art historical discourses was to rescue the Indian artifact from the category craft. By reconfiguring “craft” objects as “art,” such discourses endowed the proto-nation(s) with an uninterrupted aesthetic tradition. In this paper, we return to this nationalist resolution of the craft question but we work away from the largely object-oriented approach of nationalist art history toward a framework-oriented approach that shifts attention to the institutional and disciplinary structures that undergird the production of art. The first section of our paper revisits the craft debate in colonial and early nationalist art historiography in order to examine how negotiations around the question of craft were haunted by the specter of the artisan. This allows us to reopen the category “craft” and examine it in the context of post-Independence moves to set up national art educational institutions while also enabling us to investigate the continuing significance of the artisan in contexts where a new professionalization of the modern artist was taking place. In the next two sections we draw on this shared history of colonial and nationalist art historiography of the colonial period in order to examine how this “inheritance” was modulated in the art pedagogy and policies in these newly independent countries. We attempt to open out the question of craft in disciplinary and art institutional locations, to tease out the effects it may have for national self-understanding. Focusing on key centers of art education in Pakistan and India—the National School of Art, Lahore, and Faculty of Fine Arts, Baroda—we try to track the different practices and policies of these institutions in order to understand the way the newly independent nations, Pakistan and India, negotiated the idea of craft in art educational institutions. Our focus is on the continuities and differences in the routes traveled by the two national institutions as they grappled with the task of putting in place art education for new nations.

Santosh Dash, Department of English, Arts and Commerce College, Savli, India
Shiva Rijal, Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, Nepal

Parsi Theater and the Question of Democracy in Nepal and Gujarat

Our study of the Parsi theater across two South Asian countries has convinced us that as a cultural form it was a harbinger of modernity in both these countries. Although it acquired a certain professionalism and became a popular cultural form in India, it failed to do so in Nepal on account of the nature of patronage. Since the theater remained confined to the palaces in Nepal, it could not reinvent itself in multiple forms and languages for diverse audiences. To that extent, Parsi theater stood as a mark of autocratic rule and was perceived as oppressive by the Nepali people. Because the kings did not allow this form of theater to connect to local cultures of performance, it was denied a sustainable public base; therefore, what arrived as a modern form of theater failed to offer itself as “popular.” There was a clear disconnect between the modern and the popular in the culture of theater which the Ranas had instituted during their regime. In fact, the contemporary struggle for the resources of theater and the demand for professionalism are only symptomatic of the force that the popular seems to be exerting on the continuing elite control over the cultural resources of the country. Although in the Indian context it seems easy to designate the Parsi theater as “popular,” our research has shown that it is perhaps something of an overestimation. As a cultural form, in spite of its much-lauded mobility, the popularity of the Parsi theater was confined to the Indian cities and had very little impact in terms of penetration. It was clearly a “city” phenomenon and its audience came from the rich and the emerging middle classes. In this sense, it was a cultural practice that was driven by class, on the one hand, and capital, on the other. Parsi theater was after all a self-sustaining and profit-making enterprise. One of the benefits of raising the question of class to the question of the popular is that it saves the category for another

politics of the people. Gujarati theatre, which defined itself against the Parsi theater, did so through a systematic disavowal of the interests of the market and capital, taking on a high culturalist position that had caste as its major constituent. The form of the “popular,” which the advocates of the Gujarati theater tried to usher in, kept the category of caste out of the ambit of its engagement. The arrival of Gandhi on the Gujarati literary scene helped refashion the popular in a way that brought the question of caste and community back into intellectual contention. The loss of the Gandhian popular in our time has made it clear, among other things, that the hold of the class/caste elite over the cultural resources of the country continues. This apart, the various civil-social movements on the ground now seem to have forced a rethinking of the Gandhian model. Our paper situates itself in the context of the continuing struggles of the subaltern populations in both these countries in South Asia that have quickened the fissures within the elite cultural imagination and have forced a reexamination of the routes that our modernity has taken in the past and has allowed a reimagination of the “popular” yet again for a democratic future.

T.T. Haokip, Department of Political Science, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, India
Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, Pakistan

Ethnic Mapping and Ethnic Nationalism: A Comparative Study of Pakistan and Myanmar

A great deal has been written on the conflicts between the military governments and the political oppositions over national power in Pakistan and Burma. However, the conflicts between the central governments and ethnic minority groups, which represent a more fundamental and intractable obstacle to peace, development, and democracy, and the manners in which ethnic identities in the two states constituted, legitimized, and delegitimized through the practices of colonial and postcolonial states have not been given enough attention. It is therefore crucial to examine how mapping of populations according to ethnic categories led to ethnic nationalism and how ethnic elites emerged to articulate this ideology to mobilize ethnic nationalist movements, their contests with the two states, and the outcome of these contests on the contemporary politics of Burma and Pakistan. The research work will analyze how and to what extent privileging certain groups over others, recognizing their citizens as belonging to a particular ethnic group, and mapping their populations according to ethnic categories initiate and intensify the politicization of ethnicity. The research work will argue that the unfolding of these dynamics reinforced and intensified perceptions of ethnic discrimination, which fed into agitation for autonomy, separate states, or even separatism. The main objective is to analyze the political consequences of ethnic mapping, the proliferation of group identities, the consolidation of these identities, increasing competition between and among ethnic groups, the actions of the two states that arbitrate between ethnic groups, and the consequences of such arbitration for group identities.

Salma Malik, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Pakistan
Gita Viswanath, Independent Researcher

Revisiting 1947 through Popular Cinema: A Comparative Study of India and Pakistan

This paper argues that popular cinema in India and Pakistan, which has always served as an alternate channel of dialogue and communication through which the two nations and populations can talk with each other, is deeply influenced by the watershed event of the 1947 partition, which also saw the birth of a legitimate nation-state. The influence was felt both in the respective film industries of the two countries as well as at the level of diegetic content and representational strategies in individual films. We have mapped out the representational strategies used in popular films based on partition, which has helped us gain insights into an understanding of film as historical document, as well as audience reactions to watching the painful events of partition on celluloid as the basis of our understanding that popular cultural artifacts have the capacity to operate as repositories of historical knowledge and as viable historical sources. Some of the important questions we pose in this paper are: Does popular cinema reflect history or construct a history? To what extent can popular cinema take on the burden of recreating historical events accurately? Can cinema be considered a site for the production and consumption of historical knowledge? Drawing on insights from Hayden White, Paul Ricoeur and Marcia Landy, we submit that as a record and interpretation of a particular

era, popular cinema on the partition may be understood as one of several ways of “doing history.” It forces us to look beyond its own representations of “monumental history,” which presents a vision of the past in moments of crisis and heroism. Rather, popular cinema demonstrates how it can engage in “critical history,” which interrogates the methods and values of historiography. Addressing the notion of genre, we note how films based on partition in both countries are framed by the genre of melodrama. The centrality of family, the representation of women, and a rhetorical acting style are some recurrent features that invited us to study partition films as melodramas. Couched in the vocabulary of melodrama, partition cinema invests heavily in the private sphere of emotions and familial relations. Nonetheless, far from depoliticizing history, it demonstrates that the private domain is always already political. More often than not, the private sphere is a stand-in for the larger public categories of nation and state. Using methodological tools such as audience feedback through questionnaires and interviews with filmmakers, the paper has made an attempt to go beyond mere textual analysis into the domain of consumption to comprehend the ways in which audiences receive the constructions of nation, history, and family that come to them through cinema, which we argue can stake a claim to being one of the legitimate institutionalized sites of memory and history making.

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES and CONTACTS

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Santosh Dash is a lecturer in the Department of English at Arts and Commerce College, Savli, India. He is currently affiliated with the Center for Studies in Social Sciences in Calcutta and over the last few years has been studying the conceptual offers of Hindutva to marginalized groups in the context of Gujarat. Email address: santoshkumardash@gmail.com

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At the time of the conference Srirupa Roy was a senior advisor/program officer to the South Asia Program and also worked on international research collaboration at the SSRC, for which she is now a consultant. She is associate professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Her research interests include nationalism and postcolonial state formation in India, and the politics of secularism in the Middle East and South Asia. Her current research is on the politics of television news in India. Email address: srirupa@polsci.umass.edu

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Nadeem Omar Tarar is currently a visiting postdoctoral fellow at the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has curated a series of exhibitions in Lahore, Pakistan, and received his PhD in Art History and Theory at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Email address: notarar@gmail.com

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PRELIMINARY FEEDBACK

Detailed feedback received from workshop directors and formal and informal comments from participants and organizers have highlighted two significant outcomes of the “Inter-Asian Connections” conference: empirical insights and methodological innovations.

Empirical Insights

The workshops showcased innovative and new research on the dynamics of historical and contemporary connections between the different regions of Asia. Particular topics that were addressed across different workshops and deserve further research included:

- The migration of domestic workers from different Asian countries to the Gulf region
- The lived experience of borders and boundaries in the everyday life of citizens and communities in different Asian countries
- The historical and contemporary locations where individuals from across Asia have come into contact with each other and forged new networks and identities (pilgrimage sites, trading posts, labor camps, airports, factories, universities, diasporas)
- Networks of Islamic education that bring together individuals, institutions, and communities across the region
- The political and social role of national and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in different Asian countries with particular attention to the transformations of governance practices
- Policy diffusion and learning across Asian countries; for example, how urban planning practices developed in one country (China, UAE) influence policy development in other countries (India)

Methodological Innovations

The conference provided a unique opportunity for scholars working on different Asian regions and different disciplinary specializations to forge connections and exchange knowledge with each other, and to thus foster much-needed dialogue across disciplines and between disciplines and area studies. As the following comments from some workshop directors suggest, discussions focused on the methodological challenges and opportunities of conducting multidisciplinary, multi-area, and comparative research on the different countries and regions of Asia:

- “Inter-Asia is a term that . . . suggests possibilities for thinking differently about geographical regions and in ways that are much more consonant with the rapidly emerging globally and regionally integrated production and financial networks, and the complex and diverse flows of people and ideas they are engendering. It also poses important challenges for the ways in which we think of research methodology and practice” (Beth Mitchneck and John Pickles).
- “The conference provided an opportunity to define regional patterns and local specificities, instead of simply focusing on the ‘exceptional’ or ‘unique’ nature of a case study” (Nicole Constable).

- “Those who tended to take more microdisciplinary approaches to their research benefited the most from the extremely broad range of suggestions offered and questions asked” (Jacqueline Armijo-Hussein).
- “The conference enabled us to critically interrogate the notion of ‘Asia’ as a unit of analysis” (Baudouin Dupret and Zouhair Ghazzal).
- “The conference fostered South-South dialogue without the usual mediation of Europe-centric discussions” (David Ludden, Julie Mostov, and Dina Siddiqi).
- “Participants discussed how to locate and use archival sources for multi- and cross-regional research, and the kinds of language training and general pedagogical requirements that an Inter-Asian program of study would require” (Sunil Amrith and Timothy Harper).

APPLICANT POOL and CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION ANALYSIS

Workshop Proposals

In the first stage of the application process, the SSRC announced an open call for workshop proposals on themes of relevance to “Inter-Asian Connections.” By the deadline of June 1, 2007, a total of 105 applications were received: 54 from individuals; 50 from two-member teams; and 1 from a three-member team. For the purposes of this analysis, the data collected accounts for all individuals, a total of 157. *Note:* a few people applied more than one time (in a team and as an individual) so their statistics were counted more than once.

Figure 1

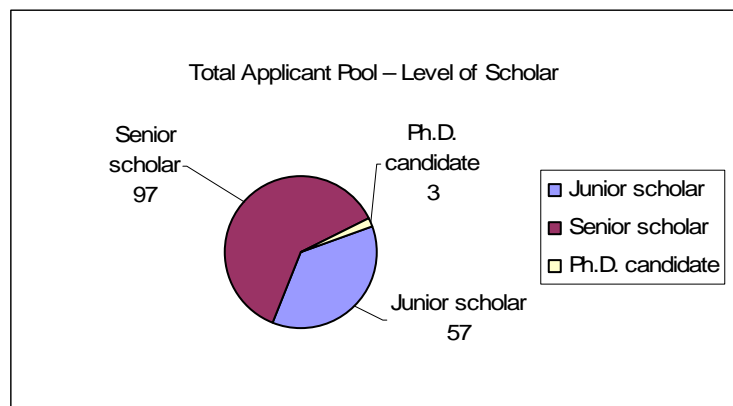


Figure 2

Total Applicant Pool – Discipline	# of Applicants
Political Science	28
History	21
Anthropology	17
Sociology	17
Economics	12
Geography	7
Architecture and Urban Planning	6
International Relations	6
Performance Studies	5
Psychology	4
Law and Legal Studies	3
Area Studies (MENA/Islam)	2
Education	2
Environmental Studies	2
Human Development and Family Studies	2
Language and Literature (Turkish)	2
Media Studies	2
Archaeology (1), Area Studies (Central Eurasian) (1), Area Studies (Inner Asian and Altaic) (1), Business Studies (1), Comparative Literature (1), Development Studies (1), Engineering (1), Health (1), Human Ecology (1), Industrial Design (1), Language and Literature (English) (1), Linguistics and Language Pedagogy (1), Medicine (1), Peace and Conflict Studies (1), Philosophy (1), Political Studies (1), Public Policy and Administration (1), Religion (1), Zoology (1)	19

Figure 3

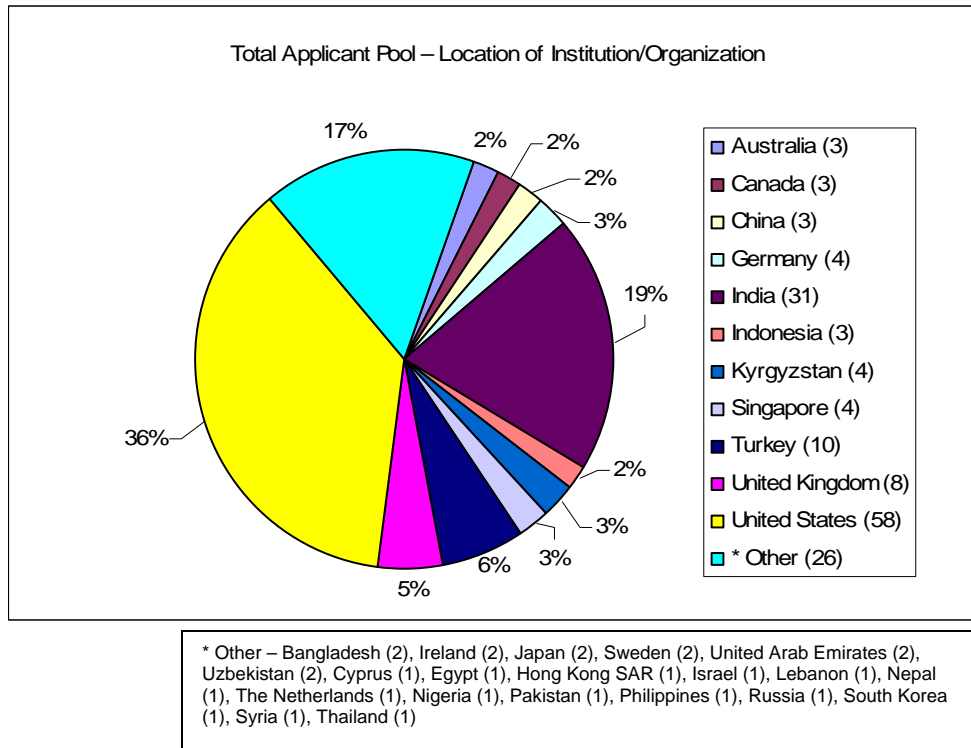
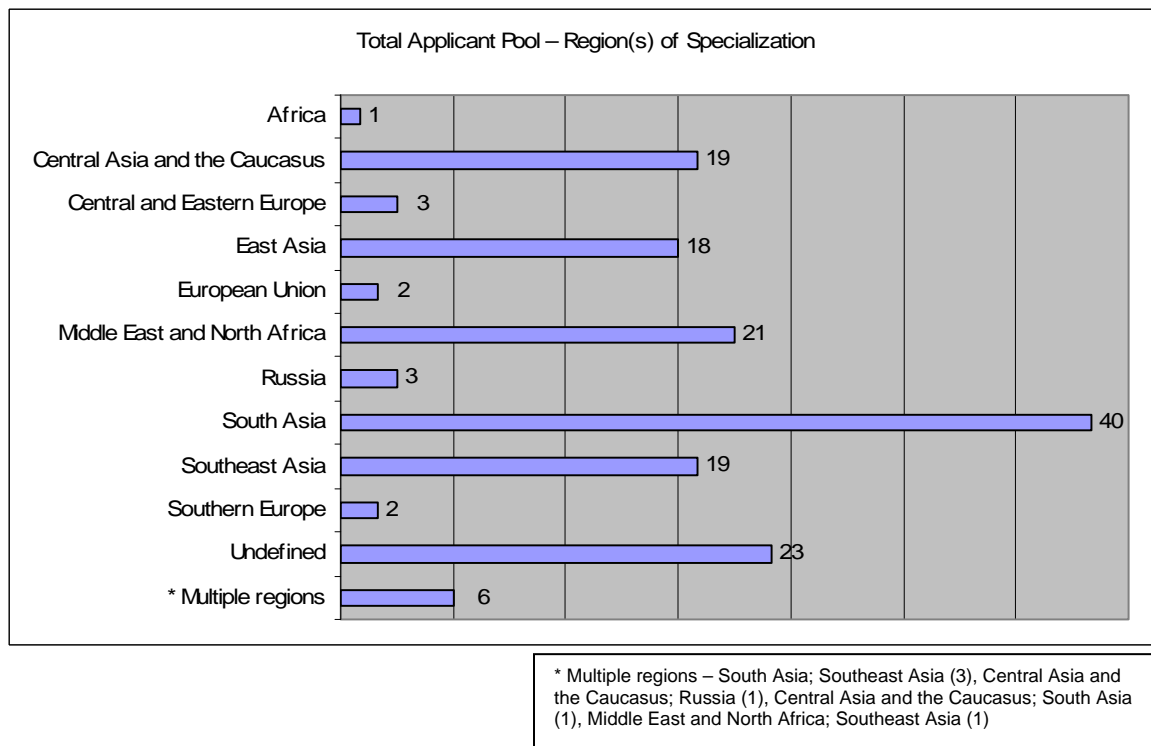


Figure 4



Workshop proposal applicants reflected the following characteristics:

- In keeping with the language of the call for proposals (CFP), where it was stressed that workshop directors should have appropriate research expertise in the area of the workshop, the majority of applicants (62%) were senior scholars (see Figure 1).
- The gender composition was 62 females and 94 males; one applicant was unidentifiable.
- The pool reflected considerable disciplinary diversity, with 36 different fields represented. Political scientists topped the list at 17.8% (28 applicants), with historians close behind (see Figure 2).
- More than 60% of the applicant pool came from outside of the United States, representing institutions and organizations in 30 different countries (see Figure 3).
- The topic of “Inter-Asian Connections” appeared to resonate with some regional scholars more than others. Most of the applicants were South Asia specialists, comprising 25.4% of the workshop proposal pool (see Figure 4). This raised interesting questions for the selection committee, such as the extent to which area studies specialists of the Middle East or the former Soviet Union see themselves as “Inter-Asia” scholars, even though their topics of research were directly relevant to the CFP.

From this impressive and diverse pool, the selection committee chose 12 workshops for the conference, of which 7 were two-person teams, and 1 was a three-person team. *Note:* one workshop pulled out and one person from a two-member team did not participate. This analysis accounts for all of the individuals who took part in their workshop’s selection process and attended the conference, a total of 19.

Figure 5

Accepted Pool – Discipline	Total #
Anthropology	4
History	4
Political Science	4
Geography	2
Architecture and Urban Planning (1), Area Studies (Inner Asian and Altaic) (1), Economics (1), Education (1), Sociology (1)	5

Figure 6

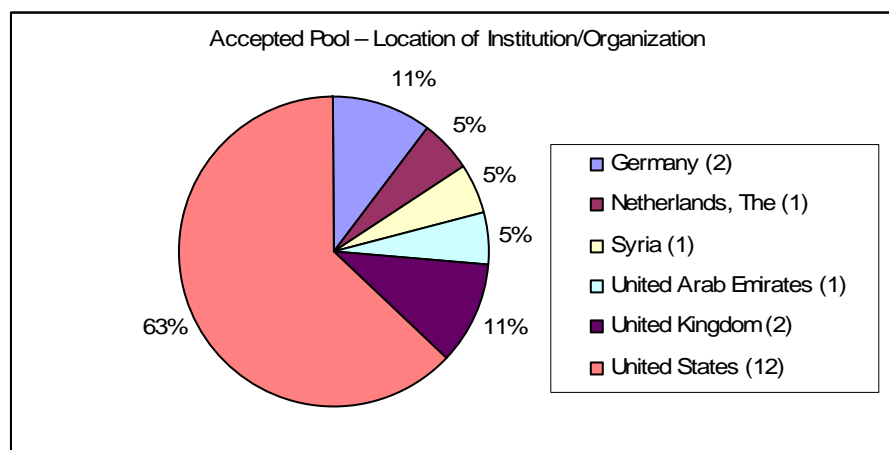
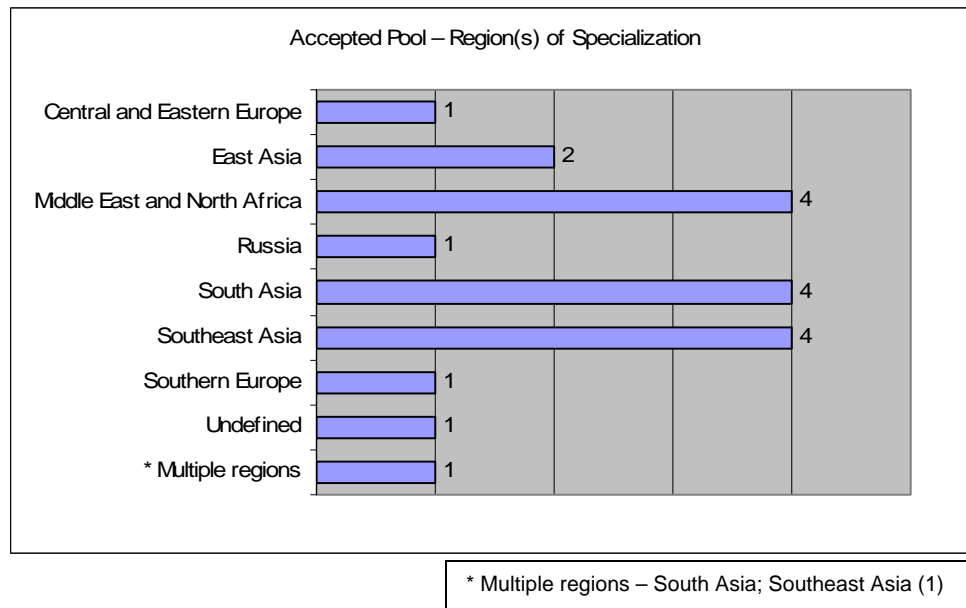


Figure 7



Of these individuals, 10 were female and 9 were male. The selection committee prioritized seniority, given that the task of directing was considered to be better suited to scholars with experience in mentoring and facilitating the work of colleagues; thus, 17 were senior scholars and only 2 were junior scholars. The final list of workshops was also developed to ensure that they would attract the interest of scholars from different disciplines, with different “Asian” regional specializations, so in addition to thematic interregional relevance, disciplinary diversity and regional expertise were also taken into account (see Figures 5, 6, and 7).

Paper Submissions – Workshop Participants

In the second round of the application process, the SSRC announced an open call for individual paper submissions to one of the 11 remaining workshops. By the deadline of September 14, 2007, a total of 582 applications were received: 564 from single authors; 15 from two-author teams; and 3 written by teams of three authors. For the purposes of this analysis, the data collected accounts for all individuals, a total of 603.

Figure 8

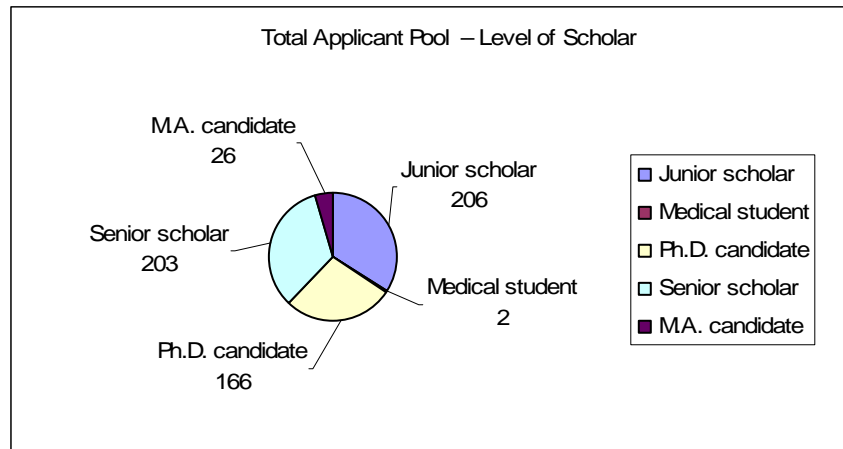


Figure 9

Total Applicant Pool – Discipline	# of Applicants
Anthropology	89
Sociology	87
Political Science	80
History	52
Geography	35
Economics	34
Architecture and Urban Planning	31
International Studies	30
Development Studies	19
Law and Legal Studies	17
Area Studies (MENA/Islam)	10
Education	8
Environmental Studies	7
Political Economy	7
Public Policy and Administration	7
Ethnic and Cultural Studies	6
Religion	6
English	5
Philosophy	5
Psychology	5
Communications	4
Language and Literature (English)	4
Gender Studies	3
Health	3
Linguistics and Language Pedagogy	3

Media Studies	3
Archaeology	2
Area Studies (Asia)	2
Area Studies (SE Asia)	2
Comparative Literature	2
History of Science	2
Medicine	2
Performance Studies	2
Agricultural Extension (1), Agronomy (1), Area Studies (Africa) (1), Area Studies (Asia-Pacific) (1), Area Studies (post-Soviet) (1), Area Studies (South Asia; SE Asia) (1), Area Studies (West Asia) (1), Area Studies (Western Europe) (1), Art History and Criticism (1), Biological Sciences (1), Business Studies (1), Community Development (1), Corporate Strategy / Relationship Marketing (1), Defense and Strategic Studies (1), Demography (1), Energy and Resources (1), Engineering (1), Environmental Design and Planning (1), Ethnology (1), Fine Arts (1), Language and Literature (Arabic) (1), Language and Literature (Japanese) (1), Migration Studies (1), Oceanography (1), Peace and Conflict Studies (1), Regional Science (1), Science Policy (1), Social Change and Development (1), Social Policy (1)	29

Figure 10

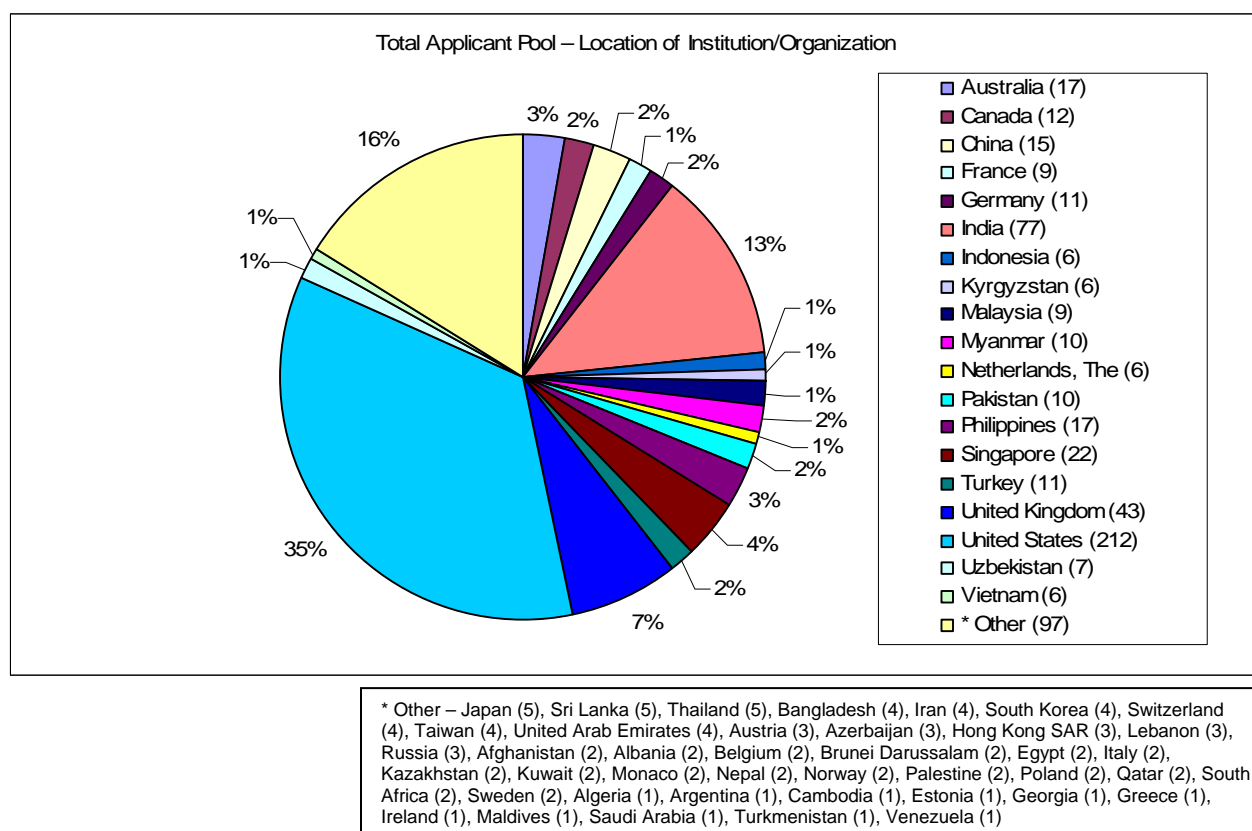
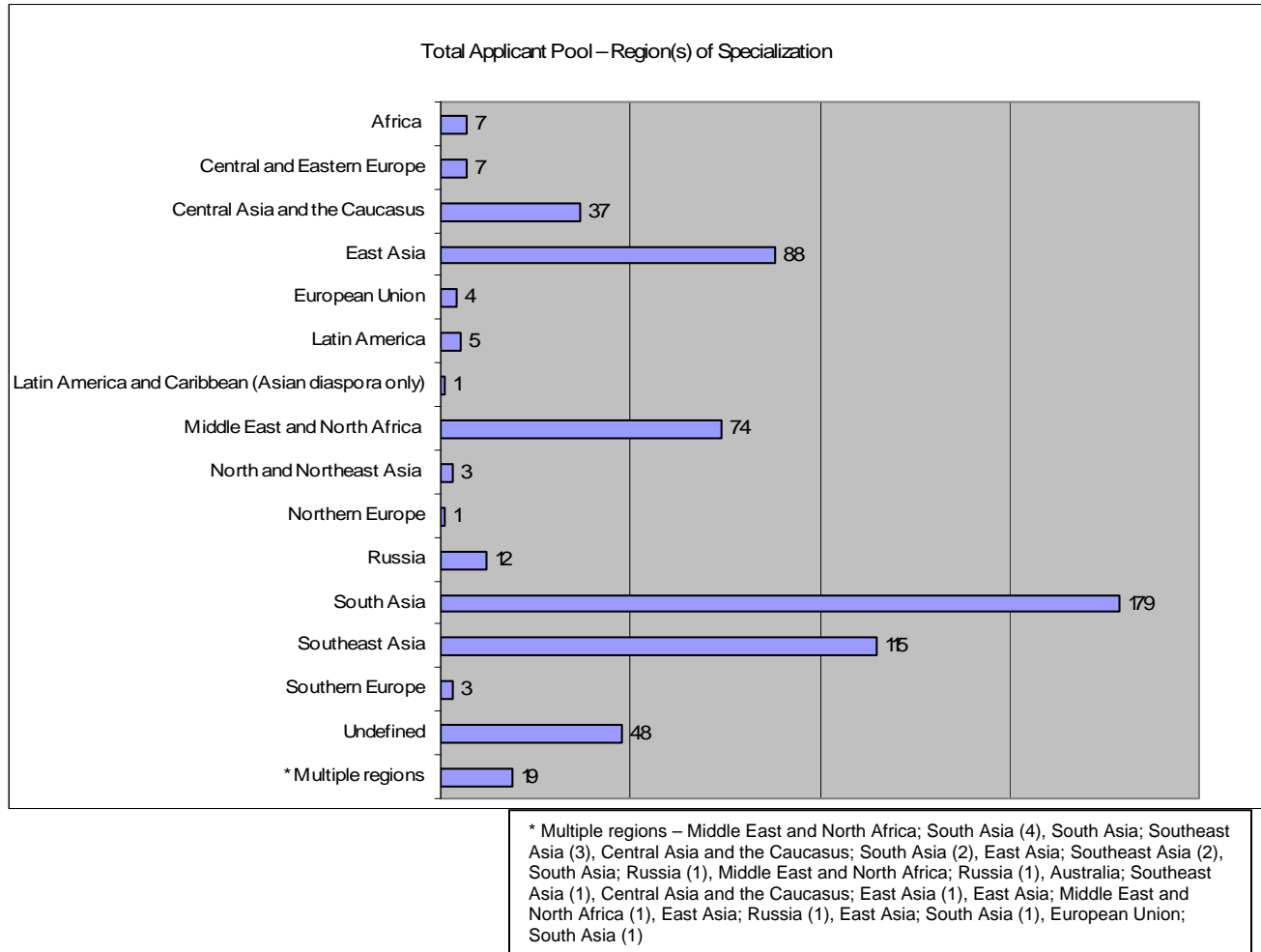


Figure 11



Paper submissions reflected the following characteristics:

- The majority came from junior scholars (34%), closely followed by senior scholars (see Figure 8).
- There was a nearly balanced gender composition; 50.4% (304) of applicants were female scholars and 47.8% (288) male; 1.8% (11) were unidentifiable.
- As with the case of the workshop director applications, this pool also reflected considerable disciplinary diversity, with 62 different disciplines represented. The most popular were anthropology and sociology, comprising 14.8% and 14.4% of the pool, respectively (see Figure 9).
- Over 60% of the applicant pool came from outside of the United States, representing institutions and organizations in 59 different countries (see Figure 10). The United States, India, and the United Kingdom were the primary locations for most scholars who submitted papers.
- As with the workshop director applications, the topic of “Inter-Asian Connections” appeared to resonate with some regional scholars more than others. South and Southeast Asia specialists alone submitted the most applications, comprising 48.7% of the applicant pool (see Figure 11). However, applications were received from scholars specializing in about every region included in the “Inter-Asia” configuration, i.e., from East Asia (15%), the Middle East and North Africa (12%), Central Asia and the Caucasus (6%), and Russia (2%).

From this broad pool, the workshop directors (in consultation with SSRC staff) selected a total of 105 papers, of which 4 were two-person teams, and 1 was a three-person team. Seven people withdrew their applications, and those who submitted and contributed to a final paper, whether they were in attendance or not, totaled 104.

Figure 12

Accepted Pool – Discipline	Total #
Anthropology	32
Sociology	20
Political Science	10
History	9
Economics	5
Geography	5
International Relations	3
Political Economy	3
Religion	3
Philosophy	2
Public Policy and Administration	2
Architecture and Urban Planning (1), Communications (1), Comparative Literature (1), English (1), Fine Arts (1), Gender Studies (1), Language and Literature (English) (1), Law and Legal Studies (1), Linguistics and Language Pedagogy (1), Psychology (1)	10

Figure 13

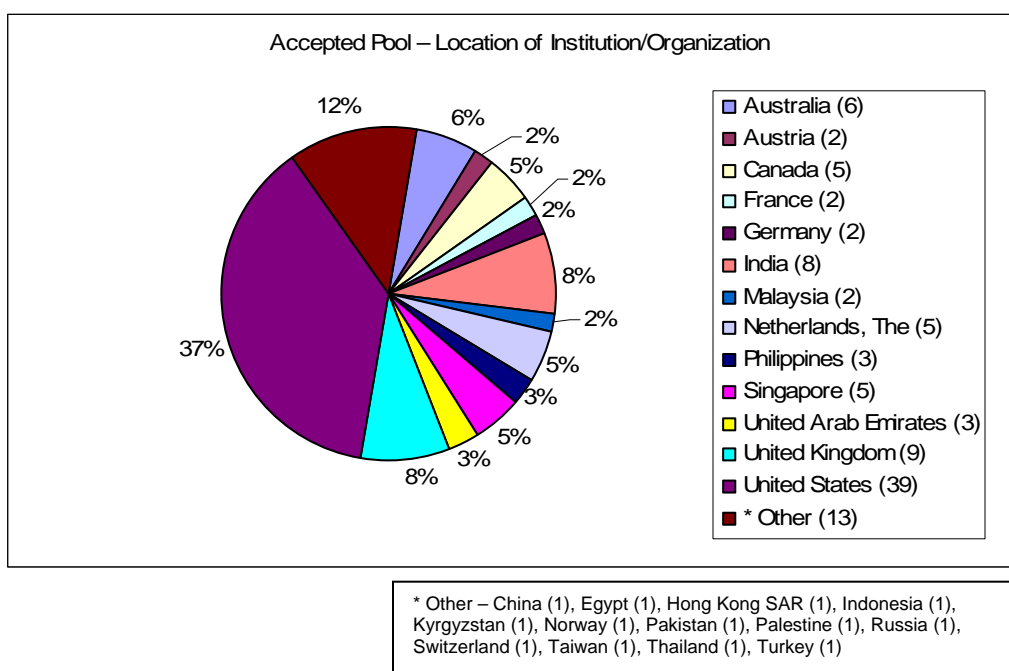
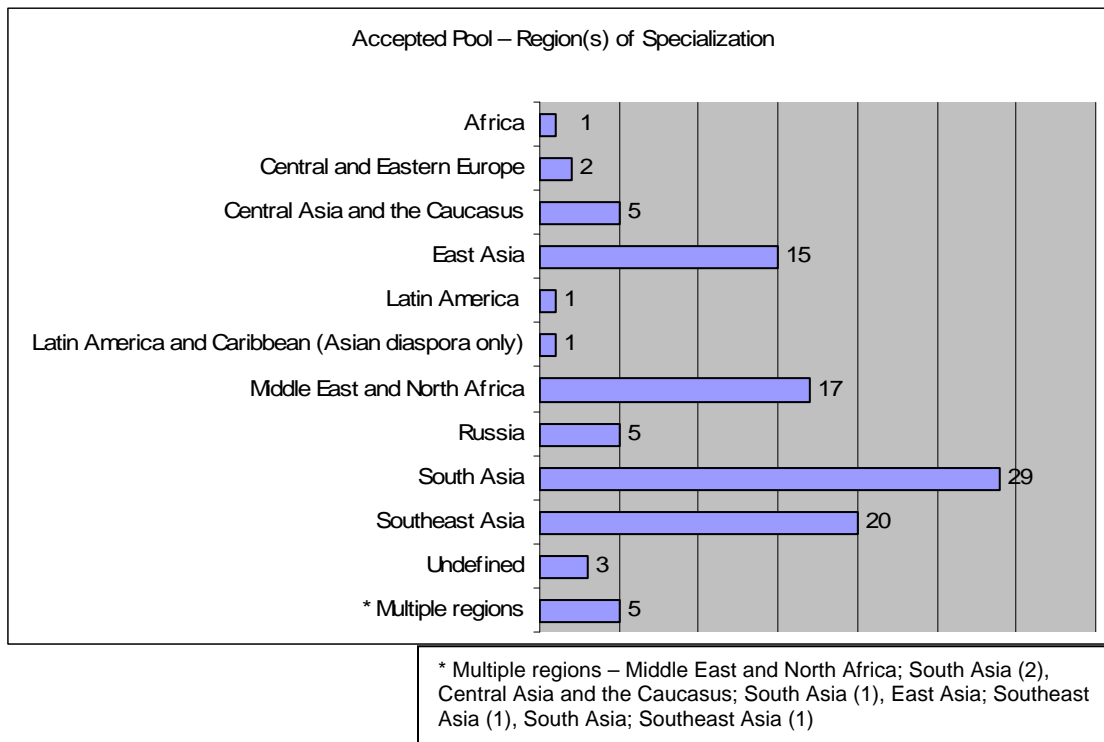


Figure 14



Of these individuals, 60 (57.7%) were female and 44 (42.3%) were male. The number of senior and junior scholars was evenly split at 41 each; 19 were PhD candidates and 3 were enrolled in a master's degree program. The selection process strove to maintain a balanced composition for each workshop with regard to the mix of junior and senior scholars, as well as disciplinary and international diversity, and regional expertise (see Figures 12, 13, and 14).

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON “INTER-ASIAN CONNECTIONS”
Dubai, UAE: February 21-24, 2008

CALL FOR WORKSHOP PROPOSALS

Deadline: Friday, June 1, 2007

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) is pleased to announce an open call for proposals from faculty members at accredited universities and colleges in any world region, to organize and direct a four-day thematic workshop at an international conference on "Inter-Asian Connections." Workshop directors selected by the SSRC will be expected to help recruit and select eight international workshop participants from across relevant disciplines in the social sciences and related fields.

To be held in Dubai, February 21-24, 2008, the conference will host multiple workshops showcasing innovative research from across the social sciences and related disciplines, on themes of particular relevance to Asia, reconceptualized as a dynamic and interconnected historical, geographical, and cultural formation stretching from the Middle East through Eurasia and South Asia, to East Asia.

This expanded understanding should bring to the fore new and unanticipated research themes and cross-regional/transregional connections and formations. The conference theme of "Inter-Asian Connections" is flexible enough to encompass a wide range of projects, from explorations of interregional historical and material connections (for instance, trade and migration flows; Asian international relations; the diffusion and exchange of ideas and ideologies), to cross-national and comparative investigations of contemporary political, sociocultural, and economic processes.

Applications are invited from scholars who would like to convene an international workshop that brings together a group of researchers working on a specific theme located in an “Inter-Asian” research landscape, whether this involves the comparative investigation of societies/polities within Asia (as defined above), or the exploration of historical and/or contemporary transnational/cross-national/transregional processes, structures, practices, and flows within and across the territorial and imaginative space of Asia.

We aim at gathering as broad an international and multi disciplinary representation of scholars as possible. We also encourage proposals for workshops that will see participation by activists, policy makers, media practitioners, and cultural producers addressing different aspects of the “Inter-Asian” conference theme.

The conference structure and schedule has been designed to enable intensive “working group” interactions on a specific research theme through the workshops, as well as broader interactions on topics of mutual interest and concern to all participants. Accordingly, workshop sessions will take place in the morning, while the afternoon and evening sessions will be reserved for public keynotes, plenaries, and roundtables addressing different aspects of Inter-Asian research. Each workshop will meet for three mornings. The concluding day of the conference will bring all the workshops together in a public presentation and exchange of research agendas that have emerged over the course of the deliberations in Dubai.

We invite researchers to apply to organize a workshop on a theme of their choice. Each workshop may have one or two directors and will include eight participants (graduate students, junior faculty, other researchers and scholars) chosen competitively. Workshop directors should have sufficient research experience on the region and themes of their proposals. Workshops will be selected according to four criteria:

- i. The theoretical and/or empirical contributions of the workshop—i.e., the extent to which the

- ii. The “Inter-Asian” relevance of the workshop—i.e., the extent to which the proposed workshop topic takes forward the intellectual mandate of the conference, of redefining “Asia” as a dynamic and interconnected formation, whether through innovative comparative approaches or through a focus on connections within and across the traditionally defined regions of Asia (Middle East, Eurasia, Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia)
- iii. The anticipated composition of the workshop—i.e., the extent to which the workshop will elicit participation from a diverse community of scholars, with preference given to workshops that have multidisciplinary and international appeal, and that involve scholars and researchers at different stages of their careers
- iv. The anticipated research outcomes of the workshop—i.e., the extent to which the workshop has the potential to generate new and innovative research agendas and to forge/sustain intra- and interregional networks of scholarly research and exchange among institutions and individuals working in and on Asia

The deadline for application submissions is Friday, June 1, 2007. Workshop proposals will be reviewed by a committee convened by the SSRC, and decisions will be announced by Friday, June 29, 2007.

Following the selection of workshops and directors, the SSRC will announce and widely circulate an open call for individual paper submissions for each of the workshops. The responsibilities of the workshop directors will include:

- Collaborating with SSRC staff to select eight participants for their workshop
- Communicating with workshop participants
- Ensuring the timely delivery of papers
- Preparing a workshop agenda
- Convening daily meetings at Dubai
- Presenting a research statement at the conclusion of the conference

In addition to covering the travel, accommodation, and other related costs associated with attending the conference, the SSRC will offer an honorarium of US\$500 to compensate workshop directors for their time and efforts. Limited funds may also be available to cover expenses of some workshop participants, based on an assessment of needs.

The full text of the call for proposals, along with information on the application process, is available at: http://www.ssrc.org/program_areas/global/papers/.

For additional inquiries, please contact the SSRC at intl_collaboration@ssrc.org.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON “INTER-ASIAN CONNECTIONS”
Dubai, UAE: February 21-24, 2008

CALL FOR INDIVIDUAL PAPER SUBMISSIONS

Deadline: September 14, 2007

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) is pleased to announce an open call for individual research paper submissions from researchers in any world region, to participate in a four-day thematic workshop at an international conference on "Inter-Asian Connections."

To be held in Dubai, February 21-24, 2008, the conference will host concurrent workshops showcasing innovative research from across the social sciences and related disciplines, on themes of particular relevance to Asia, reconceptualized as a dynamic and interconnected historical, geographical, and cultural formation stretching from the Middle East through Eurasia and South Asia, to East Asia.

The conference structure and schedule have been designed to enable intensive “working group” interactions on a specific research theme, as well as broader interactions on topics of mutual interest and concern to all participants. Accordingly, there will be public keynotes, plenaries, and roundtables addressing different aspects of Inter-Asian research in addition to closed workshop sessions. The concluding day of the conference will bring all the workshops together in a public presentation and exchange of research agendas that have emerged over the course of the deliberations in Dubai.

Individual paper submissions are invited for the following workshops:

- Sites of Inter-Asian Interaction
- Networks of Islamic Learning across Asia: The Role of International Centers of Islamic Learning in Building Ties and Forging New Identities
- Distant Divides and Intimate Connections: Migrant Domestic Workers in Asia
- Law-in-Action in Asian Societies and Civilizations
- Multiple Flexibilities: Nation–States, Global Business, and Precarious Labor
- Neoliberal Globalization and Governmentality: State, Civil Society, and the NGO Phenomenon in Asia
- Initiatives of Regional Integration in Asia in Comparative Perspective: Concepts, Contents, and Prospects
- Border Problems: Theory, Culture, and Political Economy
- Postcollective Economic Lives and Livelihoods: Studies of Economy, Institutions, and Everyday Practice in Postsocialist Eurasia and Asia
- Transnational Circuits: “Muslim Women” in Asia
- Inter-referencing Asia: Urban Experiments and the Art of Being Global

Descriptions of the individual workshops, along with information on the application process, are available at: http://www.ssrc.org/program_areas/global/papers/.

Application materials are due by Friday, September 14, 2007. Junior and senior scholars are encouraged to apply, whether graduate students and faculty affiliated with colleges and universities, or researchers in NGOs or other research organizations. Please note that an individual cannot apply to more than one workshop.

Selection decisions will be announced on October 19, 2007. Accepted participants are required to submit a 20-25 page research paper by January 14, 2008.

The SSRC will make every effort to subsidize the travel and accommodation costs associated with attending the conference, and will issue a formal announcement about availability and levels of financial assistance for individual participants in the coming months. In the meantime, prospective participants are encouraged to seek alternative sources of funding that may be available from their home institutions or other agencies.

For additional inquiries, please contact the SSRC at intl_collaboration@ssrc.org.

INSTITUTIONS and ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED

- Academy of Social Education (Kazan Social-Juridical Institute)
 American University in Cairo (AUC)
 American University in Central Asia
 American University of Sharjah
 Anveshi Research Centre for Women's Studies
 Arts and Commerce College, Savli
 Australian National University (ANU)
 Baruch College – The City University of New York
 Bethlehem University
 Birkbeck College, University of London
 Brooklyn College – The City University of New York
 Brown University
 Carleton University
 Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)
 City University of Hong Kong
 Collège International de Philosophie
 Columbia University
 Deakin University
 Dr. Zakir Husain Study Circle (ZHSC)
 Drexel University
 Dubai International Financial Centre (DIFC) Authority
 Dubai Media Incorporated (DMI)
 Dubai School of Government (DSG)
 Duke University
 Emily Carr Institute of Art + Design + Media
 German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)
 German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)
 Goldsmiths College, University of London
 Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies
 Harriet L. Wilkes Honors College, Florida Atlantic University
 Harvard University
 Hobart and William Smith Colleges
 Hong Kong Institute of Education
 Institute of Rural Management, Anand (IRMA)
 International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM)
 Iowa State University
 Keele University
 La Salle University
 London School of Economics and Political Science
 Loyola University
 Maejo University
 Magdalene College, University of Cambridge
 Mangalore University
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
 Maulana Azad National Urdu University
 Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne
 Michigan State University
 Middle East Technical University
 Mills College
 Motilal Nehru College (Eve.), University of Delhi
 MS University of Baroda
 Nanyang Technological University
 National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO)
 National University of Singapore
 Nehru Memorial Museum & Library
 New York University
 North-Eastern Hill University
 Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR)
 Oberlin College
 Panjab University
 Pomona College
 Portland State University
 Princeton University
 Quaid-i-Azam University
 Richard Stockton College of New Jersey
 Sabanci University
 Sarah Lawrence College
 School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
 SEPHIS, International Institute of Social History
 Shih Hsin University
 Simon Fraser University
 Social Science Research Council (SSRC)
 Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN)
 The Ford Foundation
 Tribhuvan University
 UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 United Arab Emirates University
 United States Naval Academy
 Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
 Universiti Sains Malaysia
 University of Amsterdam
 University of Arizona
 University of California, Berkeley
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University of the Philippines-Diliman
University of Vermont
University of Vienna
University of Washington-Tacoma
University of Wollongong

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Wayne State University
Williams College
Yale University
Zayed University

CONFERENCE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Noora Al Fahim joined the Dubai School of Government in June 2007 as PR coordinator. Al Fahim received a bachelor's degree in Integrated Communication and Media Sciences from Zayed University (Dubai). Prior to joining the Dubai School of Government, she worked as a customer service representative in Barclays Bank. She also has experience in the sales department of Dubai Properties. Al Fahim served as a volunteer at the "Women as Global Leaders" conference organized by Zayed University in 2005. Email address: Noora.Alfahim@dsg.ae

Hafed Al-Ghwell joined the Dubai School of Government as director of external affairs and partnerships in October 2007 from the World Bank Group in Washington, DC, where he managed the Public Diplomacy and Information Center. In that capacity, he developed the most active public discussions forum and distinguished speakers program within the bank group. Under his leadership, the World Bank's Public Information Center held over four hundred seminars and events covering the full range of economic, social, and human development issues. Prior to that, Ghwell established and headed the e-publishing and e-commerce unit in the External Affairs Department, making the World Bank the first international organization to make its publications, reports, and statistical data fully available online. Before joining the World Bank, he was a principle associate with Foreign Reports, Inc., one of Washington's most prestigious political analysis firms. Ghwell graduated from the George Washington University in Washington, DC, in 1986 with a BA in Economics. In addition to the World Bank's professional managerial and executive training programs, he has also completed a number of graduate courses intended towards a PhD degree in Philosophy and Comparative Religion. Email address: Hafed.Alghwell@dsg.ae

Aisha Ali joined the Dubai School of Government in January 2008. She graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, in spring 2007 with a bachelor's degree in political science and an emphasis on political economy, development, and gender studies. During her Berkeley career she was involved with a number of student organizations and nonprofit groups. After graduation, Ali began working as a research market analyst for a Silicon Valley-based technology company in Abu Dhabi. She is now working in the Department of Communication and External Affairs Department at DSG, assisting in communications and event coordination. Email address: Aisha.ali@dsg.ae

Aisha Al Shamsi is the sponsorship administrator at Dubai School of Government, and assists with all outreach programs, as well as with external relations development. Al Shamsi graduated from Zayed University in 2003 with a bachelor's degree in Information Systems with a concentration in Web Development and Programming. Prior to joining the DSG in 2006, she worked as an events coordinator organizing exhibitions, events, and press conferences, as well as managing media relations. Email address: Aisha.Alshamsi@dsg.ae

Ohood Al Suwaidi joined the Dubai School of Government in November 2006. She is responsible for managing the events hosted by the school, as well as developing mutually fruitful relationships with sponsors. Al Suwaidi has over four years experience in events and sponsorship management. Prior to joining the DSG, she worked at Emirates Airline as promotions event controller. She graduated from the Higher Colleges of Technology, Dubai Women's College, in 2001 with a Higher Diploma Degree in Applied Media, Media Production and, Multimedia. Email address: Ohood.Alsuwaidi@dsg.ae

Khoulā Arab started as a receptionist at Dubai School of Government. Her enthusiasm, professional customer service management, and communication skills have qualified her to grow within the school as an event coordinator. As an event coordinator, Khoulā coordinates the different logistical aspects of the events hosted by the school and manages them onsite. Email address: Khoulā.Arab@dsg.ae

Stephen Brannon is publications manager at Dubai School of Government, primarily responsible for the publishing and distribution of working papers, policy briefs, and books, as well as for the design and content of the DSG's Web site. Prior to joining DSG in November 2007, Brannon led Zayed University's in-house publications team responsible for the design and production of all external print, Web, video, and multimedia materials. During 1999-2001, he worked as publications coordinator in Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. From 1994 to 1999, he served as writer and press officer in the Royal Hashemite Court of Jordan. There, he researched and composed promotional publications about Jordan, drafted written correspondence, edited a daily news summary, and wrote open source intelligence reports. Brannon holds an MA in Arab Studies (concentration in Politics) from the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University. He received his undergraduate degree in Anthropology from the University of Virginia. Email address: Stephen.brannon@dsg.ae

Saleha Bu Kattara is Webmaster at the Dubai School of Government and is responsible for the administration of the school's Internet Web sites. Prior to joining DSG in 2005, Bu Kattara worked as a Web developer and designer in the Dubai Municipality, as well as serving as a technical consultant for Zayed University. She is a 2003 graduate of Zayed University, where she earned her bachelor's degree in Information Systems. Email address: Saleha.BuKattara@dsg.ae

At the time of the conference **Srirupa Roy** was a senior advisor/program officer to the South Asia Program and also worked on international research collaboration at the Social Science Research Council, for which she is now a consultant. She is associate professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Her research and teaching interests focus on the comparative politics of nationalism and state formation; secularism and religious politics in the Middle East and South Asia; and visual culture/visual politics. She is the author of *Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism* (Duke University Press, 2007); co-editor (with Amrita Basu) of *Violence and Democracy in India* (Palgrave/Seagull Books, 2006); and numerous other book chapters and journal articles. Her current book project is on television news media and democracy in India, based on ethnographic fieldwork in India conducted as a senior fellow of the American Institute of Indian Studies (2006-2007). Email address: srirupa@polsci.umass.edu

Rima Sabban is an assistant professor of sociology in the United Arab Emirates. She is also working on a project with the University of Amsterdam, supervising postdoctorate research on migration between Kerala and Dubai. She has done many UAE- and Dubai-based government consultancies such as: a policy oriented report of women in Dubai, based on the analysis of the Dubai General Population Census; an advisory for the first Knowledge Conference of the Mohammad Bin Rashid Foundation; and the Dubai Social Development Strategy Plan. She worked on multiple collaborative research programs in the Middle East/North Africa region, and was one of the recipients of an SSRC grant for collaborative research on the public sphere and domestic work. She has previously served as head of the Department of General Education at the University of Dubai, and as dean of student affairs at the American University of Sharjah. Sabban is the author of *Motherhood: Experiences of an Arab Woman* and co-author of "General Socio-Political Trends and Perceptions of Youth in the GCC Countries" and a number of papers on globalization, Gulf civil society, labor, and other social issues. Email address: rsabban@gmail.com

Seteney Shami is an anthropologist from Jordan with degrees from the American University in Beirut and University of California, Berkeley. After teaching and setting up a graduate department of anthropology at Yarmouk University, Jordan, Seteney moved in 1996 to the regional office of the Population Council in Cairo as director of the Middle East Awards in Population and the Social Sciences (MEAwards). She has also been a visiting professor at numerous universities. Seteney joined the Social Science Research Council in July 1999 and her research interests center on issues of ethnicity and nationalism in the context of globalization, urban politics and state-building strategies, and population displacement and transnational movements. Her publications include a co-authored book *Women in Arab Society: Work Patterns and Gender Relations in Egypt, Jordan, and Sudan* (Berg 1990); an edited volume on *Population Displacement and Resettlement: Development and Conflict in the Middle East* (CMS 1994); and *Amman: The City and Its Society* (CERMOC 1996). Articles include

“Prehistories of Globalization: Circassian Identity in Motion” (Public Culture 12 [2000]) and “Towards an Ethnography of Governance: Urban Spaces and Identities in the Middle East,” in R. Stren and P. McCarney (eds.), *Governance on the Ground* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003). Email address: shami@ssrc.org

Shabana Shahabuddin joined the SSRC in September 2006 as program assistant for the SSRC International Collaboration Program. She received her BA in a self-designed interdisciplinary major, African and Middle Eastern Studies, from Williams College in the United States. Email address: shahabuddin@ssrc.org

Selma Nagbou, outreach manager at DSG, is responsible for matters related to communication and public relations of the school. She provides a lead role in managing the school agendas and arrangements for visiting delegations. She also organizes and manages the various speaker series at DSG, and designs and manages its communications plans. Email address: Selma.Nagbou@dsg.ae

Tarik M. Yousef is dean of the Dubai School of Government. He joins the school from Georgetown University, where he has been associate professor of economics in the School of Foreign Service, and Sheikh Sabah Al Salem Al Sabah Professor of Arab Studies at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. He received his PhD in economics from Harvard University and specializes in development economics and economic history with a particular focus on the Middle East. His current research interests include the structure and dynamics of labor markets, the political economy of policy reform, and development policies in oil-exporting countries. Yousef's research and policy experience include working as an economist at the Middle East Department of the International Monetary Fund, as visiting professor in the Office of the Chief Economist in the Middle East and North Africa Region of the World Bank, and as senior advisor for the Millennium Project at the United Nations. At present, he is a senior fellow in the Wolfensohn Center at the Brookings Institution and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Email address: Tarik.Yousef@dsg.ae

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